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Louis Kossuth in America, 1851-1852

John Bartholomew St. Leger

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LOUIS KOSSUTH IN AMERICA, 1851-1852

A Thesis

Presented to

the Faculty of the History Department

The University of Richmond

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

by

John Bartholomew St. Leger

June 1961

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Of the many visitors who came to America before the Civil War, perhaps the strangest guest was Louis Kossuth, the ex-governor and revolutionist who unsuccessfully rebelled against the Hapsburg monarchy. Such visitors as Lafayette, de Tocqueville, Martineau, Dickens and others came primarily to America to learn more about our society and political institutions. This was not true in the visit of Louis Kossuth. For the first time since our independence was established, an active, central European militarist was upon our shores.

When the Hungarian revolution was crushed by the combination of Austria and Russia in 1849, Louis Kossuth and some of his followers fled to Turkey where they remained prisoners of the Sublime Porte until the intervention of several states, most importantly Great Britain. After some delay the Sultan of Turkey finally heeded the request of Great Britain on two conditions. The stipulations were: that Great Britain would support Turkey in discharging the prisoners, and that the Porte would release the Hungarians when tension between
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Austria and Turkey subsided.

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1. Merle Eugene Curti, Austria and the United States, 1848-1852 (Smith College Studies in History, Vol. XI, No. 3. Washington, D. C.: Department of History of Smith College, 1926), pp. 169-70.

The United States, always sympathetic with oppressed peoples, first became diplomatically interested in Kossuth when the stormy Senator Henry S. Foote of Mississippi introduced a joint resolution at the request of Secretary of State Daniel Webster on February 17, 1851.² This resolution requested President Fillmore to send a ship to Turkey to convey Kossuth and some of his followers to America.³ Meanwhile, Secretary of State Webster instructed our Minister in Turkey, George P. Marsh, to do everything in his power to secure the release of Kossuth and about forty-five exiles from Hungary so that they might come to the United States to "seek homes in the vast region" of America.⁴ On March 3 the resolution was passed, and President Fillmore dispatched the steam-frigate Mississippi, already cruising in the Mediterranean Sea, to Turkey to transport Kossuth and other Hungarian exiles from captivity.⁵

Transporting the ex-governor of Hungary to the United States turned out to be no simple matter. The American diplomatic corps not wanting to be involved with any European government because of political refugees on board gave instructions to Captain J. C. Long

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2. Dunbar Rowland (ed.), Jefferson Davis, Constitutionalist: His Letters, Papers and Speeches (Jackson, Mississippi: Department of Archives and History, 1923), II, 168.
 3. U.S. Congressional Globe, 31st Congress, 2nd Session, 1851, XXIII, 710, 816.
 4. The Works of Daniel Webster (Tenth edition; Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1857), VI, p. 591.
 5. James D. Richardson, A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1902 (Washington: Bureau of National Literature and Art, 1907), V, 117.

of the Mississippi to proceed directly to New York, stopping only at Spezzia and Marseilles for supplies, and at Gibraltar if deemed necessary. Continuing to use foresight, Captain Long was instructed to remain in the above ports no longer than necessary.

After Kossuth and fifty-nine exiles boarded the Mississippi in Turkey, Captain Long, in following his instructions, sailed for the Italian port Spezzia. Upon arrival, Kossuth, in answering the shouts of the Italians, made several incendiary speeches from the decks of the Mississippi denouncing the governments of continental Europe. In one of his speeches Kossuth threatened to come ashore, but after a conference was held with the American chargé d'affaires, the Magyar was persuaded to remain on ship.⁷ The antics of Kossuth were such a nature that Captain Long wrote that Kossuth was exceedingly difficult and that he wished that Kossuth was out of his ship.⁸

Kossuth in this Italian port had the audacity to request from the American naval commander at Spezzia, Commodore Morgan, that the Mississippi transport him to Great Britain or wait for him at Gibraltar until he returned from England.⁹ Kossuth's main motive for traveling to England was to join other European revolutionists, such as Mazzini

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6. U.S. Congress, House, Kossuth and Captain Long 32nd Congress, 1st Session, 1852. Ex. Doc. 78, p. 25.
 7. John Basset Moore, "Kossuth the Revolutionist," The Political Science Quarterly, X (March-June, 1895), p. 270.
 8. U.S. Congress, House, Kossuth and Captain Long 32nd Congress, 1st Session, 1852. Ex. Doc. 78, p. 6.
 9. Moore, op. cit., p. 239.

and Ledru Rollin, in order to discuss the overthrow of European governments. The Hungarian predicted that these future political revolutions in Europe would occur within six months.¹⁰

On arrival at Marseilles, Kossuth once more proved embarrassing to the United States, to Captain Long and to the American authorities stationed at this French seaport. The Hungarian requested and received permission to go ashore because of the health of his wife and three children.¹¹ After disembarking Kossuth was accompanied by crowds who were shouting, "Vive Kossuth! Vive Kossuth! Vive Etats Unis!" Amidst thrown wreaths and hats, Kossuth satisfied his admirers with a speech entitled "French Democracy." This oration was later published in a Marseilles newspaper. For giving this political address the Hungarian was censured by the American consul while he remained under the jurisdiction of the United States. Kossuth in his defense replied that he was acting solely as a private citizen.¹²

Another request of Kossuth's that was promptly refused by the French government was permission to travel through France on his way to England. This refusal by the government irritated the Hungarian so greatly that he delivered a speech called "To the Democrats of Marseilles" in which he stated that the French people were not responsible for not granting his passage through their country but only the government.¹³

10. U.S. Congress, House, Kossuth and Captain Long, op. cit., p. 16.

11. Ibid., p. 2. 12. Ibid., p. 13. 13. Ibid., pp. 13, 17.

Further embarrassment came to the United States when three of the exiled Hungarians were arrested "in the neighborhood of the Café Boadul" for tranquility reasons.¹⁴

Kossuth in explaining his actions to the American consul at Marseilles said that the French government lacked humanity and hospitality. Furthermore, the Magyar told the American consul that he would not have boarded the Mississippi if he had thought the United States would curb his freedom and liberty.¹⁵ Then, the ex-governor said that he would appeal to the people of the United States for approval of his actions. The American consul in writing to Secretary of State Webster spoke of Kossuth as an "Oriental Satrap" with "theatrical manners."¹⁶

Although Kossuth had determined to go to England, he wrote a sarcastic letter to our consul saying that he would no longer embarrass our government and promised to leave the Mississippi at Gibraltar. The Magyar, who considered himself a prisoner on the Mississippi, said that he was being driven from the ship by Consul Hodge's condemnation of his actions in Marseilles.¹⁷

Upon arrival at Gibraltar, Kossuth, his wife and three children, together with thirteen other refugees, disembarked and sailed to England to promote the Hungarian cause. Forty-two of the original fifty-nine

14. Ibid., p. 3. 15. Ibid., pp. 12-13. 16. Ibid., p. 9.
17. Ibid., p. 14.

passengers remained on the Mississippi which sailed directly to
 18
 New York. Kossuth, after spending over four weeks in Great Britain,
 sailed for America on November 20 aboard the Humboldt which arrived in
 New York on December 5.

Louis Kossuth was forty-nine years old when he came to America.
 He was born of relatively poor aristocratic parents in the town of
 Monok, Hungary. After completing his early education, Kossuth entered
 law school from which he graduated in 1823. After a year of public law
 practice, he found employment for the next seven years as a family
 solicitor for a wealthy landed family. Serving as family solicitor,
 the future revolutionist had his first contact with politics when he
 was appointed as a substitute delegate to the Diet meeting at the
 19
 then capital of Hungary, Pressburg.

In Pressburg, Kossuth aligned himself with the liberal faction
 of the Diet. For monetary reasons the Hungarian founded a journal for
 the purpose of reporting the proceedings of the Hungarian parliament.
 However, in 1835, a royal proclamation dissolved parliament, and
 Kossuth went to Pest. In Pest he joined the leftist National Club
 which strove to develop nationalism, principally by westernizing
 20
 Hungary and adopting Hungarian as the official language.

As a member of the National Club, Kossuth once more was engaged

18. Ibid., p. 18.

19. Otto Zarek, Kossuth (London: Selwyn and Blount, 1937), pp. 24,
 39, 55.

20. Ibid., p. 73.

in a journalism when he edited a newspaper. For presenting a too liberal viewpoint and other political activities, the Magyar was sent to prison for three years for sedition. After three years in prison, Kossuth tried farming, next formed a trading company which went bankrupt, and eventually entered the political arena when he was elected to the lower chamber of the Hungarian Diet in 1847.²¹

Serving as a liberal member -- he favored direct trade relations with Great Britain and taxation of the aristocracy -- Kossuth made his first major political advance in March 1848 when Austria was in the midst of a revolution against the reactionary policy of Prince Metternich. During this internal Austrian crisis, the Hungarian parliament presented to Austria a proclamation containing twelve points that would have created an independent dominion of Hungary. Austria, troubled by a revolution, managed to modify the twelve points, and Hungary was granted a quasi-responsible government.²²

Kossuth in the new government was appointed Minister of Finance.

Almost immediately ethnic groups in Hungary commenced a movement for complete independence from Hungary. The more important nationalities objecting to the rule of the Magyars were the Serbs, Croats and Rumanians. When the newly formed Hungarian government refused to recognize their desire for independence, a war ensued. In Austria, Franz Joseph

21. Ibid., pp. 74, 76, 118, 120, 126.

22. Ibid., pp. 132, 143.

succeeded the abdicated Ferdinand, and the new Hapsburg monarch launched a stern policy of repression against Hungary. Within Hungary the different nationalities were divided between Austria and Hungary. Austria successfully exploited this division.

With internal dissension prevalent, the Hungarian parliament abrogated all ties with Austria. Kossuth was elected Governor. Shortly after this declaration of independence, Russia in the Spring of 1849 invaded Hungary. With the Russo-Austrian combination and militant ethnic groups, Hungary's fate was sealed. Before the final crushing blow was delivered by this military cabal, the Hungarian government in the absence of a parliament formed a Committee of Defense. This committee elected Kossuth as president of Hungary. In his new position Kossuth exercised dictatorial powers. Kossuth's last act before the fall of Hungary was to resign his powers to one of his generals. Then the Magyar with many of his followers fled to Turkey.

Physically, Kossuth was five feet eight inches in stature, possessed a pale or sallow complexion and presented a slight but compact appearance. He had a high forehead and blue eyes. His oval shaped face was covered by a dark brown, beard-mustache combination except for his chin. Atop

23. Ibid., pp. 162, 170, 200.

24. A. J. P. Taylors, The Habsburg Monarchy, 1809-1918 (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1955), pp. 84-87.

25. Ben Perley Poore, Perley's Reminiscences of Sixty Years in the National Metropolis (Tecumseh, Michigan: A. S. Mills, 1886), I, 104.

26. The New York Daily Herald, December 8, 1951.

his dark straight hair, he wore a black low-crown hat with a drooping red feather attached to the band.²⁷ Daguerrotypes of 1850's pictured Kossuth in a close fitting, buttoned jet-black velvet jacket embroidered with small tassels in the front and on the cuffs. His trousers were baggy and made of cassimere fabric. His shoes were black with buckles²⁸ and the tips were square.

27. Poore, loc. cit.

28. "Kossuth," Littell's Living Age, XXXII (January, 1852), p. 95.

CHAPTER II

NEW YORK CITY

New York, the unofficial welcome mat for the United States, anticipated greatly the arrival of Kossuth. Days before the arrival of the ex-governor of Hungary, a breathless feeling of curiosity and suspense was prevalent in New York. The Southern Literary Messenger reported that people actually "turned pale" with excitement. George Templeton Strong, the prominent New York business man, wrote in his diary that everybody is looking for Kossuth, and a great "pow-wow" will occur.

A few minutes after midnight on December 5, a rocket was launched from the deck of the Humboldt in the Narrows of the greater New York harbor to announce the advent of Kossuth. In New York City a flag was hoisted on his arrival. With cannons firing all the way from Sandy Hook to New York's inner harbor, the Humboldt docked at Staten Island since preparations for his arrival in New York were not completed.

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1. "Letters from New York," The Southern Literary Messenger, XVIII (January, 1852), p. 58.
 2. Allan Nevins and Milton Halsey Thomas, The Diary of George Templeton Strong (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1952), II, 69.
 3. Francis and Theresa Pulszky, White, Red, Black, Sketches of Society in the United States (London: Trubner and Company, 1853), I, 52.
 4. Nevins, op. cit., II, 75.
 5. The New York Daily Times, December 4, 1851.

After an additional salute of thirty-one guns, Dr. Sidney Doane, our health commissioner on Staten Island, boarded the Humboldt and greeted Kossuth in a welcome of words that were most generous. Doane, after calling the Magyar noble and illustrious, welcomes him on behalf of eighteen million Americans "from the pine forests of Maine, to the sugar bottoms of Texas; from the coal fields of Pennsylvania, to the golden mountains of California:" Our health commissioner further greeted him to the land of freedom and to the republic of America.⁶ Doane predicted that Kossuth would "unlock every heart in America."

In replying to Doane's welcome, Kossuth said that he trusted that the people of America would see Hungary free. The Hungarian in reference to the thousands of miles separating Hungary from the United States said that distance was no longer a great factor because "Fulton has annihilated that word."⁷

About three o'clock in the morning, Kossuth feeling seasick and exhausted from his voyage retired to the health commissioner's residence.⁸ After only three and a half hours of sleep, New York's guest was awakened by a cannonade of fifty-three guns.⁹

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6. Report of the Special Committee Appointed by the Common Council of New York to Make Arrangements for the Reception of Louis Kossuth (New York: Published by the Order of Common Council, 1852), p. 23. Hereinafter cited as Report of the Special Committee...for the Reception of Louis Kossuth.
 7. Ibid., p. 24.
 8. The New York Daily Times, December 6, 1851.
 9. Pulszky, op. cit., I, 53.

The remaining hours on Staten Island before the Magyar's arrival in New York City were spent in sundry ways. The citizens of the present day borough of Richmond were eager to play host to their guest in an appropriate manner. After erecting a large tent, ornamented by American and Hungarian flags, Kossuth was paraded to this tent to deliver his first speech in the United States. In his oration to the multitude, Kossuth in explicit language said that he did not come to intervene in the forthcoming presidential elections or to meddle in our internal affairs (mainly slavery), but only to help his downtrodden people who were crushed by the military forces of Austria and Russia.

10

In another short address to the aldermen, Kossuth reminded his audience of the aid that America received from Europe in her successful war for independence. Following upon this theme, the Magyar believed that the United States will "import its mighty agency in achieving the liberty of other lands."

11

Another activity of the Hungarian was receiving many deputations of admirers, including an Ojibway chief who extended his welcome to Kossuth on behalf of all the Indians in America. Lastly, in order to be informed adequately on the attitude of America toward European political affairs, Kossuth requested and received volumes about Washington, Jefferson, Jackson and other American statesmen.

