

of the confederation in some body of persons chosen by themselves. The government thus created is a federal government, and it differs from a national government principally in this, that it carries down its decrees not to individuals, but to the states in their corporate capacity alone; for example, if an individual transgress a federal law he is punished by the state to which he belongs, and not directly by the federal power; if a state disobey, the federal power does not act of itself, but calls on the other states to assist in punishing the refractory member. On the other hand a national government recognises no communities, but addresses itself to individuals alone as its subjects, and makes its power felt by them through the agency of the ordinary ministers of justice. Now, the constitution of the United States being, as has been stated, national in its character though federal in name, has individuals and not states for its subjects, and exercises the same jurisdiction in matters of federal cognizance throughout all the states of the Union that a state government exercises within its own precincts in matters of state cognizance. It follows, therefore, that every American has a two-fold citizenship—he is a citizen of the United States and a citizen of his own particular state, in the same way as a colonist is a member of a colonial community, and also a subject of Great Britain. The United States, in fact, is but another name for one vast empire, ruled by a supreme head, but made up of separate communities, enjoying large subordinate powers of government. The resemblance which such a state of things bears to a well-constituted colonial empire is evident, and I shall endeavour to show that, by substituting a monarchical for a federal power, and by creating in each colony a local government analogous in form to that of England in the