The Herald.

VOL. III. CHARLOTTETOWN P. E. ISLAND, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 12, 1866. NO. 10

THE HERALD

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EDWARD REILLY,

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TERMS FOR THE "HERALD."

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ALMANACK FOR DECEMBER.

MOON'S PHASES.

New Moon, 7th day, 1h. 13m, morning, N.N.E.
First Quarter, 15th day, 0h. 31m., morning, W.
Full Moon, 21st day, 4h. 22m., evening, E.N.E.
Last Quarter, 28th day, 3h. 11m., evening, N.W.

DAY MONTH.	DAY WEEK.	SUN rises	SUN sets	High Water	Moon rises.	Day's length.
		h m	h m	h m	h m	h m
1	Saturday	7 28	4 10	8 20	1 38	8 42
2	Sunday	29	10	9 11	2 38	41
3	Monday	31	10	10 1	3 36	40
4	Tuesday	32	10	10 49	4 34	39
5	Wednesday	33	10	11 29	5 32	38
6	Thursday	35	9	11 59	sets	36
7	Friday	36	9	morn.	5 14	34
8	Saturday	37	9	0 32	6 0	33
9	Sunday	38	9	1 33	6 50	32
10	Monday	39	9	2 13	7 47	32
11	Tuesday	7 40	9	2 52	8 43	31
12	Wednesday	41	9	3 33	9 54	30
13	Thursday	42	9	4 20	10 47	29
14	Friday	43	9	5 8	11 53	28
15	Saturday	44	9	6 0	morn.	28
16	Sunday	45	10	6 55	0 57	28
17	Monday	45	10	7 58	2 6	28
18	Tuesday	46	10	9 0	3 16	27
19	Wednesday	46	10	10 3	4 28	26
20	Thursday	47	11	11 4	5 38	26
21	Friday	47	4 11	11 52	rises	26
22	Saturday	48	12	even.	6 0	26
23	Sunday	48	12	1 48	7 3	26
24	Monday	48	13	2 36	8 14	26
25	Tuesday	48	13	3 25	9 20	26
26	Wednesday	48	14	4 14	10 27	27
27	Thursday	48	15	5 3	11 27	8 28
28	Friday	48	16	5 55	morn.	29
29	Saturday	48	17	6 47	0 29	30
30	Sunday	48	18	7 39	1 29	31
31	Monday	48	18	8 32	2 26	32

PRICES CURRENT.

CHARLOTTETOWN, Dec. 7, 1866.

Provisions.	
Beef, (small) per lb.,	3d to 7d
Do by the quarter,	2½d to 5
Pork, (carcass)	3½d to 4½d
Do (small)	5d to 7d
Mutton, per lbs.,	3d to 6d
Veal, per lb.,	3d to 6d
Ham, per lb.,	6d
Butter, (fresh)	1s 1d to 1s 3d
Do by the tub,	1s to 1s 1d
Cheese, per lb.,	4d to 6d
Tallow, per lb.,	8d to 10d
Lard, per lb.,	3d¼ to 3½d
Flour, per lb.,	16s to 16 s6d
Oatmeal, per 100 lbs.,	1s to 1s 1d
Eggs, per dozen,	
Grain.	
Barley, per bushel,	3s 3d to 3s 9d
Oats per do.,	2s 2d to 2s 4d
Vegetables.	
Peas, per quart,	1s 6d to 1s 9d
Potatoes, per bushel,	
Poultry.	
Geese,	2s to 2s 9d
Turkeys, each,	3s to 6s
Fowls, each,	1s to 1s 8d
Ducks,	1s 3d to 1s 6d
Fish.	
Codfish, per qtl.,	20s to 30s
Herrings, per barrel,	25s to 40s
Mackerel, per dozen,	2s 6d to 4d
Lumber.	
Boards (Hemlock)	3s 6d to 4s
Do (Spruce)	4s to 5s
Do (Pine)	7s to 9s
Shingles, per M,	13s to 18s
Sundries.	
Hay, per ton,	70s to 80s
Straw, per cwt.,	1s 9d to 2s
Timothy Seed,	none
Clover Seed, per lb.,	none
Homespun, per yard,	4s to 6s
Calfskins, per lb.,	6d to 9d
Hides, per lb.,	4½d
Wool,	1s to 1s 3d
Sheepskins,	1s 6d to 1s 9d
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Charlottetown, P. E. I Nov. 25, 1863.

