

COUNTING-HOUSE CALENDAR. FOR THE YEAR 1830.

	SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
JANUARY	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
FEBRUARY	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
MARCH	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
APRIL	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
MAY	29	30	31				
JUNE							
JULY							
AUGUST							
SEPTEMBER							
OCTOBER							
NOVEMBER							
DECEMBER							

THE POWER AND STABILITY OF FEDERATIVE GOVERNMENTS.

A PRIZE ESSAY, READ IN THE THEATRE, OXFORD,
JULY 1, 1829.

[Continued.]

It can hardly be necessary to instance the pretence of union among the Greeks under the feeble and inefficient sanction of the Amphictyonic council. They had scarcely any claim to the title of a confederacy; none certainly, if the distinction be allowed, to that of a federative government. The notorious vices and imperfections of their union, with all its attendant anarchy and bloodshed, may, nevertheless, be easily referred to the operation of the same mistaken principle, when taken in connection with the impossibility of harmonizing the discordant elements of oligarchy and democracy, of popular licence and stern republicanism, both of which exercised at the same moment their uncontrolled influence within the narrow limits of ancient Greece.

In more modern times, the most remarkable example of federation, as well from its extent, as from its general influence upon the affairs of Europe, was the Germanic body. This curious political fabric, which, it may be remarked, bore no unobtrusive analogy to the Amphictyonic league, had its foundation and origin in the feudal system, which succeeded to the reality of imperial power enjoyed by the immediate descendants of Charlemagne. We find accordingly that it laboured under the feeble and confused organization of an imperfect confederacy, engrafted upon all the vices and anomalies of that system.

Were we to judge indeed from the parade of constitutional powers vested by the Germanic union in the federal head, from the ample authority entrusted to the Diet, and from the extensive influence enjoyed by the executive Magistrate in virtue of his numerous prerogatives, we should arrive at no conclusion, but one favourable to the domestic tranquillity and power of the empire. But the facts of the case are far otherwise: the principle, which formed the basis of this confederacy, that the empire was a community of sovereigns, that the Diet was a representation of sovereigns, and that the laws were addressed to sovereigns, rendered it a nevertheless and unwieldy body; equally incapable of internal regulation, and of security from the pressure of external danger. So far indeed was it from presenting any appearance of concert and unanimity, that the generality of its wars were waged between its own members; nor is there any one instance throughout its whole history in which it can be said to have united in offering a steady resistance to foreign arms.

* Vers le milieu de 13 siècle, la dignité impériale perdit son éclat, soit par les brouilleries avec le cour de Rome, soit par les abus toujours croissans du régime féodal. Avec le pouvoir des empereurs la constitution de l'empire fut altérée. Ce vaste état dégénéra insensiblement en une sorte de système fédératif, et l'empereur ne fut plus que le suite du temps, que le chef commun et le Seigneur Suprême des vastes états, dont ce système était composé. *Tableau des Révolutions*, vol. i. p. 173.

† Imperfect both in principle and practice, and faulty in the extreme from the admission of many members to a share in the confederacy, who possessed dominions not included under the provisions of the federal compact in other countries of Europe.

The history of Germany is a history of wars and tumults, of foreign interference and foreign intrigue, of violence, rapine, and oppression, of refusals to comply with the decisions of the Diet, and of attempts to enforce them either abortive, or attended with bloodshed and civil war. In the 16th century the emperor, with one half of the empire, was engaged against the princes and states composing the remainder. Again, previously to the peace of Westphalia, Germany was desolated by a war of thirty years, in which the emperor and part of the empire were opposed to Sweden, aided by many members of the confederacy. Peace was at length negotiated and dictated by foreign powers; and the articles of it, to which foreign powers were parties, became fundamental principles of the Germanic constitution.

Hence it is that we look in vain for the power which ought naturally to have followed upon the organization of so extensive a confederacy; for allowing the existence of great strength and abundant resources in the Germanic body, yet we find them seldom or never called into united action, from the prevalence of conflicting interests, without any adequate means of adjustment; from the want of substantial authority in the Diet; and the consequent necessity of referring all disputes of moment to the decision of the sword.

