British Consul

THE MONTREAL COURIER.

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TO THE PEOPLE OF CANADA.

...and magnitude of the evils that afflict ...y, and the universal and increasing dis... of its material interests, call upon all per... ...ated by a sincere desire for its welfare, to ... for the purpose of inquiry and preparation, ... to the adoption of such remedies as a ... and dispassionate investigation may suggest. ...ge to all parties, original, and remedy, but ...ed upon the advantage of co-operation for ...ence of a common duty to ourselves and ...ty, treating out of a common necessity, ...mmend, in view of a brighter and hap... ...to merge in oblivion all past differences, ...ent character, or attributable to whatever ... is appealing to our Fellow-Colonists to ...ed in this our most needful duty, we ...ge them, as they desire a successful ...for the welfare of their country, to enter ...ck, at the momentous crisis, in the same ...spirit.

...ead of the ancient policy of Great ...thereby she withdrew from the Colonies ...ed protection to her markets, has produced ...ed, but as effects upon Canada. In sur... ...ed condition of the country, what but ...ty meets the eye? Our Provincial ...and Civic Corporations, embarrassed; ...ing, and other securities, greatly depre... ...mercantile and agricultural interests ...prosperous; real estate scarcely saleable ...ing wasting; our unrivalled rivers, lakes, and ...ed canals; whilst commerce abandons ...; the circulating capital amassed under a ...able system, is dissipated, with none from ...ent to replace it!! Thus, without available ...ns to effect a loan with Foreign States, ...the Mother Country, although offering ...equally superior to that which readily obtains ...ed from the United States and Great ...ons other than Colonists are the appli... ...ppled, therefore, and shackled in the full ...of private and public enterprise, this panacea ...the British Crown—our country—stands be... ...and in humiliating contrast with its immes... ...neighbors, exhibiting every symptom of a ...ing to decay.

...ant water power, and cheap ...ally in Lower Canada, we have yet no ...ent capital; not even the most sanguine, ...under altered circumstances, anticipate the ...growth, or advent from foreign parts, of either ...enterprise to embark in this great source ...ed wealth. Our institutions, moreover, ...the impress of permanence which can ...ment security, and inspire confidence; and ...Canadian market is too limited to tempt the ...capitalist.

...the adjoining States are covered with a ...of farming railways, Canada possesses but ...; such, together, scarcely exceed 50 ...miles, and the stock in two of which is ...depreciation of from 50 to 80 per cent.—a ...of the torpor co-spreading the land. ...and form of Provincial Government is ...and so expensive as to be ill suited to the ...of the country; and the necessary re... ...demands to a distant Government, im... ...acquainted with Canadian affairs, and ...indifferent to our interests, is anomalous.

Yet, in the event of a rupture be... ...the most powerful nations of the world, ...must become the battle-field and the suf... ...their little interests might be involved ...of quarrel or the issue of the contest.

...ommotions of political parties and fac... ...tions, often leading to violence, and ...civil war, seem not to have abated ...or is there, at the present moment, any ...of accumulation. The ana... ...becomes daily more threatening to ...peter, and under our existing institutions ...little hope is discernible of a peaceful ...reform administration of our affairs, but ...and, to all appearance, accumulate until ...causes impracticable. In this view ...man, any course that may promise to ...party distinctions and place entirely ...between the people, must be fraught with ...advantages.

...the Statesmen of the Mother Country—...acute observers of the neighboring ...on Canada—and in all British North ...amongst all classes, there is a strong per... ...tion that a political revolution in this ...is near. Such forebodings cannot results ..., and in place, moreover, a tendency to ...ents to which they point. To the mean... ...injury results to Canada from the ...anticipation upon the more desirable ...others, who naturally prefer a country ...and permanent forms of government to ...transition.

...advert to some of the causes of our ...we would consider how far the reme... ...proposed possess sound and rational ...to justify their adoption:—

...the revival of protection in the markets of ...Kingdom."

...assumable in a sufficient degree, and ...a long period of years, would ame... ...of many of our chief interests, ...of the Empire forbids the anticipation. ...would be but a partial remedy. The ...the Mother Country demand cheap food; ...change from protection to free trade ...that ruin which the first has done ...

"The protection of home manufactures."

