The Herald.

VOL. III. CHARLOTTETOWN P. E. ISLAND, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 1866. NO. 8

THE HERALD

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EDWARD REILLY,

EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR,

at his Office, corner of Kent and Prince Streets.

TERMS FOR THE "HERALD."

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" " " half-yearly in advance, 0 10 0

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ALMANACK FOR NOVEMBER.

MOON'S PHASES.

New Moon, 7th day, 6h. 12m, morning, E.
First Quarter, 15th day, 9h. 2m., morning, S.E.
Full Moon, 22nd day, 6h. 2m., morning, W.
Last Quarter, 28th day, 10h. 52m., evening, N.E.

DAY MONTH.	DAY WEEK.	SUN rises	SUN sets	High Moon Wat	High Moon rises.		Day's length.
		h m	h m	h m	h m	h m	h m
1	Thursday	6 46	4 42	6 2	0 40	9	56
2	Friday	47	40	8 56	1 44		53
3	Saturday	49	37	9 49	2 44		49
4	Sunday	50	36	10 36	3 45		46
5	Monday	52	34	11 19	4 45		42
6	Tuesday	53	33	11 57	5 42		40
7	Wednesday	55	31	morn.	sets		36
8	Thursday	56	30	0 16	5 50		34
9	Friday	57	29	1 17	6 32		32
10	Saturday	59	27	1 57	7 16		29
11	Sunday	7 1	26	2 36	8 8		26
12	Monday	2	25	3 16	9 0		23
13	Tuesday	3	24	4 1	9 55		21
14	Wednesday	5	23	4 48	10 54		18
15	Thursday	7	22	5 40	11 56		15
16	Friday	8	21	6 33	morn.		13
17	Saturday	9	20	7 32	1 0		11
18	Sunday	10	19	8 31	2 8		9
19	Monday	12	18	9 30	3 17		6
20	Tuesday	14	17	10 29	4 28		3
21	Wednesday	15	4 16	11 24	5 42		1
22	Thursday	16	15	even.	rises		59
23	Friday	18	15	1 10	6 15		57
24	Saturday	20	15	2 4	7 16		55
25	Sunday	23	14	2 53	8 18		53
26	Monday	24	14	3 47	9 23		51
27	Tuesday	25	13	4 42	10 32	8	49
28	Wednesday	26	12	5 37	11 37		47
29	Thursday	26	12	6 42	morn.		45
30	Friday	27	12	7 27	0 38		40

PRICES CURRENT.

CHARLOTTETOWN, Nov. 23, 1866.

Provisions.		
Beef, (small) per lb.,		3d to 7d
Do by the quarter,		2½d to 5
Pork, (carcass)		4d to 5d
Do (small)		7d to 9d
Mutton, per lb.,		3d to 6d
Veal, per lb.,		3d to 5d
Ham, per lb.,		6d to 7d
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.,		
Flour, per lb.,		3½ to 3½d.
Oatmeal, per 100 lbs.,		16s to 16.s6d
Eggs, per dozen,		1s to 1s 1d
	Grain.	
Barley, per bushel,		3s 9d to 4s
Oats per do.,		2s 3d to 2s 5d
	Vegetables.	
Peas, per quart,		
Potatoes, per bushel,		1s 6d to 1s 9d
	Poultry.	
Geese,		2s to 3s
Turkeys, each,		3s to 6s
Fowls, each,		1s to 1s 3d
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,		75s 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.,		44c
Wool,		1s to 1s 3d
Sheepskins,		1s 6d to 2s 9d
Apples, per dozen,		2d to 4d
Partridge,		10d to 1s 3d

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Charlottetown, P. E. I
Nov. 22, 1866.

BRITISH PERIODICALS.

The Leade Quarterly Review, (Conservative.)
The Edinburgh Review, (Whig.)
The Westminster Review, (Radical.)
The North British Review, (Free Church.)
AND
Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, (Tory.)

THE interest of these Periodicals to American readers is rather increased than diminished by the articles they contain on our late Civil War, and though sometimes tinged with prejudice, they may still, considering their great ability and the different stand-points from which they are written, be read and studied with advantage by the people of this country, of every creed and party.