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AND
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REMONSTRANCE

AGAINST THE PROPOSED CONFEDERATION OF THE BRITISH NORTH AMERICAN PROVINCES: ADDRESSED TO THE EARL OF CARNARVON, SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES, BY MEMBERS OF THE CANADIAN PARLIAMENT, REPRESENTING CONSTITUENCIES IN LOWER CANADA.

To the Right Honorable the Earl of Carnarvon, Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies.

MY LORD,—

As it has been announced that Delegates from the Canadian Government will shortly proceed to England, to confer with Her Majesty's Imperial advisers, respecting the proposed Confederation of the British North American Provinces, with the view of urging legislation on the subject next session of the Imperial Parliament, we deem it our duty, as the representatives in Parliament of twenty populous constituencies in Lower Canada, to submit to your Lordship some considerations which we venture to hope will not be thought wholly undeserving of attention, by those with whom rests the responsibility of deciding whether this important subject is to be regarded as already ripe for final legislation, or ought to await the further development and more authentic expression of popular opinion in the Provinces. Numbering nearly a third of the representatives of Lower Canada, we are convinced that on this subject we reflect the opinions of a majority of her people.

We assume that Her Majesty's Government, adhering to the wise policy which, for a quarter of a century, has been productive of the most beneficial results,—the policy of conceding to colonies possessing representative institutions all the right of local self-government, including the right to re-model, to suit their various circumstances, those institutions themselves,—has no desire to impose this scheme of Confederation on the Provinces from motives of Imperial policy. Indeed, we can discern no Imperial object, consistent with a desire to preserve the connection between the colonies and the mother country, that would be promoted by a federal union of these Provinces, accomplished without the full consent, or contrary to the known wishes, of their people. If it should appear that the people of this province, so far from having consented to the sweeping changes in their institutions, and in their relations to the other Provinces and to the Empire, contemplated by this scheme of Confederation, have never had any opportunity of pronouncing a decision upon the question, a proper regard for their rights, and every principle of sound statesmanship, would seem to require the postponement of the final decision of the Imperial Government. If the measure be a good one, and the people are really in favor of it, no injurious consequences can flow from the delay of a year, during which the public sentiment in regard to it can be tested in the usual constitutional manner; while if it be carried now without this precaution, and if it should subsequently be found to be unacceptable—an event which we believe is certain to occur in Lower Canada—angry agitation for its repeal or for other constitutional changes would inevitably arise, inaugurating an era of instability and discontent, prejudicial in the last degree to every interest in the Provinces, and exceedingly irksome to the statesmen of Europe.

We have intimated that the people of this Province have never had an opportunity to express their approval or disapproval of the proposed confederation, and in support of this statement, we now proceed to trace the steps by which the question has been brought to its present position.

