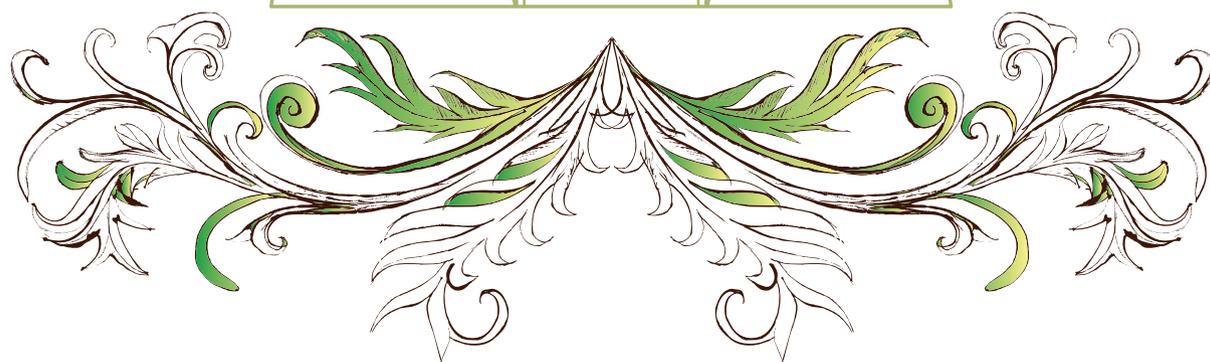




Louis
KOSSUTH

A Celebrated,
Disillusioned Hungarian Revolutionary's
Visit to Pittsburgh in 1852

By Steven B. Várdy, Ph.D.





Louis Kossuth, 1802-1894.

From *Dedication of a Bust of Lajos (Louis) Kossuth*, 1990.
Courtesy of Hungarian Reformed Federation of America.

KOSSUTH

In Hungary, there is hardly a city, town, or village without a Kossuth Street, a Kossuth Square, a Kossuth Club, or some other institution or organization named after Louis [Lajos] Kossuth. Of all the prominent personalities in Hungarian history, no one is better known worldwide than this celebrated leader of the Hungarian Revolution of 1848-1849. Even in the United States there are over a dozen towns, counties, and institutions named after him. In Pennsylvania these include the Village of Kossuth, located 12 miles northwest of Clarion, but he is also remembered in Pittsburgh by a Kossuth plaque on an outside wall where the St. Charles Hotel used to stand in the mid-19th century, now a Point Park

University building. Here, Kossuth and his retinue lodged for nine days and nights.¹

One of Kossuth's great political undertakings was his nearly eight-month-long visit to the United States: December 4, 1851-July 14, 1852. He came with the intention of securing American help for resuming his struggle against the Austrian Habsburg dynasty, which had ruled Hungary for over three centuries.² In the early 16th century the Kingdom of Hungary was divided between the Ottoman Turkish and the Habsburg empires. With the decline of Turkish power, by 1699 all of Hungary came under the rule of the Habsburg dynasty. They deprived the country of its constitution and

introduced a form of absolutism. Following the Napoleonic Wars, rising nationalism of the Empire's more than a dozen nationalities forced the Habsburg rulers to become more conciliatory toward Hungary. In 1825 Emperor Francis I (r. 1792-1835) even agreed to call into session the Hungarian Feudal Diet. This act initiated Hungary's Age of Reform (1825-1848), which ultimately led to the Revolution of 1848. During the reform period, Louis Kossuth became one of the most recognized and revered leaders of his nation's struggle against Habsburg absolutism. This fight landed him in prison for three years (1837-1840), but Kossuth used his "free time" well. It was during his imprisonment that he learned English—largely by reading Shakespeare and the King James



Kossuth's image was placed on a variety of postage stamps.

From *Dedication of a Bust of Lajos (Louis) Kossuth*, 1990. Courtesy of HRFA.



This plaque, mounted on the site of the former St. Charles Hotel, commemorates Kossuth's 1852 visit to Pittsburgh.

Photo Steven Vardy.



version of the Bible. He emerged from captivity in 1840, more popular than ever.

The pressure for political, social, and economic reforms—and for the restoration of Hungarian constitutionalism—led to the Hungarian Revolution of 1848. After a few months this revolution ultimately turned into a War of Independence (October 1848–August 1849). Within a few months Kossuth became the most recognized and accepted leader of his nation. On October 8, 1848, he was elected President of the Committee for National Defense, which became Hungary’s de facto government. On April 14, 1849, the Hungarian Parliament (formerly the Feudal Diet) issued a Proclamation of Independence, deposed the Habsburg dynasty, and elected Louis Kossuth as Hungary’s “Governing President” (or Governor). He retained this position until August 11, 1849, when, following the Russian military invasion and the defeat of the Hungarian revolutionary armies, he resigned and fled to the Ottoman Turkish Empire. After two years in Turkish exile in Asia Minor, Kossuth was permitted to leave for America.³

Having been freed from his Asiatic banishment, Kossuth came to America with great hopes and expectations, but he returned to Europe nearly eight months later as a disillusioned and dejected man under the assumed name of “Mr. Alexander Smith.” He and his friends traveled incognito for several reasons: First, because by the time of his return to Europe, Kossuth knew fully well that he had lost his struggle for an American intervention. He was very disappointed, but at the same time he did not wish to voice his disappointment openly, because he did not want to offend the U.S. government. Kossuth also chose anonymity to avoid those Hungarian political émigrés in New York City, who believed—quite incorrectly—that he had collected huge

sums of money and retained it for himself. And finally, Kossuth and his close friends wanted to travel unrecognized to avoid being assassinated by Russian agents. Russia was primarily responsible for Hungary’s defeat in 1849, and Kossuth wanted to reciprocate by supporting Turkey in its upcoming confrontation with Russia in



Because of America's noninterventionist stance, Louis Kossuth returned to Hungary a disillusioned revolutionary.

