

# The Examiner.

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF POLITICS, LITERATURE AND NEWS.

EDWARD WHELAN

This is true Liberty, when Free-born Men, having to advise the Public, may speak free.—EURIPIDES.

[EDITOR AND PUBLISHER.]

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## Literature.

### OUR HOUSEHOLD QUEEN.

She comes with sunny laughter,  
And makes our home divine—  
Our household Queen—whose kisses,  
Are sweet as ripened wine,  
And in our arms she'll nestle,  
When evening's beauty dies;  
Like star hushed in the azure  
Of summer's wealthy skies!

Oh! we are never weary  
Of her fair looks and smiles;  
Her cheeks have dainty blushes—  
Two little crimson isles!  
And there are tints of beauty,  
About her night and day,  
That we feel the winter's breath,  
One blossom touched with May!

About us she will sparkle,  
Our growing star of love;  
Beauty-crowned and glory-dowered,  
Whitely bosomed as a dove!  
For she's our greatest treasure;  
We feel that she is given  
To light our life with splendour—  
A glory-spark from heaven!

And oh! the deepest dimples  
About her cheeks are seen—  
The rosy cups of beauty  
With lips of fruit between!  
And eyes that dance in brightness,  
Like orbs in silver set;  
And blue as bashful violets,  
With morning's jewels wet!

She wakes us in the morning  
With a melody of words;  
As from a bush of blossoms,  
Swim out the songs of birds.  
The ripest, sunniest gladness  
On her young heart springs up;  
Like fountain bubbling diamonds,  
Or wine in ruby cup!

She glides a wave of beauty,  
And home with glory fills;  
Like star smiles and glitters,  
O'er faintly moonlit hills.  
And when the day has ended  
She lives our angel-guest;  
Closes her dear eyes in slumber,  
Like bird within its nest.

### A GEM, PICKED UP BY THE WAY.

Alone I walked the ocean strand,  
A pebbly shell was in my hand;  
I stopped and wrote upon the sand  
My name—the year—the day.  
As onward from the spot I passed,  
One lingering look behind I cast—  
A wave came rolling high and fast,  
And washed my lines away.

And so, methought 'twill shortly be  
With every mark on earth from me;  
A wave of dark oblivion's sea  
Will sweep across the place  
Where I have trod the sandy shore  
Of Time, and been, to be no more;  
Of me, my frame, the name I bore,  
To leave no track or trace.

And yet, with Him who counts the sands,  
And holds the waters in His hands,  
I know a lasting record stands  
Inscribed against my name,  
Of all this thinking soul has wrought,  
Of all this thinking soul has thought,  
And from these fleeting moments caught  
For glory or for shame!

(From Blackwood's Magazine for December, 1856.)

### OUR INDIAN EMPIRE.

In ancient Rome, the triumphal processions that ever and anon passed along the Via Sacra, "purpling the street," served vividly to impress the minds even of the unthinking masses with the far-reaching extent and grandeur of the empire that owned the sway of the Legions. Stalwart Angli and blue-eyed Germans,—Persians and Parthians from their Orient hills and sands,—a queen from lonely Palmyra, Jews torn from Jerusalem, dusky slaves from the Nile,—paintings and godlike statues from Greece, alternating with troops of wild beasts of strange aspect or startling bulk from the African deserts,—passed in turn before the proud eye of the Roman multitude. Living symbols and brilliant samples of the various provinces and conquests were transported bodily and exhibited solemnly in the Imperial City. We have a homelier way of doing things now. Europe, as she gets older, is losing her regard for pageantry. Far in the depths of Scythia, indeed,—in a region then so waste that Roman Legionary never pressed its soil—we have just witnessed a sudden outburst of imperial pageantries, with the fame of whose magnificence Europe is still ringing, and which find a parallel only in the pages of Roman history, or in the sculptured processions of the ancient Emperors of the Orient. It needs symbol and ceremony, and a mighty dazzle at Moscow, to pierce the wastes of Muscovite darkness, and make known to the dull unlettered *mijik* the might and resources of the Czar. But the British people know and read, and their Government speaks to them simply through blue-books and the press. It is in this unostentatious way that, to the nation at large, is made known the condition of the various parts of our far-spread empire. From Canada and snowy Oregon, from Jamaica and the tropical Islands of the Gulf, from New Zealand and Australia, from India and our settlements in the Pacific, official reports are ever pouring into the little island of the North Atlantic which has bred the lordly race that owns all these possessions. These reports of our prefects are our true triumphal processions. And if they elicit much more fervid emotion and lo-pains than "saluted the purple Triumphs of the Roman chiefs, they at least tell their tale more clearly and to a wider audience, and give better assurance that the national rejoicing is not bestowed upon a mask, but upon a reality.

