

[Concluded.]

To sum up the argument. It would seem that the advantages of federation are more than counterbalanced by its defects. The former indeed are calculated to promote good internal government; but as this is not the great object of a federal union, so neither can it be much insisted upon as a peculiar benefit. On the other hand, in the pursuit of political power, which is the ultimate object of the association the defects come immediately into play, and their tendency is not more uniform and certain, than it is powerful and destructive. Now it is true, that these last could certainly have no place in a perfect confederacy, which would therefore rank very high among systems of government. But political and moral perfection are equally unattainable; and human nature must indeed change, before a regard to remote and widely-diffused interests can be reasonably expected to stifle the voice of passion, of prejudices, and local feeling. Men, either in their private capacities, or as members of a community, are chiefly swayed by motives, which have the closest and most immediate connection with their own advantage; and although in the majority of cases the interests of the confederate members and those of the collective body will coincide, it is, nevertheless, certain, that opportunities will frequently arise to give grounds for a real, or imaginary, opposition and hostility between them. Hence will result a division of authority, and a denial of supremacy to the federal head, which, however it may differ, in degree under different circumstances, cannot fail to prove injurious, not merely to the increase, but even to the preservation, of political power.

On the other hand, should the good fortune, the conduct, or the peculiar advantages of any confederacy have been sufficient to counteract the evil influences of a partial and inefficient union; the growth of power will be vigorous and rapid, but its decay will be rapid also. Its maturity will give birth to jealousies and faction, to oppression and resistance; and from the moment when these principles assume a decided shape, from that moment will national power cease, and the spectacle of a mighty and united people give place to one of petty and conflicting states. The stability therefore of confederacies, however it may subsist entire and unimpaired in the absence of all means of aggrandisement, may be pronounced to be incompatible with the possession of power.

We turn our eyes as well from the examples of antiquity, as from those of more recent ages, to the great political phenomenon of our own times. It has been reserved for America to call into renewed existence a form of government, which, among the multiplied parallels of history, has scarcely one to command our unmixed approval, or challenge our unqualified applause. But it would be a most uncandid perversion of the truth, were we to extend to the confederacy of the western hemisphere those censures, which are in different degrees applicable to the federal systems of the old world.

In premising, that the constitution of the United States differs most essentially from that of any ancient or modern confederacy, we shall at once perceive, that any judgment respecting its future prospects must be attended with great and peculiar difficulties. We shall perceive, that we possess no standard of reference; no examples, by which to try the validity of our conclusions; no analogous cases, to which we may turn for illustration or authority. Their government is a new creation in politics, and must be tried solely and singly upon its own merits. But the experience of less than a half a century, replete as it is with matter for reflection, for admiration and for hope, is far too scanty to allow us to appeal with confidence to its results, or to regard them as even tolerably certain indications of what is yet to come.

It is a presumption indeed prior to all positive argument in favour of the American union, that it has avoided the glaring errors of former confederacies. The free and enlightened framers of the constitution of 1787 appear to have studied the models of antiquity in the true spirit of political wisdom. Uniting their own experience of the manifold and incurable evils of a partial union to the lessons of history, they directed their whole energies to the establishment of a permanent and effective government. They considered, that if the association of the states were at all an object, it was clearly one of the most vital and paramount importance. That in all questions, therefore, of co-existing powers, the first point was to settle the national authority upon a secure basis, by placing in its hands every thing which could be conceded consistently with the preservation of the independence of the states. With this principle for their guide, they proceeded with deliberate caution and consummate sagacity to blend together and adjust an immense mass of complicated and partly conflicting interests. The result of their patriotic labours was that constitution, which, if they never considered it as perfect, as indeed may easily be gathered from their speeches and recorded opinions, was still unquestionably the best that the views and circumstances of the country would permit; and few men, we should conceive, however they may doubt its ultimate success, can refuse to it the tribute of admiration and respect.