From *Dedication of a Bust of Lajos (Louis) Kossuth*, 1990. Courtesy of HRFA.

what turned out to be the Crimean War (1853–1856), which resulted in Russia’s defeat by France, England, Turkey, and Piedmont.⁴

Kossuth’s visit to the United States was unsuccessful not only because the hoped-for American military intervention failed to

materialize, but also because he was unable to collect enough funds for the continuation of his struggle in Europe. Already a few weeks into his American tour, Kossuth realized that most of the funds collected would be wasted. Instead of accumulating all of the donations for Kossuth’s political goals, local reception committees—in virtually all of the cities he had visited—used a sizable portion of the collected money to pay for unnecessary celebrations. In other words, the enthusiastic members of these committees were in practice fleeing him, and in effect preventing him from attaining his goals. This is evident from what happened in most major cities he visited, including Pittsburgh.⁵

Although today Kossuth’s name is not a household word in the United States, in the years following the Hungarian Revolution of 1848 he was well known to the American public. Many viewed him as the embodiment of human freedom and equality, which was the result of the heavy press coverage the anti-Habsburg Hungarian Revolution received. Americans often compared the Hungarian Revolution with their own War of Independence against the British seven decades earlier, and their sympathies lay fully with the Hungarians.

Upon Kossuth’s arrival, his brilliant oratorical skills, his personal magnetism, and his very presence in the United States was so overpowering that millions of Americans fell under his spell. His public speaking skills were attested to by many of his contemporary observers, including John Langdon Sibley (1804–1885) Harvard’s chief librarian during that period (1841–1856), who kept copious diaries for those years. As Sibley writes:

His talents place him among the giants of the world.... Kossuth uses but little action when speaking and in his most eloquent passages stands with his arms folded across his breast. The variety, the strength, the greatness of thought,

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Large crowds of supporters met Kossuth in every town as he traveled throughout the United States.

From *Dedication of a Bust of Lajos (Louis) Kossuth*, 1990. Courtesy of HRFA.

the knowledge of our country and its institutions, the command of the English language which are exhibited in his innumerable speeches are almost incredible.⁶

The impact of Kossuth's presence is also described in detail by Donald Spencer in his 1977 book, *Louis Kossuth and Young America*.⁷ Kossuth's name resounded everywhere during the early 1850s, and his cult spread far and wide across the continent. Even some babies were named after him during his American tour.⁸ At the same time, dozens of books,⁹ hundreds of pamphlets and articles and essays,¹⁰ as well as about 250 poems were written to, for, or about him.¹¹ Several poems were written to him in Pittsburgh. On January 27, 1852, for example, in the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, Mrs. K. Annie Wade sang her ode in the presence of the former governor of Hungary:

With joy we haste to welcome thee
Upon Columbia's shore,
The many wrongs of Hungary,
Most deeply we deplore.
The Patriot soul beams from thine eye,
With noble majesty.
We honor thee for thy great love.
Of glorious liberty.

We welcome thee, we welcome thine
With pleasure to our land,
And gladly aid to break the chain,
Forged by the oppressor's hand.
To thee the hand of love we give,
Proud are we of our guest.
God speed the hour when thy loved home,
With freedom may be blest.

Thou'rt welcome here, thou'rt welcome here,
Though from a foreign shore,
Thou'lt find Columbia's sons for thee,
Have sympathy in store.
God speed thee in thy noble work,
May thousands join thy band,
Soon may the flag of liberty
Wave over thy Fatherland.¹²

America's best-known newspapers wrote about Kossuth and his activities.¹³ America's illustrious intellectuals did too, including Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1882), an essayist, poet, and leader of the Transcendentalist movement. Upon Kossuth's arrival in Concord, Massachusetts, on May 11, 1852, Emerson greeted him as follows: "[we] have been hungry to see the man whose extraordinary eloquence is seconded by the splendor and the solidity of his actions."¹⁴

There were others as well. These included John Greenleaf Whittier (1807-

1892), a Quaker poet who was a forceful advocate of slavery's abolition; Horace Greeley (1811-1872), reformer, editor of *The New York Tribune*, and a founder of the Republican party; and James Russell Lowell (1819-1891), a noted poet, satirist, journalist, and diplomat.¹⁵

John Whittier greeted Kossuth as "the noblest guest, the Old World's wrongs has given the New World of the West." A section of his poem, dedicated to Kossuth, reads as follows:

Who shall receive him? Who, unblushing, speak
Welcome to him, who, he strove to break
The Austrian yoke from Magyar necks, smote off
At the same blow the fetters of the serf, --
Rearing the altar of the Father-land
On the firm basis of freedom, and thereby
Lifting to heaven a patriot's stainless hand,
Mocked not the God of Justice with a lie!
Who shall be Freedom's mouth-piece? Who shall give
Her welcome cheer to the great fugitive?¹⁶

At the same time Horace Greeley painted the following exalted portrait of Kossuth:

Of the many popular leaders who were upheaved by the great convulsions of 1848 into the full sunlight of European celebrity and American popular regard, the world has already definitely assigned the first rank to Louis Kossuth.... He may be called to die in palace or dungeon, in his prime or In decrepitude, amid tears or execrations, but his place in history is already Fixed and can not be changed. Among orators, patriots, statesmen, exiles, he has, living or dead, no superior. His throne is in the heart, and he can only be dis-crowned by tearing that heart from the breast of humanity.¹⁷

Horace Greeley was seconded by the poet James Russell Lowell in a poem titled "Kossuth."