Now it would seem, that as all questions of the power of federative governments may be resolved into that of the efficiency of the federal head, and as we have shewn this to be more or less incompatible with the principles and feelings of all confederacies; the conclusion must be unfavourable to their capacity for power.

But the reserve necessary in the admission of any rule in the science of politics, and the caution with which we must examine all the circumstances in the history of a nation, before we pronounce its constitution to be incapable of a high degree of political power, is no where more strongly forced upon our consideration than in the present case.

It is quite true that in the great majority both of ancient and modern confederacies we have a striking picture of weakness and instability. There are some, however, which bear a contrary aspect; and one in particular, which, although in a certain degree exposed to the latter of these imputations, cannot certainly be taxed with a want of power.* It will easily be understood that allusion is here made to the United Provinces.

In order to understand in what manner the extraordinary power enjoyed by this nation during a great portion of the 17th century was affected by the constitution of their government, we must recur to the origin of their political existence; since our question is not so much whether the fact of a people possessing a federal constitution is of itself sufficient to account for the presence or absence of power, as how far such a constitution may affect the existing causes of weakness or prosperity. A free government is but an epitome of the nation where it exists; and the real springs of power have their source in the peculiar circumstances, principles, habits, and feelings of the people. Good government will develop and assist these in their course; bad government will choke and exhaust them.

The power of the United Provinces derived both its origin and subsequent support from their extensive commerce; and this, although it arose at an early period of their independence, and prior to the existence of their federative government, was in after times much indebted to the peculiarity of their constitution. History indeed teaches us, that in all ages free governments have been the most favourable to commerce. Nor is the fact more evident, than the reasons and principles upon which it might be established: but this would lead us into a digression foreign to our purpose.

The federal constitution, which had for its basis the union of Utrecht in 1579, found in their four maritime provinces of the league, in those which have from the earliest times been the depositories of the strength and riches of the Netherlands, a people, whose whole thoughts and feelings were centered in two grand objects, and these identified the one with the other, their independence and their commerce. The religious persecutions which raged in France, England, and Germany, during the course of the 16th century, had compelled multitudes of those professing the reformed discipline to take shelter in the low countries, where the government had long been of a milder character, and the privileges of the cities inviolate. The course of these emigrations took a natural direction towards such of the provinces, as held out the fairest prospect of success in the consolidation of their independence; and thus the above-mentioned provinces became the seat of a redundant, but wealthy and enterprising population. The result in favor of commerce was powerful and immediate; and with the growth of their commerce their independence may be fairly said to have been identified, since it was commerce alone which supplied them with the means of a protracted resistance to the Spanish power. Further still, it afforded them so great facilities for the destruction of the Spanish wealth derived from her East Indian possessions, that the desire to put a stop to their further successes and depredations in that quarter was among the chief reasons which extorted from Spain the first recognition of their independence in 1609.

Under such circumstances it was plainly impossible for the federal government to close its eyes to the importance of trade, even had it wished to give a different direction to the current of popular feeling. Fortunately, however, the members of that government were themselves sensible of this.

* We may instance also the Hanseatic league, which took its rise in the 13th century, and which may justly be considered to have given the first great impulse to the commerce of modern Europe.

† Holland, Zealand, Friesland, Groningen.

‡ Portugal and her Indian dependencies had been subdued by Philip II. in 1580. She did not recover her independence till 1640.

upon society. It is to these causes that we may in a great measure attribute the traits of frugality, of industry and perseverance, so indelibly stamped upon the character both of the administration and the people.

But the operation of the federal government upon commerce, although at first silent and secondary, became in after times its main spring and support, as will easily appear from a brief review of certain results of that singular constitution.