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10. The New York Daily Times, December 6, 1851.
 11. Report of the Special Committee...for the Reception of Louis Kossuth, p. 29.
 12. The New York Daily Times, December 6, 1851.

Kossuth departed from Staten Island for New York City on the steamer Commodore Vanderbilt which was properly decorated for the occasion. With a band on board playing "Hail to the Chief," the steamer stopped at Governor's Island to receive a gun salute from Fort Columbus, and then the Vanderbilt passed up the East River to receive additional gun salutes from our naval vessels and military garrisons at Brooklyn Heights. Returning downstream, the Vanderbilt docked at Castle Garden where New York's guest received a turbulent
13
welcome.

At Castle Garden, Mayor Ambrose Kingsland of New York attempted to introduce the Magyar to the crowd but disorder and chaos reigned. Kossuth, after trying to quiet the crowd, in futility turned around to the municipal officials and said, "Oh, it is impossible. I will give my notes to the press. I can't be heard." Kossuth's long speech, in this age of oratory, contained three main points. He restated his position not to meddle in American domestic affairs. Secondly, he promised to respect American laws in relation to foreign affairs, but he also promised to use every method to gain "operative" financial and material aid for his country. Lastly, he pledged to restore his native country to the full enjoyment of independence. In closing his speech Kossuth assured the oppressed

13. The New York Daily Herald, December 7, 1851.

people of Europe that the United States would aid them in future
 14
 revolutions.

Being unable to suppress the mobocracy at Castle Garden, Kossuth was paraded around the city for the next seventy minutes. The guest was welcomed by plaudits from the men, while the women waved their greetings with handkerchiefs from balconies. Witnesses to the parade reported that every window and roof along the parade route seemed to be alive with sympathy. In this city of 500,000 persons, Kossuth remained tranquil during the parade and received the cheers with
 15
 dignity. The parade terminated at the City Hall where under a decorated canopy on a dias Kossuth reviewed the troops. Anxious to avoid any more demonstrations on his behalf, the Hungarian left by the back door of the City Hall for the Irving House, where he and his
 16
 followers were quartered.

Kossuth while staying at the Irving House -- one of the most expensive hotels -- received countless visitors and deputations. Most of the deputations were representatives of cities who wanted the Magyar to visit their municipalities. Kossuth in response to these invitations usually stressed that his time in America was short; and therefore, he must be assured of practical results for the benefit of Hungary. Naturally, the practical results meant money for Hungary. For example, a delegation

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14. The New York Daily Times, December 8, 1851.
 15. The Southern Literary Messenger, op. cit., p. 59.
 16. Report of the Special Committee...for the Reception of Louis Kossuth, p. 78.

from Cincinnati pointed out to Kossuth that there were 30,000 Germans living in and around their city and assured the Hungarian of a great amount of material aid. Material aid was Kossuth's synonym for money. One reporter noted that he received this delegation with more cordiality than any other deputation.

17

With almost no exceptions, visitors and representatives of local concerns gave money to the Hungarian Fund. For instance, the workmen of the Piano Forte company gave \$805, while the men of the Alliance Works donated \$220, and a delegate from the Novelty Iron Works gave an unreported amount of money.

18

Gifts, besides monetary, that New York's guest received were numerous. One gift, in particular, seemed to puzzle Kossuth briefly. This was a present of one hundred rifles from a military armament delegation. Kossuth wishing to ascertain whether it was legal for him to accept these weapons said that if it were not lawful to accept the rifles, he trusted "that you will change this gift into another form, in token of sympathy and support for my native land."

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Two other interesting groups that visited the Magyar at Irving House were the president and students of Columbia College and a Negro deputation. After meeting President Charles King and hearing an address in Latin by an

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17. The New York Daily Times, December 19, 1851.
 18. Ibid., December 15, 18, 1851.
 19. Ibid., December 19, 1851.

undergraduate, Kossuth in suitable remarks praised academic freedom
 in America. ²⁰ As to the Negro delegation, the Hungarian refused to
 see them, ²¹ thereby avoiding a delicate problem but at the same time
 losing some support for his crusade from anti-slavery groups.

Besides his address at Castle Garden, Kossuth during his three
 week stay in New York made four other major orations. The first and
 the most elaborate address was known as the "Municipal Dinner Speech"
 given at the Irving House with about four hundred persons in attendance.
 The banquet hall was festooned with Hungarian colors of red, white and
 green, while the columns were decorated with evergreens. Also present
 in the hall were the flags of France, Germany, Italy, Hungary and the
 United States. On the dias sat Kossuth, fourteen of his fellow exiles,
 the mayor of New York and other prominent officials. The dinner was
 most sumptuous. Let it suffice to say that on the menu there were
 seven different types of meat, twelve vegetables, twelve pastries and
²²
 twelve desserts.

Kossuth in his oration attacked the foreign policy of the United
 States in respect to our indifference to European domestic affairs.
 The Magyar stated that the indifference of the United States to European
 affairs was not a permanent policy presented by Washington and others
 but only a temporary exigency in the early history of America. Carrying

20. Ibid. 21. Pulszky, op. cit., I, 97.

22. The New York Daily Times, December 12, 1851.

this thought one step further, the Hungarian believed that the United States must be resolved to be a power among nations or decay internally like the ancient empires of China and Japan. The ex-governor asserted that Washington recommended neutrality and not non-interference to the fate of other nations. The Revolutionist believed that America should not remain indifferent towards Hungary because Russia, by allying herself with Austria violated the common law of mankind or the law of nations in suppressing the Hungarian revolution. To remedy this condition in the future, the Magyar wanted the United States to send instructions to our American minister in London acknowledging the right of every nation to dispose of its own internal affairs without the interference of other nations. Furthermore, Kossuth declared that America should keep other nations from interfering in domestic matters of other countries by force, if force is required.²³ In brief, Kossuth wanted assurance that America would act as an international policeman when a foreign power aided in crushing a political revolution.

Kossuth also wanted the people of the United States to maintain commercial ties with European nations when they were in rebellion against their governments. Lastly, the Magyar hoped that the people of the United States would pronounce their opinion on the independence of Hungary.²⁴

23. Report of the Special Committee...for the Reception of Louis Kossuth, pp. 155-56.

24. The New York Daily Times, December 12, 1851.

In order to finance his next revolution, the ex-governor told his listeners that he had two plans to raise money. The first mentioned was to be by "spontaneous subscription" or simple donations. The second plan, and not yet operative, was a loan to take the form of bonds. After Kossuth's address, the evening was brought to a close with nine²⁵ toasts, including one to the Magyar's wife.

The next major banquet speech of Kossuth's was the "Banquet of the Press" presided over by William Cullen Bryant with Horace Greeley assisting. Admission to this banquet held at the Astor House was seven²⁶ dollars. The major portion of Kossuth's oration was devoted to how he would establish republican institutions based on universal suffrage when his future revolution was successful against Austria.²⁷

Traveling across the East River, Kossuth delivered his third major message in Dr. Henry Ward Breecher's Plymouth Church in Brooklyn. Amid the flags of Hungary and the United States, Kossuth delivered his speech after having heard a Marine band play "Hail Columbia," "America," "God Save the King," "Yankee Doodle," and the "Marseilles."²⁸ Kossuth, in his address to an audience who paid five dollars per person, devoted most of his talents to the cost of the next revolution. The Magyar

25. Ibid.

26. Ibid., December 16, 1851. The New York Daily Herald, December 16, 1851.

27. Report of the Special Committee...for the Reception of Louis Kossuth, p. 253.

28. The New York Daily Times, December 19, 1851.

remarked that his future revolution would cost no more than ten million dollars provided the United States kept other nations from joining Austria in her suppression of the rebellion. In his almost infinite optimism, the ex-governor believed that the low cost of the revolution was due to his expectation that Hungary would "scarcely have to fight more than one battle."²⁹

On Friday, December 19, Kossuth delivered his last major address in New York at the well lighted (600 gas jets) Metropolitan Hall with two thousand persons in attendance. With the bar of New York also present, Kossuth urged that our policy of indifference toward European affairs be made subservient to justice, international law and the principle of righteousness. In his closing remarks, the Revolutionist in a forthright statement said that the United States should be a power among nations to secure the independence of oppressed nations even if America had to go to war for this principle.³⁰

Although the reception of Kossuth in New York was impressive, it would be well to examine some comment about him. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow recorded "all New York is in a blaze with his words," but in the same paragraph he asked "why need people go clean daft?"³¹ Another eyewitness said that "his reception in New York was that of a

29. Report of the Special Committee...for the Reception of Louis Kossuth, p. 360.

30. The New York Daily Times, December 20, 1851.

31. Samuel Longfellow, Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1891), II, 211.

prince, or rather a king."³² Washington Irving in calm thought noted that "New York is ready for a paroxysm of enthusiasm in the advent of any great novelty," and he wrote that the Magyar was the second Peter the Hermit. Irving wished that America would never be carried into a scheme of foreign interference that would rival the Crusades.³³

George Templeton Strong believed that ninety per cent of those cheering for the ex-governor would be astounded to find Hungary on a map without names. However, Strong recorded that all New York was experiencing "Magyar--mania epidemic."³⁴ Governor Hunt of New York in writing to Senator Hamilton Fish said that the Kossuth element is embarrassing. Hunt was in favor of voluntary aid, but he would go no further.³⁵

The major newspapers in New York, while giving full coverage to Kossuth's activities, were against any active military intervention. Horace Greeley's Tribune showed the most sympathy with Kossuth and Hungary, while Gordon Bennett's Herald attempted to identify Kossuth with the abolitionists.³⁶ The recently founded Times in an article on active intervention believed in the "supreme wisdom of minding our own business" and in the policy of Washington.³⁷ The Courier and Inquirer

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32. Augustus Thebaud, Forty Years in the United States of America (New York: The United States Catholic Historical Society, 1904), p. 243.
 33. Pierre M. Irving (ed.), The Life and Letters of Washington Irving (New York: G. P. Putnam, 1864), IV, 101-02.
 34. Nevins, op. cit., II, 75.
 35. MS Hamilton Fish Correspondence. Hunt to Fish, December 22, 1851.
 36. Pulszky, op. cit., I, 104-06.
 37. The New York Daily Times, December 9, 1851.

published by General Watson Webb was anxious to debate with Kossuth about his recent statements in regard to the course that America should follow.³⁸

In the almost unanimous desire to greet Kossuth in New York, two groups remained aloof of the Magyar. They were the Catholics and the Irish. Archbishop John Hughes in a letter to Chevalier Hulseman, the Austrian charge d'affairs in Washington, denounced the ex-governor as an archenemy of the church and of mankind. Hughes believed that the suppression of the Hungarian rebellion was justified and wrote that the Catholics treated Kossuth "with utmost indifference."³⁹ The Hungarian never minced his words towards Catholicism. In a quasi-religious philippic, Kossuth said that Pope Pius IX should have been the chief revolutionist in the rebirth of Italy, and since the Pope did not take this step, Kossuth believed that the temporal power of Rome was to be destroyed in the near future.⁴⁰

The Irish attacked Kossuth because of his stand on Catholicism, but mainly because of his position on Irish independence. New York's guest's solution to this thorny political question was to let Ireland have municipal self-government similar to Scotland, and let the Irish

38. Pulszky, op. cit., I, 103-04.

39. John R. G. Hassard, Life of the Most Reverend John Hughes (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1886), pp. 343-44.

40. Report of the Special Committee...for the Reception of Louis Kossuth, p. 299.

send representative to parliament in London. The Magyar believed that this was the best remedy for the independence question because of Ireland's economic and geographical position in relation to Great Britain. However, anti-Kossuth feeling among the Irish was so prevalent that many members of the militia refused to parade in his welcome.

Before turning to Kossuth's financial affairs, the episode of Kossuth's conduct on the Mississippi was quietly put aside. This occurred when Captain Long said, "that he wished...early to disavow the statement of difficulty between Governor Kossuth and himself." The motive behind this denial was probably political, but there remains documentary evidence from several sources that Kossuth's behavior on the Mississippi was less than that of a gentleman.

Horace Greeley in writing an introduction to a book entitled The Life of Louis Kossuth believed that the American people should donate ten million dollars to the Hungarian cause. Part of Greeley's reasoning was that "the American people spend over one hundred million dollars in sumptuous tastes and ostentatious display." The New York Times in a

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41. J. P. Jewett (ed.), Kossuth in New England (Boston: J. P. Jewett and Company, 1852), p. 117.
 42. Florence E. Gibson, The Attitudes of the New York Irish toward State and National Affairs (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951), p. 43.
 43. Report of the Special Committee...for the Reception of Louis Kossuth, p. 16.
 44. Pheneas Headley, The Life of Louis Kossuth (Auburn, New York: Derby and Miller, 1852), p. x of the introduction.

more conservative vein believed that a million dollars should be given to the Hungarian "as the free offering of the people of the United States to the cause of Hungary and human rights."⁴⁵ In spite of the fact that a finance committee was formed with historian-diplomat George Bancroft as chairman,⁴⁶ the actual amount of money that Kossuth received in donations in New York City at the time of his departure was only \$11,153. However, the Magyar received additional material aid through the sale of tickets to his major addresses. Although no evidence could be found of the amount of money that Kossuth received from these addresses, a conservative estimate would be seven thousand dollars. Besides monetary aid, the ex-governor received books, three gold rings, souvenirs of Bunker Hill and New Orleans, locks of hair, five hundred acres of land in the West and even a casket.⁴⁷

Kossuth's stay for himself and his suite in New York was paid by an appropriation from the city council. The total cost for the three weeks was around fourteen thousand dollars. This was four thousand dollars in excess of the original appropriation. One council member in debate over the amount of the bill accused Kossuth and his comrades of staying at the most expensive hotel in the city -- \$2.50 per day -- drinking costly wines and smoking the best cigars.⁴⁸ While staying at the Irving House, Kossuth was accused by The New York Herald of being an imitation of a European

45. December 13, 1851.

46. The New York Daily Times, December 17, 1851.

47. The New York Daily Tribune, December 23, 1851.

48. The New York Daily Herald, December 21, 1852.

despot. The Herald said that for a visitor to see Kossuth at his quarters, he had to pass two guards of his suite armed with drawn sabres. These guards, the Herald continued, were relieved occasionally by "a file of formidable looking Africans from the waiter corps of the hotel."⁴⁹

Kossuth's strength and nerves were so taxed by visitors, invitations and speeches that he decided to leave the Irving House and reside with Mayor Kingsland in order to recuperate some of his strength.⁵⁰ After spending several days with the mayor, Kossuth left New York on Tuesday, December 24, briefly stopping at Philadelphia and Baltimore before going on to Washington.