From time to time, during the last thirty years, the union of these Provinces has been advocated by public men and public writers, of more or less prominence, both in the Colonies and in the mother country; but no practical step, looking to its accomplishment, was taken by the public men of Canada, acting under ministerial responsibility, until 1859. Early in that year, Messrs. Cartier, Ross and Galt, while in England on public business, addressed a despatch to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, in which they recommended a federal union of all the British North American Provinces, as a means of reconciling the conflicting claims of Upper and Lower Canada respecting the basis of representation under the existing union. The question discussed in this despatch was not, however, submitted to Parliament in any definite form on the return of the signers to Canada, nor during the whole term of office—extending to 1862—of the Administration to which they belonged. Mr. John A. McDonald, then, as now, the leader of the Conservative party in Upper Canada, and the leading mind of the Administration, was in declared opposition to the *principle of federation*—whether applied to all the Provinces or to Canada alone—down to the ministerial crisis of June, 1864. Mr. Brown, the leader of the Liberal party in Upper Canada, though favoring the adoption of a federal union between Upper and Lower Canda, if representation based on population were not conceded to Upper Canada, was opposed to a federal union of all the Provinces. In Lower Canada the members of both political parties, with here and there individual exceptions, rejected all propositions looking to immediate union—either legislative or federative—with the Maritime Provinces. Indeed the publication of the despatch already referred to led to a condemnation of the project, so prompt, so general, and so decided, that from 1859 down to the ministerial crisis in June, 1864 the question of a union of all the Provinces had no influence on the politics of the country, was rarely mentioned in Parliament or discussed in public journals, and was not at all in issue either at the general election of 1861 or that of 1863. In the latter year the present Parliament was elected. Neither in Upper nor in Lower Canada did the candidates of any political party avow a desire or a purpose to compass the overthrow of the existing constitutional system, to which the people had become strongly attached. True, there were some difficult political problems to be solved; but they were certain to find a solution without resorting to organic changes, by the exercise of ordinary patience on the part of the people, and of even common-place statesmanship on the part of their leaders. True, too, there had been errors, and perhaps worse than errors of administration, and extravagant, even profligate, expenditure; but these evils are incident to every form of government, while, under representative institutions, the people have the remedy in their own hands,—a remedy which the people of Canada would undoubtedly have applied with great thoroughness, if they had not been diverted from their purpose by the extraordinary movement to change their whole system of govenment, which we shall presently have occasion to explain. The election of 1863 turned mainly on the questions of a practical character we have just referred to. The result gave to the Liberal Ministry of the day—whose most pressing task was the restoration of the finances from the great disorder into which they had been thrown under their predecessors—only a narrow majority, so narrow, indeed, that, finding themselves unable to command the parliamentary support required to carry comprehensive measures of financial and administrative reform, they resigned in the summer of 1864. Their opponents returned to office. There was no pretence of a constitutional difficulty. No necessity for constitutional changes was alleged.—A simple change of administration took place. A few weeks later a debate arose in Committee of Supply, touching the acts of Ministers when previously in office. This led to a resolution condemning specifically one of their acts, being offered by the opposition. On the motion for going into Committee of Supply, on the 14th of June, 1864, it was moved in amendment—"That an humble address be presented to His Excellency the Governor General, representing that in June, 1859, an advance of $100,000 was made from the public chest without the authority of Parliament, for the redemption of Bonds for a like amount of the city of Montreal, which Bonds were redeemable by the Grand Trunk Railway Company; that by the terms of the order in Council of the 1st June, 1859, the Receiver General was authorised to redeem the said bonds on account of the City of Montreal, and to hold the same amount so advanced, ($100,000) with interest at six per cent, be repaid to the Government by the city of Montreal; subject to the condition under the Municipal Loan Fund Act, and that the amount so advanced be repaid within three months; that the city of Montreal having fulfilled the condition of paying its indebtedness under the Municipal Loan Fund Act, the Bonds in question were delivered by the Receiver General to the City Treasurer on the 13th Sept., 1859, whereby all claim against the city of Montreal was relinquished; that under the instructions of the then Minister of Finance, conveyed in a letter dated London, 28th December, 1859, addressed to Mr. Reifenstein, of the Receiver General's Department; the amount of the said advance was transferred to the debt of the Financial Agents of the Province in London, who deny that they ever consented to becom liablee therefor; and that, in view of the facts above recited, this House would be failing in its duty if it did not express its disapprobation of an unauthorizd advance of a large amount of public money, and of the subsequent departure from the conditions of the order in Council under which the advance was made." This resolution was regarded by Ministers as one of want of confidence, and was carried by a majority of two. The resolution and the debate upon it had reference solely to administrative acts comiug appropiately under the review of Parliament, and a Parliamentary condemnation of Ministers was the result.

A crisis of several days' duration followed this vote. Ministers advised His Excellency the Governor-General to dissolve the House. This advice His Excellency, after considerable delay, and, it is believed, with some hesitation, if not reluctance, finally accepted. Ministers, however, were obviously unwilling to resort to a dissolution on the issue raised by the resolution just quoted, as the elections must have turned wholly on the merits of their previous administration of the finances, in respect to which there was a strong and widespread feeling of dissatisfaction. To avert an appeal to the country on so inconvenient an issue, and to evade at the same time the consequences of the pointed condemnation just pronounced by Parliament, negotiations for an Upper Canadian coalition were opened with Mr. Brown, a leading Member of the Upper Canadian Opposition.—These negotiations resulted in the accession to office of Mr. Brown and two of his friends—no change being made in the *personnel* of the Lower Canadian section of the Administration. This rehabilitation of a defeated and condemned Administration was accomplished by means of an agreement, that the consent of the Maritime Provinces to a Federal Union of all the Provinces should be sought during the Parliamentary recess, and that, failing to obtain such consent before the re-assembling of Parliament in January following, a plan of a Federal Union, applicable to Canada alone, should then be brought forward.

