Before long, we anticipate the arrival of despatches from the Colonial Office of a favourable character; if, however, contrary to the expectations we have been led to entertain, and to the favourable assurances we have received, our hopes should not be fully and promptly realised, there is but one course open to the Assembly in our judgment. That course is pointed out by Mr. Hume, and has been successfully adopted by the neighbouring colonies; a direct and manly appeal to the British Parliament by the people's representatives, and we assume the responsibility of adding, an entire suspension of all further legislative action until

the inalienable right of self-government be conceded to Newfoundland.

Such is an outline of the measures which we have adopted, to give effect to the resolutions of the Assembly regarding the objects of our mission. That they will be crowned with the full measure of success, which we have reason to hope and believe, a short time will decide; much more has been achieved by it than our opponents anticipated; it remains for the Assembly to take advantage of the improved condition of its prospects. It has taken a high and honourable stand against the upholders of the present system of misrule; and has thus commanded the respect of at least one of the first Ministers of the Crown, and many other influential statesmen. The ultimate and speedy triumph of the cause in which we have been engaged is no longer a matter of mere speculation or honest doubt. The people have nobly done their part; they await with restless anxiety the decision of the Imperial authorities: their happiness, and the fate of this colony hang upon that decision. We repeat that we have every reason to confide in the principles and professions of the Ministry, and trust that the necessity for extreme constitutional measures may not arise; but "come weal or come wee," things cannot be worse than they are; for, under the present Government, ruin is impending over this fine old colony. Therefore no man who has laid his hand to the plough, and is sincere in his professions for the regeneration of our institutions, and the improvement of the country, will be so craven-hearted as to look back. The time for half-measures has passed away; nothing but the full concession of justice will satisfy the people, and a justification can no longer be desired or sought by their representatives for supporting any government not based upon the constitutional principles of executive responsibility.

We have the honour to submit this report, coupled with the general observations which we have taken the liberty of making, with the utmost respect.

> Philip F. Little. (signed) Robert J. Parsmis.

St. John's, 19 January 1854.

Enclosure 3, in No. 2.

Encl. 3, in No. 2.

To his Grace the Right Honourable the Duke of Newcastle, Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonial Department, &c. &c. &c.

May it please your Grace, WE, the Commons of Newfoundland, in Legislative Session convened, having in the last Session of the Legislature addressed your Grace on the right of the people of this old and loyal British dependency to the enjoyment of responsible government, for the better administration of its affairs, and having deemed it expedient to depute two Members of this House to proceed to London for the purpose of placing the views of the Assembly more clearly before the Imperial Government, beg to tender our cordial acknowledgments to your Grace for the flattering manner in which you were pleased to receive these gentlemen, and the hopes you held out that justice should at last be done to this colony, no less proverbial for the well-tried loyalty of its bardy and enterprising population, than remarkable as the only one on this side of the Atlantic of truly British origin, subject to the almost obsolete and arbitrary principles of irresponsible rule, administered by a Governor and 10 irresponsible Crown nominees, constituting a Council, and exercising executive and legislative powers in direct opposition to the popular will.

Convinced from long practical experience of the hopelessness of working such a system for the public welfare, necessity obliged us, in accordance with the well understood wishes of the people, declared at several general and partial elections of representatives in public meetings, by the independent portion of the press, and repeatedly affirmed by three distinct Houses of Assembly, to appeal to the parent Government for its abolition, as its tendency has been found to retard the improvement of the colony, to sacrifice the best interest of the industrial population, to involve the Government in unnecessary and ruinous debt by its extravagance, to produce public discontent and constant collisions between the co-ordinate branches of the Legislature, our functions have been rendered altogether subservient to the dictation of the Council, acting in their double capacity of Executive and Legislative Councillors, and equally irresponsible to the public, to the Crown, and to the representative branch for their conduct. Obliged to impose heavy taxes on the industry of the people for the support of this Government, we are denied the power to secure the faithful expenditure of such taxes, and, in fact, our only recognised use seems to be to levy taxes, and vote the salaries of

Under such a deplorable state of affairs, under the feelings of humiliation produced in our minds by the frequent violations of our undoubted privileges by the Council, and the contempt 273.