A race of nobles may die out,
A royal line may leave no heir;
Wise nature sets no guard about
Her pewter place and wooden ware.
.....
Land of the Magyar! Though it be
The tyrant may relink his chain,
Already thine the victory,
As just future measures gain.

Thou hast succeeded, thou hast won
The deathly travail's amplest worth,
A nation's duty thou hast done,
Giving a hero to our earth.

.....
"I Kossuth am! I Future, thou
That clear'st the just and blott'st the vile,
O'er this small dust in reverence bow,
Remembering what I was erewhile."

"I was chosen trump wherethrough
Our God sent forth awakening breath;
Came chain? Came death? The strain He blew
Sounds on, outliving chains and death."¹⁸

Kossuth's powerful presence influenced American's impressions of Hungary, a country that went from the unknown to that of a "noble nation" fighting freedom against the forces of evil.¹⁹ Kossuth's arrival in

America, as characterized by *The New York Times*, produced "a scene as the world seldom beholds."²⁰ As summarized by Spencer:

After pausing a day at Staten Island to allow the city to make last-minute preparations for its welcome, Kossuth crossed onto Manhattan Island on Saturday, 6 December. Already the city was hysterical at news of his arrival. Before he could board the steamer *Vanderbilt* for the brief passage across the bay, the Richmond Guards..., had to repel mobs of well-wishers. And throughout an hour-long excursion around the harbor, merchant ships and shore batteries fired an unbroken series of deafening salutes. As the *Vanderbilt* approached the Bowery, an immense throng of citizens shouted their nation's welcome.... When Kossuth stepped ashore, New Yorkers saw for the first time their long idealized hero.²¹

Kossuth even influenced American fashion during his days traveling the U.S. The most visible manifestations were the so-called "Kossuth-hat" (a tall black hat decorated with feather plumes in the front), the "Kossuth-jacket" (a braided Hungarian nobleman's

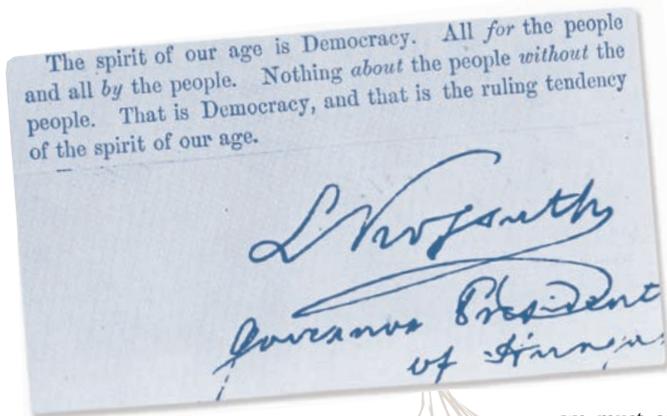
jacket), the "Kossuth-trousers" (Hungarian hussar trousers), and the "Kossuth-beard" (which surrounded the individual's face in a horseshoe fashion). Newspapers of the time filled with references to these fashion pieces.²² They were also depicted, along with Kossuth himself, on the so-called "Hungary bonds" or "Hungarian Fund Certificates" that were "issued in denominations of one, five, ten, fifty, and one hundred dollars [and] promised repayment when [not 'if'] Kossuth was safely returned to the governorship of independent Hungary."²³ The combination of these items, particularly as worn by Kossuth with his elegant, noble demeanor, presented an overpowering spectacle to mid-19th-century celebrity-hungry Americans. Some hucksters even named their wares after Kossuth. An example was a fishmonger in New York City who made an instant hit and lots of money with the "Kossuth oysters" he sold during the Hungarian statesman's stay in that city.²⁴ Another enterprising businessman opened "Kossuth Restaurant" on Broadway.²⁵



Kossuth's "Hungary bonds" or "Kossuth dollars" were issued in different denominations and the purchaser promised repayment when Kossuth was safely returned to the governorship of independent Hungary.

Left: Kossuth's visit started many fashion trends in the U.S., one being the Kossuth hat with plumes of feathers in front. Both from *Dedication of a Bust of Lajos (Louis) Kossuth*, 1990. Courtesy of HRFA.

KOSSUTH



Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg Address paraphrased Kossuth's views of democracy.

Included here is Kossuth's signature.

From Dedication of a Bust of Lajos (Louis) Kossuth, 1990. Courtesy of HRFA.

Kossuth's influence in America continued for many years following his visit. Barely a decade after he had delivered a memorable speech to the Ohio legislature on February 7, 1852, his words found their way into President Lincoln's famous "Gettysburg Address." Kossuth's "All for the people, and all by the people. Nothing about the people, without the people"²⁶ became in Lincoln's address "government of the people, by the people, for the people."²⁷ The similarity between these two statements has been recognized by others, for Kossuth's words are inscribed on commemorative plaques on the walls of Columbus City Hall, as well as on the walls of the Kossuth House in Washington, D.C.²⁸

Kossuth's influence persisted even a century after his visit and 50 years after his death, when a World War II "liberty ship" was named after him.²⁹ Politicians and statesmen continue to quote him routinely. In June 1999, for example, when President Árpád Göncz of Hungary made his first official state visit to the United States, President Bill Clinton began his welcome by referring to Kossuth's visit to America, and by quoting from his speech delivered a century and a half earlier:

Kossuth statues in Washington, D.C., Iowa, and Cleveland. Middle statue Steven Vardy.

Left and right from Dedication of a Bust of Lajos (Louis) Kossuth, 1990. Courtesy of HRFA.