We cannot attempt to offer in this place any detailed account of the provisions of this famous constitution; but must content ourselves with observing, that it partakes largely of the national as well as of the federative character. A government purely federal, would have no vested power of control over the individual citizens of the several states composing the confederacy, but simply over the legislatures of those states. Now an adherence to this principle is clearly incompatible with a due regard for effective government; and the

American acted with temperance and true wisdom, in abandoning an unprofitable independence for the real and tangible advantages of national union.

Again, it is hardly necessary to employ discussions to prove the existence of political power in the United States. If we look around the world, where shall we find a people who have made within the same period the same advances in all the essentials of national greatness and national prosperity? And although we must in fairness assign a large portion of what is enjoyed by them as a nation to the century which elapsed prior to the date of their independence, when, to use the words of Burke, "a free and generous nature was left to take its own course to perfection," there will still remain a vast aggregate of national advantages, which can only be referred to their form of government, to its admirable adaptation to the spirit of enterprise and the love of freedom.

It would evince a high degree of presumption in the writer of these pages, if with his very limited acquaintance with the social and political circumstances of the United States, he were to offer any positive opinion upon the probable fortunes of that great confederacy. But there are certain considerations, arising immediately from the nature of the case, which indeed can have escaped no one, who has at all interested himself in the history of America; but which appear too important to pass unnoticed, since they relate to principles, upon which the permanence of the existing union would seem mainly to depend.

The old confederacy, under which the United States had achieved their independence, ceased naturally with the conjunctures of the revolution, which had first called it into existence. It was not, it is true, annulled by any formal act; but its insufficiency to answer any good end in time of peace had become so manifest, that no alternative remained, but a dissolution of the confederacy, on the one hand, or a union constructed upon entirely new principles, on the other. It was fortunate for America, that the sound views and enlightened patriotism of the friends of union prevailed over the selfish ambition of men, who would fain have reared the edifice of their own power upon the ruins of the confederacy.

The constitution then of 1787 commenced its career under the happiest auspices. The circumstances of the country and the people were all favorable to a republican form of government, and the consolidation of civil and religious liberty. But the extreme difficulty of providing for an ever varying and increasing country a permanent and settled government could not escape the statesmen of America. They were well aware, that the peculiar advantage at that time enjoyed by their republic in the absence of an impoverished and idle population, could not in the nature of things continue, for any very lengthened period, the same and unimpaired. And although the facilities for obtaining subsistence, and many of the comforts of life, have as yet prevented any very serious evils from the rapid increase of the population, coupled with the extended principle of the elective franchise, it is impossible not to foresee, that sooner or later the time must come, when the antidote will cease to operate, and the poison begin to work; when the republican constitution, founded upon the basis of equal representation, will degenerate into the turbulent and ungovernable licentiousness of a wild democracy. It will then remain to be seen how far the popular election of the chief magistrate is compatible with the internal quiet and stability of the union. Even at the present day these elections give occasion for a display of faction and party-hostility, which in any country of Europe possessing a more condensed population and a standing army, would inevitably terminate in a civil war. In America the spirit evaporates and dies away, owing to the absence of these motives to excitement.

The distinction between the manufacturing and commercial interests, so long as a due mean and equitable proportion is preserved in their adjustment, would rather tend to unite more closely the members of the confederacy, than permit any adequate reasons for separation. But if the spirit of legislation, which prescribed the adoption of the tariff of 1824, continues to exert its influence, the ground-work will be laid for substantial differences between the states; and these again, promoted, as they cannot fail to be, by geographical (or in the language of America, by territorial) distinctions, may pave the way for a premature dissolution of the confederacy. This unwise measure has excited, especially among the southern states, an extreme degree of dissatisfaction. Hints at further and more important consequences have been loud and frequent; and the wound must indeed have sunk deep into the vitals of the constitution, when we find one of the most distinguished advocates of the existing union declaring, "that a dissolution of the confederacy would be a preferable alternative to the endurance of evils, which must spring from this odious act of the federal legislature."

