NOTES ON FEDERAL GOVERNMENTS, PAST AND PRESENT

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Notes on Federal Governments, Past and Present by Thos. D'arcy McGee

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THOS. D'ARCY MCGEE

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BY

THE HON. THOS. D'ARCY MOGEE, M.R.I.A.

WITH AN APPENDIX, CONTAINING THE FEDERAL CONSTI-TUTION OF THE NEW ZEALAND COLONIES.

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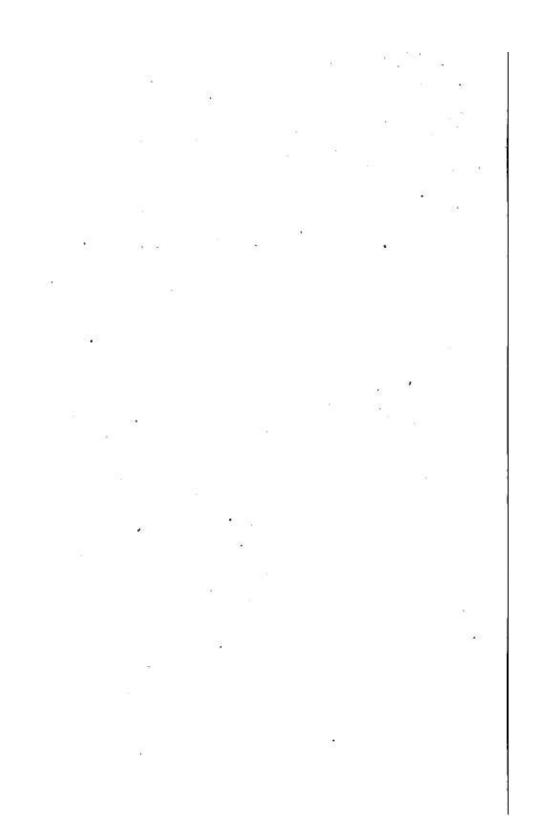
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[&]quot;I would form an individual model, suited to the character, disposition, wants, and circumstances of the country, and I would make all exertions, whether by action or by writing, within the limits of the existing law, for ameliorating its existing condition, and bringing it nearer to the model selected for imitation."—8IR GEO. CORNEWALL LEWIS.—A Dialogue on the best form of Government, page 117.

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I .- ON THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT OF THE GREEKS.

Mr. Grove concludes his admirable History of Greece with the exploits and death of Alexander (B.C. 323). It is certainly a striking and appropriate conclusion. In the twelve years' reign of the Macedonian conqueror, the Hellenic genius seemed to blaze up to its utmost height, to cast its far reflections over the whole earth, to waver, to subside, and almost to expire. For an epic close to an epic story, the career of that earlier "scourge of God," so splendid in his rise, so resistless in his prime, so lamentable in his death, could not have been equalled. But withdrawing our attention, even from such a personage as Alexander, and freeing ourselves, by an effort, from the fascinations of such a writer as Mr. Grote, we dare unite in opinion with those who hold, that the century after the great conqueror's death, is not the least glorious or instructive in Grecian history. This was the century when the famous Federations, or Leagues, of Ætolia and Achaia, with their lesser imitators, played so important a part in the affairs, not only of Greece proper, but of the whole Hellenic world. It was the century of the foundation of Greek dynasties at Alexandria and Antioch; the century of the Antigonid kings in Macedon; of Phokion and Demetrius at Athens; of Aratos and Philopoimên among the Achaians; and of Kleomines in Sparta. But the political characteristic which, of all others, commends it most to our attention, is the disposition to federalize, then first followed out, practically and perseveringly, by the Greeks of the fatherland.

No trait of public character was more invariable in the

earlier and better known ages of Greece, than the jealousy with which each community guarded its own autonomy. The hundred and fifty constitutions which Aristotle collected, in the age of Alexander, represented, of course, as many distinct governments or states. The majority of these "states" were mere city commonwealths, bounded by their walls and their galleys, standing for centuries almost within sight of each other, speaking the same speech, and worshipping the same gods; but without a particle of the insatiate Roman thirst for centralization. They had, indeed, in the Panhellenic festivals a substitute, which seems to have served them, at one time, in the stead of national unity. To these great periodical gatherings on the banks of the Alpheus and the shores of the Isthmus, the Greeks of Marseilles, of Emporia, of Syracuse, of Kyréne, of Sinope, and of Bosporus, and Borysthenes, were free to come. Champions entering for the games, were considered, like ambassadors, sacred in their persons; and the farther removed, in point of residence, the victor might be, the greater, in those few short days of glorious confraternity, was accounted the lustre thrown upon the ancestral soil by his achievements.

