

pendence and every power, jurisdiction, and right which is not by this confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled." By a later article the "Union" was declared "perpetual." As in the provisional Continental Congress, so in these articles no provision was made for an executive, but the Congress sitting in one House and voting by States, was its own Chief of the State and its own ministry, the range of subjects delegated to it being accurately and jealously defined. This new constitution was, I need hardly say, found in a very short time to be clumsy and imperfect; the absence of a distinct executive was a fatal deficiency, for the Congress was too bulky and its proceedings too public to make it a cabinet in itself. The break down took place in 1787, when a "convention" of delegates of twelve States (Rhode Island holding aloof) met under the presidency of Washington to devise a new constitution. The North, which is now carrying war and desolation over the South, maintains that by this new constitution, which is still in force at Washington, the several contracting States resigned their separate sovereignty and independence to the Federal Government; and that in point of fact they respectively sunk into the condition of little more than counties possessed of a species of magnified quarter sessions. Its vindication, if it has one, for so saying, must be found within the four corners of the Constitution of 1787. Let us then examine this document, which was only agreed to after long delays and bitter disputes, Rhode Island and North Carolina withholding assent till a date much later than the other States. The Convention, in the course of its debates, renounced the word "national," as descriptive of the new government. It also dropped all mention of its "perpetuity," which had