There is yet another danger arising from the rapid acquisition of new territory, and the consequent accumulation of local interests. These are every day increasing; and it cannot be denied, that there is a prospect of their becoming too numerous and too widely diffused to admit of regulation by one central congress. It is important also to bear in mind, that the final discussion of any question, which may involve the stability of the confederacy, must all entirely depend upon the light in which a national union is regarded by the several states as a source of domestic benefits, and a means of promoting and securing their internal prosperity. External pressures there can be none; for they are happily placed in circumstances, in which, even supposing them disinterested into two or more confederacies, they may bid defiance to foreign arms; and thus it is, that the strongest inducement to the preservation of a federal union, that of mutual defence, so far from being constantly present to the mind of the American, is in danger of being overlooked or disregarded in the eager pursuit of local

interests. There is indeed room for apprehension, lest their security at home should prompt them to an undue interference in the affairs of Europe. But if there be any one line of policy which is clearly marked out for the United States, it is unquestionably that of peace. Should it be their ill fortune or ill conduct to plunge themselves into a protracted war, the high wages of labour would necessarily render the expense of an extensive naval and military establishment very great; and the antipathy to taxes would beget a still more alarming difficulty in defraying that expense. It is a disadvantage also, which is inseparable from the constitution of a federal government, that as it possesses no strong hold upon the affections of the people, the slightest disaster is sufficient to insure its unpopularity, and give the signal for its overthrow.

The causes, however, which may create hostility between the people of the United States and the nations of continental Europe are too remote to excite apprehension, and can hardly indeed be said to possess any separate existence. On one fair land alone, which the voice of nature and of interest unite in declaring the fitting object of friendship and alliance, the western horizon at times appears to lower with the signs of tempest. But while we fear no consequences in the defence or assertion of our rights, we acknowledge with gratitude and hope that there exist but few and decreasing indications of an approaching storm. England and America are both too wise, and one at least away by councils too moderate, to allow the prosecution of a spirit of rivalry and petty jealousies to disturb the harmony of the Christian world. Let us not indulge in gloomy anticipations, or torment ourselves with imagining the possible occurrence of more serious causes of offence. England may justly be proud of her child; America may regard her parent with affection and respect: both may concur in displaying to the world the power of enterprise and active industry; the inestimable benefits of popular representation in government, of equal and impartial laws: both may diffuse over either hemisphere, and, if united, with tenfold power, the light of Civilization and the blessings of Freedom.

GEORGE ANTHONY DENISON.
FELLOW OF ORIEL.

"WE'LL SEE ABOUT IT."

BY MRS. C. HALL.
From the *Amulet* for 1830.

"We'll see about it!"—from that simple sentence has arisen more evil to Ireland, than any person, ignorant of the strange union of impetuosity and procrastination my countrymen exhibit, could well believe. They are sufficiently prompt and energetic where their feelings are concerned, but, in matters of business, they almost invariably prefer seeing about it to doing.

I shall not find it difficult to illustrate this observation; from the many examples of its truth, in high and in low life, I select Philip Garraty.

Philip, and Philip's wife, and Philip's children, and all of the house of Garraty, are employed from morning till night in seeing about every thing, and consequently, in doing nothing. There is Philip—a tall, handsome, good-humoured fellow, of about five and thirty, with broad, lazy-looking shoulders, and a smile perpetually lurking about his mouth, or in his bright hazel eyes—the picture of indolence and kindly feeling. There he is, leaning over what was once a five-barred gate, and leads to the haggart; his blue worsted stockings full of holes, which the saggan, twisted half way up the well formed leg, fail to conceal; while his brogues (to use his own words) if they do let the water in, let it out again. With what unstudied elegance does he roll that knotted twine and then unroll it; varying his occupation, at times, by kicking the stones that once formed a wall, into the stagnant pool, scarcely large enough for full grown ducks to sail in.

But let us first take a survey of the premises.