Thus was formed a coalition between men who had been for years in violent political and personal hostility, for the purpose of carrying either a measure to which both parties had been previously opposed or, in the not improbable event of its failure, another measure to which one of the parties had been even more strenuously opposed. The project of a Federal Union of Canada alone had, from its inception, been denounced by Messrs. McDonald and Cartier in the language of derision and scorn. Now, however, to gain the support of a section of their opponents, and thereby obviate a dissolution which, they clearly foresaw, would result in a disastrous defeat to their party, and in the approval by the country of the condemnation of themselves, just pronounced by Parliament, these gentlemen adopted the project as their own, and were prepared to carry it as they now propose to carry the scheme of Confederation, without consulting the people, if only the assent of a Parliament, elected without any reference to organic changes, could be obtained.

It is proper that we should now refer to proceedings, which are sometimes alleged to have exerted an important, but which we believe to have had no appreciable influence on the course of events. We allude to the appointment of a committee of the House of Assembly on motion of Mr. Brown, in the session of 1864, to enquire into the subjects embraced in the despatch of Messrs. Cartier, Galt and Ross, to the Colonial Minister in 1859, and to the report of that committee, which was in the following words:—"The committee have held eight meetings, and have endeavored to find some solution for existing difficulties, likely to receive the assent of both sections of the Province. A strong feeling was found to exist among the members of the committee in favor of changes in the direction of a Federative system, applied either to Canada alone, or to the whole of the British North American Provinces, and such progress has been made as to warrant the committee in recommending that the subject be again referred to a committee at the next session of Parliament." This report was not acted upon by the House, and was regarded by every one as being—what it in fact describes itself to be—a mere prelude to further enquiry and ample discussion. But, faintly even as this report points to the possible adoption of a "Federative system," it was opposed in committee by Mr. John A. McDonald, then, as now, the leader of the House, but who is now striving to impose a "Federative system" on his countrymen, without ascertaining, in the only way known to our constitution, whether they share his present views or adhere to those he uniformly expressed down to the crisis of June, 1864.

The Canadian Cabinet having been reconstructed in the manner and for the purposes we have described, it was thought to be necessary, as a preliminary to negotiations with the Maritime Provinces for their union with Canada, to secure the defeat, or at least the postponement, of the project of a Legislative Union between Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, the initial steps towards which had, with the sanction of Her Majesty's Government, been taken by the Governments and Legislatures of the three Provinces. In this the Canadian Ministers were successful. We think it is to be regretted that a different course was not pursued, for the union of these three small Provinces, two of them contiguous to each other, and the third separated from the main land by a narrow strait—with homogeneous populations and similar laws and institutions—if it could be accomplished on acceptable conditions—would seem a natural and desirable arrangement either with or without reference to their ultimate union with Canada; while, in view of the latter event, the previous consolidation of the smaller Provinces would obviate many difficulties and render possible the adoption of a less complicated and costly system of government than would be necessary if they should enter the proposed Confederation as separate Provinces.—Our Ministers, however, in their haste to achieve in a few weeks what, to be well done, should be the work of years, ignored these obvious considerations, and persuaded the representatives of the three Provinces assembled at Charlottetown, in September, 1864, to abandon the object for which they had been appointed, until a conference of delegates from all the Provinces could be held to consider the question of a general union.

A motive for the extraordinary course pursued by the Canadian Government may perhaps be deduced from the conditions on which Mr. Brown became a member of it. He stipulated, it will be remembered, that, failing to obtain the assent of the Maritime Provinces to a general scheme of union, before the next meeting of the Canadian Parliament, the Government should then be bound to submit a measure providing a federate system for Canada alone—a project which had always been extremely obnoxious to Mr. Brown's conservative colleagues, though they had pledged themselves to bring it forward if a certain contingency should not arise. Hence the eagerness with which something that could be represented as implying the assent of the Maritime Provinces to confederation was sought, and hence also the motive, though a very inadequate one, for thwarting the movement which had made such hopeful progress for the union of the maritime provinces.

