

received a paper guarantee in the previous "Articles." The preamble of the constitution ran thus (there being no preamble to the "Articles") :—" We, the people of the " United States, in order to form a more perfect union, " establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for " the common defence, promote the general welfare, and " secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the " United States of America." The first article commences, " All legislative power herein granted shall be " vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall " consist of a Senate and a House of Representatives," and continues at great length and under various " sections" to define the attributes and functions of these Houses, abstaining, however, from any further details as to the mode of electing them than as follows. As to the House of Representatives, it is ordered, that it should be " composed " of members chosen every second year by the people of " the several States," (*not*, be it noted, of the *Federal Union*), and that " the electors in each State shall have the qualification requisite for the election of the most numerous branch of the State legislature," (a qualification within the sole competence of the State itself)—thus leaving the suffrage, which in the republican theory is the basis of sovereignty, to the arbitrement of the several States independent of each other. As to the Senate, all that is provided is that the senators should be chosen by the legislature of each State for six years. One of the sections contains the list of the attributes of Congress, which are similar to those apportioned to it in the " Articles," which another section defines, in correspondence with these concessions, what negatively each contracting State cannot do—neither the power of internal constitutional