

Federalist No.9

I. A Firm Union vs. Faction and Insurrection

A firm union will be of the utmost moment to the peace and liberty of the states, as a barrier against domestic faction and insurrection.

II. Petty Republics --Tyranny and Anarchy

It is impossible to read the history of the petty republics of Greece and Italy, without feeling sensations of horror and disgust at the distractions with which they were continually agitated, and at the rapid succession of revolutions, by which they were kept perpetually vibrating between the extremes of tyranny and anarchy.

III. History of Republics-- Argument against Liberty

From the disorders that disfigure the annals of those republics, the advocates of despotism have drawn arguments, not only against the forms of republican government, but against the very principles of civil liberty.

III.A. Counter Examples

They have decried all free government, as inconsistent with the order of society, and have indulged themselves in malicious exultation over its friends and partisans.

Happily for mankind, stupendous **fabrics reared on the basis of liberty, which have flourished for ages**, have in a few glorious instances refuted their gloomy sophisms.

III.B. A More Perfect Structure and the Science of Politics

If it had been found impracticable to have devised models of a more perfect structure, the enlightened friends of liberty would have been obliged to abandon the cause of that species of government as indefensible. The science of politics, however, like most other sciences, has received great improvement.

III.C. New Developments

The regular distribution of power into distinct departments; the introduction of legislative balances and checks; the institution of courts composed of judges, holding their offices during good behaviour; the representation of the people in the legislature, by deputies of their own election;

IV. The Large Republic

To this catalogue of circumstances, that tend to the amelioration of popular systems of civil government,

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I shall venture, however novel it may appear to some, to add... the **ENLARGEMENT of the ORBIT**

IV.A. Montesquieu and Small Republics

The opponents... circulated the observations of Montesquieu on the necessity of a contracted territory for a republican government...

...the standards he had in view were of dimensions, far short of the limits of almost every one of these states.

IV.B. Montesquieu and the Confederate Republic

So far are the suggestions of **Montesquieu** from standing in opposition to a general union of the states, that he explicitly treats of a **CONFEDERATE REPUBLIC** as the expedient for extending the sphere of popular government, and reconciling the advantages of monarchy with those of republicanism.

V. Advantages of the Confederate Republic

“A republic of this kind, able to withstand an external force, may support itself without any internal corruption.

The form of this society prevents all manner of inconveniences.

V.A. States Guard Against Attempts of Others to Usurp

“If a single member should attempt to usurp the supreme authority, he could not be supposed to have an equal authority and credit in all the confederate states. Were he to have too great influence over one, this would alarm the rest.

V.B. Single State Cannot Destroy the Union

“Should a popular insurrection happen in one of the confederate states, the others are able to quell it. Should abuses creep into one part, they are reformed by those that remain sound. The state may be destroyed on one side, and not on the other; the confederacy may be dissolved, and the confederates preserve their sovereignty.

VI. Republican States within a National Sovereign

“As this government is composed of **small republics**, it enjoys the internal happiness of each, and with respect to its external situation, it is possessed, by means of the association, **of all the advantages of large monarchies.**”

VII. States as Constituent Parts of National Sovereign

The proposed constitution, so far from implying an abolition of the state governments, makes them constituent parts of the national sovereignty, by allowing them a direct representation in the senate, and leaves in their possession certain exclusive, and very important, portions of the sovereign power.