Delegates from all the Provinces, appointed by their several Governments, though without previous Parliamentary authority, assembled at Quebec, in October, 1864, and the result of some days' deliberation, with closed doors, was what is known as the Quebec scheme, embodied in a series of seventy-two resolutions. These resolutions, when approved by the several Provincial Legislatures, were to form the basis of an Act of the Imperial Parliament, superseding the present constitutions of all the Provinces. The Canadian Parliament met in the following January, and was asked by the Government to adopt an address to Her Majesty, praying for the passage of an Imperial Act founded on the resolutions in Committee, or passing upon them *seriatim* in any way. This course was objected to, but fruitlessly, as being wholly at variance with established Parliamentary usage both in England and this country; and the more effectually to shut out all consideration of details the *previous question* was moved by the Government.—While the debate on this Address was in progress, many numerously attended public meetings were held in Lower Canada, and petitions, praying that the scheme of Confederation might not be adopted without a constitutional appeal to the people, were pouring into parliament, when the result of the general election in New Brunswick became known. As the popular verdict in that Province was overwhelmingly adverse to the scheme, there seemed to be no probability of its consummation during the term of the present Canadian Parliament, and the popular agitation in Lower Canada consequently ceased. Notwithstanding the emphatic rejection of the scheme by the people of New Brunswick, the Canadian Ministers pressed the question to a vote, and though there was a large majority in favor of the Address, a strong minority of Lower Canadian representatives voted against it. The actual Lower Canadian vote on the main question was 37 to 25, while on subsequent motions, respecting an appeal to the people, several of the members composing this majority voted with the minority. The minority would no doubt have been swollen to a majority but for the Extra Parliamentary promises of special favours to particular interests, made by the Government to the Representatives of those interests, to induce them to vote for the Government scheme. To show that this grave assertion is not lightly hazarded, we propose to state some facts which are, we believe, without parallel in British or Colonial Parliamentary history.

Considerable uneasiness was felt by the English minority in Lower Canada, respecting their possible position under the proposed Confederation, involving, as it did in respect to an important class of questions, their political separation from the people of their own race in Upper Canada. This uneasiness was shared by their representatives in Parliament, and it became necessary to remove it in order to secure their votes for the scheme. On the second of March, while the debate on Confederation was in progress, several of these gentlemen communicated with Mr Galt, whom they regarded as their representative in the Cabinet, touching the guarantees which they desired the pledge of the Government to have incorporated in the local constitution for Lower Canada, a subject not then in the consideration of Parliament, and which was only to be submitted for consideration at the next session. On the seventh of March, three days before the vote was taken, Mr. Galt addressed a letter to these gentlemen, in reply to a letter from them dated the second of March, promising on the part of the Government:

1. That there should be a provision in the local constitution, that no change in the limits of constituencies, now returning English speaking members, should be made without the consent of two-thirds of the representatives of such constituencies present.

2. That there should be changes in the limits of Municipalites in the countries so represented, except under the General Municipal Law of Lower Canada.

3. Various changes in the Education Laws of Lower Canada in the interest of the Protestant minority.

4. The assent of Government to the purchase by County or Township Municipalities of unoccupied Crown Lands within their limits.

These promises were, it is presumed, considered satisfactory by the members of the Assembly to whom they were addressed, since all of them who were present voted for the Government scheme; while, if their votes had been cast on the other side, as it is fair to assume they would have been but for those pledges, privately and secretly given (then given instead of publicly in Parliament, lest other interests should take the alarm, or exact other concessions) that scheme would have been rejected by a majority of the Representatives of Lower Canada. This curious episode has been followed by consequences not less curious. During the late session of Parliament, the Government abandoned a measure intended to fulfil the most important of these pledges, that relating to the school laws of Lower Canada. Mr. Galt thereupon resigned, declaring at the same time, with strange inconsistency, that his colleagues were right in abandoning the measure—although they, equally with himself, were pledged to carry it as an integral part of their Confederation policy which, we have shown, would have broken down at a critical moment but for this very pledge.