President and Mrs. Göncz; ladies and gentlemen; in the early 1850s, the great Hungarian patriot Lajos Kossuth came to this country and to this house to seek support for restoring liberty to his nation. He said then, "To find the sunlight of freedom

we must come to America.' Kossuth would be proud today that his statement no longer holds—that the sunlight of freedom shines in Hungary, and all across the world.³⁰

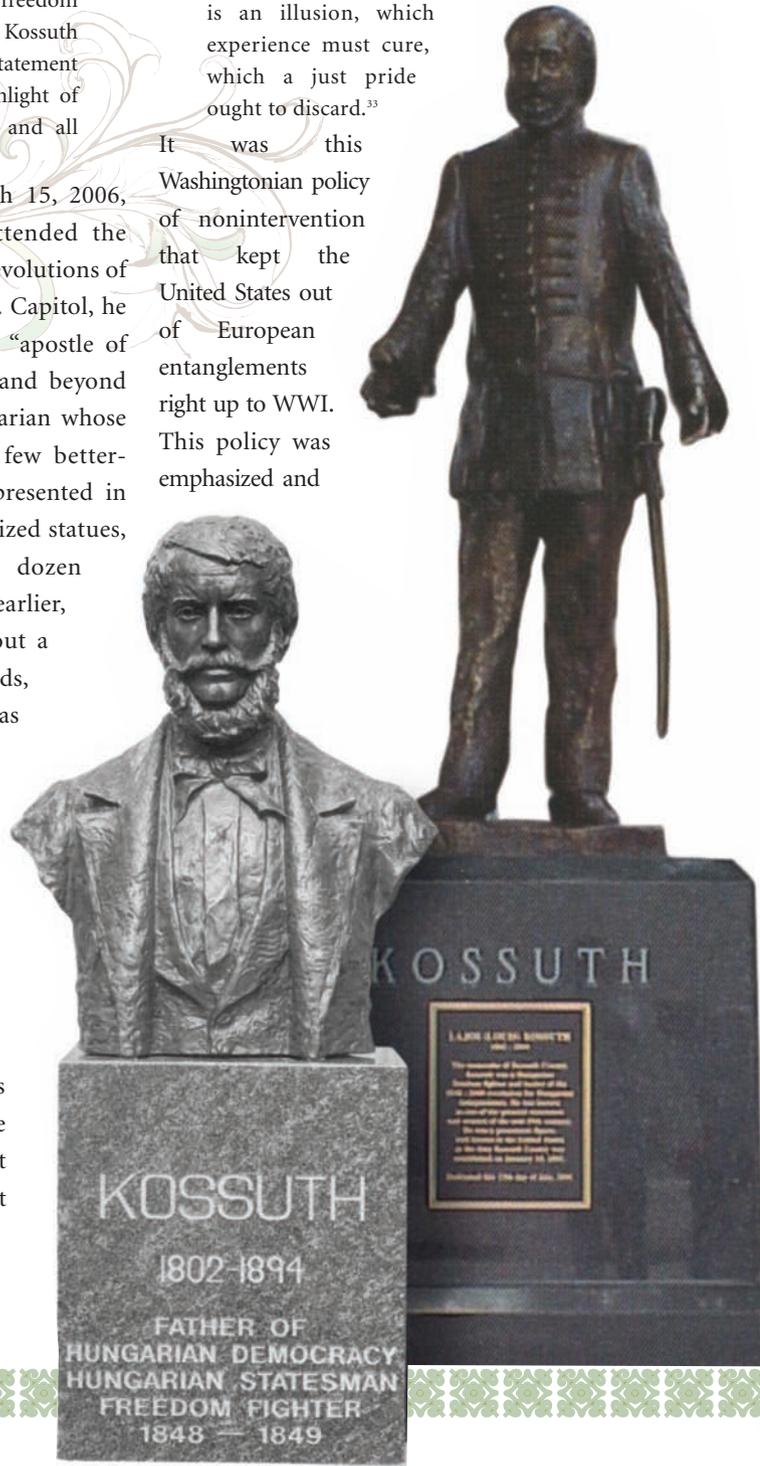
More recently, when on March 15, 2006, President George W. Bush attended the celebration of the Hungarian Revolutions of 1848 and 1956, held in the U.S. Capitol, he also referred to Kossuth as an "apostle of human freedom."³¹ But above and beyond this, Kossuth is the only Hungarian whose name is known at least to a few better-educated Americans. He is represented in the United States by three life-sized statues, four life-sized busts, and a dozen bronze plaques. As mentioned earlier, his name is also borne by about a dozen city streets, avenues, roads, squares, places, parks, as well as towns and counties.³²

Notwithstanding his mass popularity in the mid-19th century, Kossuth failed in his political goals for two reasons. On the one hand, he was unable to change America's policy of nonintervention laid down by George Washington in his farewell address of 1796. On the other hand, he could not keep out of the slavery controversy that ultimately led to the Civil War.

Before leaving the presidency, Washington warned his nation against entangling alliances:

steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world.... Harmony, liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest.... There can be no greater error than to expect or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion, which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.³³

It was this Washingtonian policy of nonintervention that kept the United States out of European entanglements right up to WWI. This policy was emphasized and



reemphasized by American political leaders and the American press of the time. As an example, at a Congressional banquet on February 22, 1852, Attorney General John J. Crittenden openly praised the policy of nonintervention, and proclaimed, “Our true policy is friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none.”³⁴ It was this same guiding principle that prevented Kossuth from gaining American support for Hungary’s struggle for its independence.