49. Ibid., July 22, 1852.

50. Ibid., December 24, 1852.

CHAPTER III

PHILADELPHIA, BALTIMORE AND WASHINGTON

In contrast to his reception on Staten Island or in New York Kossuth's arrival in Philadelphia was quiet because he arrived unexpectedly around four o'clock in the morning and because it was Christmas Day with ten degree weather.¹ This unannounced arrival was planned by the Magyar because he did not want any potential funds dissipated on pageantry.² To his chagrin, the United States Hotel, his quarters in Philadelphia, was draped with flags of Hungary, Turkey and the United States.³

The municipal authorities on Christmas afternoon paraded Kossuth to Independence Hall in a grand manner. Riding in a barouche drawn by six horses, the Magyar witnessed banners such as "Kossuth, the Washington of Europe" and "We welcome Him to the Shrine of Freedom." Upon his arrival at Independence Hall, cannons roared in his honor, and the practical results of these blasts were broken windows and people thrown from their horses. The parade, which included

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1. The [Philadelphia] Daily Pennsylvanian, December 25, 1851.
 2. Francis and Theresa Pulszky, White, Red, Black, Sketches of Society in the United States (London: Trubner and Company, 1853), I, 192.
 3. Ellis Paxton Oberholtzer, Philadelphia, A History of the City and its People (Philadelphia: S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1912), II, 269.

such organizations as Scott's Legion of the War of 1812, the Natives of Switzerland, the Independent Order of the Red Men and the Junior Sons of Temperance,⁴ lasted fifty-two minutes.⁵ Kossuth, in his winter garb of a black velvet coat with fur collar and cuffs and a low-crown black hat with a black feather,⁶ spoke to his admirers from a covered platform at Independence Hall. Philadelphia's guest, feeling ill, limited his address to the rude crowd by reminding them that this year was the seventy-fifth anniversary of our independence.⁷ He also made other appropriate remarks about independence. Following a dinner given to Kossuth on Christmas night by the City Council, the ex-governor retired to his quarters pleading illness.

The major address that Kossuth gave in the Quaker City was an admission charge speech given at the Music Hall on Friday, December 26. With former Vice-President George Dallas presiding, the Hungarian delivered a vituperative address on Louis Napoleon, pleaded for monetary aid and said that his trip to Washington was a "duty imposed on me by Providence."⁸

Leaving Philadelphia by train, the Magyar arrived several hours later in Baltimore. He was conducted from the train station over the

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4. John Thomas Scharf and Thompson Wescott, History of Philadelphia, 1607-1884 (Philadelphia: L. H. Everts, 1184), I, 702.
 5. The Philadelphia Pennsylvanian, December 25, 1852.
 6. Scharf, op. cit., I, 702.
 7. Report of the Special Committee...for the Reception of Louis Kossuth, p. 336.
 8. Ibid., pp. 340, 342, 348.

icy streets by Mayor Jerome and numerous civic associations to his quarters at the Eutaw House. In front of the Eutaw House the Magyar⁹ found Baltimoreans in an incessant chant for their guest to speak. The ex-governor announced to the crowd that he wouldn't speak in the street, because he reasoned that only a third of his audience would be able to hear him. However, Kossuth did manage to assert to the multitude that "your sentiment, your influence are being felt in Europe, by the oppressed. God bless you gentlemen."¹⁰ Despite the weather, one local newspaper reported that Kossuth received the greatest welcome in the Monumental City since Lafayette. At his hotel quarters Kossuth received well-wishers and sympathetic delegations who donated¹¹ a small sum of money to the Hungarian cause.

In the evening Kossuth delivered an address at the Maryland Institute which was three-quarters filled with ticket holders. In his attack on American indifference to European affairs, he stated that "if a nation should be uncivil to seclude itself from the interest in the concerns of other nations, that nation would seclude itself out of the community of mankind."¹² Kossuth also desired to know how the United states could remain indifferent toward Europe when there is oppression of civil, political and religious liberties.¹³ After spending the night in Baltimore, the Magyar on December 30 boarded

9. Pulszky, *op. cit.*, II, 214.

10. *The [Baltimore] Sun*, December 29, 1851.

11. *Ibid.*, December 30, 1851.

12. *Ibid.*, December 29, 1851. 13. *Ibid.*

the morning train for Washington.

Two hours later Kossuth and his suite of twenty-two refugees arrived in Washington and were met at the depot by Senators Shields and Seward. Almost immediately the Hungarians proceeded to their quarters at Brown Hotel.¹⁴ In contrast to the welcome in the cities previously visited, the reception of Kossuth and his suite was quiet. The Magyar believed that this serenity was appropriate because the capital of a country should be a place of calm and deliberate actions.¹⁵

On New Year's Eve, Kossuth, Secretary of State Webster and Senators Seward and Shields went to the White House for an informal reception with President Fillmore. Fillmore, a conservative and colorless president, who had his share of intervention with the Lopez expeditions in Cuba, was not happy to see the Magyar. Only a few days previously the President said to Webster, "If he simply desires an introduction, I will see him, but if he wants to make a speech to me, I must respectfully decline to see him."¹⁶ Webster assured the President that Kossuth would not make a formal discourse on Hungary's woes. Kossuth in following instructions from Webster made a short address in which he thanked Fillmore for his reception and for his interest in bringing him to America.¹⁷ Fillmore, in replying to Kossuth, said that "as an

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14. The Washington National Intelligencer, January 3, 1851.
The Washington Republic, December 31, 1851.
 15. The Boston Evening Traveller, January 10, 1852.
 16. The New York Daily Herald, September 16, 1873.
 17. The Washington National Intelligencer, January 1, 1852.

individual, I sympathize deeply with your brave struggle for independence but our foreign policy has been uniform from the commencement of our government."¹⁸

Webster, writing only hours after this reception, recorded that the President received him with great propriety, personal respect and kindness but displayed no sincere feelings or emotions for Kossuth.¹⁹ Senator Shields of Illinois in writing to Gustave Koerner described Fillmore at the reception "as rigid as a midshipman on a quarter-deck and [he] tried to look dignified, but the dignity of intellect and refinement was not there." It was the opinion of Shields that the President treated him "shabbily," and that his address to Kossuth "was worse spoken than read."²⁰ The rabid Democratic Review described the reception as a "torpedo chill."²¹

Shortly after this reception, Kossuth wrote a most pathetic letter to Webster in which he asked our Secretary of State to send six hundred dollars to our chargé in Vienna to relieve the suffering of his mother and sisters in Hungary. Kossuth claimed in this letter that he had sent five hundred pounds from England by three messengers to aid his family,

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18. Frank H. Severance (ed.), Millard Fillmore Papers (Buffalo: Buffalo Historical Society, 1907), I, 436.
 19. J. W. Mc Intyre (ed.), The Writing and Speeches of Daniel Webster (national edition; Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1903), XVIII, 579.
 20. Thomas J. Mc Cormack, Memoirs of Gustave Koerner, 1809-1896 (Cedar Rapids: The Torch Press, 1909), I, 579.
 21. "Presidential Courtesies," The Democratic Review, CLXIII (January, 1852), p. 40.

but one messenger was killed, and he never heard from the other
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 two.

In a more important part of this letter, the Magyar apparently realized on January 3 that his mission was unsuccessful when he wrote "that my expectations in respect to the foreign policy of the U. S. are about to fail."
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The ex-governor also received a setback from Secretary of Interior Alexander H. Stuart when Kossuth alluded to the intervention of America in European affairs. Secretary Stuart gave the Magyar no encouragement when he said that his office was devoted exclusively to domestic concerns. Kossuth asked Stuart if he could buy land in this country provided Hungarians could live in a separate community.
 24
 Stuart rendered no reply.

In the United States Senate a resolution to receive Kossuth was passed by a vote of 33 to 6. All the negative votes came for the South.
 25
 Senator William C. Dawson of Georgia, who refused to arise when the Magyar was introduced to the Senate,
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 asked a colleague who voted for the

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22. MS Charles Lanman Papers, Letter from Kossuth to Webster, January 3, 1852.
 23. Ibid.
 24. The [Boston] Evening Traveller, January 7, 1852.
 25. U.S. Congressional Globe, 32nd Congress, 1st Session, XXIV, Part 1, p. 90.
 26. Amanda Johnson, Georgia, As Colony and State (Atlanta: Walter W. Brown Publishing Company, 1898), p. 34.

Hungarian's reception to name a battle in which the Hungarian distinguished himself.²⁷ Georgia's other senator, Alexander H. Stephens, said the Hungarian was no longer a representative of constitutional liberty.²⁸ Senator Clemens of Alabama accused Kossuth of making the Magyar race supreme, and the Alabamian said that Kossuth's ideas are "the wild schemes of an enthusiast."²⁹ Senator Sam Houston, who absented himself on the reception vote, said that the Magyar retreated with five thousand men, and that he never in his life flashed his sword for liberty.³⁰

On the affirmative side of the vote, Charles Sumner, serving his first term in the Senate, said that Washington's guest was "grandly historic" and "a living Wallace, a living Tell."³¹ New Hampshire's Hale, in an encompassing gesture, wanted to express sympathy for all oppressed people.³² Senator Clark of Rhode Island said that the United States should not remain indifferent if future acts of oppression were committed against Hungary.³³

On the afternoon of January 5, Kossuth entered the Senate in full

27. U.S. Congressional Globe, op. cit., p. 22.

28. Ibid., p. 185. 29. Ibid., p. 53.

30. Amelia Williams and Eugene C. Barker, Writings of Sam Houston (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1941), V, 417.

31. U.S. Congressional Globe, op. cit., p. 50.

32. Ibid., p. 22. 33. Ibid., p. 67.

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 military dress, including a sabre. The Magyar was escorted down the aisle by Senators Seward, Shields, and Cass who presented him to Senator King of Alabama, president pro tempore. Having decided previously that Kossuth was to give no oration,³⁵ the Senate adjourned so that individual senators could speak to their guest. After adjournment, Sam Houston welcomed him to the Senate. Kossuth in speaking to the Texan said, "I can only wish I had been as successful as you, sir." Houston replied,³⁶ "God grant that you may yet be so."

In Washington Kossuth paid a visit to the incapacitated and dying Henry Clay at the National Hotel. Clay, with only months to live, spoke frankly to Kossuth. The Kentuckian believed that any possible intervention by the United States in the future against Austria or Russia would be futile because of the transportation problem. Clay pointed out that by following Washington's policy this country had prospered beyond precedent, and by maintaining this policy America had done more for the cause of liberty than all the arms in the world could have accomplished.³⁷ Another great ex-senator who called on Kossuth was Thomas Hart Benton. "Old Bullion" after serving thirty years in the Senate and now seeking a seat in the House, came to Washington to dispose of some real estate

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34. Nathan Sargent, Public Men and Events, 1817-1853 (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1875), II, 383.
 35. The [Boston] Evening Traveller, January 6, 1852.
 36. U.S. Congressional Globe, *op. cit.*, p. 199.
 37. Calvin Colton, The Works of Henry Clay (New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, n.d.), IX, 342.

belongint to John C. Frémont in California. The Missourian took a
 violent dislike to Kossuth because of his intervention schemes.³⁸

In the House of Representatives, the vote to receive the
 Revolutionist was 181 to 16. Not a single member who represented
 a free state voted against this resolution.³⁹ Representative Bayly
 of Virginia in his dissent believed that the transportation problem
 in aiding Hungary was insurmountable.⁴⁰ Congressman Stanley of
 North Carolina said that the situations in Canada and Cuba were not
 quiet and asked why this nation should become involved in another
 dispute.⁴¹ Alabama's Smith denounced the ex-governor for his
 disreputable means of raising money.⁴² Representative Savage of
 Tennessee said that the shining star that Washington left us had
 lost none of its charms of brilliancy.⁴³

In some of the northern and western states sentiment for Kossuth
 in the House was enthusiastic. Molony of Illinois denounced the
 intervention of Russia in suppressing the Hungarian revolution as a
 violation of Christian principles.⁴⁴ Wisconsin's I. P. Walker said

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38. Elbert B. Smith, Magnificent Missourian: The Life of Thomas Hart Benton (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1958), pp. 286-87.
 39. The New York Daily Tribune, December 16, 1852.
 40. U.S. Congressional Globe, op. cit., p. 180.
 41. The [Washington] National Intelligencer, January 3, 1852.
 42. U.S. Congressional Globe, op. cit., p. 154.
 43. Ibid., p. 195.
 44. Ibid., p. 193

that our foreign policy was "criminally neutral" and ought to be abandoned. Walker wanted the United States to interpose her moral and physical power in future political upheavals.⁴⁵ Congressman Sweetser of Ohio believed that the time had come when this nation of twenty-five million should be determined to see that no foreign power intervenes⁴⁶ in future revolutions.

On January 7, Kossuth was led down the steps of the House of Representatives by a five-man reception committee. In an extremely short address the Magyar thanked the representatives for their welcome and said that he was engaged in a just cause for republican principles.⁴⁷

That evening a banquet took place in honor of Kossuth at the National Hotel. Among the guests present at this Congressional Banquet were Webster, president pro-tem of the Senate, King; Speaker Linn Boyd and Senators Seward, Sumner, Cass, Douglas and Houston. Kossuth, in his address filled with pathos, mentioned that his mother and sister were in Austrian dungeons. Speaking for the oppressed nations of Europe, the Hungarian said that if the United States would intervene in future revolutions, the beaten downtrodden peoples of Europe would gain their independence because an American doctrine of intervention would be respected, and because the hopes of oppressed

45. Ibid., p. 105. 46. Ibid., p. 177.

47. The [Washington] National Intelligencer, January 8, 1852.

millions would be doubled in moral strength.

After Kossuth's oration, Webster, a presidential candidate who previously disrupted peaceful relations with Austria with his famous "Hulsemann Note," was called upon to speak. The Secretary of State, who was in the process of delivering a tactful address when he was expressing sympathy for oppressed nations and wishing the best of success for Kossuth in future, was repeatedly interrupted by Senator Seward. After several interjections, the Senator from New York told Webster to discuss Hungarian independence. Webster, in an obedient manner, countered with these words: "Hungarian self-government; Hungarian control of Hungarian destinies, Hungarian independence and Hungary as a distinct nationality among the nations of Europe."⁴⁹

Stephen Douglas, another presidential candidate, said that the United States should recognize every republic the moment independence is established. Douglas hoped that "the friends of freedom throughout the world would proclaim to the ear of all European despots, hands off, a clear field and a fair fight." Michigan's Cass said that "the sun of heaven never shone upon such a government as this; and should we sit here blindfolded, with our arms closed, and see tyranny prevailing

48. Report of the Special Committee...for the Reception of Louis Kossuth, pp. 420, 429.

49. The [Washington] National Intelligencer, January 8, 1852.

in every region of the world?" Senator Seward was hesitant about making any pro-Kossuth announcement. However, Seward did manage to say that "when the Secretary of State goes his length, the Senator from Illinois his breadth and the Senator from Michigan his tether, I shall be found at their side willing to go as far...as he who goes the farthest."⁵⁰ Sam Houston was called upon to speak but refused.

Although the Congressional Banquet was a gala affair many people in officialdom refused to attend the dinner. Most of Fillmore's cabinet determined not to go but a certain active New York politician changed some of the cabinet members' minds about going to the banquet.⁵¹ The politician in question was probably Seward since he was friendly towards Kossuth.