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Kent Street, April 25, 1866.

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Charlottetown, P. E. Island, July 20, 1866

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE EMPIRE.

BY THE HON. JOSEPH HOWE.

Under the Providence of God, after centuries of laborious cultivation, the sacrifice of much heroic blood, and the expenditure of a vast amount of treasure, the British Empire, as it stands, has been got together, and the question which is presented to us, in some form of Parliamentary or Newspaper disputation almost every week is, what is now to be done with it?

Two opinions appear to prevail. A great many persons are content to drift on without forethought or statesmanlike provision for the future, but others hold that it is the duty of the parent state to prepare the outlaying provinces for independence—to so group and organize as to inspire them, at the earliest possible period, with the ambition and the desire to dissolve the National connection and set up for themselves. They think that Great Britain, regardless of her own interests, should be content with the glory of founding, peopling and setting great provinces adrift. That they will prosper by the separation, and that she will share their prosperity and be secure of a moral and political influence, without care or cost, in proportion to the liberality of her conduct and to the sacrifices she has made. This party is reinforced, from time to time, by those who take a lower and more sordid view of the question—who think that Great Britain would hardly want an army or a navy, arsenals or dockyards, if she had no colonies; who charge them with sums borne on the estimates, but never credit them with their consumption, or with the sacrifices they make to defend the interests and to uphold the dignity of the Empire.—The parental relation is assumed to sanction this policy. Young men grow, and, when they are of age, marry and set up for themselves, and why should not colonies do the same? But the analogy is not perfect. One house would not hold all the married members of a large family, nor one estate maintain them. They scatter that they may live. They are kept in friendship by the domestic affections, and personal ties, which, in respect of distant communities, do not exist; and at the death of the founder of the family there is an estate to divide.

Not so with Colonies. Their life begin at a distance from the homestead. There are few personal attachments. There is no estate to divide, and no security that when they separate they may not drift into antagonism to each other, and to the parent country. The policy, then, of rearing them, with the thought of separation ever in their minds, of prematurely preparing them for separation, or of rudely casting them off, appears to me an unsound policy. The idea to be cultivated, instead of that of the parental relation, with its inevitable termination at the close of a very limited period, should rather be a partnership, which may last for centuries, and need not terminate at all, so long as it is mutually advantageous.

That Colonies have the right to break away and set up for themselves, if they are oppressed, will not at the present day be denied. That they will do this, if kindly and fairly dealt by, I hold to be the last "not proven." I would act as though it could not be proved. I would discountenance the idea of separation. I would have faith in the future—in our common brotherhood (which ought to count for something) even less than in the conviction, founded on our daily experience, that it is our interest to keep together.

It is sometimes thought that the Empire was weakened by conceding to the Colonies the system of responsible government. The very reverse is true. They would inevitably have been dispersed, sooner or later, had it not been conceded. This was a great conservative measure, as well as a substantial reform. So far as the British North American Provinces are concerned, proof of the correctness of this opinion was given in a letter which I addressed to Earl Russel in 1846. Ample evidence has been accumulating ever since. Not only were the Provinces presently saved by this concession, but it makes an organization, for national purposes, comparatively simple and easy for the future.

It is true that in some of the Colonies this system does not appear to be worked very adroitly. But it must be borne in mind that it is not taught in a horn book, but has to be wrought out with temper, tact and skill only to be acquired from experience. When called to the task of self-government, few of the public men in any of the Colonies were accustomed to the responsibilities of office; but the system is rapidly training them, and, as the circle widens, there will be less blundering, less temper, more skill, and a higher appreciation of precedent and authority.

Though, with the power of the purse, the right to have a Cabinet responsible to the House of Commons is popularly assumed to have been won by the people of England in 1688, the right was hardly secure, or the system very intelligibly worked, down to the close of the reign of George the Third. The undue pressure of the prerogative was the difficulty, just as the blundering Governors, or the undue pressure of the democratic element in some of the Colonies, may be the difficulty now; but the system which ultimately controlled the prerogative will control Governors and democracies. A man is laughed at in the Maritime Provinces now, who puts forward pretensions which he cannot justify by Parliamentary record; and so it will be, presently, in all the Colonies, as experience and good sense fortified by authority, are more eagerly drawn into the public service.