While arguing for American intervention in Europe, Kossuth tried desperately not to get involved in American domestic politics. He ultimately proclaimed neutrality on the slavery question in the name of “nonintervention.” But that position failed to gain him the support of Southerners, who disbelieved him. As Senator Jeremiah Clemens of Alabama declared, even before the Hungarian governor’s arrival to America: “Kossuth might deserve pity..., but neither his character nor his personal achievements qualify him for anything more.”³⁵ As summarized by the anti-slavery crusader Horace Mann, “the avowed opposition [of the South against Kossuth] is based on the question of ‘intervention;’ but the real motive is slavery. While they demand that one

fugitive shall be fettered and sent home, they cannot see another [Kossuth] feted and honored.”³⁶

While Kossuth’s proclaimed neutrality on the slavery question did not gain him the support of the South, it also lost him the backing of many Northerners. The latter felt betrayed by the man whom they had held to be the apostle of human freedom. Kossuth’s temporary influence, by virtue of his oratorical abilities, was broad and all encompassing nonetheless. This is best demonstrated by his impact upon the slaveholding members of the Maryland House of Representatives. As recorded by Kossuth’s two traveling companions, Francis and Theresa Pulszky, he made such a “deep impression on the Assembly [that]... when they had heard him, many of them burst into tears.”³⁷ The members of this august assembly may have shed some tears, but not even the Hungarian ex-governor’s emotional appeal could alter their views about slavery, nor about Kossuth’s mission in America, which they deeply distrusted.

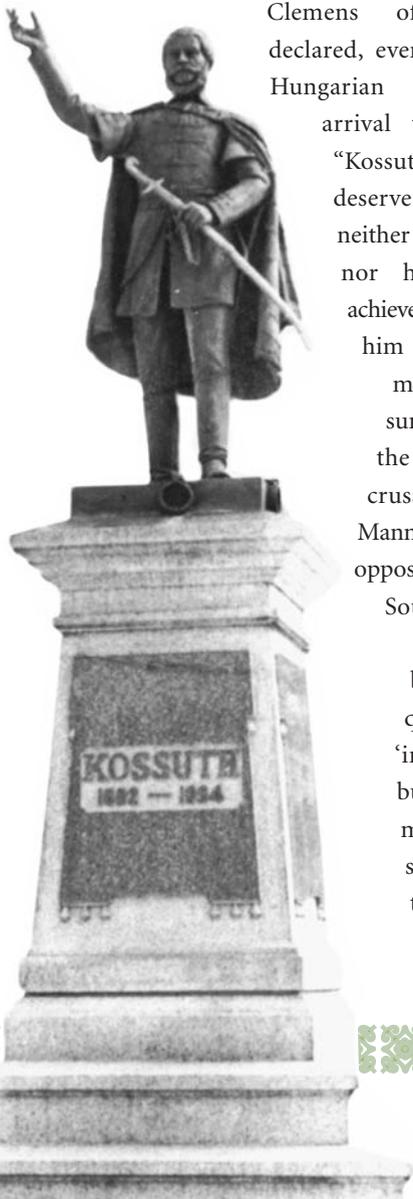
During his stay in the United States, Kossuth visited most of the important cities between the Atlantic and the Mississippi, stretching from Boston in the North to New Orleans in the South. In the course of his visit he made hundreds of speeches³⁸ and received the accolade and adulation of people everywhere except the Deep South. This is evident from the lukewarm reception he received in Jackson, New Orleans; Mobile, Atlanta; and Charleston. The Southerners distrusted Kossuth because they believed—quite correctly—that he sympathized with the emancipation movement. Southerners were fully aware that Kossuth favored the emancipation of the slaves, just as much as he had supported the emancipation of the serfs back in Hungary in 1848. Thus, as phrased by Spencer: “most articulate spokesmen for

that section [South] responded to the Hungarian fever with incomprehension, ridicule, and outright rejection.”³⁹

After his arrival in the United States on December 4, 1851, Kossuth spent the next five weeks in and around New York City, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington, D.C. He began his tour on January 14, 1852, traveling through Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky, Missouri, and then on the Mississippi River to New Orleans. From there his path turned northward to Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, New Jersey, finally back to New York City, and on to New York State and New England.

Kossuth’s Visit to Pittsburgh

Kossuth’s Pittsburgh visit is described both by the *Pittsburgh Gazette*, which devoted long and detailed articles to the Hungarian exile’s daily activities during his long stay in the city of three rivers, as well as by the voluminous private diary entries of Kossuth’s private secretary, Károly László (1815-1894). The latter had been an artillery captain in the Hungarian Revolutionary Army, who accompanied Kossuth to his exile in Turkey, and then also on his visit to the United States. László was a pedantic but opinionated writer.⁴⁰ His language is somewhat archaic, and his sentences too long. In translation these sentences often have to be divided into two or more parts to make them comprehensible to a modern reader. His observations about mid-19th-century America and American politics, however, are interesting and often penetrating. They provide a unique, although rather one-sided, view of contemporary American society. This also applies to his observations about Kossuth’s visit to the three sister cities of Pittsburgh, Allegheny, and Birmingham. In contrast to László’s private diary, the long articles in the *Pittsburgh Gazette* exude a kind



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of awe and reverence that often took hold of 19th-century Americans when visited by famous and learned Europeans of aristocratic bearing. This is certainly evident in the case of Kossuth, who was treated almost like a super hero—visibly revered like an Elvis Presley or John F. Kennedy. Some of these articles appeared even before Kossuth's arrival in Pittsburgh, and they continued after his departure. Naturally, the most detailed and longest of these articles were published during his presence in the three sister cities.

Traveling by train, Kossuth arrived in Harrisburg on January 16, 1852, and in Holidaysburg on the 17th, where he stayed in the nearby Mountain House. Then, switching to sleighs because of the great snowfall, he and his party reached Ebensburg on the 20th, Blairsville on the 21st, and finally Pittsburgh on January 22.