The highlight of the Congressional Banquet was, of course, the speech of Daniel Webster when he arose to chant for Hungarian independence and an "American model upon the Lower Danube."⁵² With the Secretary of State serving in the sensitive field of foreign relations and coming out for Hungarian independence not once but thrice, what was Webster's attitude towards Kossuth and the motive for his most undiplomatic bursts of words? The Secretary of State believed that the Magyar was intellectual, dignified and graceful but that was as far as Webster would go. This is evidenced in his letter written a week before the banquet to

50. Ibid.

51. MS Galloway, Marcy, Markoe Papers. Ingersoll to Markoe, January 27, 1852.

52. The Washington National Intelligencer, January 8, 1852.

Richard Blatchford, the prominent New York Whig politician. Webster wrote that if Kossuth should mention active intervention "I shall have ears more deaf than adders."⁵³ The day of the banquet, Webster assured the President that nothing would be said at the banquet that would prove offensive to those in the government.⁵⁴ Later in the same month Webster stated the reason for his bumptious speech. His motive, purely political, was that in the forthcoming presidential election "our opponents shall have no well-founded charge against us for coolness in the cause of liberty."⁵⁵

The personal motive for Webster's speech was to seek the Presidency. "God-like Daniel" who endorsed the Compromise of 1850 and thereby making himself acceptable to the South, hoped to occupy the White House by making America mighty with an aggressive foreign policy.⁵⁶

Another possibility for this bombastic speech was that Webster was intoxicated. Although brilliant and a great orator, Webster had his grave shortcomings. Besides constant monetary difficulties, Webster was never known, particularly in the latter stages of his public career, as a temperate individual.⁵⁷ At the Congressional Banquet, Seward

53. Mc Intyre, op. cit., XVIII, 502.

54. Ibid., XVIII, 503.

55. Peter Harvey, Reminiscences and Anecdotes of Daniel Webster (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1882), pp. 261-62.

56. Allan Nevins, Ordeal of the Union (New York: Charles Scribners and Sons, 1947), II, 23-24.

57. Ben Perley Poore, Perley's Reminiscences of Sixty Years in the National Metropolis (Tecumseh, Michigan: A. S. Mills, 1886), I, 288-89.

throughout Webster's oration served as a prompter and interjected such phrases as "make him welcome," "three cheers to St. Stephen," (the origin of the Hungarian crown) and "Hungarian independence." Webster after each of Seward's interpolations proceeded to discuss the New Yorker's suggestions.

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Besides the above, it is well to remember that on the same day, January 7, the Secretary of State assured President Fillmore, only hours before his speech, that nothing would be said that would arouse persons present who disdained Kossuth and his objectives. Also, Webster broke faith with Chevalier Hulseman, the Austrian charge' in Washington. Hulseman in writing to Webster wrote that his banquet speech "partook of so strange a character, and it was so much at variance with international courtesy, and the positive promises you had given me." Hulseman decided to go to Fillmore in order to ascertain whether Webster spoke for the government.

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As previously indicated, anti-Kossuth feeling in the Nation's Capital was strong. This counter feeling was climaxed when various governmental officers held their own banquet on Washington's Birthday at Willard's Hotel. The organizer and leading protagonist of this banquet honoring Washington's foreign policy was President Fillmore's

58. The [Washington] National Intelligencer, January 8, 1852.

59. Mc Intyre, op. cit., XVIII, 501-02.

Attorney General, John J. Crittenden. Crittenden in his address at the dinner said that America's mission to foreign countries was not a mission of arms, but rather our objective was to keep this nation secure and cultivate peace and commerce with friendly nations. Representative Robert Toombs of Georgia recalled our diplomatic history when the United States had great difficulty in severing the 1778 treaties with France. Senator Stockton of New Jersey believed that the American people would be true to their country and institutions as long as they were true to the principles of Washington.⁶⁰

In Washington Kossuth was entertained at dinners many nights during his two week visit, including a dinner with President Fillmore.⁶¹ During the days, the Magyar received sympathizers, well-wishers, delegations from other cities and no doubt many curious people who wanted to see a central European. The ex-governor was especially popular with the women. For example, when Kossuth was discussing the wrongs done to Hungary, some of the women present were so moved that they presented their rings and other jewelry to the Hungarian cause.⁶²

Kossuth headquarters at the Brown Hotel occupied twenty-two rooms and ten parlors for his suite of twenty-three. During the sixteen and

60. The [Washington] National Intelligencer, February 23, 1852.

61. Ibid., January 6, 1852.

62. Moncure Daniel Conway, Autobiography, Memories and Experience of Moncure Daniel Conway (New York: Cassell and Company, 1904), I. 111.

one-half day visit, Kossuth's exiles, with few exceptions, left a bad taste in Washington. Kossuth's retinue lived like barbarians. It was reported that his men acted "a little more civilized than Choctaws" and were "evidently raised in camps for the better part of their lives." The ex-soldiers in the Magyar's suite slept in their beds with their clothes and boots on, damaged the furniture, and filled their rooms with liquor bottles, cigar butts and trash.

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The payment of the hotel bill for Kossuth's visit and entertainment rested with Congress. The entire bill amounted to \$4,566.32 or some fourteen dollars a day for each Hungarian. About \$3,500 was paid to Brown's Hotel, while some \$658.82 was spent on champagne, sherry, maderia, whiskey in the rooms, stamps, haircuts, etc. For the hire of carriages used by Kossuth and his followers the bill was \$319.50. When Kossuth later stopped in Washington, the entire bill for six persons amounted to seventy-four dollars or \$3.08 per day for each person. It appears that the difference of some eleven dollars per day for each member of his suite indicates that the followers of the revolutionist lived first-class in Washington. The bill incurred by the Hungarians was paid by Congress out of the civil and diplomatic appropriation fund.

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In February, while Kossuth was in Cincinnati, the Magyar wrote a letter to the Senate in which he expressed his gratitude for having

63. Poore, op. cit., I, 404-05. Sargent, op. cit., II, 383.

64. U.S. Congressional Globe, 32nd Congress, 1st Session, XXIV, Part 2, p. 1692.

been entertained in Washington. Kossuth's stock with the Senators on Capitol Hill had fallen so abruptly that the resolution to accept his letter passed by a vote of 21 to 20.⁶⁵

65. Ibid., XXIV, Part 1, p. 590.

CHAPTER IV

THE MIDWEST

Accompanied by a delegation from Harrisburg, Kossuth passed through Baltimore enroute to the Midwest. In Harrisburg, Kossuth attended a banquet and addressed the Pennsylvania General Assembly. With more than three hundred persons present at the banquet, Governor Thomas Johnston in introducing the Magyar asserted that the ex-governor came here not only for sympathy, but for material aid for his homeland. In replying, Kossuth predicted that if he did not receive aid for Hungary, his native land would be crushed by absolutism, and the people of the United States would share in this defeat because they did not render sufficient aid to overcome despotic principles.¹

At the State Capitol where Kossuth addressed the legislature chaos reigned. With all seats reserved, people not holding passes rushed into the hall with such a force that the military had to be called to restore order.² In his address to the General Assembly, Kossuth said that if only one-half of the four hundred thousand persons in Pennsylvania would give one dollar, Hungary would have fifty thousand of the needed seventy thousand muskets for the next revolution.³

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1. Pennsylvania [Philadelphia] Telegraph, January 21, 1852.
 2. Francis and Theresa Pulszky, White, Red, Black, Sketches of Society in the United States (London: Trubner and Company, 1853), II, 66.
 3. Pennsylvania [Philadelphia] Telegraph, January 21, 1852.

Terminating his stay in Harrisburg, the Magyar and his suite entrained for Pittsburgh, the first of his seven major stops in the Midwest. However, in crossing the Alleghanies, Kossuth's suite of twenty-three was snowbound at Hollidaysburg for three days. The people of this hamlet in their anxiety to see the Magyar, actually⁴ broke the lock on the door of his bedroom.

At Hollidaysburg the Hungarians incurred a large bill for their three-day stay. The total bill was slightly over four hundred dollars. Of this amount, one hundred and thirty dollars was paid for rooms that were "ill-ventilated, badly heated and clean as an Italian osteria." The total cost of the board was one hundred and fifty dollars. According⁵ to the Cincinnati Gazette, the rest of the money was spent on alcohol. Resuming their journey, the suite traveled in sleighs and covered themselves with buffalo skins and placed hot bricks under their feet in an effort to ward off the bitter cold. Approaching Pittsburgh at seven-thirty in the evening, Kossuth avoided a reception which had been carefully planned when he arranged that no signal was to be given on the outskirts of⁶ Pittsburgh to announce his arrival.

For the first three days of his eleven day visit in Pittsburgh, the Magyar announced that he was sick and fatigued. Furthermore, he declared that he would receive only a very few delegations of "well-wishers" before

4. Pulszky, op. cit., II, 72-73.

5. February 17, 1852. 6. Pulszky, op. cit., II, 78-80.

his first major speech which took place on the fourth day.⁷

During these first three days in Pittsburgh, Kossuth formulated plans of grandeur to raise money for the Hungarian fund. The Magyar believed that at best he would come into contact with five million persons out of the twenty-five million people living in the United States. Therefore, he devised State, County and District Associations for the Friends of Hungary. Any person joining one of these associations would be required to contribute one dollar in four monthly installments. The first installment was to be paid immediately. To form an association all that was required was to enroll twenty-five persons. Kossuth, as a reward, promised to place each contributor's name in the archives in Hungary.⁸

In his major address at the Masonic Hall, Kossuth renewed his efforts to receive assurance that America would not remain indifferent to a foreign power intervening in a country trying to gain its independence. Pittsburgh's guest believed that the Hungarian revolution would have been successful if Russia had not aided Austria in the suppression of Hungary. Therefore, his remarks, for the most part, were directed against Russia. The Revolutionist stated that if the United States passed a declaration favorable to his cause, Russia would respect this declaration because she would have all Europe against her. The Hungarian also pointed out that

7. Pittsburg Gazette, January 24, 1852. 8. Ibid.

the United States would benefit commercially by an independent Hungary because Hungary will import thirteen million dollars of cotton a year and ten thousand miles of steel rails for railroads in the near future. ⁹

The Hungarian, filled with optimism, still believed that his cause was not lost in attempting to change America's basic foreign policy. Despite his chilly reception in Washington by many government officials, Kossuth wrote George Sanders, the leader of "Young America," that he still must try to get Congress to express favorable declaration to his cause. In addition to this, the Magyar now wanted the United States to suspend her neutrality laws of 1818 to countries seeking their independence. ¹⁰

The Catholic element in Pittsburgh, similar to New York, remained indifferent to the city's guest. Bishop John O'Connor assailed the Hungarian because he made common cause with "Red Republicans and Socialists who wished to make Europe godless." Kossuth probably wanting to appeal to the Catholic element, said that he had many Catholic friends in America, but he hoped to see a separation between church and state in Europe. ¹¹

9. Ibid., January 27, 1852.

10. George N. Sanders, The Political Correspondence of the Late Hon. George N. Sanders (New York: A Sale Catalogue Presenting Extracts from his Many Letters, 1914), Item No. 92, January 27, 1852.

11. Pittsburg Gazette, January 27, 1852.

Other activities of the Magyar in Pittsburgh were receiving numerous callers, speaking to the Germans, the Young Men's Society and the Ladies Association of the Friends of Hungary. From the latter group he received a book inscribed with the names of one thousand ladies enrolled in Hungarian clubs. One Hungarian club from Allegheny County asked its members to donate any pistols, rifles or muskets in any condition
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to the Hungarian fund.

Pittsburgh, like Harrisburg, Philadelphia and New York, put on costly parades and had expensive banquets to entertain Kossuth. These parades and banquets irritated Kossuth. While in Pittsburgh, Kossuth in talking to a Cleveland delegation said that over a hundred and sixty thousand dollars had been raised for the "suffering cause" but only thirty thousand had been realized for the Hungarian fund. Despite this probably exaggerated claim, the Hungarian said that the rest of the money had been eaten, drunk and spent for foolish and costly parades
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"for which I have no taste, and in which I take no pleasure."

After spending eleven days in Pittsburgh, Kossuth took the train for Cleveland. Enroute, deputations were present at almost every station. At Newburg, Ohio, one admirer called Kossuth "a political Jesus Christ." The ex-governor in response to this said, "Say not that, he is the holy one, but for freedom I am willing now in humble imitation of Him,

12. Ibid. January 29, 30, 1852.

13. The [Washington] National Intelligencer, February 5, 1852.

to bear the cross of Freedom."¹⁴ At another station the crowd was so dense that the ex-governor climbed atop the railroad cars so that the crowd could see him. Gatherings of persons along the route to Cleveland were so numerous that there were disputes in order to see which delegation had preference in welcoming Ohio's newest arrival.¹⁵ Naturally, at these whistle stops Kossuth received donations to the Hungarian fund.

Kossuth arrived in Cleveland on January 31 at six-thirty in the evening, and the people were made aware of his presence by pre-arranged artillery blasts. The Magyar, despite his dislike for processions, was greeted by a torchlight and a military parade which accompanied him from the station to his hotel. After waving his hat and thanking the people for the reception, the ex-governor retired for the night pleading sickness.¹⁶

Conflict immediately erupted between the Cleveland committee and Kossuth concerning the method of raising material aid. The committee, which naturally arranged for his activities during his brief tenure in the city, wanted the Magyar to accept a flat fee for his speaking engagements. To the Hungarian this plan was unacceptable because Kossuth said that he would feel like a professional lecturer, and this type of

14. Andrew M. Leffler, "Kossuth Comes to Cleveland," The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly, LVI (July, 1947), p. 252.

15. Pulszky, op. cit., II, 90-92.

16. Ibid., II, 92-93. The [Cleveland] Plain Dealer, February 2,

arrangement would degrade his cause and hurt the dignity of his
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 tour. Kossuth won his point.

His major address in Cleveland was at the Melodeon, and the price
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 of admission was three and four dollars. With some of the capacity
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 audience wearing Kossuth satin badges which sold for twenty-five cents,
 the Magyar in speaking for the one hundred and fifty-seventh time urged
 his listeners to assist the people of Europe in their fight for liberty.
 Kossuth, somewhat versed in local history told the ticketholders, like
 Commodore Perry did years ago in this region, not to give up the ship
 20
 of freedom.

One of the many groups that visited Cleveland's guest were the
 children from the First and Second Presbyterian Church. These children
 presented the Hungarian eighty dollars and a book with their names and
 ages written therein. In expressing his thanks to the children, Kossuth
 said that he would read their names to his children so that when they
 21
 become adults they would know whom their friends were in America.