The dwelling-house is a long rambling abode much larger than the generality of those that fall to the lot of small Irish farmers; but the fact is, that Philip rents one of the most extensive farms in the neighbourhood, and ought to be "well to do in the world." The dwelling looks very comfortable, notwithstanding; part of the thatch is much decayed, and the rank weeds and damp moss nearly cover it; the door posts are only united to the wall by a few scattered portions of clay and stone, and the door itself is hanging, but by one hinge; the window frames shake in the passing wind, and some of the compartments are stuffed with the crown of a hat, or a "lock of straw"—very unsightly objects. At the opposite side of the swamp is the haggart gate, where a broken line of alternate palings and wall, exhibit proof that it had formerly been fenced in; the commodious barn is almost roofless, and the other sheds pretty much in the same condition; the pig-stye is deserted by the grubbing lady and her grunting progeny, who are too fond of an occasional repast in the once cultivated garden to remain in their proper abode; the listless turkeys and contented, half-fatted geese live at large and on the public; but the turkeys, with all their shyness and modesty, have the best of it—for they mount the ill-built stacks, and select the grain, a *plaisir*.

"Give you good morning, Mr. Philip; we have had showery weather lately."

"Och, all manner o' joy to ye, my lady, and sure ye'll walk in, and sit down; my woman will be proud to see ye. I'm sartin ye'll have the rain soon again, for it's every where, like bad luck; and my throat's sore with hurishing them pigs out o' the garden—sorra a thing can I do all day for watching them."

"Why do you not mend the door of the stye?"

"True for ye, Ma'm, dear so I would—if I had the nails, and I've been threat'ning to step down to Mickey Bow, the smith, to ask him to see about it."

"I hear you've had a fine crop of wheat, Philip?"

"Thank God for all things! You may say

that; we had, my lady, a fine crop—but I have always the height of ill luck somehow; upon my sowkins (and that's the hardest oath I swear) the turkeys have had the most of it; but I mean to see about setting it up safe to-morrow."

"But Philip, I thought you sold the wheat, standing, to the steward, at the big house."

"It was all as one as sould, only it's a bad world, Ma'm dear, and I've no luck.—Says the steward to me, says he I like to do things like a man of business, so Mister Garraty, just draw up a bit of an agreement that you deliver over the wheatfield to me, on sick a day, standing as it is, for such a sum, and I'll sign it for ye, and thin there can be no mistake, only let me have it by this day week."

"Well, to be sure I came home full o' my good luck, and I tould the wife; and on the strength of it, she must have a new gown. And sure, says she, Miss Hennessy's sister in law's first cousin, she'll let me have the first sight o' the things, and I can take my pick—and ye'll have plenty of time to see about the agreement to-morrow. Well, I dont know how it was, but the next day we had no paper, nor ink, nor pens in the house; I meant to send the gossoon to Miss Hennessy's for all—but forgot the pens. So when I was seeing about the agreement, I bethought of the ould gander, and while I was pulling as beautiful a pen as ever ye laid yer two eyes upon, out of his wing, he tattered my hand with his bill in such a manner, that sorra a pen, I could hold for three days. Well, one thing or another put it off for ever so long, and at last I wrote it out like print, and takes it myself to the steward.—Good evening to you, Mr. Garraty, says he; good evening kindly, Sir, says I, and hope the woman that owns ye, and all ye'r good family's well; all well thank ye, Mr. Garraty, says he; I've got the 'greemen here Sir, says I, pulling it out as I thought—but behold ye—I only cotch the paper it was wrapt in, to keep it from the dirt of the tobacco that was loose in my pocket for want of a box—(saying ye'r presence); so I turned what little bits o' things I had in it out, and there was a grate hole that ye might drive all the parish rates through, at the bottom—which the wife promised to see about mending, as good as six months before. Well, I saw the sneer on his ugly mouth (for he's an Englishman,) and I turned it off with a laugh, and said air holes were comfortable in hot weather, and sich like jokes—and that I'd go home and make another 'greement."

