

of Brazil, has that experiment, so old, and on the whole so successful in Europe, been fairly tried. For half a century, Brazil has known no serious domestic disturbances, while the imitative republics of the South have run into a condition of chronic anarchy, relieved occasionally by short lived accessions of despotism. The great federation of the north, the model which Bolivar and his copyists all copied, has shown the last and saddest example of the tendency of the modern expansive republic to separation and civil war. The demonstration it is to furnish is as yet incomplete, and prudence warns us against drawing too hasty conclusions; but in whatever else the present contest may issue, it cannot issue as all civilized monarchies have at one time or other done, in a voluntary restoration, giving a new lease to the old government.

The republic of Washington was, in truth, a work of virtue and genius well calculated to excite the hopes and admiration of mankind. It was not the creation of an empirical or presumptuous spirit. All the first fathers would gladly have retained their English connexion, if Lord North and George III. had permitted them. Slowly and unwillingly, and with many misgivings, they sundered the last ties that bound them to the parent state. With awe-struck solemnity they laid the foundations of their new order, among the only materials they had left—the colonial democracy, with a feeble and almost unfelt infusion of the remains of the old colonial aristocracy. The crown and the connexion were gone; but the founders of the new system invoked the blessings of religion, and the bright examples of the remotest ages, to consecrate and dignify their work. Still, the best and most thoughtful of those men—Hamilton, Madison, Jay, Jefferson himself, Adams, and Washington, above all,—though with very various degrees of confidence in the result, never looked upon their new State as other than “a great experiment.” For fourteen years that experiment was tried as a loose league; for seventy years it has been tried as a close-knit confederacy: it is in no spirit of presumption, from no irreverent disregard of those great men and their motives, that, reasoning after the fact, we conclude their experiment to have failed, and recommend the avoidance of a similar error to our own colonial statesmen. It failed in that which the banished Kent saw and desired to serve in the face of the discrowned king—*authority*. It failed in the authority of the president over his cabinet; in the authority of the supreme court over the country; in the authority of the Congress over the States; in the authority of the commander-in-chief over the forces, naval and military, supposed to be under his orders.

The modern age seems more and more to want, and the new spirit of the new world to exact, a wider degree of individual liberty and equality than is consistent with stability or longevity in the State, unless the principle of authority shall be as strongly fortified in the constitution as