

SELECTIONS FROM THE FEDERALIST

Published @ 2017 Trieste Publishing Pty Ltd

ISBN 9780649701018

Selections from the Federalist by William Bennett Munro

Except for use in any review, the reproduction or utilisation of this work in whole or in part in any form by any electronic, mechanical or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including xerography, photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, is forbidden without the permission of the publisher, Trieste Publishing Pty Ltd, PO Box 1576 Collingwood, Victoria 3066 Australia.

All rights reserved.

Edited by Trieste Publishing Pty Ltd.
Cover @ 2017

This book is sold subject to the condition that it shall not, by way of trade or otherwise, be lent, re-sold, hired out, or otherwise circulated without the publisher's prior consent in any form or binding or cover other than that in which it is published and without a similar condition including this condition being imposed on the subsequent purchaser.

www.triestepublishing.com

WILLIAM BENNETT MUNRO

**SELECTIONS FROM
THE FEDERALIST**

SELECTIONS FROM THE
FEDERALIST

EDITED, WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY

WILLIAM BENNETT MUNRO

PROFESSOR OF MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT
IN HARVARD UNIVERSITY



CAMBRIDGE
HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
1914

KS 4646.40

v. 41



Prof. Henry A. Geomans

COPYRIGHT, 1914
BY HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

W .

PREFACE

Too little use has been made of *The Federalist* as a means of affording instruction both in the foundations of American government and in the principles of English composition. In clearness both of thought and expression these letters of Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay are not surpassed in the whole range of American political literature. In order that some of them may be more conveniently used in the training of young men for clear-headed citizenship, this volume of selections has been arranged.

For several years the editor has been using *The Federalist* in his class-room. Students have made their approach to the study of federal government through its pages. On the whole the results have been very satisfactory, although some of the letters have proved much better than others as starting-points for class-room discussion. In determining what should go into the present volume and what should not, this experience has been the sole guide. It happens, however, that all the selections have come from among the first fifty of the original letters.

The text of *The Federalist* from which these selections have been taken is that of the first collected edition, published by McLean (New York, 1788). It differs only in some minor matters of form from the texts of the original letters printed in the newspapers of that year and the year before, and is said to have received the benefit of Madison's revision in preparation for the press. The importance of

using the original text is obvious in the case of articles written for such a special and immediate purpose; yet most editors have followed either the revised text of 1802, or the amended "original text" which Dawson prepared for his edition of 1863. The only foot-notes included in the present *Selections* are those which appeared in the edition of 1788, and which were put there by the authors themselves.

W.B.M.

CAMBRIDGE, December 28, 1913.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE	iii
INTRODUCTION	
1. The Making of the Constitution	1
2. The Campaign for its Adoption	9
3. Why the Federalist was written	11
4. The Federalist as a Treatise on Government	14
5. Bibliographical Note	17
SELECTIONS FROM THE FEDERALIST	
I. The Dangers of Disunion	
(a) Dangers from Abroad (Articles 2-5)	19
(b) Dangers at Home (Articles 6-8)	37
II. The Need of a Strong Federation	
(a) To Prevent Internal Strife (Articles 9-10)	56
(b) To Develop and Protect Commerce (Article 11)	70
(c) To Provide an Adequate Revenue (Articles 12-13)	77
III. The Inadequacy of the Old Confederation	
(a) General Features of Weakness (Article 14)	87
(b) The Lack of Power to Compel Obedience (Article 21)	93
(c) The Lack of Power to Regulate Commerce (Article 22)	98
IV. Difficulties Encountered in Framing the New Constitution	
(a) Inherent Difficulties of the Undertaking (Article 37)	109
(b) Differences of Opinion concerning Details (Article 38)	117
V. The Conformity of the New Constitution to Republican Principles. Establishes a Government both Republican and Federal (Article 39)	
	126
VI. Justification of the Powers Conferred by the New Constitution upon the Federal Government	
(a) Military Powers (Article 41)	134
(b) Diplomatic and Commercial Powers (Article 42)	144
(c) Other Powers (Articles 43-44)	152
(d) The Powers of the Federal and the State Governments Compared (Articles 45-46)	170

	PAGE
VII. The System of Checks and Balances	
(a) An Examination of Montesquieu's Doctrine (Article 47)	184
(b) The Objection to a Complete Separation of Powers (Article 48)	192 7
(c) Separation of Powers Necessary to Prevent Frequent Constitutional Amendments (Article 49)	197