'Greement for what? says he, laying down his great ouldish pipe. Whew! may be ye don't know, says I. Not I, says he. The wheatfield, says I. Why, says he, didn't I tell you then, that you must bring the 'greement to me by that day week; and that was by the same token (pulling a red memorandum-book out of his pocket,) let me see—exactly this day three weeks. Dou you think, Mister Garraty, he goes on, that when ye didnt care to look after ye'r own interests, and I offering so far for the field, I was going to wait upon you? I don't lose my papers in the Irish fashion. Well that last set me up—and so I asked him if it was the pattern of his English breeding, and one word brought on another; and all the blood in my body rushed into my fist—and I had the ill luck to knock him down—and the coward, what does he do but takes the law o' me—and I was cast—and lost the sale of the wheat—and was ordered to pay ever so much money; well, I didn't care to pay it then, but gave an engagement; and I meant too see about it—but forgot: and all in a giffy, came a thing they call an execution—and to stop the cant, I was forced to borrow money from that tame negur, the excisemen, who'd sell the sow out of his grandmother for sixpence (if indeed there ever was a sow in the family,) and its a terrible case to paying interest for it still."

"But, Philip, you might give up or dispose of part of your farm. I know you could get a good sum of money for that rich meadow by the river."

"True for ye, ma'm dear—and I've been seeing about it for a long time—but somehow I have no luck. Jist as ye came up I was thinking to myself, that the gale day is passed, and all one as before, yara a pin's worth have I for the rint, and the landlord wants it as bad as I do, though its a shame to say that of a gentleman; for jist as he was seeing about some ould custodium or something of the sort, that had been hanging over the estate ever since he come to it, the sheriff's officers put executors in the house; and its very sorrowful for both of us, if I make bould to say so; for I am sartin he'll be racking me for the money—and indeed the ould huntsman tould me as much—but I must see about it; no indeed that its much good—for I've no luck."

"Let me beg of you Philip, not to take any such idea into your head; do not lose a moment; you will be utterly ruined if you do; why not apply to your father-in-law, he is able to assist you; for at present you only suffer from temporary embarrassment."

"True for ye—that's good advice lady; and by the blessing of God I'll see about it?"

"Then go directly, Philip."

"Directly; I can't ma'm dear, on account of the pigs; and sorra a one I have but myself to keep them out of the cabbage; for I let the woman and the gawls go to the pattern at Killan; its little pleasure they see, the craturs."

"But your wife did not hear the huntsman's story?"

"Och, aye, did she—but unless she could give me a sheaf of bank notes, where would be the good of her staying—but I'll see about it."

"Immediately then, Philip; think upon the ruin that may come—may, that must come, if you neglect this matter; your wife too; your family, reduced from comfort to starvation—your home desolate."

"Asy my lady—don't be after breaking my heart intirely; thank God I have seven as fine flahulugh children as ever peed prates, and all under twelve years ould; and sure I'd lay down, my life tin times over for every one o' them; and to-morrow for sartan—no—to-morrow—the hurling; I can't to-morrow; but the day after, if I'm a living man, I'll see about it."

Poor Philip! his kindly feelings were valueless because of his unfortunate habit. Would that this were the only example I could produce of the ill-effects of that dangerous little sentence—"I'll see about it."

about it." Oh that the sons and daughters of the fairest island that ever heaved its green bosom above the surface of the ocean would arise and be doing what is to be done, and never again rest contented with—"SEEING ABOUT IT."

NOTICE.

THOSE Persons who are indebted to the late Proprietor of the Royal Gazette, are requested to call forthwith, and settle their accounts, as no time will be lost in bringing about this object, and all persons having demands against him will please send in their account. 28th September, 1829.

NEW FALL GOODS.

The Subscriber's Fall Supply of Merchandise, comprises a general assortment of ENGLISH, American and West India Produce; viz. Woollen, Cotton and Fanny Goods, Hardware, Cutlery, Stationary, and a general supply of Groceries, Provisions, and Liquors of a good quality.

The above articles having been selected by himself, he has taken great pains to procure them of the best description and quality; which, together with his former stock on hand, he now offers for sale at the lowest rates for Cash, or for Cord Wood delivered into the Government Fuel Yard, or in exchange for Country Produce, at his House and Store in Regent-street.

THOMAS B. SMITH.

Fredericton, Jan. 12, 1830.

ALL Persons having any just demands against the Estate of CALVIN CAMP, late of Burton, in the County of Sunbury, deceased, are requested to render their accounts duly attested within twelve months from the date hereof, and all persons indebted to the said Estate are requested to make immediate payment to

HESTER CAMP, Administratrix.
JOHN DOW, Administrator.