...this might encourage the growth of a ...interest in Canada, yet, without ac... ...United States market, there would a ...expansion of that interest, from the ...consumers, to work any result that could be ...remedy" for the numerous evils of ...complain.

...Federal Union of the British American ...

...advantages claimed for that arrangement are ...between the different Provinces, and a ...governmental expenditure. The attain... ...latter object would be problematical, and ...anticipated from the former might be ...by legislation under our existing system. ...of the Sister Provinces would not bene... ...timber, for they have a surplus of that ...own forests; and their demand for ...products would be too limited to absorb ...supply. Nor could Canada expect any ...to her manufacturing industry from ...A Federal Union, therefore, would ...

...Independence of the British North ...Colonies as a Federal Republic."

...abolition of its new institutions from ele... ...to disorganization—the formation of trea... ...Foreign Powers—the acquirement of a ...rank among the nations—would, we ...an over-match for the strength of the .... And, having regard to the powerful ...of States contiguous with itself, the ...military defences would be too costly to con... ...as a boon, whilst it would not, any ...Federal Union, remove those obstacles ...our material prosperity.

...Unrestricted Free Trade with the United ...would be the products of the farm, the for... ...mass."

...this would yield but an instalment of ...advantages which might be otherwise ex... ...free interchanges of such products would ...manufactures to our country. It ...in the North American Continent for ...It would neither so amend our institu... ...more stability nor ensure confidence in ...; nor would it allay the violence ...in the slightest degree, entirely many ...evils.

...all the remedies that have been suggested ...acknowledged and unalterable ills with ...country is afflicted, there remains but one ...It propounds a sweeping and ...change in our political and social condition ...considerations which demand our ...attention. This remedy consists in a ...and Peaceful Separation from British Connection and a Union upon equitable terms with the great North American Confederacy of Sovereign States.

We would premise that towards Great Britain we entertain none other than sentiments of kindness and respect. Without her consent we consider Separation as neither practicable nor desirable. But the Colonial policy of the Parent State, the avowals of her leading Statesmen, the public sentiments of the Empire, present unmistakeable and significant indications of the appreciation of Colonial Connection. That it is the desire of England to invest us with the attributes and compel us to assume the burdens of independence is no longer problematical. The threatened withdrawal of her troops from other Colonies—the continuance of her military protection to ours, lies only on the condition that we shall defray the attendant expenditure, betokens intentions towards our country, against which it is weakness in us not to provide. An overruling conviction, then, of its necessity, and a high sense of the duty we owe to our country, a duty we can neither disregard nor postpone, impel us to entertain the idea of Separation; and whatever negotiations may eventuate with Great Britain, a grateful liberality on the part of Canada should mark every proceeding.

The proposed Union would render Canada a field for American capital, into which it would enter as freely for the prosecution of public works and private enterprise as into any of the present States. It would equalize the value of real estate upon both sides of the boundary, thereby probably doubling at once the entire present value of property in Canada, whilst, by giving stability to our institutions and introducing prosperity, it would raise our public, corporate, and private credit. It would increase our commerce both with the United States and Foreign Countries, and would not necessarily diminish to any great extent our intercourse with Great Britain, into which our products would for the most part enter on the same terms as at present. It would render our rivers and canals the high way for the immigration to, and exports from, the West, to the incalculable benefit of our country. It would also introduce manufactures into Canada as rapidly as they have been introduced into the Northern States; and to Lower Canada especially, where water privileges and labour are abundant and cheap, it would attract manufacturing capital, enhancing the value of property and agricultural produce, and giving remunerating employment to what is at present a comparatively non-producing population. Nor would the United States merely furnish the capital for our manufactures. They would also supply for them the most extensive market in the world, without the intervention of a Custom House Officer. Railways would forthwith be constructed by American capital as feeders for all the great lines now approaching our frontiers; and railway enterprise in general would doubtless be as active and prosperous among us as among our neighbours. The value of our agricultural produce would be raised at once to a par with that of the United States, whilst agricultural improvements and many of the necessaries of life, such as tea, coffee, and sugar, would be greatly reduced in price.