England has not been weakened by those municipal and parochial organizations which assume and exercise authority within certain well defined limits, and do a vast amount of valuable work which the general Government could never overtake, or do so well if it could; nor will the Empire be weakened by throwing upon the Provincial Legislatures and Colonial Municipalities all the responsibilities and labors of Government that do not conflict with the general laws and regulations which can only be wisely framed and administered by some central authority. This division of labor is now universally recognized and appreciated, and if all the outlying possessions of the crown were peopled with English speaking inhabitants, capable of self-government, the system might be extended to every part of the Empire. The presence of a foreign population, as in India and elsewhere, will for a long time make it doubtful to what extent political franchise can be conferred; but I can hardly imagine any state of society in which the people might not be gradually trained to the use of municipal privileges with great advantage. Assuming, then, that the powers conferred upon the English speaking Colonies leave them, as respects domestic administration, nothing to desire; and that, as regards Crown Colonies and foreign possessions and dependencies, our present system, subject to modifications from time to time, is the best that can be devised, it is apparent that but for external pressure, and danger from without, we might go on as we are without any material change. The Maori question in New Zealand, the land question in Prince Edward Island, and the "tacking" question in Melbourne, are but ripples on the surface of the general tranquility, and may soon be set right by a little firmness and discretion. As a general rule, we may rest upon the assurance that the outlying portions of the Empire are prosperous and contented; and, if peace could be maintained, the people of England, annually enlarging their trade and reducing their taxation, might be content to keep up, as they have hitherto done, the ordinary armament necessary for internal police, and the security of the seas, without calling upon the Colonies to aid them.

But we have no security for peace, or if there be any, it is only to be sought in such an organization and armament of the whole Empire as will make certainty of defeat a foregone conclusion to any foreign power that may attempt to break it.

This conviction was forced upon my mind, while endeavoring, under instructions from Her Majesty's Government, in 1855, to draw a few thousand soldiers from the United States, while not a man was moved, of the millions that we had to spare in every quarter of the globe, to reinforce, it might have been to save, the gallant little army fighting and perishing before Sebastopol. This subject has occupied many a leisure hour since, and I have never dwelt upon it without feeling that the question of questions for us all, far transcending in importance any other within the range of domestic or foreign politics, is, not how the Empire can be most easily dismembered, not how a province or two can be strengthened by a fort, or by the expenditure of a million of dollars, but how the whole Empire can be so organized and strengthened as to command peace or be impregnable in war.

Many people have, since 1855, been driven to think of this question. Passing over all the second and third rate powers, which possess no navies, and whose armies may always be neutralized by being balanced or broken against each other by skilful diplomacy, France, Russia and the United States grow with our growth, and loom up before the mind of every thoughtful British subject, as standing menaces, warning him to prepare for any eventuality.

Prussia is now coming forward as a fourth great power, and will presently control an extensive seaboard, behind which there will be a warlike population of twenty or thirty millions. In estimating her influence as well as her strength, it may be wise to remember that the German emigration to the United States has been as extensive as the Irish, that Germans swarm in the sea-board cities and in the Western States, that Frankfort was the chief mart for National Securities during the civil war, and that the sympathy between the Great Republic and the Fatherland is an element too apparent to be overlooked by diplomatists in any prudent calculation of forces.

A very distinguished person said, at the outbreak of the Crimean war, that our free institutions were about to be put upon their trial. Our free institutions were really in no danger, what was upon its trial was the mode in which we organize the physical force of the Empire, and that, as we have all since been compelled to acknowledge, was found to be sadly defective.

Combined with France we could only bring Russia to terms with half the fortresses in the Crimea frowning defiance at us; but the question naturally arises, what would we do were France and Russia combined against us? or should that combination, so familiar to the American mind, be formed between the fleets and armies of Russia and the United States for the humiliation of England? With France as an ally we might still have nothing to fear, but we ought to have something more secure to rely upon than the eccentricities of French politics or the life of a single man.

Russia, controlling so large a portion of the earth's surface, inhabited by seventy-four millions of people, obeying one mind with reverential awe, and in close neighborhood to our Eastern Provinces, is a formidable power, and the development of her great natural resources, inspired under the personal freedom recently acquired, may make her yet more formidable.