The proud phlegm natural to the Briton, and the familiarity with success taught him by the marvellous past of his nation, conspire to make him the most impossible of men

in presence of triumphs, though sufficiently impatient of failure or reverse. Silence with him is approbation. He is often most satisfied when he says nothing. As long as he is satisfied, he exhibits an indifference that must be provoking to those who strive for his regard. And if the statesmanly exploits be not done within the parent isle of his race—that goodly nook wherein he has garnered up wealth and power untold, and every acre, right or custom in which is sacred in his eyes,—but in one of our colonies or empires beyond the seas, it is hopeless to expect from John Bull the slightest mark of enthusiasm. Once a-year, and generally in the last days of the session, there is gone through in the House of Commons a piece of work which seems to be regarded by every one as a bore. A gentleman rises on the Ministerial benches, and, undismayed by the general secession of the House, delivers a three hours' speech to the thirty Members or so who still keep their places. At almost any time during the delivery of this oration the proceedings could be abruptly terminated by a "count-out;" but as it is not a question of home politics, the Minister is allowed to bring his lengthy address to a close. It is the Indian Budget speech; and the House has been listening to a report on the state and prospects of an empire one-half the size of Europe, and comprising an eighth part of the entire human race. But with the exception of some Manchester politician, who thinks that India grows too little cotton, or some lawyer, who holds a brief from a deposed Rajah, no one rises to comment or discuss,—the House turns with alacrity to other business, and the speech is left to be circulated and criticised by the press.

Our Indian Empire constitutes so vast a subject of inquiry that our national Representatives may be excused from plunging into its abysses, so long as matters go on smoothly. And that India does, on the whole, progress favourably, is our honest conviction, as well as, we conceive, a fair inference from the seeming apathy of our legislators. In so vast a fabric it is easy to pick out a defective stone, here or there, or even a buttress that does not look seemly by itself; but the same things may be found at home, where we have been planning and building, and taking down and rebuilding incessantly for generations; under much more favourable circumstances than have surrounded the builders of our foreign empire in the East. It is not, however, with the design of defending the East India Company's rule, or of discussing moot points, that we address ourselves to our present subject, but simply with the purpose of passing in review the leading features of our Indian Empire, as a theme worthy of national attention, and as a groundwork for any criticisms of detail which may be rendered necessary by the future.

British sway now dominates over the whole peninsula of India. All within the outer girdle of mountains, formed by the snow-capped Himalayas and the sterile Suleyman range, British power is supreme; and from Attock in the north-west, to Comorin in the south, two thousand miles of territory own the guardianship of the Viceroy of England. But here, on the very threshold, a grave error may be committed, if we do not discriminate. The defence and imperial government of the whole of India rests with Britain, but British India, the territories actually taxed and directly ruled by us, comprises only half the Peninsula. In round numbers, 690,000 square miles, and a hundred millions of people are directly under British rule; while 670,000 square miles, and fifty millions of people, are ruled by Native princes, protected for the most part, internally as well as externally, by the Company, but contributing little or nothing to the treasury at Calcutta. The consequence of this is, speaking generally, that we have to provide for the defence and imperial government of the whole of India, while we draw the revenue of only half of it. We need not wonder, then, that the Indian revenue should at times fall short of the charges upon it; or that the large surpluses occasionally acquired by the Mogul Emperors, ruling despotically over the entire peninsula, should be looked for in vain under the present regime. Moreover, not only are the revenues of half of India still exempted from our control, but the acquisition of many portions of our present territories has been accompanied by obligations so onerous, as to be creditable rather to the generosity than the wisdom of our Indian rulers. It will hardly be credited by the English public, that a million and a half sterling is annually due from the sore-depressed Indian treasury to a dozen deposed Nawabs and Rajahs, and their families, or to the descendants of the same for ever,—unless by good fortune they become extinct. All of these men (except the King of Delhi) were mere mushroom princes,—creatures of yesterday, counting sometimes but a single generation of brief-lived authority,—men who had raised themselves to the musnud by rebellion, assassination, or the sword,—representatives of no nationality, and liable at any time to be supplanted in the same way as they rose. They never dreamt of pensioning or paying tribute to their predecessors; and had we, when we established ourselves in their stead by as good a title as ever they possessed, treated them in a similar fashion, they could have had little reason to complain. Policy, indeed, in some cases, demanded that we should soften their descent from the musnud, and generosity dictated a similar course; but clearly the pensions given ought not to have been for all time, but in the shape of terminable and decreasing annuities. And when we find £160,000 still paid to the descendants of Meer Jaffer, a mock Nawab of Bengal, created by ourselves, (1) besides £90,000 to the families of former Nawabs of the same province,—£116,000 to the descendant of the Carnatic, a functionary likewise created by ourselves,—£118,000 to the descendant of the Rajah of Tanjore, a petty military chief,—£64,000 to the families of Hyder and Tippeco, descendants of an upstart usurper, and our bitterest enemy, who fought to the last, and with whom no terms were made,—and other such like pensions—we naturally regret that the weakness of the Company should in those times have been so great, or its discrimination so little, as to have burdened the future with such deplorable obligations, which hamper our empire, and for the sake of an unworthy few, lay a million and a half of needless taxation upon the backs of our Indian subjects.