There is perhaps no example in history, which reads us a more forcible lesson upon the precarious nature of political wisdom, or which can teach us by a more striking appeal to facts, that the most faultless and unexceptionable theories of government are not always the best adapted to practice, or the best calculated to insure the grand objects of national happiness and national prosperity. A plan for a constitution like that of the United Provinces, could hardly form any part of the speculations of the politician, unless he were desirous to demonstrate the probable consequences of so glaring a perversion of the principles of his science. It was indeed an edifice constructed to all appearance of ill assorted and heterogeneous materials; a compound of monarchy, aristocracy, and oligarchy; which has been dignified with the title of a Republic, without the existence of one particle of popular government throughout its whole composition.

There were in this constitution four main elements. The first and most prominent was the authority and influence of the House of Orange; the second, the federal provisions of the union; the third, the sovereignty of the provinces; the fourth, the freedom of the cities. The direct tendency of the internal administration, in conjunction with the hereditary aristocracy, and the Princes of Orange, made up the federative government, the great majority of the nation of the two latter was oligarchical; and as people had no immediate authority whatever.

They exercised, nevertheless, as will appear, a very considerable moral influence over the minds of those in power; a species of influence at once the most salutary and the most efficacious that can be exercised by the bulk of the community.

The political condition then of this people was in many respects of a very anomalous description. Their liberty indeed was secure from the fact of the balance of power between the monarchical and oligarchical principles of the constitution being placed in their hands; but they were destitute of all immediate authority and control over the affairs of the league. It is therefore at first sight matter of surprise that they acquiesced so willingly in this form of government. But there is nothing more remarkable in the history of these provinces than the sterling good sense and moderation of the people; the result in a great measure of that slow and cautious temperament, which has ever marked their character, and still more perhaps of the privations and distress, through which during a long course of years they struggled to the attainment of a dear bought independence.

Profiting by this experience, the governors presided over the national interests in an equitable and impartial spirit; dealing wisely and temperately with the people; without encroachment or oppression, and, if we may judge from the insignificance of their emoluments, without desire of advantage. They were well aware that the surest way both to the attainment and reservation of power lay through the medium of those qualities, which secure the esteem, and gain the confidence, of the people, and the use they made of this conviction was wise and salutary. The governed, on the other hand, beheld with content and satisfaction, the surrender of all pretence to tyranny, and sacrificed all factious opposition and interference to the public benefit, which they knew to be identified with the vigour and stability of government.

From this account of the general workings of the constitution, it would appear, that although necessarily imperfect from the circumstances limits assigned to the choice of those invested with power, the oligarchical administration was yet free from the odious vices which commonly attach to that species of government, and met with a noble recompense in the esteem and confidence of the people. Hence it was enabled to adjust and harmonize discordant views and principles, and to preserve to the several elements of the confederacy a due proportion of constitutional authority.

At this stage of our enquiry it will be evident in what manner the existence of a federative government was favourable to the commerce, and therefore to the power of the United Provinces. Since the influence of the oligarchy, however sure and well founded, would have been little able to oppose a permanent and effectual barrier to the encroachments of the House of Orange, had it not derived a very considerable assistance from the sovereignty of the provinces and the freedom of the cities. The one great security against the establishment of a monarchy lay in the uncompromising and watchful jealousy which must ever subsist among the members of a confederacy: while the force and spirit of this must have speedily evaporated, had they been consolidated into one single and undivided state.

In order then to render the inference complete, we must shew that under the circumstances of this country, the operation of a monarchy upon commerce would have been the reverse of favourable.

It is not meant to be asserted, that a free monarchy has a general tendency to depress commerce; much less, that any republican constitution has advantages to offer comparable

* The salary of the Pensioner of Holland, the most influential officer of the state, did not exceed £200 per annum; and others in proportion: naval and military officers were remunerated at somewhat a higher rate.