While in Cleveland Kossuth announced the sale of Hungarian bonds
 which had arrived from New York. These bonds were issued in one, five,
 ten, fifty and hundred dollar denominations. The purchaser of the one,
 five and ten dollar bonds received a facsimile of Kossuth's signature,

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17. The [Cleveland] Plain Dealer, February 2, 1852.
 18. The [Cleveland] Herald, January 30, 1852.
 19. Ibid., January 29, 1852.
 20. Ibid., February 2, 1852. 21. Ibid.

while the buyer of the larger denominations received his autograph.

The indenture provided for four per cent interest payable semi-annually.

The interest and the principal were to be paid with the establishment of

Hungarian independence at the treasury or through an authorized agent

in London or New York.²³ The Hungarian tried to stress and emphasize

that the bonds were not gifts but a loan solidified by Hungarian assets.

These assets were: the absence of a Hungarian national debt, deposits

of gold and other metals, and salt mines.²⁴ As to the value of the bonds,

the New York Journal of Commerce gave an extremely low rating to these

bonds when this journal compared them to the recent Cuban debentures

issued by Lopez and his followers.²⁵

After collecting over eighteen hundred dollars in Cleveland, Kossuth's next major stop was Columbus. Passing through towns in a special railroad car, the Hungarian collected enroute \$312.50.²⁶

Arriving in Columbus in the evening, Kossuth was greeted by a torchlight parade, a brass band, a military band and five fire engines decorated with Turkish flags. Riding in a carriage next to Governor George Wood and

22. The [Cleveland] Plain Dealer, February 3, 1852.

23. The [Cleveland] Daily Herald, February 3, 1852.

24. The [Cleveland] Plain Dealer, February 3, 1852.

25. Daily [Louisville] Courier, March 6, 1852. An article reprinted from the New York Journal of Commerce, no date given.

26. The [Columbus] Ohio State Journal, February 4, 5, 1852.

accompanied by members of the legislature, Kossuth had opportunity to observe other groups in the parade which even included a delegation of the city's butchers.²⁷ Upon arrival at his quarters, the Magyar asked the multitude to excuse him because of hunger pangs, but he promised to speak to the citizens tomorrow.²⁸

The big item on Kossuth's agenda in Columbus was his address to the Ohio Legislature. The Revolutionist in speaking to this law-making body said that "Hungary is a Golgotha where my people [are] nailed to the cross," but let us not despair because the "cross is not the emblem of death, it is the sign of resurrection and of bliss." Continuing his optimism, Kossuth, in a poetic vein, said that a bright light is spreading over the dark sky of humanity and "the glorious galaxy of the United States rises with imposing brightness over the horizon of oppressed nations."²⁹ The members of the Ohio Legislature, ten weeks after Kossuth left the capital, actually voted on a joint resolution that would have authorized the governor to loan all the public arms belonging to the state to Louis Kossuth. Moreover, this resolution passed the Senate by a vote of 16 to 8 but was tabled in the House by a vote of 59 to 26.³⁰ This

27. Jacob H. Struder, Columbus, Ohio: Its History, Resources and Progress (Columbus: Jacob Struder, 1873), p. 58.

28. The [Columbus] Ohio State Journal, February 4, 1852.

29. "Kossuth Before the Ohio Legislature," The Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly, XII (April, 1903), pp. 116-17.

30. Ibid., p. 116n.

rabid pro-Kossuth resolution was not the work of the Senate, but was written by Kossuth as revealed in a letter written to the Secretary of the Treasury, Thomas Corwin.³¹

Perhaps, the real importance of this joint resolution demonstrated the feelings and enthusiasm that Kossuth generated among the politicians who often echo the sentiments of their constituents.

In Ohio's capital a little under two thousand dollars was donated to the Hungarian cause. Most of the money came from a Kossuth banquet.³² A small but significant amount, two hundred and eleven dollars, was donated by the members and officers of the Ohio senate.³³ When the ex-governor left Columbus on February 9, it was reported that he did not pay his bills in this city.³⁴

The next stop on Kossuth's journey through the Midwest was Cincinnati. The Hungarian was so disgusted by parades and exhausted by speeches that he decided to send a member of his suite to Cincinnati to arrange matters with the committee in charge of Kossuth during his sojourn in the city. The effort to halt the parades and banquets was partly successful, while the attempt to diminish the number of speaking engagements was a failure.

With the firing of cannons to announce his arrival, Kossuth and twelve members of his suite entered this rapidly growing city in the

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31. MS Thomas Corwin Papers. Letter from Coombs to Corwin, February 22, 1852.
 32. The [Columbus] Ohio State Journal, February 3, 1852.
 33. Ibid., February 9, 1852.
 34. MS Thomas Corwin Papers., loc. cit.

absence of a parade as he requested. The mayor, in welcoming the city's newest arrival, demonstrated not only outward expression of sympathy but promised material aid. Kossuth gave a short appropriate address, and the crowd dispersed after the mayor of Cincinnati led three cheers for Kossuth. ³⁵

The first major address of the ex-governor was to the people of Cincinnati at the city's market place. In this free "open air" oration, the Hungarian kept referring to the aid that America received from France and the risks that Louis XVI took during America's war for independence. The Magyar asserted that Hungary was fighting a war similar to the American revolution and asked his audience if the nations of Europe were not entitled to the aid that the United States received during her rebellion. In closing his oration, he remarked that the risk to America in aiding Europe was almost nil since this nation had matured. ³⁶

While in Cincinnati Kossuth, in an effort to please as many groups as possible and also to raise money, delivered many speeches. One day he delivered two major speeches. In the morning he addressed the Germans in their native tongue, and in the evening he spoke to the money raising club called the Association of Friends of Hungary. The admissions to these orations was one dollar. ³⁷ In another address before the ladies of Cincinnati, Kossuth urged the women to use the "sanctuary of your domestic life, that the ice of miscalculating [foreign] policy shall melt." In

35. The Cincinnati Gazette, February 10, 1852.

36. Ibid., February 14, 1852.

37. Ibid., February 16, 1852.

flattery he called his feminine audience the "Queens of the Queen
 38
 City."

While the revolutionist was in this southern Ohio city, the so-called Kossuth hats made their appearance. These hats were designed by John Genin, a New York hatter. Genin, having a large inventory of material, made a black, low-crown hat and ornamented it with a black feather similar to the hat that Kossuth wore on his arrival in New York. In Cincinnati these hats were advertised in newspapers in different
 39
 styles, such as the soft cassimere or the Hungarian plush cap.

While in this city Kossuth and three members of his suite became members of the Cincinnati Lodge of Freemasonry. After passing through the first degree, the members of the Cincinnati lodge decided to promote
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 the Hungarians one degree each evening until they became master masons.

At his hotel headquarters the Hungarian received numerous delegations who donated money such as the clergy, \$53; girls under twelve, \$19; members of the Israelite population, \$100; Cincinnati Typographical Union, \$53; Dayton Society \$100; and the Italian residents, \$70. One deputation, the Youth's Hungarian Aid Association composed of fifty boys between the ages of ten and sixteen donated \$63.16 to the cause. Kossuth in accepting

38. Ibid., February 20, 1852.

39. William James Grand and John Fiske, Appleton's Encyclopaedia of American Biography (New York: D. Appleton and Sons, 1887), II, 625.

40. The Cincinnati Gazette, February 11, 18, 1852.

this gift said that he wanted everyone's autograph "to preserve as long as he lives to show to the boys of Hungary."⁴¹

During Kossuth's stay in Cincinnati, Orestes A. Brownson, the New England writer and abolitionist on a lecture tour in this city, denounced Kossuth and his cause by asserting that Hungary had been part of Austria for over three hundred years and that the Hungarian revolution was not justified since the ruler of Austria violated no charter as George III did in America.⁴²

Local newspaper opinion in this city was only sympathetic to Kossuth's cause with one exception. This exception was the rabid Cincinnati Non-pareil. This journal wanted the United States to send regiments to Hungary "to right matters."⁴³

Near the end of his visit a banquet in his honor was given on the eve of Washington's birthday with four hundred and fifty persons present. In alluding to Washington's "Farewell Address," Kossuth told his listeners that the policy of Washington was intended as a temporary policy according to the exigencies of his time. Kossuth again said that his main object in America was to secure assurance that the United States would restrain other countries from interfering in a domestic political revolution.⁴⁴

41. Ibid., February 19, 20, 21, 24, 1852.

42. Ibid., February 16, 1852.

43. Eugene H. Rosebloom, The Civil War Era, 1850-1873 (Vol. IV of The History of the State of Ohio, ed. by Carl F. Wittke. 6 Vols.; Columbus: Ohio State Archaeological and History Society, 1941-1944), p. 265.

44. The Cincinnati Gazette, February 23, 1852.

Since Kossuth was an official guest of Cincinnati, the city authorities were liable for the bills that the Hungarians incurred during their seventeen-day visit. The total amount of the bill was \$1,348.23. Some of the items in the bill that the hotel proprietor presented to the city council were: fires in the rooms, \$84.50; extra meals in rooms, \$20.50; ale and porter, \$46.15; champagne and sherry wine, \$94.00; sundries at the bar, \$67.95; shaves and haircuts, \$14.10.⁴⁵ The bill was obviously inflated by the hotel proprietor because the city council was able to reduce the total bill by a third.⁴⁶

On the morning of his departure Kossuth expressed chagrin to the committee in charge of his visit because so little material aid had been raised. It seems that on his arrival the committee had promised him twenty-five thousand dollars if Kossuth would let the committee handle his affairs.⁴⁷ The amount of money that Cincinnatians gave to the cause was fourteen thousand dollars, and of this amount nine thousand was raised through the sale of bonds.⁴⁸ Daunted by this amount but hiding his feelings, Kossuth in his final financial effort urged Ohioans to form Hungarian associations to raise money after he left the state.⁴⁹

After being disappointed in Cincinnati, the next large city that

45. The [Boston] Evening Traveller, May 6, 1852.

46. Pulszky, op. cit., II, 112.

47. The Cincinnati Gazette, February 28, 1852.

48. Ibid., February 27, 1852.

49. Ibid., February 26, 1852.

the Magyar visited was Indianapolis. Traveling down the Ohio river by steamboat, Kossuth was accompanied by an Indiana delegation which included many members of the state legislature. However, Kossuth proved to be a disappointment to the Indiana committee because he isolated himself in his cabin during the trip. The Magyar pleaded fatigue.⁵⁰

Arriving in Madison, Indiana, in order to take the train to Indianapolis, Kossuth announced that he would deliver a speech in Madison to the people who donated money to the Hungarian fund. Finding the church filled with ticket holders of "fashionable people," Kossuth announced that he would in "this country of equality" deliver an additional address from his hotel balcony to satisfy the mass who wanted to hear him.⁵¹

Reaching Indianapolis by a special train in the afternoon, the ex-governor was welcomed by a parade that included such organizations as Downie Saxe Horn Band, Association of Turners, Independent Fire Relief Company and the O. K. Bucket Company. On arrival at the capitol, the Hungarian was introduced to the populace by Governor William Wright. Despite the noise and confusion that prevailed throughout his address, Kossuth did manage to predict that if the United States remained indifferent to the oppressed nations of Europe, America would not preserve its freedom in the next forty years because of the combined pressures of domestic discord and foreign interference.^{52.}

50. Pulszky, *op. cit.*, II, 142. 51. *Ibid.*, II, 147-48.

52. *Weekly [Indianapolis] State Journal*, March 6, 1852.

The living conditions for Kossuth in Indianapolis were terrible. One member of suite wrote that the hotel rooms were ill-heated and the walls had "crevices large enough to pass my hand through." The meat was described as "tough as cow-meat," and the water placed on the table in bottles was recorded as "muddy."⁵³

The reception held for the Hungarian at Governor Wright's house was reminiscent of, but worse than the inauguration of President Jackson in 1829. Ladies and gentlemen, in this democratic reception, were present with their muddy boots and torn clothes. Workmen returning from their jobs in the late afternoon came to the reception with dirty faces and hands and soiled clothes. The women wore out-of-style dresses sent from New York because they couldn't be sold in the East, and their jewelry consisted of glass.⁵⁴

Although Indianapolis was as far north as Kossuth went in the Midwest, other cities such as, Springfield, Chicago and Detroit showed interest in the ex-governor. The Magyar was invited to Springfield when he was in Indianapolis. A future president of the United States, Abraham Lincoln, along with sixty-two other citizens attended this meeting. Lincoln favored nothing stronger than sympathy.⁵⁵ In the infant city of Chicago, an official invitation failed to bring Kossuth there "to the great

53. Pulszky, *op. cit.*, II, 149-50.

54. *Ibid.*

55. Roy P. Basler (ed.), *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1953), II, 116-18.

disappointment of those aggressive exponents of liberty."⁵⁶ In Detroit Mayor Zachariah Chandler, commencing a long career of public service,⁵⁷ invited the revolutionist to the city.

After leaving Indianapolis, the ex-governor returned to Madison and boarded the Lady Pike for his next stop, Louisville.