France, with a martial population of thirty-seven millions, a vast but compact territory, resting on two seaboards, with a powerful navy and a naval reserve, fostered with politic liberality on the banks and coasts of Newfoundland, would be a dangerous neighbor now that steam has bridged the Channel, even if we had, in that country, the ordinary securities of Constitutional Government for the preservation of peace. But we have them not. The will of one man controls all these vast resources, with a secrecy and directness which, in diplomacy and war, give great advantage over our system of check, accountability and free discussion; and although, at this moment, our relations with France are most amicable and friendly, a death or a revolution are events not so improbable as to justify the assurance that they may not at any moment occur.

Turning to the United States, we find our most formidable commercial rival, and, as matters stand, perhaps our least reliable friend and ally. I am not without some hope that by prudence, firmness and good humor, and by systematically setting public opinion right through American channels of circulation, as to the power, the public sentiment, and the designs of this country, we may yet be able to inform the masses who control the Governments so as to make war with Great Britain nearly impossible; but, in the present temper of the Republic, we have no security for peace, and we may as well, then, survey with discriminating forecast the strength and resources of the nation with which we may have to contend.

Assuming that under our present organization, or as matters would stand were the Colonies thrown off, a war were to break out between these Islands and the United States, the Republic would have the advantage in numbers now, of thirty-four millions to thirty; but the disproportion must annually increase, because they have a boundless territory to fill up, while the British Islands are occupied from shore to shore. The increase of the population in Ireland goes to the United States, and every twenty years they draw from the Mother Country as many people as there are in all Scotland. Visitors come here to see the wonders of the old world, but very few remain. Besides, those who go out, mingling at once with an unfriendly population, soon take a hostile tone, and as they keep up correspondence with friends at home, the Mother Country is weakened, in Ireland at all events, by the disaffection that those emigrants can propagate and encourage.

Perhaps there is no living Englishman who estimates more highly than I do, the accumulated wealth the large experience, and the perfect dicipline which Great Britian can bring to bear upon any contest; or who better knows with what heroism and self-devotion these Islands would be defended against any foreign attack. But yet I would be sorry to see them, even now, without any support from the outlying provinces, engaged in a war with the United States; and I cannot disguise from myself that twenty years hence their position will be much more perilous, and odds against them vastly more disproportionate. But if the United States were combined with either of the great Military and Naval Powers of Europe, the most sanguine lover of his country would scarcely desire to see her strength tried.

Now, I would lift this question above the range of doubt or apprehension, and prepare for all eventualities, by such an organization of the Empire as would enable the Sovereign to command its entire physicial force. If Russia, France, or the United States is involved in war to-morrow, the revenue and the manhood of the whole territory are at the disposal of the Executive; while, if we go to war, the whole burthen of sustaining it falls upon the people of these two small Islands. This is not fair, and, what is worse, our unprepared condition makes war at all times possible, sometimes imminent.

But it may be asked, suppose this thing to be desirable, how is it to be done? And I answer, as all other good things are done in this free country,—by propounding the policy, by discussion and argument, to be followed, when the public sentiment is prepared for it, by wise legislation.

I foresee the difficulties: in this and in all other cases there is a certain amount of indifference, of ignorance and of selfishness to be overcome; but I rely upon the general intelligence of the Empire to perceive the want, and upon its patriotism and public spirit to supply it. Surely if a Russin serf can be got to march from Siberia to the Crimea to defend his Empire, the Queen's subjects can be educated to know and feel that it is alike their duty and their interest to march anywhere to support their own.

The young men of Maine and Massachusetts rushed to protect their capital from rebellious fellow citizens, and I am sure, when once the possibility of a requisition is made familiar to the colonial mind, that the youths in our outlying Provinces would rush as eagerly to defend London from the foreign foe. But it may be said that the Russian obeys a central authority that it would be vain to dispute, and that the American fights for his perfect citizenship, which includes the control of his foreign policy and representation in the national council. This is the weak point in our case, but let us see if it cannot be met by such reasonable concessions and appeals to the good sense of our people as suit their practical turn of thought, and would give to the Colonies prepared for it a direct influence in the national councils, without disorganzing the political machinery already working so well.