† The authority of their princes was imposing and extensive. They were hereditary high admirals and captains general, and had thereby the disposal of all naval and military commands. They had the power of pardon; the right of choosing the magistrates from a certain number nominated by the towns; with various other privileges and prerogatives, besides an overwhelming influence derived from their great patrimonial revenues, lordships, and principalities.

ble to those we enjoy under a kingly government tempered with all the principles of rational liberty. But whosoever regal authority trenches upon these principles, and is enabled to pursue with advantage to itself a separate and distinct interest from that of the community, there is great danger lest it should deaden, and eventually destroy the spirit and enterprise of the nation. It is not in human nature to incur labour and risk in the pursuit of advantages, for the enjoyment of which it can have no permanent security; and this appears to be the main reason why commerce has never reared her head under the baneful influence of despotism. Consequences the same in character, though differing in degree, have place in all monarchies, which are not founded upon the broad basis of freedom, and the true principles of government.

What then, it will be asked, were the impediments to the establishment of a free monarchy in the United Provinces? The answer is easy. The oligarchy were in direct opposition to the investment of the kingly office in the House of Orange. Any attempt therefore on the part of the latter to ascend the throne must have been prefaced by a complete overthrow and subjection of this powerful body in the state. Regal authority pursued in contradiction to the interests and opinions of so important a body, as it must have been acquired by violence and faction, so must it likewise have been sustained by force, and must have rested upon a foundation too unstable and insecure to be enabled to dispense with arbitrary power. Even on the supposition of a more fortunate event, and the erection of a throne attended with little or no invasion of the liberties of the people, yet would the change have still proved detrimental to the interests of commerce; since these would no longer have preserved their paramount influence over the minds of the entire community, but have given way in great measure to other views and occupations, and to other objects of enterprise and ambition. In a word, the establishment of a monarchy would have involved many consequences directly or indirectly unfavourable to commerce, and none more effectual than the introduction of feelings, habits, and pursuits, subversive of those principles of parsimony and frugality, so long a source of wealth and means of power.

[To be Continued.]

* William II. who died in 1650, had shewn a strong disposition to arbitrary power. Upon the minority, therefore, of his successor, the oligarchical party seized the opportunity to abrogate all the public hereditary dignities of the House of Orange. The states and cities assumed the last nomination of their own magistrates, and there remained no right of pardon, and no representation of the sovereign dignity of the state. This state of things lasted twenty-two years; and hence the division of the confederacy into two distinct and hostile parties at the period of the French invasion in 1672.

New Goods.

THE Subscribers Fall Goods comprises a general and extensive assortment of English and American Dry and Fancy Goods, Hardware, cutlery, furs, stationery, groceries, provisions and liquors, selected by himself, he has spared no pains to obtain articles of the best quality which he is now offering for sale at the very lowest rates.

F. E. BECKWITH.

10th December, 1829.

ON CONSIGNMENT.

40 Drums Turkey FIGS;
10 Barrels Muscovado SUGAR;
6 Puncheons Demerara RUM;
60 Dozen Port WINE.

ALSO ON HAND.

60 Chests & Boxes Hyson, Souchong and Congo TEAS.

F. E. BECKWITH.

10th December, 1829.

Wine and Porter Store.

THE SUBSCRIBER OFFERS FOR SALE.

50 DOZEN of particular fine Madeira WINE, Vintage 1825.

12 Ditto superior ditto, ditto.

12 Ditto old L. P. Madeira;

A few dozen old Port;

40 Ditto Hibbert's best London PORTER;

5000 Best Havana SEGARS.

The whole of which will be sold cheap for Cash.

WILLIAM MILLER.

Fredericton, Dec. 22, 1829.

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; White, Camblet; Carpeting; Checks; and Homespuns; Sewing Aligars; black, blue, white, brown, and all coloured Tureads; Pot, Foulcap, Post and fine Gilt Writing Paper; Goose Quills; Silk Braces; Worsted, and Cotton do.; India, Book-Muslin; Gros De Naples; black Silk and Kid Stocks; Gentlemen's Beaver, Black Kid, and Kid Gloves; Fashionable Silk Pocket Handkerchiefs; and 44 Black Crape; Sewing Silk; Ribbons, &c., &c., of which will be sold very cheap for prompt payment.

FISHER, WALKER & Co.

Fredericton, 20th October, 1829.

