

and personal friends. On the morning of the 29th Feb'y some days after the communication was made through Mr. Dodd, I met a personal friend of Lord Falkland's and my own, in Dutch Town. We discussed the state of affairs, and expressed similar opinions, as to the perplexed aspect which they presented. I had meditated on a mode of extricating the Governor, by a sacrifice purely personal, which I then resolved on. My friend consented to carry a note which was to be burnt if the proposition was rejected—to be returned if His Lordship declined to entertain it. The note, which I hold in my hand, was written and sent that forenoon. The pledge of secrecy required, and which was essential to the success of the measure, was refused, and the note returned; whether for his Lordship's advantage, or the peace of the Province, the Committee will judge by its contents:

My Lord:—

The small majority which supports your Government, and the strength of the Opposition, make it desirable, for the peace of the country, that there should be such an arrangement between the contending Parties as will give the requisite support to the Administration, and at the same time be satisfactory to the country. This could not be done on the basis proposed in your Lordship's letter, for various reasons. I think it may be accomplished if two individuals, one on each side, to whom strong exceptions are taken by the adverse parties, were to waive their claims, for the sake of peace—and then the difficulties would be over.

As your Lordship is aware of the delicacy necessary in making these suggestions, and as I have yet no assurance that others would concur, I have taken this mode of ascertaining, whether, in the event of my yielding any claims I may be supposed to have, to some other Liberal less objectionable, your Lordship would be disposed to consult the feelings of the Opposition, by a corresponding removal of an individual on the other side.

I trust your Lordship will do me no injustice, by supposing that I have any interest in this matter—as, in the event of such an arrangement being made, I have other views, which would preclude me from accepting office in a Government, of which I was not a Member.

I have the honor to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's obedt. Servt.

JOSEPH HOWE.

Feb 29.

This was the temper and spirit in which I acted, with one single object, down to the 29th of February. The 'Pre-tensions' Despatch appeared in the Gazette that evening. The Note was read to Mr. Dodd the next morning—but, after that ill judged publication in the Gazette, the whole feeling of the Liberal Party was changed. With these plain facts before them, this Committee will judge whether I have deserved, at the Lieutenant Governor's hands, the treatment I have received—whether the charges of selfishness and ambition, showered upon me by the Government scribes, require any other answer.

Let me turn your attention, Mr. Chairman, to the subsequent negotiation in July. The responsibility of rejecting the overtures made rests not upon me. I do not complain that, in this case, the notes which passed are published—although I must confess that, in my judgment, the mode will be found strangely inconvenient, if it is to be followed hereafter. At home, negotiations for the formation or strengthening of a Government, are conducted by the Sovereign in the royal closet, or through some distinguished person, in the most confidential manner. The main facts involved in those negotiations are disclosed to Parliament, if there exists a paramount necessity; but the communications which pass, and which often include much curious matter, are rarely given to the world. If they were to be, in all cases, the confidence so essential to the

security and independent action of the Crown, would be destroyed. A Governor, whose advisers have ordinary tact and discretion, will conduct his negotiations in such a way that, if his difficulties are not removed, his embarrassments will not be increased. What was done in this case? Five notes were written to five different gentlemen, offering seats in Council, in which the name of a person was mentioned, and marked with disapprobation, who sought no favor from the Governor, and whose common rights of citizenship were violated by this gratuitous attack upon him. Those who advised this course had their own peculiar objects. To proscribe an opponent they thought was to crush him—to break down the bridge behind Lord Falkland, was to prevent the possibility of his escape. When his Lordship put his name to these absurd letters, failure was stamped upon the whole negotiation—a crime was imputed which had been confirmed by no tribunal, the Crown was made to accuse a subject without stating the grounds of the accusation. A political party was asked to countenance, to be parties to this strange impeachment—to come into the government, and aid their old enemies to plant their feet on the neck of an old friend. What followed? I speak not now of the conversations which occurred between the Attorney General, and my friend Mr. Uniacke—of these I know nothing, but I am talking of what passed when the liberal party met to consider the proposition. With one voice they rejected it, without my interference. The whole aim, and scope, and object of this despatch, is negatived by the combined action of the entire party. The negotiation was at an end—it had failed, and Lord Falkland was still more deeply committed, without being relieved from his difficulties. What again was the conduct of the man he delights to denounce and proscribe—whose grasping ambition is the theme of his household scribbles, who he proclaims to Lord Stanley has no influence, and yet will be *de facto* Governor, if he admits him to his Council? Finding this clumsy intrigue unanimously resisted by the Liberals, I thought only of the peace of the country. I then stated, that though I cared nothing for the public proscription of myself, the precedent was dangerous, and ought not to be sanctioned. That if it was withdrawn, and power given to the Attorney General and Mr. Uniacke, to form a Council of nine or ten from the two parties, that my claims should not stand in the way of any fair and honorable arrangement. From the treatment I had received from Lord Falkland, I had much to forget before I could enter his Government, but that I would support it, either in or out, if my friends were satisfied. On this basis Mr. Uniacke was empowered to negotiate, and, whatever may have passed between him and others, I am quite satisfied that he acted honorably up to the spirit of his instructions. Finding that the proscription was to be adhered to, and that the Liberal party would not proceed a step till it was withdrawn, he communicated the fact, and abandoned the negotiation. These are the facts, as far as they came to my knowledge, and the Committee and the country can now judge whether the opposition were ready to agree to the exclusion of Mr. Joseph Howe. Mr. Howe was willing, as usual, to agree to his own exclusion, but Lord Falkland's sage Councillors thought more of revenge, than of his honor or the peace of the country.

Mr. Chairman, I fear not the judgment of the Colonial Secretary, nor of the country, when my conduct throughout this trying year, is fairly stated. The time has come when I must do myself justice. An honest fame is as dear to me as Lord Falkland's title is to him—his name may be written in Burke's Peerage, mine has no record, but on the hills and valleys of the country which God has given us for an inheritance, and must live, if it lives at all, in the hearts of those who tread them. Their confidence and respect must be the reward of their public servants. But if these noble Provinces are to be preserved, those who represent