Around midnight on March 3, Kossuth arrived in Louisville, and he was met by thundering artillery and a large crowd which rushed aboard the Lady Pike to greet him.⁵⁸ In this throng of well-wishers one group was absent; they were the city authorities. The Common Council or the lower house of Louisville's municipal government had on four occasions drawn up resolutions of welcome, but they were rejected by the Board of Alderman.⁵⁹ With no official welcome committee, the people formed a citizens' committee.⁶⁰

The major address of Kossuth in the Fall City originally was scheduled to take place in front of the Court House but due to the rain, it was transferred to a huge tobacco warehouse. In this free address, which was delivered before an estimated nine thousand persons, Kossuth

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56. Bernice Louise Pierce, A History of Chicago (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1937), I, 28n.
 57. Wilmer Carlyle Harris, Public Life of Zachariah Chandler, 1851-1875 (Lansing, Michigan: Michigan Historical Commission, 1917), pp. 11-12.
 58. Louisville Journal, March 3, 1852.
 59. The [Washington] National Intelligencer, March 4, 1852.
 60. Pulszky, op. cit., II, 158-59.

predicted that if absolutism won over liberty in Europe, the effect would be felt in America. The Magyar in reference to material aid for his homeland said that giving a little private material aid "forces your government into no course, alarms no private interest, attracts no danger, can do no harm, but can do only good."⁶¹

In Louisville, Kossuth and suite received chilly treatment. The editor of the Daily Courier wrote "that he was willing to give a quarter to see a bigger Humbug than Barnum."⁶² "Kossuth hats" somewhat a barometer of popular opinion now were sold in two different types, intervention and non-intervention.⁶³ With the exception of a concert for the benefit of Hungary, the only group that raised money and showed enthusiasm for Kossuth were the German ladies who paid over four hundred dollars to hear him. The Magyar told these German women the way to force a change in the foreign policy of the United States was through the ballot-box.⁶⁴

Since the municipal government did not invite the ex-governor, the cost of lodging Kossuth and ten other Hungarians was paid by a citizens' committee. One expense item that the committee deleted was the usual banquet. The amount of material aid that was raised for the Revolutionist in Louisville was approximately eighteen hundred dollars, mostly through the sale of bonds.⁶⁵

61. Daily [Louisville] Courier, March 5, 1852.

62. Ibid., February 25, March 2, 1852.

63. Ibid., March 1, 2, 1852.

64. Louisville Journal, March 6, 1852.

65. The [St. Louis] Republican, March 9, 1852.

In Louisville, Kossuth was tendered free passage on the Emperor Jones sailing for St. Louis. He accepted this offer. With the steamboat covering a distance of forty-four miles the first two hours on the Ohio river, Kossuth was able to gain a brief respite from his strenuous tour. However, after passing Cairo, a violent storm erupted and the Emperor Jones was led to pacific waters after great difficulty. ⁶⁶

Upon Kossuth's arrival in St. Louis on March 9, chaos, confusion and rowdyism reigned. Persons in their anxiety to see the central European jumped and crawled aboard the Emperor Jones from neighboring steam boats. Next, the mob rushed into the staterooms in such a mass that the captain's only choice was to rush Kossuth ashore. Despite this effort, lamps, glass panes and furniture were destroyed. Once ashore, Kossuth's suite took refuge in a warehouse to avoid the crowd and muddy streets. ⁶⁷

The blame for this waterfront scene rested partly with Kossuth as well as with the people and the local law enforcing agency. The Magyar tired of parades, speeches and pagentry sent a telegram to Mayor Thomas Kennett of St. Louis declining to name the hour of his arrival. In his telegram, Kossuth asked only that rooms be reserved for him and his suite. ⁶⁸

With almost incessant rains during the Magyar's visit to St. Louis, his major speech to the people was repeatedly postponed. The people tired of being disappointed by these cancellations decided to have the

66. Ibid., March 10, 1852.

67. Ibid., Pulszky, op. cit., II, 171.

68. The [St. Louis] Republican, March 8, 1852.

oration no matter what the weather. As chance would have it, Kossuth delivered his two hour oration in drenching rains.⁶⁹ With his soaked audience listening to this free address in the muddy streets, the ex-governor opined that our indifference to European affairs is a suicidal path to America's existence because the fate of our country rested upon the fate of the world. By remaining indifferent, Kossuth reasoned that the United States gave passive approval to despotic principles. In closing his address, the Hungarian asserted that "he who is not for freedom, is⁷⁰ against freedom."

Kossuth in St. Louis was constantly attacked by the Catholic and Irish segments of the population. Archbishop John Kendrick warned his laity against "the detestable principles of the Hungarian."⁷¹ St. Louis's largest newspaper, The Republican, thoroughly abused the Hungarian.⁷² Kossuth in response to these attacks said that his objective was temporal and not spiritual.⁷³

In spite of these assaults, the Hungarian received a substantial amount of material aid in St. Louis. Part of this success was due to the Committee of One Hundred who divided the city into six wards and had volunteers canvass for material aid.⁷⁴ Numerous delegations also gave

69. Pulszky, *op. cit.*, II, 173.

70. The [St. Louis] Republican, March 13, 1852.

71. Daily [Cleveland] True Democrat, January 12, 1852.

72. Thomas J. Mc Cormack, Memoirs of Gustave Koerner (Cedar Rapids: The Torch Press, 1909), I, 582.

73. The New York Daily Times, March 23, 1852.

74. The [St. Louis] Republican, March 6, 1852.

money to the Hungarian fund.⁷⁵ The largest single sum of money that the Magyar received was twenty-five hundred dollars from an address delivered in the largest hall in St. Louis.⁷⁶ The total amount of money that the ex-governor received was in excess of five thousand dollars, and this was the net amount since the Committee of One Hundred paid all his expenses.⁷⁷

While in this Missouri city, Kossuth received an invitation from the governor of Iowa to visit that state and to see the large numbers of Hungarian exiles in Iowa, especially at New Buda. Kossuth in his reply to the governor said that present commitments would make it impossible for him to come, but the Magyar readily suggested that the people might form a Hungarian association to render practical sympathetic aid for Hungary.⁷⁸ On March 16, Kossuth boarded the Aleck Scott and sailed down the Mississippi into the Deep South.⁷⁹

75. Ibid., March 16, 1852. 76. Ibid., March 17, 1852.
 77. Ibid., March 18, 1852. 78. Ibid., March 4, 1852.
 79. Ibid., March 16, 1852

CHAPTER V

THE SOUTH

After leaving St. Louis Kossuth's next major visit was to New Orleans. Before following the Hungarian into the South, perhaps it would be appropriate to say something about his oratory.

Twelve years before the Magyar came to America he did not know English. During the early and hectic stages of his political career, the Revolutionist was sentenced to prison for three years for his subversive activities against Austria. It was in prison that Kossuth learned English from three books that served as his texts; these volumes were an English grammar, an English dictionary and Shakespeare's plays.¹

Probably the best way to judge his ability as a speaker is to relate what his contemporaries had to say about his style and speeches. Eclectic Magazine said that in delivering a speech the Hungarian was calm and grave, never waving his hands or stamping his feet. His sole aim, according to Eclectic,² was to appeal to the intellect and to convince rather than excite.³ From reading his speeches, Littell's

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1. "The Eloquence of Kossuth," The Eclectic Magazine, XXV (February, 1852), p. 217. Pennsylvania [Philadelphia] Telegraph, January 14, 1852.
 2. The Eclectic Magazine, loc. cit.
 3. Daily [Cleveland] True Democrat, February 6, 1852.

Living Age, in discussing the effectiveness of his political discourses, wrote that the Magyar "assures the doubtful, converts skeptics and opponents and warms his enthusiastic followers."⁴ The New York Herald in commenting on the eloquence of the ex-governor said that his orations "are not the babbling of a shallow brook but the majestic smooth flow of a deep river." This newspaper believed that his speeches were "sublime in simplicity," touching with pathos "and dazzling to the brain."⁵ The Pittsburg Gazette wrote that he used "no sophism or verbal dexterity"⁶ when he presented his addresses.

The eminent Massachusetts politician, George Frisby Hoar, who heard the Magyar on six occasions, placed him above such notable orators as Everett, Webster, Choate, Sumner, Blaine and others. Hoar, who believed that Kossuth had mastered the English language, said that the Hungarian had the rare gift of choosing the right words which accurately expressed his meaning.⁷ Governor George Boutwell of Massachusetts recorded in his autobiography that Kossuth, although limited to one theme, "never with any offensive or tedious repetition bored his listeners." Boutwell ranked Kossuth as a great speaker and said that the Magyar's greatest contribution to the world was the word "liberty" because he

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4. "Kossuth," Littell's Living Age, XXXII (January, 1852), p. 131.
 5. December 17, 1851. 6. February 6, 1852.
 7. George F. Hoar, The Autobiography of Seventy Years (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903), I, 359-60.

contribution to the world was the word "liberty" because he gave that word its widest possible meaning.⁸ Author and journalist, Richard Henry Dana, believed that Kossuth's speeches were clear, audible, soft and flexible. Dana praised Kossuth's earnestness and his dignified manner when he spoke.⁹ Gustave Koerner, Illinois' lieutenant governor, believed that Kossuth's great oratorical ability was due to the fact that the ex-governor possessed the ability to work upon the heart and the mind at the same time while controlling his own emotions. Koerner wrote that "the words coursed from his mouth like the first flowing of a placid river."¹⁰ Historian and educator, George Ticknor praised Kossuth as a brilliant orator and wrote that his speeches were "magnetizing" to his audience.¹¹ Frederick Bancroft Seward wrote that Kossuth was singularly fluent with only the slightest trace of an accent. Kossuth reminded Frederick W. Seward of his Shakespearian studies.¹² Thomas Wentworth Higginson, the abolitionist minister, believed that there was no limit to his ability as a speaker.¹³ Captious critics of the Hungarian's oratorical ability were not to be found.

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8. George S. Boutwell, Reminiscences of Sixty Years in Public Affairs (New York: Mc Clure Phillips and Company), I, 192, 206, 213.
 9. Charles Francis Adams, Richard Henry Dana, A Biography (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1890), I, 216.
 10. Thomas J. Mc Cormack, Memoirs of Gustave Koerner (Cedar Rapids: The Torch Press, 1909), I, 577-78.
 11. G. S. Hillard, Life, Letters and Journals of George Ticknor (Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1876), II, 276-77.
 12. Frederick William Seward, Reminiscences of a War-Time Statesman and Diplomat, 1830-1915 (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1916), p. 101.
 13. Mary Thacker Higginson, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, The Story of His Life (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1914), p. 98.

Sailing down the Mississippi toward New Orleans on the steamboat Aleck Scott, Kossuth, with five members of his suite, announced they would go to Jackson and pay their respects to Governor Henry S. Foote, who as a senator, did much to secure the Hungarians release from Turkey in the Spring of 1851.¹⁴ In Jackson there was a mild favorable demonstration in Kossuth's honor, but the Magyar publicly announced that he did not come to meet the people but only to see Governor Foote. After dining with Foote, Kossuth was received in the House of Representatives by a citizens' committee. No official legislative proceedings could take place because the legislature was not in session. The speeches of the citizens' committee wished Kossuth a pleasant visit and the best of success. The Hungarian's policy and material aid campaign received no encouragement from the Mississippians.¹⁵ After leaving Jackson, the Magyar returned to Vicksburg where the people wanted to hear him, but they were disappointed when Kossuth abruptly sailed enroute to New Orleans.¹⁶

Upon Kossuth's arrival in New Orleans, there was no excitement or parade in his honor. Staying at the St. Louis Hotel, Kossuth was visited by the mayor and other minor officials who wished him a pleasant visit to their city. Kossuth in speaking to the mayor said that his purpose in

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14. Francis and Theresa Pulszky, White, Red, Black, Sketches of Society in the United States (London: Trubner and Company, 1853), II, 250.
 15. The [Jackson] Flag of Union, March 26, April 2, 1852.
 16. Pulszky, op. cit., II, 256.

coming to New Orleans was that he wanted to be understood and to drive away any erroneous impressions which might have been formed concerning him.
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The ex-governor while staying at his hotel received visitors each day from eleven to two o'clock. Responding to public requests, the Magyar announced that he would give an oration in Lafayette Square to the citizens of New Orleans.
18 Speaking in the rain, Kossuth reminded the people of the aid that we received from Europe during our revolution and proclaimed that all he wanted and desired was states' rights to protect his country from foreign interference. In an attack upon our neutrality laws, Kossuth said that if he fitted out an armed expedition, the government of the United States would send him to prison for ten years. Then, Kossuth asked if this was neutrality. The Magyar answered his own question when he said that the prohibition of military expeditions to free the oppressed nations of Europe was a policy of submission to
19 despots.

After spending six days in New Orleans, it was the opinion of the New York Tribune that the Hungarian was received in New Orleans more coldly than any other city that he visited. In this city no large delegations called upon him at his hotel. Evidence of the cool reception

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17. The [New Orleans] Daily Picayune, March 27, 1852. The New Orleans Commercial Bulletin, March 29, 1852.
18. The [New Orleans] Daily Picayune, March 28, 1852.
19. Ibid.

is witnessed by the fact that Kossuth received only \$530 for the Hungarian
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 fund.

Kossuth next stopped at Mobile. Traveling by steamer, Kossuth must have felt that his penetration in the South was a mistake. In contrast to the North, the legislatures of Alabama and Georgia passed resolutions condemning Kossuth's course by stating that it is the duty of the United States to have no entangling alliances and to practice a doctrine of
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 non-intervention. Other southern legislatures either were not in session or ignored Kossuth. Nowhere could a resolution from a southern state sustaining the Hungarian be found. One city, Richmond, which looked upon the arrival of Kossuth in December favorably, later reconsidered
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 its action, and the city council voted to table the resolution.

The only bright spot for Kossuth in the South occurred in Mobile. Arriving on the steamboat Farmer and waiting for another boat to take him to Montgomery, the citizens of Mobile spontaneously organized a committee and invited the ex-governor to be their guest. Kossuth, originally intending to pass through Mobile in order to arrive in Massachusetts before the legislature adjourned, agreed to stay overnight. After an address to the citizens at the local hall in which he collected over a

20. April 12, 1852.

21. U.S. Congress, House, Alabama, Non-Intervention, 32nd Congress, 1st Session, 1852. Misc. Doc. No. 7.

U.S. Congress, House, Georgia, Non-Intervention, 32nd Congress, 1st Session, 1851. Misc. Doc. No. 19.

22. The Baltimore American, December 27, 1851.

thousand dollars, Kossuth left Mobile for Montgomery on April 5.

Leading southern magazines treated Kossuth harshly. The Southern Quarterly Review called the Magyar "a temporary plaything to party demagogues," a subject for stump oratory, and a "pawn on the political chess-board." This quarterly under the editorship of William Gillmore Simms also condemned the ex-governor for not paying his hotel bills and for issuing bonds which never will be paid.²⁴ The Southern Literary Messenger said the Magyar was a fanatical demagogue and warned its readers²⁵ of his shrewdness or cleverness in acquiring money.

In Montgomery Kossuth remained overnight and received a mild demonstration in his honor. Upon arrival in Augusta, Georgia, Kossuth planned to stay overnight, but he cancelled his plans when he discovered²⁶ no committee or crowd of welcome. The Magyar proceeded to Charleston.

In Charleston no committee or parade marked his arrival, and few people visited him at his hotel to express their sympathy. Leaving Charleston, he took the steamboat for Wilmington, where he spent Easter²⁷ Sunday. Arriving in Petersburg, Virginia on April 12, the Hungarian, much to his surprise, was greeted at his hotel by throngs of sympathizers.

23. Pulszky, op. cit., III, 3, 7. Daily [Mobile] Advertiser, April 4, 10, 1852.

24. "Kossuth and Intervention," The Southern Quarterly Review n.s. VI (July, 1852), pp. 227-28.

25. "Letters from New York," The Southern Literary Messenger, XVIII (January, 1852), p. 60.

26. Savannah Republican, April 13, 1852.

27. Pulszky, op. cit., III, 26.

In a short address, Kossuth told the people that his visit to their city was unplanned, but he assured the citizens that he had no regrets. After a thirty minute speech on the condition of Europe, Kossuth retired to his hotel to spend the night in this city.²⁸ Kossuth left for Richmond the next morning. Upon his arrival in Richmond, the Magyar missed his scheduled train, but he finally arrived at Aquia Creek where he took a steamboat for Washington.²⁹

Arriving in Washington for a three day visit before going to New England, Kossuth found no greeters or parades. With absences of speeches, the only thing of importance that the Magyar did was to visit Mount Vernon. Boarding a steamboat, he sailed down the Potomac with Senator Seward and his wife. Kossuth visited Washington's house and tomb. One member of his suite recorded that Mount Vernon was in a neglected state with rotten steps and grass growing in the walkways.³⁰

Leaving the Nation's Capital on April 17, Kossuth made speeches at Jersey City and Newark. At Jersey City the ex-governor summarized concisely his thoughts of the South when he said "the weather is cold here but I must say where I have been, though the weather is warmer, the hearts are colder."³¹

28. The New York Daily Tribune, April 15, 1852.

29. Pulszky, op. cit., III, 26.

30. The [Washington] Republic, April 16, 1852. Pulszky, op. cit., III, 30.

31. The [Washington] Republic, April 24, 1852.

In Newark there were reminiscences of the Midwest because there was a military parade in which Kossuth reviewed the troops on horseback.³² Following this parade, a dinner was given in his honor at the city hall. In this city a speech that Kossuth was to deliver became a major hassle. It seems that the church where the Magyar was to speak sold tickets to the people for one dollar, but Kossuth upon learning this objected because his speech was advertised as free. The trustees objected to Kossuth's suggestion that admission be free with donations accepted. With his speech postponed one day, the matter was finally resolved to the satisfaction of all when it was decided that entry into the church³³ was to be secured with the purchase of a one dollar Hungarian bond.