As related by Kossuth's traveling companions, Francis and Theresa Pulszky,⁴¹ their journey through the Allegheny Mountains was difficult. They were caught in a major snowstorm. In fact, so much snow had fallen during those days that they barely made it to Pittsburgh:

Whilst we rested on Sunday at the Mountain House, the snow had accumulated so rapidly on the inclined planes of the Allegheny railway ... that the communication was stopped. On Monday, the severest cold I ever remember, set in. It was impossible to clear away the hard frozen masses; no choice remained but to proceed on sledges over the wild ridges of the Alleghenies.... On our way over the mountains, we suffered much from the intense cold in the open sledge.... We reached Pittsburg [sic]⁴² on the 22d, during night, worn out by fatigues of the journey across the mountain range.⁴³

Because of this unexpected and tiresome delay, the people of Pittsburgh, who had been waiting and preparing for Kossuth's arrival for several weeks, were left standing until 7:30

in the evening. Moreover, by the time Kossuth and his party of 15 had arrived, they were so tired and cold that not even the usually vibrant Kossuth was prepared to speak. Because of the huge crowd gathered around the St. Charles Hotel, Kossuth eventually agreed to stand on the balcony and address them briefly. As summarized later by the city's historian: "He merely told them that he was physically unable to address them, thanked them for their manifestation of kindness and hoped that after a day's rest he would be able to speak to them."⁴⁴ Following Kossuth's brief appearance, Colonel Samuel W. Black (1816-1862), a prominent member of the Reception Committee, also addressed the crowd "in his usually happy and eloquent style, after which they went to their homes."⁴⁵ Apparently Kossuth's brief speech, followed by Colonel Black's address, satisfied them.

It took Kossuth a whole day to recuperate. Thus, the festivities did not really begin until January 24. As described by Károly, the celebrations started at 10:00 a.m.:

The street, the roofs, and the windows in front of Kossuth's quarters were jam packed with people of both sexes, who wished to see him and hear him speak. Kossuth was introduced to the audience by Colonel Black (hero of the Mexican War, and soon to be Governor of Pennsylvania) [sic]⁴⁶ from the balcony as Hungary's Governor and as the official guest of the United States of America. The people greeted them with hurrahs. Both Black's address and Kossuth's speech were received with great ovation. Following Kossuth's speech, Black posed two questions to the people, as if they were part of a large jury: Did they feel that Austria was guilty in their treatment of Hungary? And did they feel that Russia was likewise guilty? They responded to both of these questions with a loud and hearty 'yes.' Thereupon Kossuth remarked that decisions by a jury have significance only if and when they are carried out. This too was received with great approval.⁴⁷

Kossuth and his party stayed in Pittsburgh for nine days. During that time they were taken to and from numerous meetings and traveled from one mass rally to another. These venues included several schools, churches, ladies clubs, and factories, as well as the great Masonic Hall of Pittsburgh.⁴⁸ (Two weeks later Kossuth was inducted into Lodge No. 133 of the Free and Accepted Masons in Cincinnati, Ohio.)⁴⁹ Much of these activities were coordinated by the Reception Committee under the leadership of General William Larimer, Jr. (1809-1875), an "old school Presbyterian" and a prominent local businessman, who had just been made Major General of the State Militia.⁵⁰

During his stay in Pittsburgh and the sister cities of Allegheny (today's North Side) and Birmingham (today's South Side), Kossuth delivered over a dozen major addresses and several shorter speeches, and he was the center of nearly everyone's attention. In fact, as recorded by a local chronicler some 50 years after the Hungarian governor's visit, the reception accorded to Kossuth "surpassed in enthusiasm and excitement" even the "heartfelt welcome extended to Lafayette" two decades earlier.⁵¹ The Pulszkys described this reception in their travelogue as follows:

For the cause of Hungary they were enthusiastic, and especially the ladies exerted themselves most nobly, to give practical proof of their sympathy. Not only under the excitement of Kossuth's speeches; but they formed, and kept up a lasting association for the aid of Hungary.⁵²

During his stay in Pittsburgh, Kossuth also attended numerous church services and ladies' associations meetings. The most significant of these events was a meeting on January 29 at Pittsburgh Presbyterian Church for the Ladies' Association of the Friends of Hungary. This newly formed organization was established specifically to

help the Hungarian cause.⁵³ The events of this meeting are revealed by László's notes:

After some singing and prayers, the pastor made a speech in the name of the ladies, and then gave to us a beautiful bejeweled purse containing \$1,040 dollars (\$25,624.42 in 2007).⁵⁴ Thereupon Kossuth responded with an elegant and emotional speech, which made the ladies shed tears. Finally, after some additional singing and blessings, Kossuth began to take his leave. But, hoping to shake his hands, the ladies all moved up to him. They were happy just to touch him. A beautiful young lady in an enthusiastic rapture grabbed his hand to kiss it. Kossuth had barely time to withdraw his hands.⁵⁵

This day was also described in detail by the *Pittsburgh Gazette*, which reprinted Kossuth's entire speech to the Ladies' Association.⁵⁶

Apparently, the women of mid-19th-century Pittsburgh were thoroughly enamored with Kossuth, who appeared to them as the best representative of valiant manhood. They were generous with their contributions, as were the workers at the "Pittsburg Alkali Works" located in Birmingham⁵⁷ who, without exception, handed Kossuth a whole week's wages as their contribution to struggling liberty in Europe.⁵⁸ This may sound like an astounding assertion, but it is entirely believable. A significant portion of the Alkali Works laborers consisted of German immigrants who sympathized with the Hungarian cause, which they equated with their own cause in Europe. They openly proclaimed their sympathies for Kossuth, and when he visited the factory one of the workers delivered an enthusiastic speech in German. To this expression of support, Kossuth responded in English, primarily for the sake of the English-speaking audience.⁵⁹ As summarized by a reporter for the *Pittsburgh Gazette*, Kossuth "thanked the operatives of the Alkali Works for their liberal donation (\$250 or \$6,159.72 in 2007)⁶⁰ to the cause of Hungary.... We have opposed, he said, the

same enemy: therefore our cause is a common one."⁶¹ This unusual generosity of the Alkali workers is recorded both by László in his private diary, as well as by the Pulszkys in their joint volume.⁶² All three accompanied Kossuth on his American tour, and all were in constant proximity to the former governor. None of them—not even the Hungarian cause, which they represented—had an interest in magnifying the financial contributions of the Pittsburgh workers.⁶³

