

and has once become an armed, civil war. The abolition of it will some day be found essential to the salvation of the Republic.

—There is also a proposal, connected with the name of Mr. Pendleton, to give the members of the Cabinet seats in the Senate, though without votes. Here again we come upon the traces of the errors into which the framers of the American Constitution were led by conventional notions about the Constitution of England. They did not see, nor did Blackstone or Montesquieu see, that the British Government was parliamentary; the Prime Minister, who was the real head of the State, being in Parliament and virtually appointed by it. Their minds were also filled with the notions of Montesquieu about the vital necessity of keeping the executive apart from the legislative, when, in fact, the British Prime Minister was the head of both, and with those fears of the undue influence of the Crown in the Commons which gave birth to the English Place Bills. The consequence was, that instead of producing a Parliamentary Government, they produced what is, of all free governments, the most unparliamentary in existence. The present proposal would be a step towards making the Government parliamentary; but it would be an awkward and equivocal step. Without votes, sitting only, as it were, upon the door-step, the Ministers could not lead. The relations between them and the real leaders would have to be managed through a telephone. Then supposing them to be defeated on a great question, would they, like the British Ministers, resign, or pocket the affront? If they resigned, would the President, who is the head of the Cabinet, resign with them, or would he keep his place after being condemned in the persons of his colleagues? The American Constitution is made up of two elements, a rational embodiment of the exigencies of a new situation, which is chiefly found in the Federal portions, and a perverse imitation of British precedent. The first element will have to be retained and strengthened; the second will have to be swept away.