Burton, January 7th. 1830. ttp3w.

NEW GOODS.

BY the Isabella from Greenock, and Pyrenees from London, the subscribers have received, in addition to their recent importation; White and Grey Shirting Cottons; Plaids; Camblet; Carpeting; Checks; and Homespuns; Serew Augers; black, blue, whited-brown, and all coloured Threads; Pot, Fools, cap, Post and fine Gullt Writing Paper; Goose Quills; Muslin; Gros De Naples; black Silk; and Kid Stocks; Gentlemens Beaver, Black, Kid, and Buck Gloves; Fashionable Silk Pocket Handkerchiefs; 16 and 44 Black Crape; Sewing Silk; Ribbons, &c., all of which will be sold very cheap for prompt payment.

FISHER, WALKER & Co.

Fredericton, 20th October, 1829. tf

FALL GOODS.

The Subscribers have received per Ships Forth and Augusta, from Liverpool, a part of their Fall Supply of British Merchandise, consisting of LACK, blue, and Olive Superfine Cloths; and Cassimeres; Gentlemens Superfine, and Plated Hats; Ladies Black, and Drab, Beaver Bonnets, red and white Flannels; green Baize; drab Flushing, and Kersey; rose and point Blankets; Patent Cordage 1-1-4 to 4-1-2 inch; Bed Cords, and white Rope, Table Knives, and Forks; Desert do. do.; a few dozen Superior Silver Steel Pen Knives; Common do., and double-bladed Pocket-Knives; Razors in Cases assorted; Flat, Round, and Square Iron; best (L) Blistered Steel; 4d, 6d, 12d, and 20d fine rose Nails; Spades and Shovels; Mould and Dipt Candles; Soap, &c. &c.; which, together with their Stock on hand, will be sold at the lowest possible advance, for cash, or other approved Payments.

FISHER, WALKER, & Co.

Fredericton, October 6. 1829.

NOTICE TO PEWHOLDERS.

THAT, at a Meeting of the Vestry of Christ Church at Fredericton, on the 27th inst. it was resolved that whereas the Pew Leases had expired on the 24th instant, that they might be renewed for the ensuing seven years on the same terms as the last, all arrearages of rent being first paid, and that their should efficient measures be taken forthwith to collect all monies due to the said Church. Fredericton, 31st Dec. 1829. 6w

ALL persons are hereby cautioned against purchasing eight Notes of Hand for £12 : 10s each, dated the 10th of September last, granted by the Subscribers to John Doyle of Northampton, in payment of two lots of Land in the Parish of Woodstock; for which he cannot give a sufficient conveyance.

JOHN SPEER.

Fredericton, 31st Dec. 1829. plw.

FOR SALE.

THE House in which the undersigned now resides; it is an excellent stand for mercantile business; or from the number of apartments it contains, is well adapted for a boarding House. For further particulars apply to

GEORGE K. LUGRIN.

August 11, 1829.

Eligible Situation to Let, for one or more Years.
TWO Offices and a commodious Cellar in the Brick Building formerly occupied by the Hon. Thomas Baillie. The apartments may be adapted for a convenient Store. For further particulars, application to be made to

E. W. MILLER.

Fredericton, December 5. 1829. tf

THE subscriber begs leave to return thanks to the community at large for past favors; and he takes this method to inform them that he has removed to that new and elegant House, lately occupied by Mr. Thomas C. Everitt, corner of Phoenix Square; and from its central situation, and in the stile it is fitted up, inferior to none in the Province; he trusts from seven years experience in that business that he will be able to give general satisfaction to the public.

WM. MILLER.

Fredericton, Jan. 12, 1830. 3m.

THE ROYAL GAZETTE.

Terms—16s. per Annum, exclusive of Postage. Advertisements not exceeding Twelve Lines will be inserted for Four Shillings and Sixpence the first, and one Shilling and Sixpence for each succeeding Insertion. Advertisements must be accompanied with Cash, and the Insertions will be regulated according to the amount received. Blanks, Handbills, &c. &c. can be struck off at the shortest notice.