The House of Commons, whatever may be its defects, enjoys the respect of the Empire, and I assume that, whatever may come hereafter, nobody wishes to see its composition and character very materially changed. How far representation in Parliament can be safely conceded to the outlying portions of the Empire, by what modes these members should be selected and distributed, to what extent they should be permitted to interfere, are questions beset with difficulties which I need not linger to state, but which have been pondered with some anxiety during the last ten years. I can see no solution of them all more simple and easy than this.

To treat all the Colonies, which have Legislatures, and where the system of responsible Government is in operation, as having achieved a higher political status than Crown Colonies or foreign dependencies, and to permit them to send to the House of Commons one, two, or three members of their cabinets, according to their size, population and relative importance.

The advantages gained by this mode of selection, assuming the principle of any sort of representation to be sanctioned, are various.

1. We get rid of all questions about franchise and the modes of election, which might or might not correspond to those which obtain in England.

2. We are secure of men truly representing the majority in each Colony, because they would speak in the name and bring with them the authority of the Cabinets and constituencies they represented.

3. We have no trouble about changing them, as they would sit till their successors, duly accredited, announced the fact of a change of administration.

4. We have no contested elections or questions about bribery and corruption to waste the time of Parliament.

5. We are secure by this mode, of obtaining the best men, because only the best can win their way into these Colonial Cabinets, of whom the flower would be selected by their colleagues to represent the intellect and character of each province on the floor of Parliament.

6. We do nothing more, in fact, than permit Colonial Ministers to defend their policy, and explain their conduct before Parliament, as British Ministers do now, thus training them in the highest school of politics for the better discharge of their duties at home

Technical difficulties of all sorts may be urged against the adoption of this proposition, but, for the present, I will assume that these may be overcome, if it is seriously entertained. To one or two objections, involving principle, I would for a moment invite attention.

It may be said that the introduction of these men by this mode would destroy the symmetry and violate the general principles upon which Imperial legislation is based; but I would respectfully submit that all our legislation springs out of a series of compromises. That this would only be another, and one quite in accordance with the general spirit of all the rest.

In the House of Lords the three kingdoms are variously represented, and the Dissenting interests are without any spiritual representation at all. The House of Commons presents but little simplicity of outline, but is the result of a series of compromises, between those already in possession of the seats and the growing wealth, population and intelligence outside. To distribute a certain number seats among great provinces, peopled by Englishmen, prepared to discharge all the duties of loyal subjects, would seem to be only a move in the same direction as all the others, by which a working legislature, representing all interests, but the colonial, has been secured, and surely the millions who are now claiming an extension of the franchise will hardly think it right that the millions beyond the seas, who are bound by British legislation, should have, in the Parliament which can at any moment plunge them into a war, no representation at all.

But it may be asked, would you allow those men to vote on English, Scottish and Irish questions? This is a matter of detail of easy adjustment. If I were a resident of these Islands I would say yes, let us hear what such men as Mr. Verdon, of Victoria, Mr. Galt, from Cadada, or Mr. Tilley, from New Brunswick, have to say even on domestic topics, because their testimony would be all the more valuable as they would have no interest in the matter. But if permitted to express their opinions, good taste would probably restrain Colonial gentlemen from mingling, but upon rare occasions, in purely local controversies. They would probably confine themselves to the exposition and defence of those measures for which they are at once responsible to the provinces they represented, and to the august assembly which must then form, as it does now, the high court of review for all Colonial questions.

Matters of foreign policy, they should not only be permitted, but invited to debate, because, upon the wise adjustment of these, depends the preservation of peace, in any breach of which the Provinces would be directly compromised. What more appropriate theme for British Americans to discuss than the relations between Great Britain and the United States? And I am quite sure that an earnest minded man, speaking good sense upon any of the varied questions that these relations involve, would be listened to with respect by the House of Commons, and would not be without influence in the great country which it might be sound policy to conciliate.

But take a purely Provincial question, and I select one at random, because it often attracts a good deal of public attention.—There are 60,000 Englishmen in the Colony of New Zealand, who hold a portion of the Le-