But the games and rites once over, the self-willed communities fell back upon their jealous autonomy; and all the fine songs of fraternity chaunted in chorus by colonists and old-countrymen, were exchanged for the keenest and most grasping selfishness. This, perhaps, was the main secret of Grecian decay. Intellectually the first of races, they had yet one cardinal defect of character—they lacked the power of sustained political combination. In their happier times they did not so much need or miss this essential quality in a truly great people; but when, within two lives, Macedon rose to the rank of the first military empire of the earth,—when they found this fiercer Persia established on their own frontier as a perpetual menace,—then the last statesmen of Greece, worthy of the name, saw the necessity of bringing

about a union of the autonomous governments, for their mutual safety and defence.

Of these unions, the two most celebrated were, the Ætolian League and the Achaian; the former dating from long before Alexander, and continuing till its submission to Rome (about 180 B.C.); the latter first rising into notice about B.C. 280, and continuing till its turn came to submit to Rome, B.C. 145. We have thus a century and a half of Achaian Federalism; and a much longer period (but with far fewer lights to guide us through it) of Ætolian Federalism. The scholars of Germany have labored with their proverbial industry to illustrate this, as well as every other phase of Grecian public life; and among ourselves, Bishop Thirlwall, in his last volume, and Mr. Freeman,* in his first, have collected together almost all that is possible to be known upon the subject.

At the period of its greatest extent, the Ætolian Confederacy included the whole of Northern Greece, bordering on Thessaly and Epirus, a part of Central Greece (including at one time Delphi), and the islands of Téos and Kios, in the Ægean Sea. The Ætolians proper were mountain tribes, of admitted Hellenic stock, but of very inferior Hellenic culture. They had, however, in a higher degree than others of the Greeks, the constitutional virtues of obedience and subordination; and their league was, consequently, the longest-lived and the most highly centralized known to that people. It was a league of districts rather than of cities; and in the diversity of its elements, as well as its geographical position, bore some general resemblance to Switzerland-with her city-cantons and forest-cantons. The Constitution was, in the Greek sense, democratic-that is to say, in our modern sense, aristocratic. The general assembly, which met for "despatch of business," usually at the autumnal equinox, at whatever place it might

^{*}History of Federal Governments. London and Cambridge: McMillan. & Co. 1863. Vol. I. Greek Federations.

be summoned, was primary; that is, every free citizen had the right to be present, to speak, and to vote. Practically, only the chieftains of the hill-tribes, and the wealthier inhabitants of the more settled districts attended. The executive power was constituted of the apokletoi, or senate, a sort of committee of the assembly, numbering at one time as high as thirty members; a commander-in-chief; a master of horse; and an official answering to our notions of a secretary of The commander-in-chief was also president of the general assembly; but he had neither voice nor vote in its deliberations. He could, however, summon special meetings: and he also seems to have presided in the highest court of justice. The magistracy, coinage, and taxation, beside the sovereign powers of peace and war, were all subject to the federal authority. As a general rule, the Ætolians are always spoken of by cotemporary writers as one people; and though their annals are not always free from reproach, it is certain that in resisting the Gaulish invasion of Greece (B.C. 279), and in the unhappy Lamian war (B.C. 322), they bore a most honorable part. On entering into alliance with the Romans, they made very favorable conditions; but their place in history knows them no more.

The Achaian League differed from the Ætolian in many important particulars. It was strictly a league of cities, of which modern research has enumerated not less than seventy. Of these about one-half joined the Union during the first forty years of its existence, while others continued to drop in down to the very hour of its dissolution. At its best, this government was supreme in Peloponnesus, garrisoning Akrôkôrinthos and Mantineia with Federal troops; and wielding the resources of such cities as Corinth, Sikyôn, Megalopolis, Megara, Argos, Pellênê, and others scarcely less populous. Aigion was at first the Federal capital; but Philopoimên, (B.C. 194) introduced the system of meeting in the principal cities by rotation,—a change which is thought by some