The generosity of the employees of the Pittsburgh Alkali Works in Birmingham is also evident, to some degree at least, from the *Pittsburgh Gazette's* assessment of Kossuth's visit to Pittsburgh: "There has been no idle pageantry, no expensive feasting, nothing in short, but a plain republican hospitality, and a generous contribution of substantial aid to his cause, contributed cheerfully and gladly by all classes."⁶⁴

Kossuth was naturally overwhelmed by the Pittsburgh workers' generosity, or as phrased by László, "by the voluntary sacrifices of these poor workers, and by the lively speech of their simple spokesman."⁶⁵ Naturally, he responded in kind, expressing his admiration for the workers and for their generosity.⁶⁶

Commenting on these events, the *Pittsburgh Gazette*—the ancestor of today's *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*—summarized developments as follows: "No city that Governor Kossuth has yet visited has given him more cordial, hearty, and enthusiastic reception than Pittsburg [sic]; in no place, probably, has he made more favorable impression."⁶⁷

During his stay in Pittsburgh, Kossuth also encountered a fellow Hungarian, who had settled here some years earlier. Again, László recorded notes on the February 25, meeting:



The *New York Times* said of Kossuth's arrival in the United States: "a scene as the world seldom beholds."
From *Dedication of a Bust of Lajos (Louis) Kossuth*, 1990. Courtesy of HRFA.

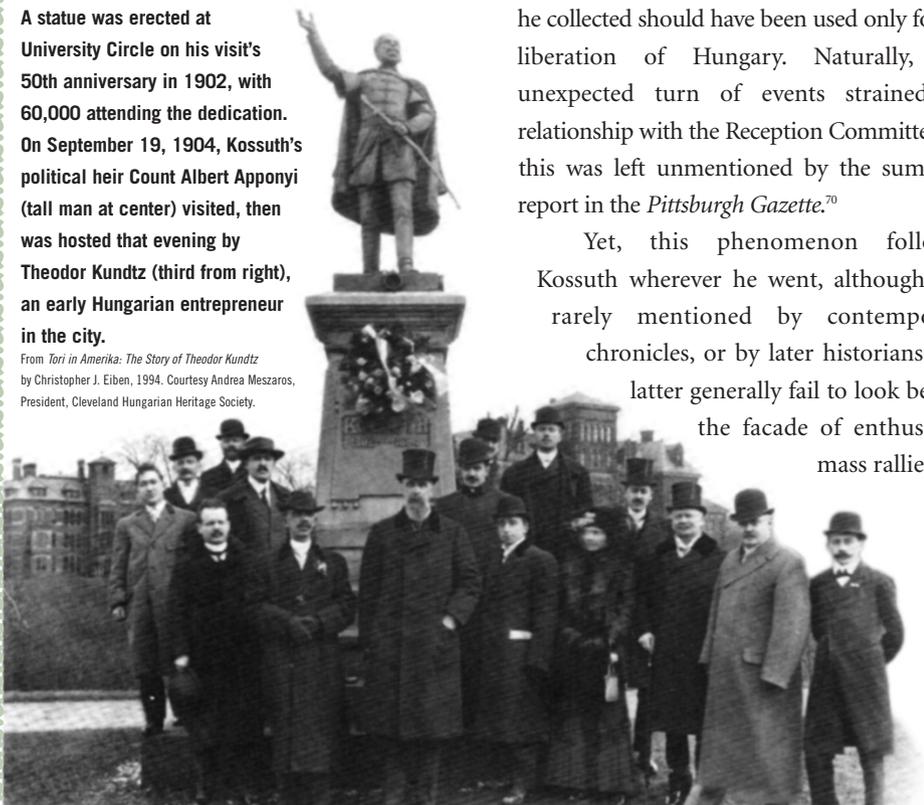
KOSSUTH

three of us were invited by Lajos Fehér to his home. Sixteen years earlier, at the age of 7, he had immigrated to America with his father, mother, and siblings from the town of Kenese, Veszprém County, Hungary. His father, János Fehér, is about 70 years old, and lives in Rutherfordton, North Carolina. He [Lajos Fehér] resides here with his wife and his son, and is engaged in business activities. In addition to Hungarian—which he never forgot, because he had stayed with his family until reaching adulthood—he speaks perfect English and German. He was happy to meet other Hungarians, and very anxious to see and to speak to Kossuth. Having achieved all these goals, he was very happy. He is a dedicated partisan of all Hungarian causes, and a deadly enemy of the Austrians and the Russians.⁶⁸

The overall impression that Kossuth left behind in Pittsburgh was best summarized by László: “Kossuth made many addresses and they were all eloquent, beautiful and thrilling.

After Pittsburgh, Kossuth headed to Cleveland, Ohio. A statue was erected at University Circle on his visit's 50th anniversary in 1902, with 60,000 attending the dedication. On September 19, 1904, Kossuth's political heir Count Albert Apponyi (tall man at center) visited, then was hosted that evening by Theodor Kundtz (third from right), an early Hungarian entrepreneur in the city.

From *Tori in Amerika: The Story of Theodor Kundtz* by Christopher J. Eiben, 1994. Courtesy Andrea Meszaros, President, Cleveland Hungarian Heritage Society.