Nothing can be done without money. Therefore, before considering what progress has been made in improving the social, industrial and political condition of our Indian empire, it behoves us to see what are the "ways and means" at the disposal of the Indian Government. At present, the gross revenue of British India amounts in round numbers to twenty-nine millions sterling; from which must be deducted the charges of collection, amounting to about four millions, and the pensions to native princes and other assignments under treaties amounting to two and a half millions,—leaving a net revenue from all our present possessions of twenty-two and a half millions. Three-fifths of the whole of this net revenue is derived from the land-tax and excise (the latter of these yielding only £1,000,000)—one-seventh from opium, and one-ninth from salt; customs and stamps yield about six

per cent. more; and the remainder is made up of various imposts, ordinary and extraordinary, the produce of which is trifling compared with their cost of collection. Of the expenditure, the military establishment alone consumes about fifty-six per cent., and the marine about two per cent.; the civil administration costs about twenty-five per cent., the home establishments about three per cent., and fourteen per cent. goes for the interest of money expended in acquiring the country,—being divided on stock and the interest of the Debt. The three Presidencies contribute in very different measures to the revenue. The Bengal presidency—including the North-west Provinces, Oude and the Punjab—with a net revenue of sixteen millions, yields a surplus of fully five and a half millions; Madras, with a net revenue of three and a quarter millions, gives a surplus of half a million; and Bombay, with a net revenue of two and a half millions, shows a deficit of a third of a million. Bengal is thus seen to be the most paying of the three presidencies; but as the opium tax may be considered rather as an imperial than a local source of revenue, and as two and a half millions sterling of this tax is raised in Bengal, this amount ought to be deducted in comparing the profitability of the separate presidencies; and a deduction of more than three-quarters of a million must on the same account be made from the revenue of Bombay. Madras grows no opium, and contributes not so far short of its fair share of revenue; but Bombay is in every respect the chief source of loss. The public debt of India amounts to about forty-eight millions, and there is also a bond debt at home of four millions,—and the interest upon these forms an annual charge on the revenue of two and a quarter millions.

The revenue of our Indian empire appears small when compared with that of Great Britain; but if there be deducted from each the amount of its public debt, it will be found that the available revenue of the two countries is not very dissimilar in amount. The great difference between the financial state of the two empires does not consist in the larger revenue enjoyed by the British Government in ordinary times, but in the capacity of the United Kingdom to greatly increase its revenue on extraordinary occasions, whereas our Indian territories cannot do so. The enormous amount of realised wealth in the British Isles forms a reservoir from which large drafts may be made by the Government in extraordinary times; but there is little accumulated wealth in India, the great mass of the people having just enough to procure themselves the means of existence. Hence the amazing elasticity of Britain's finances compared with those of India, or indeed with those of any other country.