32. The New York Daily Tribune, April 22, 1852.

33. Ibid., April 23, 1852.

CHAPTER VI

MASSACHUSETTS

Upon Kossuth's second arrival in New York City, he was met by a sub-committee of three sent from the Massachusetts Legislature to conduct the Hungarian to that state. Traveling in a special car provided by the legislature of the Bay State, the train stopped briefly at Stamford and Bridgeport before its arrival in New Haven.

After being welcomed by tolling bells and cannon fire in New Haven, the mayor conducted his guest to Yale College and Whitneyville. With the faculty of Yale greeting him,¹ Kossuth visited the Trumbull gallery.² At Whitneyville the Magyar received twenty rifles enwrapped in an inscribed banner which read "Material Aid for Hungary." After hearing an address by Eli Whitney, Kossuth in accepting this gift said that he "will arm twenty men who will be lying at my side in battle when the danger is the greatest." After collecting over two hundred dollars in Connecticut, Kossuth left for Northampton, Massachusetts.³

Kossuth's suite, now composed of five,⁴ arrived in Northampton

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1. Nooman, John Carroll, Nativism in Connecticut, 1829-1860 (Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America, 1938), p. 122.
 2. J. P. Jewett, Kossuth in New England (Boston: J. P. Jewett and Company, 1852), p. 18.
 3. The New York Daily Tribune, May 1, 1852.
 4. Boston Courier, April 26, 1852.

on their way to Boston to the noise of fifteen cannons and two fire companies. After briefly stopping at Erastus Hopkins' residence, the Magyar delivered an oration at the First Congregational Church with the price of admission being a one dollar bond.⁵ Among his listeners were Otto Goldschmidt and his wife Jenny Lind. After realizing over six hundred dollars, the ex-governor left for Springfield.⁶

Being greeted by at least five thousand people in Springfield, Kossuth was so exhausted by his travels that he asked for a one day postponement of his address. Staying at the Massasoit House, Springfield's guest signed his address on the register "no where."⁷ To the crowd in the hotel lobby, Kossuth said, "I have no home."

In his Springfield oration, Kossuth delivered a philippic on American neutrality laws when he proclaimed that Austria, France and Russia can buy weapons of war in the United States to "murder nations." The Magyar stated that if he were to purchase arms and ammunitions to deliver the oppressed people of Europe, he would go to prison for ten years.⁸

Visiting the United States Armory in Springfield, the Revolutionist was amazed with the rapidity in making arms. In a short address to the

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5. Evening [Boston] Transcript, April 26, 1852.
 6. National [Worcester] Aegis, April 28, 1852.
 7. Evening [Boston] Transcript; April 27, 1852.
 8. Jewett, op. cit., p. 31.

workers, the visitor said, "If I only had these arms in Hungary, and the enthusiasm of the people of Springfield to back them up, I have no fear of Hungarian independence."⁹

In this city the Hungarian was welcomed by the Official Massachusetts committee composed of twenty-one members of the state legislature. Henry Wilson, whose public career was climaxed by serving as Vice-President under U. S. Grant, was chairman of this legislative committee. Wilson, using such phrases as "Welcome to soil of Pilgrim exile" and to land of the "first blood of the revolution," assured his guest that the people of Massachusetts are no hero-worshippers and will render no empty compliments.¹⁰ Thus, Kossuth was assured in some degree of a large amount of material aid. The ex-governor's next stop was Worcester before his entry into Boston.

In Worcester there were around seven thousand people to greet Kossuth, plus the usual pageantry.¹¹ Kossuth was cajoled into delivering two speeches within two hours after his arrival. His second address or as it was called "the bondholders' speech" was delivered inside the city hall with a local politician waving a baton over his head and shouting to his audience these words: "Fellow citizens, nine cheers for Kossuth and Hungary." The guest speaker in his oration pleaded for non-intervention

9. Ibid., p. 33.

10. Elias Nason and Thomas Russell, The Life and Public Services of Henry Wilson, Late Vice-President of the United States (Boston: B. B. Russell, 1876), pp. 98-99.

11. Francis and Theresa Pulszky, White, Red, Black, Sketches of Society in the United States (London: Trubner and Company, 1853), III, 51. National [Worcester] Aegis, April 28, 1852.

in the domestic affairs of a country seeking its independence. The Revolutionist said, "What we want is to be assured that, as certain as there is a God in heaven who watches over the destinies of the universe, so is there a mighty nation on earth which watches the law of nations and of Nature's God."¹² After receiving ninety dollars plus the proceeds from his second address, Kossuth's train stopped briefly at Westboro and Natick to gather forty and sixty-seven dollars respectively for the Hungarian fund before arriving in Boston.¹³

Besides the problem of Catholicism and Irish independence and the South, Kossuth in New England was confronted with the radical abolitionists, especially in Massachusetts. William Lloyd Garrison denounced the Magyar because he steadfastly remained neutral on slavery. Garrison found difficulty with Kossuth's reasoning in not meddling in our "peculiar institution."¹⁴ The Boston Brahmin, Wendell Phillips, believed that it was not possible for Kossuth to be indifferent on slavery since silence was endorsing slavery. Phillips wondered why the only oppressed peoples that the Hungarian cared for were in Europe and not the three million slaves in America.¹⁵ Frederick Douglass, the ex-slave, detested Kossuth for not condemning this institution, and he said that there was

12. Jewett, *op. cit.*, pp. 57, 60.

13. The New York Daily Tribune, May 1, 1852.

14. F. J. and W. P. Garrison, William Lloyd Garrison, 1805-1876 (New York: The Century Company, 1899), III, 345, 354.

15. Wendell Phillips, Speeches, Lectures and Letters (third edition; Boston: J. Redpath, 1863), pp. 41, 51-52.

no neutral ground on the question. The Negro said that any man coming to this country could not be a true revolutionist without facing the slavery problem squarely.¹⁶

To welcome the Magyar to Boston, members of the legislative committee decided for exhibitional purposes to alight from the train six miles from the State House or capitol. Leading a procession of thirty-four organizations, Kossuth made his way to the capitol in an open barouche with Anson Burlingame at his side. With a good portion of Boston's population seeing the parade, Kossuth arrived at the State House and found the capitol ornamented with banners such as, "Washington and Kossuth, -- the Occident and the Orient," "Kossuth Welcome to the Capitol of Massachusetts" and "Religion, Education, Freedom, a Tricolor for the World." After two hours of parading and shouting, Boston's guest was introduced by Governor George Boutwell to the crowd. Boutwell predicted that autocratic governments would fall because they contained the seeds of their own destruction. Kossuth, in a short reply, stated that liberty will live on forever because the desire for freedom is basic in nature.¹⁷

In the same afternoon, Kossuth, accompanied by Governor Boutwell, reviewed the troops. Mounted on a cream colored Arabian charger, the Magyar witnessed a parade of sixteen hundred troops in the Boston Commons.¹⁸

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16. Phillis S. Fomer, The Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass (New York: International Publishers, 1950), II, 170-72.
 17. Jewett, op. cit., pp. 66-67.
 18. Ibid., p. 68.

In the evening, Kossuth dined with some members of the legislature. The Hungarian concluded this day of welcome by seeing a display of "Bengal Lights, Roman Candles and Rockets" from the portico of his hotel. Before the crowd finally dispersed, they gave "three cheers for Kossuth, three cheers for Jenny Lind, and three cheers for the Suckers on the Revere House steps."¹⁹

After being introduced to both houses of the legislature the next day, Kossuth prepared the following day for his first major address in Boston at Faneuil Hall. For this oration, seventy invited legislative guests assembled at the State House and paraded into Faneuil Hall before fifteen hundred Bostonians who paid two dollars to hear the orator.²⁰ Kossuth, in imposing fashion, entered the hall and was led down the aisle by Governor Boutwell, Henry Wilson and Joseph Banks, the speaker of the House. After a multitude of introductory speeches, Kossuth mounted the "rostrum."²¹

With the galleries filled with ladies, Kossuth, "dressed in a fine Hungarian costume," stood on a table to commence an address that lasted over two hours.²² The guest orator in his oration defended Hungarian self-government; elaborated on his difficulties in America such as

19. The [Boston] Daily Evening Traveller, April 28, 1852.

20. Evening [Boston] Transcript, April 30, 1852

21. Jewett, op. cit., p. 97.

22. Samuel Longfellow, Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1891), II, 221.

slavery and an election year; and stressed the point that American commerce would expand greatly if an independent Hungary would arise. In discussing his impressions in the United States, the Magyar said that the two outstanding qualities Americans possessed were the general absence of poverty, and the intelligence of the factory worker.²³ After a grand total of over four hours of speeches, seven toasts and four hymns, the ticketholders must have been well satisfied with their purchases.²⁴

Using Boston as his headquarters, Kossuth during the weekdays visited the cities around Boston. With the municipal authorities in Charlestown refusing to extend an invitation to Kossuth, a citizens' committee was organized so the Magyar could visit the city and its famous Bunker Hill.²⁵ With over fifteen thousand persons present, including fifteen hundred ladies and children waving white handkerchiefs, Kossuth stood on a platform to hear the noise of cannons and sounds of music. In his half-hour address, the ex-governor reminded the people of the revolutionary spirit possessed by our forefathers who fought on Bunker and Breeds Hills.²⁶

Lowell in wanting to give the Hungarian a sumptuous welcome put her best foot forward. With factories stopped, schools suspended, flags unfurled and the military and civilian groups organized, Kossuth was

23. Jewett, op. cit., pp. 98-106.

24. Evening [Boston] Transcript, May 1, 1852.

25. Ibid., April 28, 1852.

26. Jewett, op. cit., p. 125.

greeted by a cavalcade of five thousand persons and two hundred horsemen. After reviewing the troops and accepting donations from delegations, the Magyar took a tour of this industrial city and he expressed great interest in the textile mills, the boarding houses and the social status of the industrial workers.

In his bondholder address before fifteen hundred persons, Lowell's guest departed from his usual script when he told his audience that he did not have time to prepare an oration, and therefore, "I must trust inspiration." In his extemporaneous address, Kossuth mostly spoke about the assets of Lowell. After collecting over thirteen hundred dollars in Lowell, the Hungarian visited Lynn, Salem and Roxbury where the price of admission to hear a speech was a one dollar Hungarian bond.

At Harvard College Kossuth created two controversies. President and historian, Jared Sparks, who personally had no admiration for Kossuth and considered him a "humbug," had to overrule the faculty as to where the Magyar was to be received on his visit in Cambridge. The faculty voted to receive Kossuth in the larger First Parish Church where the commencements were held instead of the smaller college chapel. Sparks, who differed with the faculty, carried his point when the faculty reconsidered its actions.

27. Boston Courier, May 6, 1852.

28. Evening [Boston] Transcript, May 6, 1852.

29. Jewett, op. cit., 149. 30. The New York Daily Tribune, May 8, 1852.

31. Arthur Stanwood Pier, The Story of Harvard (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1913), pp. 158-59.

The other incident was of a more serious nature since it involved the dismissal of a faculty member who wrote anti-Kossuth articles. The professor was Francis Bowen who was recently appointed, but not confirmed by the Board of Trustees, the Mc Lean Professor of Ancient and Modern History when Jared Sparks became president. Professor Bowen condemned Kossuth because the Hungarians suppressed other nationalities in Hungary. It was Bowen's contention that other ethnic groups such as, the Croats, Slavs and the Wallachians outnumbered the Magyars and "by what right had these half-Europeanized Asiatics to hold these provinces in chains, when they invoke their own favor against Austria." ³² When Bowen's appointment was placed before the Board of Overseers, which was composed largely of politicians from the Massachusetts legislature, for confirmation, ³³ the board refused to confirm him by a vote of 39 to 33.

In his visit to Harvard, Kossuth was conducted around the campus by Governor Boutwell and Professors Longfellow and Felton. In the college chapel, the Magyar heard an oration entitled "Unsuccessful Great Men" delivered by an undergraduate. President Sparks then introduced Kossuth ³⁴ to the noted zoologist Louis Agassiz and Robert E. Winthrop and others.

Back in Boston, Kossuth held daily levees, spoke at the Masonic Temple,

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32. Francis Bowen, "German Hungarians Against the Magyars," The North American Review, LXXII (January, 1852), p. 29.
 33. Samuel Eliot Morrison, Three Centuries of Harvard, 1636-1936 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936), p. 291.
 34. Jewett, op. cit., p. 146.

visited the primary and secondary schools and then announced that he was so exhausted by his strenuous schedule that he had to postpone his engagements in other cities.³⁵

After recuperating his strength, Kossuth spoke again at Faneuill Hall. In his second major address to one dollar Hungarian bondholders, the ex-governor after hearing eight introductory speeches spoke for two hours. The guest speaker in his optimistic view said that the die is already cast and the war in Europe has commenced. In his future invasion of Europe, the Magyar disclosed his broad military strategy. First, he said he would land in Italy because the Italians have the same common enemy, the Austrians. After conquering the Italian peninsula, Italy would become the left wing and Hungary the right, so that Austria would be confronted by a pincer attack. When this pincer attack became a reality, Kossuth said Austria would not only have to face a war on two fronts but the Austrian army would suffer the loss of forty thousand Hungarians who would defect.³⁶

Proceeding to Concord to meet Ralph Waldo Emerson and the people, the Magyar stopped long enough at Lexington to say a few appropriate words to John Harrington, age 94, the only living veteran of the Battle of Lexington.³⁷ In Concord, Emerson called Kossuth an "Angel of freedom"³⁸

35. Ibid., pp. 136, 189. Evening [Boston] Transcript, May 1, 7, 1852.
 36. Jewett, op. cit., p. 276. 37. Ibid., p. 213.
 38. Ibid., p. 223.

and a person who was fit to "sit [as] a doctor in the college of liberty."³⁹
 Speaking philosophically to the Hungarian, Emerson gave Kossuth this bit
 of wisdom "that if you don't succeed, remember, sir that everything great
 and excellent in the world is in minorities."⁴⁰

In Plymouth the Magyar stood on Plymouth Rock and was cheered. In his
 speech Kossuth asked his listeners to whom shall the oppressed people of
 Europe turn for protection. The answer according to the Hungarian was
 America, because God worked wonders in America and surely made this country
 an instrumentality of his protection.⁴¹ Governor Boutwell, who followed
 Kossuth to the platform, said that America has a duty to express an opinion
 on the Hungarian question.⁴²

Traveling to Fall River for a bondholder address, Kossuth in candor
 said that he had not been successful in the United States, but he stated
 that he had been received as an exile as no successful conqueror had ever
 been received. In reference to Hungary, the guest claimed that his country
 has a ten times greater chance to dispose of Austria than America had in
 her revolution. The ex-governor's reasons were that Hungary has no class
 status, fifteen million dollars of valueless money that will be valuable
 if Hungary succeeds, the Roman Catholic church detests Austria because
 she has confiscated her property, and because taxes had risen from four and
 a half million to sixty-five million dollars.⁴³

39. Ralph Waldo Emerson, Miscellanies (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and
 Company, 1892), p. 362.
 40. Jewett, op. cit., p. 223.
 41. Ibid., p. 239. 42. Ibid., p. 241. 43. Ibid., p. 258.