FALL GOODS.

The Subscribers have received per Ships Forth and Augusta, from Liverpool, a part of their Fall Supply of British Merchandise, consisting of

BLACK, blue, and Olive Superfine Cloths; and Cassimeres; Gentlemen's 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.

TO LET, for One or more Years.

THAT dwelling House in Queen-street, owned and formerly occupied by SAMUEL CAMERON. It has good accommodations above and below, with a convenient Stable and Garden attached thereto. For further particulars apply to the Royal Gazette Office.

Fredericton, 28th Nov. 1829.

ASSIZE OF BREAD.

At a Special Session of the Peace, holden at Fredericton, in and for the County of York, on Saturday the 20th day of June, 1829.

ORDERED, that from and after the 25th instant, the price of the One Pound Loaf of WHEAT BREAD, be Three-pence; and other Loaves in proportion.

H. G. CLOPPER.

Administration Notices.

ALL persons having demands against the Estate of DAVID COBURN, late of the Parish of Douglas, deceased, are requested to render the same within six months from this date, and all persons indebted to the said Estate, are requested to make immediate payment to the Subscribers or either of them.

MARY COBURN, Administratrix.

A. T. COBURN, } Adm'rs.

JOSEPH PICKARD, }

Fredericton, 4th Jan. 1830. 6m.

ALL persons having any legal demands against the Estate of the late Peter Hammel, deceased, are requested to present the same, duly attested, within three months; and all persons indebted to the said Estate, are desired to make immediate payment to the Subscribers or either of them.

JAMES TAYLOR, Jun. Executor.

Fredericton, Dec. 22, 1829. 3m plw

ALL Persons having demands against the Estate of the Rev. GEORGE BEST, late of Fredericton, deceased, are requested to render the same forthwith, and all persons indebted to the said Estate, are required to make immediate payment to the Subscribers or either of them.

JAMES SLADE, } Executor.

W. M. F. ODELL, }

Fredericton, 12th September, 1829.

IN THE PRESS

THE PRINCIPLES AND OBJECTS OF
KINGS COLLEGE, NEW-BRUNSWICK;
A SERMON

Preached before the University, assembled for the first time in Fredericton Church, on Advent Sunday, 1829.

By EDWIN JACOB, D. D. Vice President; late Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and Rector of St. Pancras, Chichester.

Published by desire of His Honor the Chancellor, and the other Members of the College Council.

Printed by John Simpson, Fredericton, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

January 6.

NOTICE TO PEW-HOLDERS.

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 arrears 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

Evening School.

MR. A. JOHNSTON respectfully informs the Inhabitants of Fredericton, that he intends to open an Evening School at his School Room near the corner of Brunswick and Regent Streets, on the 6th instant, where the following Branches will be taught, viz. Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Geography, English Grammar, Mensuration, Book-keeping, &c. on moderate terms, hours from 6 to 9.

N. B.—The above Branches are taught in his day School, at a moderate rate.

January 5, 1830. 2w.

VALUABLE FARM FOR SALE.

THE Subscriber offers for Sale at private bargain, and possession to be given the first of May next, that Farm on the Nashwaak, known and distinguished as Lot No. 10, together with the Dwelling House and other buildings thereon. The place is only about 12 miles distant from Fredericton. Sixty rods front on each side of the River, together with an Island in the middle of it. The whole containing 350 acres with the usual allowance for roads and waste, about 30 acres cleared.

For Further particulars application to be made to the Subscriber.

WILLIAM TAYLOR.

Fredericton, 19th October 1829.

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 SPER.

WILLIAM SPROWL.

Fredericton, 31st Dec. 1829. plw.

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.

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. tf.

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. ft.

STRAYED.

IN the month of July last, an OX, he is five years old, wide horned and short ears, having been frozen when a calf; is speckled white and pale red, with a star in his forehead. Any person who will give information, or deliver him to the Subscriber shall be handsomely rewarded.

CHRISTOPHER BROWN.

Fredericton, 27th December, 1829. plw. 6w.

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.