The value of our timber would also be greatly enhanced by free access to the American market, where it bears a high price, but is subject to onerous duty. At the same time, there is every reason to believe that our shipbuilders, as well at Quebec as on the Great Lakes, would find an unlimited market in all the ports of the American Continent. It cannot be doubted that the shipping trade of the United States must greatly increase. It is equally manifest that, with them, the principal material in the construction of ships is rapidly diminishing, while we possess vast territories, covered with timber of excellent quality, which would be equally available as it is now, since under the Free Trade system our vessels would sell as well in England after Annexation as before.

The simple and economical State Government, in which direct responsibility to the people is a distinguishing feature, would be substituted for a system at once cumbrous and expensive.

In place of war and the alarms of war with a neighbor, there would be peace and amity between this country and the United States. Disagreements between the United States and her chief if not only rival among nations would not make the soil of Canada the sanguinary arena for their disputes, as under our existing relations must necessarily be the case. That such is the unenviable condition of our state of dependence upon Great Britain is known to the whole world, and how far it may conduce to keep prudent capitalists from making investments in the country, of wealthy settlers from selecting a fore-doomed battle-field for the home of themselves and their children, it needs no reasoning on our part to elucidate.

But other advantages than those having a bearing on our material interests may be foretold. It would change the ground of political contest between races and parties, alloy and obliterate those irritations and conflicts of rancour and recrimination which have hitherto disfigured our social fabric. Already in anticipation has its harmonious influence been felt—the harbinger may it be hoped of a lasting oblivion of disagreements among all classes, creeds, and parties in the country. Changing a subordinate for an independent condition, we would take our station among the nations of the earth. We have, now, no voice in the affairs of the Empire, nor do we share in its honors or emoluments. England is our Parent State, with whom we have no equality, but towards whom we stand in the simple relation of obedience. But as citizens of the United States the public service of the nation would be open to us,—a field for high and honorable distinction on which we and our posterity might enter on terms of perfect equality.

Nor would the amicable Separation of Canada from Great Britain be fraught with advantages to us alone. The relief to the Parent State from the large expenditure now incurred in the military occupation of the country,—the removal of the many causes of collision with the United States, which result from the contiguity of mutual territories so extensive,—the benefit of the larger market which the increasing prosperity of Canada would create, are considerations which, in the minds of many of her ablest Statesmen, render our incorporation with the United States a desirable consummation.

To the United States also the Annexation of Canada presents many important inducements. The withdrawal from their borders, of so powerful a nation, by whom in time of war the immense and growing commerce of the lakes would be jeopardized—the ability to dispense with the costly but ineffectual revenue establishment over a frontier of many hundred miles—the large accession to their income from our Customs—the unrestricted use of the St. Lawrence, the natural highway from the Western States to the ocean, are objects for the attainment of which the most substantial equivalents would undoubtedly be conceded.

FELLOW-COLONISTS:

We have thus laid before you our views and convictions on a momentous question—involving a change, which, though contemplated by many of us with varied feelings and emotions, we all believe to be inevitable;—one which it is our duty to provide for, and lawfully to promote.

We address you without prejudice or partiality,—in the spirit of sincerity and truth,—in the interest solely of our common country,—and our single aim to its safety and welfare. If to your judgment and reason our object and aim be at this time designed laudable and right, we ask a exhibition of your characteristic and dare all, without distinction of origin, party, or creed, that earnest and cordial co-operation in such lawful, prudent, and judicious means as may best conduce to our common destiny.

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Glass, H W Leland, W Phelan, Wm Burbridge, W W Reedy, H Stephens, W S Austin, J Adams, I Norton, J L Leperdon, MD, Michel Kelly, P Murphy, Patrick Murry, Jas Barry, M O'Keefe, Joe O'Keefe, Michael Gleason, Wm Bain, James Dalton, A Ryan, John Cassier, John Dorion, Patrick Cane, P Flynn, Patrick Murray, Richard Shaney, Thos Shelly, Edwd Gowan, James Cosan, Jas Flynn, Michael Ryan, James Carroll, John Mooney, Jas Carroll, Wm Bergin, Thos Eccles, Geo Cutler, D W Eager, Edw Sharpe, Jas Dunbar, S P Tibbs, H McMillan, Louis Valiquey, Bernard Kane, Homer Taylor, Walter Lyle, Wm Galt, Wm Robertson, John Taylor, George Gray, Wm Beattie, John Bonner, John O'Connor, Edw O'Connor, Robt Macintosh, Wm Park, Thomas Bowerbank, Wm Gunn Wm L Eager, William Matheson, John G Day, James Hay, Michael Murphy, Owen Conroy, Jos Wright, N Power, Wm Murphy, John Ryan, Peter McShane, James Seery, Jeremiah Murphy, James Welsh, John Sanders, James Halsey, Geo Stacy, Dominick O'Hara, Jas Parker, Wm Parker, Robt Parker, Edward Flynn, M Burns, George Von Buskirk, A Gard, Matthew Longmoore, William Dancy.