While Kossuth was in Boston, he met on social occasions some of the finest families of Massachusetts such as the Putnams, the Lowells, the Peabodys, the Winthrops, the Grays and others.⁴⁴ However, these people only expressed sympathy for the Magyar and nothing more. Similar to other cities with large numbers of Irish inhabitants, Boston's thirty-five thousand Irish remained aloof of Kossuth because of his anti-Catholic and Irish independence attitudes.⁴⁵

Boston newspaper opinion of Kossuth and his objectives in America was low. The Boston Courier wondered why an exile from Java couldn't be brought to the Bay State to raise money by selling "Jambie bonds." In warning its readers against Kossuth, this daily said that there would be plenty of intervention once we began.⁴⁶ The Evening Transcript, while showing some warmth towards Kossuth, was not enthusiastic about America in aiding the Hungarian cause in a future revolution. The Evening Traveller looked upon Kossuth's future revolution with skepticism. This journal believed that the ex-governor was wasting his money preparing for a future revolution, and the Traveller suggested that the Magyar should spend the material aid for buying land in this country for exiled Hungarians.⁴⁷

44. Pulszky, op. cit., III, 83.

45. Oscar Handlin, Boston Immigrants, A Study in Acculturation (Revised and enlarged edition; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), p. 52.

46. May 11, 1852.

47. May 11, 1852.

Financially, Kossuth did well in Massachusetts by collecting almost fifteen thousand dollars from the sale of bonds and donations. Of this amount, Boston, a City of 137,000, gave over nine thousand dollars to the fund.⁴⁸ Furthermore, the expense of his receptions and hotel rooms was paid by the Massachusetts legislature without the slightest hesitation.⁴⁹

48. The New York Daily Tribune, May 21, 1852.

49. Pulszky, op. cit., III, 17. Boutwell, op. cit., I, 214.

CHAPTER VII

NEW YORK STATE

Traveling through western Massachusetts, Kossuth arrived in Albany on May 18 in order to deliver a speech before going to Niagara Falls for a rest. With tickets selling anywhere from one to five dollars, Kossuth in his oration hoped that the manifestation of public opinion would register on government officials in Washington. New York's Governor Hunt, in echoing the words of the Magyar, wished that the United States would formulate immediately a policy of protection to a country¹ trying to gain her independence.

After leaving Albany with fifteen hundred dollars he had collected,² Kossuth next went to Niagara Falls where he planned to rest for three days before resuming his tour of New York. Enroute to Niagara, Kossuth never delivered any speeches. During his three days at Niagara Falls, the Hungarian received no visitors, transacted no business, visited an Indian village and like many tourists he was awed by the Falls.³

The next stop for Kossuth after this brief vacation was Rochester. In this city the ex-governor was welcomed by a nine-cannon salute, Cromwell's Brass Band and a Hungarian flag bearing the following inscription: "Welcome Kossuth -- the Comet in the constellation of Liberty." After giving a

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1. Albany Evening Journal, May 19, 21, 1852.
 2. The New York Daily Tribune, May 22, 1852.
 3. Ibid., May 27, 1852.

bondholder's address and being entertained by Freeberthser's Original Swiss Bell Ringers at his hotel, the Magyar left for Buffalo the next day.⁴

With flags flying and a platform erected in the public square, Kossuth arrived in Buffalo by special train to deliver a night address. In a hall only two-thirds filled with bondholders, the Magyar made emphatic pleas for material aid when he said that any material aid given now would be a hundred times more valuable than when the revolution commenced. Elaborating on the above point, Kossuth claimed that Russia can march on Hungary within six days, whereas, it will take weeks for arms to come from the United States. In an attack on the foreign policy of the United States, the Hungarian believed that the living could not be ruled by the dead.⁵

After stopping at Auburn to deliver an extemporaneous address and to visit Senator Seward's residence, the next major city on Kossuth's agenda was Syracuse. Kossuth in his initial address discussed briefly the city's history and the local salt industry. In a bondholder's address at a local church, Kossuth delivered a philippic on despotism.⁶

On his eastward journey through New York, Kossuth delivered bondholder orations at Utica, Schenectady and Troy in which he realized over three thousand dollars for the Hungarian fund.⁷

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4. Daily [Rochester] Democrat, May 24, 25, 1852.
 5. Commercial [Buffalo] Advertiser, May 27, 28, 1852.
 6. New York Daily Tribune, May 31, 1852.
 7. Ibid., June 2, 5, 1852.

Visiting Albany for the second time, Kossuth and his small suite entered this city and were greeted by ringing bells and a booming cannon. Delivering his bondholder speech at the local YMCA, Kossuth listened to the local band play the "Marseilles," "Hail to the Chief," and the "Kossuth March." In his last speech before returning to New York, Albany's guest told his audience that his task in America was finished and said that duties of another nature will occupy his time in the future. The Magyar, in somewhat of a summation of his travels through the United States, told the bondholders of his disappointment when he said that "I have felt the thorn of persecution, and have drunk the cup of calumny, and still I went on."⁸

After leaving Albany Kossuth took the steamboat Alida for New York City. Even his trip down the Hudson did not pass without incidents. At Newburg and Poughkeepsie, the ex-governor was greeted by the firing of cannons and cheers from the people.⁹ On June 7, Kossuth arrived in New York without any fanfare or display.

With no parades or banquets and little display of sympathy or material aid, the only reason why the Magyar did not immediately depart for Europe was because he was expecting the arrival of his mother and three sisters.

While waiting for his immediate family, the Hungarian moved

8. Albany Evening Journal, June 7, 1852.

9. The New York Daily Tribune, June 8, 1852.

from the Irving House to a private boarding house. During the five weeks that the ex-governor remained in Gotham, it was reported that Kossuth was devoting his time to such projects as settling contracts for the purchase of rifles and saddles, poring over details of the Hungarian fund and advising German politicians in America as to what course to pursue.

The big question that was in the minds of many Americans was the Hungarian fund and what Kossuth did with the money he collected. The total net amount of material aid that the Magyar collected from all sources was approximately ninety thousand dollars. This money was spent by Kossuth on weapons of war. It was reported that while Kossuth was in the Midwest he made contracts with manufacturers to purchase six thousand saddles at \$12 each and twenty thousand muskets selling for \$3 each. These contracts were also printed in other newspapers. A close examination of his speeches and newspaper items revealed that Kossuth never once denied making these contracts. Collecting ninety thousand dollars and making contracts for one hundred and thirty-two thousand dollars left the Hungarian forty-two thousand dollars shy of his legal obligations.

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10. The New York Daily Herald, July 14, 1852.
 11. Ibid., July 22, 1852. Frederick W. Seward, Seward at Washington as Senator and Secretary of State, A Memoir of His Life, with Selections from His Letters (New York: Derby and Miller, 1891), p. 185.
 12. Daily [Boston] Evening Traveller, May 3, 1852.
 13. Evening [Boston] Transcript, May 11, 1852. Boston Courier, May 12, 1852. The New York Daily Herald, July 14, 1852.

The only address that Kossuth delivered on his return to New York was an oration for the benefit of his mother and three sisters at the Broadway Tabernacle. In this speech entitled "The Future of Nations," the Revolutionist urged the Germans to meddle in politics. The Magyar believed that the best course for the Germans was to form a third party and exert their influence on electing legislators who would pursue the best interest of the Germans in domestic affairs and in the liberation of their native country. In closing his address before a capacity audience of four thousand, who listened to the Hungarian in the sweltering June heat, Kossuth took an oath to fight for freedom forever.

With the Hungarian fund gone, Kossuth before his departure had Senators Seward, Cass and Shields examine his accounts. These senators reported that only one thousand dollars of the Hungarian fund remained in Kossuth's hands. In Kossuth's hands meant that the rest of the ninety thousand dollars was spent on war weapons. Furthermore, Kossuth before his departure from America wrote to George N. Sanders, the political chieftain of "Young America" who was trying to promote Senator Stephen A. Douglas into the presidency, "to grant me a small loan of 10,000 dollars for the time of 6 months, upon the security of 13,000 muskets."

14. The New York Daily Times, June 26, 1852.

15. Seward, op. cit., p. 185.

16. George N. Sanders, The Political Correspondence of the Late Hon. George N. Sanders (New York: A Sale Catalogue Presenting Extracts from his Correspondence, 1914), Item 94, July 11, 1852.

With little money, no war materials, disappointed and a failure in his mission, the Magyar announced that on July 14, he would leave America on the British steamer, George Washington, which was due to sail on July 18.¹⁷ However, on the next day, July 15, Kossuth with his wife and three children crossed the Hudson to Jersey City and boarded the Africa which sailed for Europe the same day. Furthermore, Kossuth sailed under the assumed name of Mr. and Mrs. Alexander Smith and children. The reason for secretly sailing and using an assumed name was that it was generally believed that legal proceedings were to be instituted against him for failing to fulfill his contracts for arms.¹⁸

After his arrival in Great Britain, Kossuth went to work for a Scotch newspaper. In a series of letters to George Sanders, the ex-governor displayed his eternal optimism as well as his financial straits. In writing to Sanders, Kossuth said the Hungarian independence movement was not only impending but can by no means be delayed any longer. Kossuth continued in his letters to point out that he would invade Europe immediately if he had three ships, twelve thousand men, seventy-five thousand muskets, four field batteries and one hundred thousand dollars. In another letter he asked Sanders to redeem a one thousand dollar bond because of his

17. The New York Daily Herald, July 14, 1852.

18. Ibid., July 22, 1852.

financial condition. When a minor revolution erupted in Milan and Lombardy in 1853, the Hungarian wrote Sanders begging for America
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to take an active position.

With the passage of time, Kossuth was disappointed by the events that unfolded in history. This was especially true of Bismarck's Austrian War because the German chancellor imposed a moderate peace treaty on Austria which did not sever Hungary from Austria. With the creation of the Dual Monarchy between Austria and Hungary, all hopes of Kossuth for an independent Hungary evaporated. Living in a semi-retired state in northern Italy, Kossuth on his ninetieth birthday was granted honorary Hungarian citizenship. Finally, on March 29, 1894, in his ninety-second year, Kossuth died. Ten days later his
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body was transported to Budapest and interred in the National Museum.

19. Sanders, op. cit., Item 98, February 10, 1853.

20. Otto Zarek, Kossuth (London: Selwyn and Blount, 1937), pp.271, 273, 285.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

After spending over seven months in America, Kossuth's mission was a failure because America never changed her basic policy of isolation toward European domestic political affairs. This country was willing to express sympathy for Kossuth and Hungary, but there was never any serious official discussion in taking an affirmative military step on the Hungarian question. It may be stated that Kossuth's goal in the United States was to get all the support for his native country that he could receive. After landing in New York and observing that this country would never actively give military aid to Hungary, Kossuth then resorted to a negative approach concerning the policy that he wished America would adopt in future revolutions.

After his visit to Washington and observing congressional opinion toward him and his mission, the ex-governor asked that the United States in all future domestic revolutions prevent the interference of third parties in political upheavals. Although this policy was full of idealism, the practical result would have been the involvement of America in countless European wars. Concerning Kossuth's desire in changing the neutrality laws of 1818, any departure from these federal statutes would have created more domestic discord and even more foreign ill-will. Factors that helped to degrade Kossuth's mission were the coolness of the South to a political and social revolution, the Catholic and Irish

questions, the anti-slavery societies, and the different American peace societies. The pacifists in America at first welcomed the Hungarian revolution because they initially believed that permanent peace could be achieved by a people's victory through the medium of public opinion. With the entrance of social radicalism and violence in these revolutions, many peace societies abandoned their international viewpoint and reverted to the isolation policy because this seemed the best method of preserving the peace in the United States.¹

Despite Kossuth's failure, what were the reasons for all the excitement about him? With the full maturity of Jacksonian democracy, local and sometimes national politicians wanted to express views to coincide with current popular opinion. This was especially true in the Midwest because of the large number of immigrants who recently settled there.² On the national political plateau it is well to remember that 1852 was a presidential election year. The New York Herald believed that if a candidate joined the Kossuth bandwagon, this step could be a path to the White House.³ And certainly the chief protagonist of the Magyar was Webster who was receptive to the presidency.

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1. Merle Eugene Curti, The American Peace Crusade, 1815-1860 (Durham: Duke University Press, 1929), pp. 28-29.
 2. Theodore Clark Smith, Parties and Slavery, 1850-1859 (Vol. XVIII of The American Nation, A History, ed. Allen Bushnell Hart. 27 vols.; New York: Harper and Brothers, 1906), p. 31.
 3. January 15, 1852.

Another reason for the Hungarian's popularity was that he was a symbol of Protestantism as well as liberty.⁴ Additional excitement was raised when some Americans, intoxicated with the acquisition of Texas, Oregon and California in the Mexican War, wanted an expansion of foreign trade. Other Americans in wishing to fulfill an aspect of manifest destiny wanted to encourage democracy abroad.⁵ Probably the biggest cause of Kossuth excitement was that many persons in America were in basic sympathy with a person that they believed was fighting for freedom.

The permanent impressions that Kossuth made in America were few. The policy of isolation from European affairs, although never seriously challenged, was re-enforced. On the humorous side, some children were christened Kossuth, and the Magyar taught the Americans that the wearing of a beard was not unmanly.⁶ However, the most lasting impressions of Kossuth were his statues, a Kossuth street in Baltimore and a Kossuth County in Iowa that was established in 1851, replacing Bancroft County.⁷

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4. Roy Allen Billington, The Protestant Crusade, 1800-1860 (New York: Rhinehart and Company, 1938), p. 331.
 5. Merle Eugene Curti, "Young America," The American Historical Review, XXXII (October, 1926), p. 55.
 6. John Basset Moore, "Kossuth the Revolutionist," Political Science Quarterly, X (March-June, 1895), p. 289.
 7. Benjamin F. Gue, History of Iowa (New York: The Century Historical Company, n.d.), III, 372.

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