

neighbouring monarchies the provinces that adjoin each other present those striking demarcations which are the effect of great centralization of power: in federal republics, states situated at the extremities of each system are some time before they acquire a stable equilibrium. It would be almost a matter of indifference to the provinces between Arkansas and the Rio del Norte, whether they send their deputies to Mexico or to Washington. Were Spanish America one day to shew a more uniform tendency towards the spirit of federalism, which the example of the United States has created on several points, there would result from the contact of so many systems, or groups of states, confederations variously graduated. I here only touch on the relations that arise from this assemblage of colonies on an uninterrupted line of 1600 leagues in length. We have seen, in North America, one of the old Atlantic states divided into two, and each having a different representation. The separation of Maine and Massachusetts, in 1820, was effected in the most peaceable manner. Schisms of this kind will, it may be feared, render such changes turbulent. It may also be observed, that the importance of the geographical divisions of Spanish America, founded at the same time on the relations of local position and the habits of several centuries, have prevented the mother-country from retarding the separation of the colonies by attempting to establish Spanish princes in the New World. In order to rule such vast possessions it would have been requisite to form six or seven centres of government; and that multiplicity of centres was hostile to the establishment of new dynasties, at the period when they might still have been salutary to the mother country.

Bacon somewhere observes, that it would be happy if nations would always follow the example of time, the greatest of all innovators, but who acts calmly, and almost without being perceived. This happiness does not belong to colonies when they reach the critical juncture of emancipation; and least of all to Spanish America, engaged in the struggle at first, not to obtain complete independence, but to escape from a foreign yoke. May these party agitations be succeeded by a lasting tranquillity! May the germ of civil discord, disseminated during three centuries