HUNGARY.

KOSSUTH'S LETTER TO LORD PALMERSTON.

WIDDIN, (TURKEY,) Sept. 20.

Your Excellency is, no doubt, already informed of the fall of my country—unhappy Hungary, assuredly worthy of a better fate.

It was not prompted by the spirit of disorder, or the ambitious views of faction; it was not a revolutionary leaning which induced my native country to accept the mortal struggle maintained so gloriously, and brought, by nefarious means, to so unfortunate an end.

Hungary has deserved from her Kings the historical epithet of "generous nation," for she never allowed herself to be surpassed in loyalty and faithful adherence to her sovereigns by any nation in the world.

Nothing but the most revolting treachery, the most tyrannical oppression, and cruelties unheard of in the words of history—nothing but the infernal doom of annihilation to her national existence, preserved through a thousand years, through adversities so numerous, were able to rouse her to oppose the fatal stroke aimed at her very life, to enable her to repulse the tyrannical assault of the ungrateful Hapsburghs, or to accept the struggle for life, honor, and liberty forced upon her. And she has nobly fought that holy battle, in which, with the aid of Almighty God, she prevailed against Austria, whom we crushed to the earth, standing firm even when attacked by the Russian giant in the consciousness of justice, in our hope in God, and in our hope, my Lord, in the generous feeling of your great and glorious nation, the natural supporter of justice and humanity throughout the world. But this is over: what tyranny began has been by treachery concluded: on all sides abandoned, my poor country has fallen, not through the overwhelming power of two great Empires, but by the faults, and I may say the treason, of her own sons.

To these untoward events I pray that God my poor unhappy country may be the only sacrifice, and that the true interests of peace, freedom, and civilisation through the world may not be involved in our unhappy fate.

Mr. Francis Pulsky, or diplomatic agent in London, has received ample information as to the cause of this sudden and unlooked-for change in the affairs of Hungary, and is instructed to communicate it to your Excellency, if you are graciously pleased to receive the same. It is not antipathy to Austria, though so well merited at the hands of every Hungarian, but a true conviction which makes me say that even Austria has lost far more by her victory, gained through Russian aid, than she would have lost in merited defeat through honorable arrangement. Fallen from her position of a first-rate power, she has now forfeited her self consistency, and has sunk into the obedient instrument of Russian ambition and of Russian commands.

Russia only has gained at this sanguinary game; she has extended and strengthened her influence in the East of Europe, and threatens already in a fearful manner, with outstretching arms, not only the integrity, but the moral basis of the Turkish Empire.

May it please you, my Lord, to allow me to communicate to your Excellency a most revolting condition which the Turkish Government, at the suggestion of Russia, is about to impose upon us poor homeless exiles.

I, the Governor of unhappy Hungary, after having, I believe, as a good citizen and honest man, fulfilled to the last my duties to my country, had no choice left me between the repose of the grave and the inexpressible anguish of expatriation.

Many of my brethren in misfortune had preceded me on the Turkish territory. I followed thither, in the hope that I should be permitted to pass to England, and there, under the protection of the English people—a protection never yet denied to persecuted men—allowed to repose for a while my wearied head on the hospitable shore of your happy island.

But even with these views, I would rather have surrendered myself to my deadliest enemy than to cause any difficulties to the Turkish Government, whose situation I well knew how to appreciate, and therefore did not intrude on the Turkish territories without previously inquiring whether I and my companions in misfortune would be willingly received, and the protection of the Sultan granted to us.