In ordinary times the Indian revenue is equal to the charges upon it; and the Public Debt has been occasioned by the extraordinary expenses of war. Wars—wars forced upon us and inevitable—while adding new provinces to our empire, have been the great impediments to our financial progress. But it is childish to expect to get an empire without having to pay for it. The first Burmese war, in 1824-6, of itself cost fifteen millions of money. In 1835-6, at the close of Lord Bentinck's peaceful administration, the financial embarrassment produced by the Burmese war had been allayed, and there was a surplus of nearly a million and a half. "In the following year the surplus was a million and a quarter; in the next, three-quarters of a million. In the next year (1838-9) the surplus had altogether disappeared, and the awkward word 'deficit' appeared in the accounts. Then came the Afghan war. A British army was pushed across the Indus; and the deficit for the year 1839-40 reached the alarming amount of more than two millions sterling. From this time to the year 1848-9 there has been an average deficiency of a million and a half a-year." In consequence, the Debt, which was under thirty millions in 1836, reached nearly forty-seven millions in 1850. In the following year a surplus re-appeared, to the extent of half a million, and a similar surplus was obtained in 1852-3; but in the three years which have elapsed since then, there has been incurred a deficit of nearly six millions. This deficit, however, unlike its predecessors, is no loss; for it has been occasioned by the Government expenditure on public works, which will soon be sources of profit to the State,—and also by paying off a portion of the Indian Debt, on occasion of the conversion of the Five-per-cent. loan into Three-and-a-half per cents. To show the true state of their case, we may mention that the estimated deficit for the current year (1856-7) is £1,635,520, while the amount to be expended on public works is £1,734,000; so that, but for this profitable outlay on public works, the yearly revenue would more than equal the yearly expenditure.

(To be continued.)

## Correspondence.

[FOR THE EXAMINER.]

### MUNICIPAL COUNCILS.

Having lived for ten years under the operation of Municipal Councils in a sister Province, I conclude that a faithful relation of my experience of the advantages resulting from those institutions, would be well worthy the attention of your tarry-at-home readers at the present juncture, when it is contemplated by our intelligent and patriotic legislators to institute such Councils in this Island.

One of the greatest advantages is the permission to choose all local office-bearers from the midst of the scene of their future operations. These have proved to be far more efficient than the old Bench of Magistrates and other public officials, residing in a distant county town, as the former were, and more conversant with the necessities of their respective Municipalities, and more interested in their renewal. Another advantage is the institution of local offices, as those of sub-Treasurer, School Inspector, Road Commissioner, &c. Now, local Councilors, being residents within the Municipality, are far more qualified for selecting "the right men for the right places" than a Governor and Council, residing in a distant Town or City, whom it would be preposterous to expect to be familiar with the circumstances of every district of the Colony, or with those best qualified to occupy the necessary offices of each. Another advantage is the appropriation of moneys collected in the Municipality to local improvements, instead of going to the general Treasury, to be appropriated to general purposes, and possibly never to the benefit of the Municipality which contributed them. It is also a great advantage to a Municipality to have its public affairs attended to with greater promptitude than by any Parliament, as Councils can quite agreeably assemble quarterly for the transaction of business, while Parliament cannot be expected to meet oftener than once a year; and then be harassed by the multitudinous affairs of various localities, none of which they can appreciate a title so well as resident local Councilors. Business can

also be transacted more economically both by Councils and the public, because all parties residing near home, they do not necessarily incur any considerable expense. But perhaps the greatest advantage of all is the superior thoroughness and justice with which public business is transacted by local Councils. Office-bearers having to attend only to the limited business of their own single Municipality, have far more leisure than those who have successively to take into consideration the infinite and intricate affairs of a whole Colony. The School Inspector, for instance, having but few schools to inspect, could devote half a day to the examination of each school; consequently each would be more thoroughly examined, and his report more comprehensive and accurate than if he were pressed for time, and attempt to inspect four schools per day; and so of other offices. There is also far greater chance for justice being done to merit than when public business is all entrusted to Parliament or Heads of Departments, residing too remote to allow them to judge for themselves of the merits of parties or cases. One more advantage I must not omit to enumerate, viz: that the institution of local Councils would obviate all necessity for D. Maclean's proposed annual Parliaments. If the experience of Canadian legislators taught them the inadequacy of quadrennial Parliaments, to attend to the multitudinous affairs of many localities with which they could not possibly be conversant, thus suggesting the necessity of local Councils, surely annual Parliaments must be still less adequate. But I have already sufficiently demonstrated that several local Councils can transact the public business of their respective districts more efficiently than one Colonial Parliament, whether annual or otherwise. But pray, Mr. Editor, can you tell from what source has D. Maclean learned that Councils have failed in Lower Canada? I am a constant reader of Lower Canadian papers, but have not yet noticed the most distant hint of the asserted failure in any of them, unless the Editor infers his assertion from the fact of their failing to pay their subscriptions for a contemplated railroad from Montreal to Ottawa, for which the Legislature refused to grant a charter. Don't you think, Sir, they have done right in refusing to pay for value never received? What would you think of the proprietor of a steamer who would insist on recovering from our Government the sum which they had offered for carrying the mails, while he had never furnished the steamer? Would it be correct to affirm that the Government had failed? I trust not.