We received the assurance that we were welcome guests, and should enjoy the full protection of His Majesty the Sultan, who would rather sacrifice 50,000 men of his own subjects than allow one hair of our heads to be injured.

It was only upon this assurance that we passed into the Turkish territory, and according to the generous assurance we were received and tended on our journey, received in Widdin as the Sultan's guests, and treated hospitably, during four weeks, whilst waiting, from Constantinople, further orders as to the continuation of our and journey to some distant shore.

Even the Ambassadors of England and France, to whom I ventured, in the name of humanity, to appeal, were so kind as to assure me of their full sympathy.

His Majesty the Sultan was also so gracious as to give a decided negative to the inhuman pretensions of our extradition demanded by Russia and Austria.

But a fresh letter from his Majesty the Czar arrived in Constantinople, and its consequence was the suggestion sent to us by an express messenger of the Turkish Government, that the Poles and Hungarians, and in particular myself, Count Casimir Bethiany, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Hungary under my government, and the Generals Meszaros, and Perczel (all present here), would be surrendered unless we choose to abjure the faith of our forefathers in the religion of Christ and become Mussulmans. And thus 5,000 Christians are placed in the terrible alternative either of facing the scaffold or of purchasing their lives by abandoning their faith. So low is already fallen the once mighty Turkey, that she can devise no other means to answer or evade the demands of Russia.

Words fail me to qualify these astonishing suggestions, such as never have been made yet to the fallen chief of a generous nation, and could hardly have been expected in the 19th century.

My answer does not admit of hesitation. Between death and shame the choice can be neither dubious nor difficult. Governor of Hungary, and elected to that high place by the confidence of fifteen millions of my countrymen, I know well what I owe to the honour of my country even in exile. Even as a private individual I have an honourable path to pursue. Once Governor of a generous country—I leave no heritage to my children—they shall, at least, bear an unsullied name. God's will be done. I am prepared to die; but as I think this manner dishonorable and injurious to Turkey, whose interests I sincerely have at heart, and as I feel it a duty to save my companions in exile, if I can, from a degrading alternative, I have replied to the Grand Vizier in a conciliatory manner, and took also the liberty to apply to Sir Stratford Canning and General Aubick for their generous aid against this tyrannic act. In full reliance on the noble sentiments and generous principles of your Excellency, by which, as well as through your wisdom, you have secured the esteem of the civilized world, I trust to be excused in enclosing copies of my two letters to the Grand Vizier and Sir Stratford Canning.

I am informed that the whole matter is a cabal against the Ministry of Reschid Pasha, whose enemies would wish to force him to our extradition, in order to lower it in public estimation, and render impossible its continuance in office. It is certain that in the Grand Council held on the 9th and 10th of September, after a tumultuous debate, the majority of the Council declared in favour of our extradition, the majority of the Ministry against it. No decision was come to, in consequence of the altercation which took place; but, notwithstanding, the Ministry thought it to make us the revolting suggestion I have named.

This mode of solving the difficulty would not, I am convinced, save the Ministry, because a protection only given, in contradiction of the Sultan's generous feeling, at the price of five thousand Christians abandoning their faith, would be revolting to the whole Christian world, and prove hardly calculated to win sympathies for Turkey in the event of war with Russia, which, is the opinion of the most experienced Turkish statesmen, in approaching fast.

As to my native country, Turkey does, I believe, already feel the loss of the neglected opportunity of having given to Hungary at least some moral help to enable it to check the advance of the common enemy. But it appears to me that it would be a very ill-advised mode of gaining Hungarian sympathy by send ng me to an Austrian scaffold, and forcing my unhappy companions to abjure their religion, or accept the same alternative.

No friends to the Turkish Government wou'd spring up from my blood shed by her broken faith, but many deadly foes. My Lord, your heart will, I am sure, excuse my having called your attention to our unhappy fate, since it has now assumed political importance. Abandoned in this unusual land by the whole world, even the first duties of humanity give us no promise of protection, unless, my Lord, you and your generous nation come forward to protect us.

What steps it may be expedient that you should take—what we have a right to expect from the well-known generosity of England—it would be hardly fitting for me to enter on. I place my own and my companions' fate in your hands, my Lord, and in the name of humanity throw myself under the protection of England.