CANADIENNE.

Head of St. Peter's Bay, January 23, 1857.

### VOTE BY BALLOT.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ISLANDER.

SIR,—My last two letters to the *Islander* were to inform the inhabitants that although Republican institutions and vote by ballot are sufficient to preserve the rights of an honest and well-disposed community, yet when a community becomes demoralized, and a party of unjust and wicked men combine to defraud the rest, those institutions can be made to subserve their purpose; because corruption can be practised and easier concealed by the ballot-box than by voice elections. My first letter of the 10th November, which was a preface to the second, was printed in small type, so that few could notice it; and at the outset of your comments upon my second letter, you say it is not true. My object in publishing the letter was also to put the people on their guard, that they should not be imposed on by captious objections to the present form of Government, nor led astray by specious promises of vote by ballot, &c., to induce them to return to the old system. It is, therefore, doubly necessary for me to show from whence I obtained my information. First, to vindicate what I have published, and, second, to let the people see and judge for themselves whether I ought to be believed. I, therefore, give below some extracts which I have taken from an address of the Vigilance Committee to the people of California, published in the *Humboldt Times*, June 21st, 1856, as follows:—

"For years they have patiently waited and striven in a peaceable manner, and in accordance with the forms of law, to reform abuses which have made our City a by-word. Fraud and violence have foisted every effort, and the laws to which the people look for protection, while distorted and rendered effete in practice, so as to shield the vile, have been used as a powerful engine to fasten upon us tyranny and misrule. As Republicans, we looked to the ballot-box as our safeguard and safe remedy, but so effectively and so dextrously was the vote deflected in it by fraud, so entirely outwitted by ballot-boxes, that through fraud at midnight, or multiplied by the false counts of judges and inspectors of elections at noonday—that many doubted whether the majority of the people were not utterly corrupt.

"Organized bands of men from mercenary and corrupt motives have paraded out offices among themselves, or sold them to the highest bidder—have provided themselves with convenient tools as clerks, inspectors and judges of elections, and by cunningly contrived ballot-boxes, with false sides and bottoms so prepared, that by means of a spring or slide, spurious tickets concealed therein previous to the election, could be mingled with genuine votes. Of all this we have the most irrefragable proof—that felons and criminals equally as bad have thus controlled the public funds and property—amassed fortunes without having done an honest day's work with their heads or hands."

Some of the above words I have placed in italics, though not so in the original address.

These extracts appear to suit the usurpers of the lands in this Island, as well as if they had sat for the picture. All the Political Alliance wanted, was to give them the offices in the first place, which would have given them the command of both revenue and rental, and then vote by ballot to secure them in the possession for the time to come. For there can be no doubt when they proposed vote by ballot they had their tools in view, to make false returns at future elections in order to keep themselves in power, and to follow the example of the felons and criminals of California. Where fraud and corruption have gained the ascendancy in ruling the country, there appears to be no other relief for the honest and industrious portion of the community, than to take the matter in their own hands, and purify society.

The method which I proposed for the election of the Legislative Council is the same in substance as a resolution introduced by me to the House of Assembly; and I have seen no reason to alter my opinion. I am aware that an Act for the election of the Legislative Council in Canada has received the royal assent, and that the members are elected. But that is no proof of the working of the machine. If it had been in operation for years, and found to answer a good purpose, it might then serve for an example to other Provinces.

If the officers of Government were elected by the whole people, as I understand you to say, still there would be no responsibility. Men, when they are elected, might act very differently to what they promised at their election, and from what the people expected of them. But the people could not remove them; their election could not be recalled. But under Responsible Government the officers are constantly watched, and their acts must have the approval of a majority of the people's representatives, who can remove them by a vote when they have no confidence in them, and it is left to the people to choose again. Men whom a majority can support in office is equal to an election of the whole people.