It is safe to say that never before nor since has any man come to Pittsburgh [sic] who equaled him in his power over the hearts and minds of the people.”⁶⁹

Yet, in spite of these uplifting comments, Kossuth left Pittsburgh for Cleveland a disillusioned man. In addition to seeing his dreams for an American intervention gradually collapsing, he was dejected by one specific experience. His disappointment was caused by the fact that a sizable portion of the money collected to support Hungary's struggle for independence was spent by the Reception Committee on local celebrations. This unexpected problem—which first surfaced in the City of Pittsburgh—came to haunt Kossuth through much of his American tour. Two days before his intended departure, the Reception Committee, headed by General William Larimer, submitted bills to him for all local festivities, as well as for the cost of their sleigh ride from Blairsville to Pittsburgh. This act displeased Kossuth. He felt that by virtue of being an invited guest, the city should have covered all local expenses, and that the money he collected should have been used only for the liberation of Hungary. Naturally, this unexpected turn of events strained his relationship with the Reception Committee. All this was left unmentioned by the summary report in the *Pittsburgh Gazette*.⁷⁰

Yet, this phenomenon followed Kossuth wherever he went, although it is rarely mentioned by contemporary chronicles, or by later historians. The latter generally fail to look behind the facade of enthusiastic mass rallies and

magnificent celebrations that accompanied Kossuth's tour through the United States. It is described, however, by his secretary in his private diary:

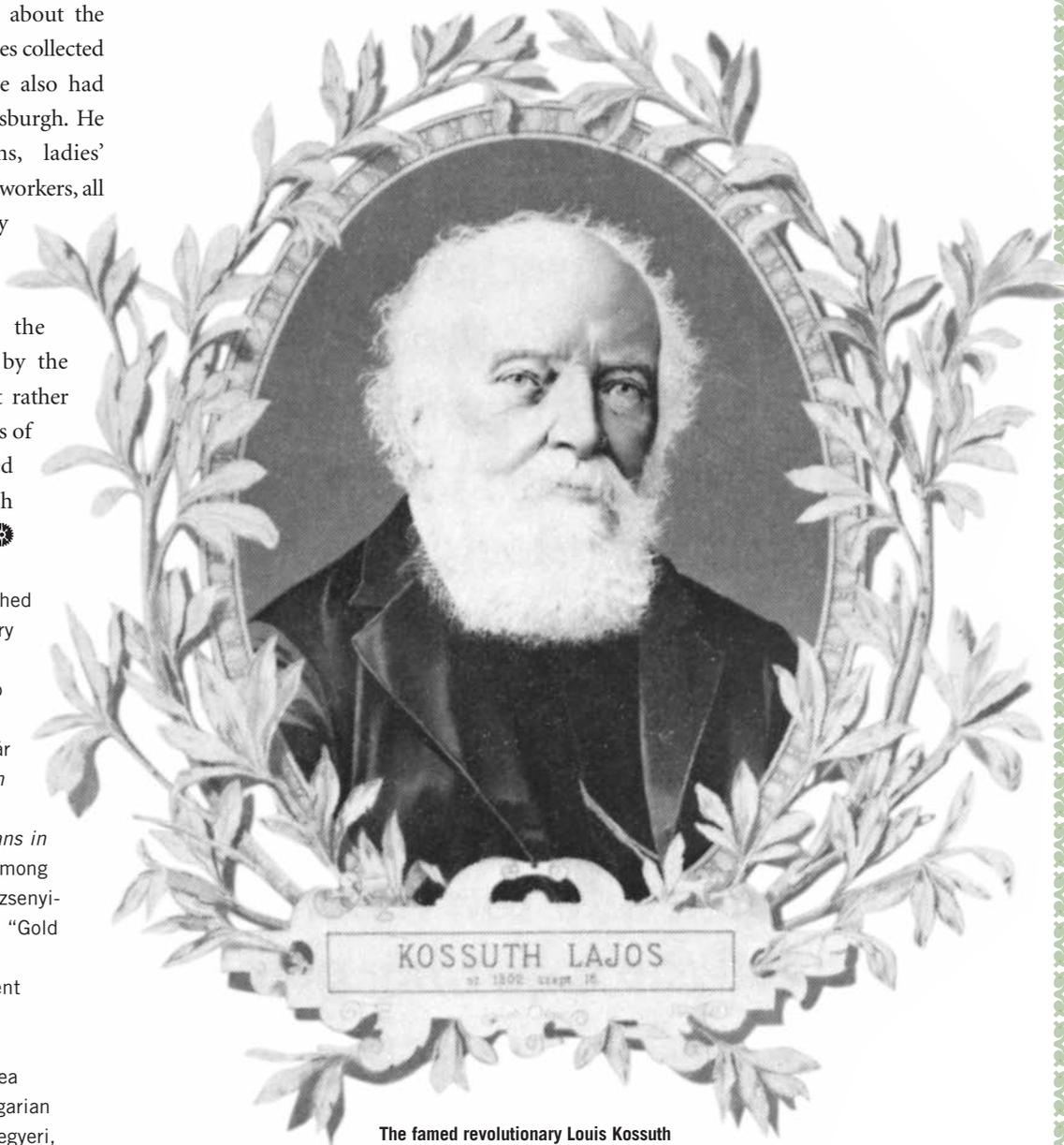
After lunch, at 6:00 o'clock, the Governor [Kossuth] invited all of us, including his aids, to his quarters to inform us about the City of Pittsburgh's unkindly deed. Even though they were the ones who had invited us to be their guests, they wanted Kossuth to pay for all the expenses. [These included] the ride from Blairsville to Pittsburgh on rented sleighs at an exorbitant price, as well as local accommodations and food at double the normal price. Four days' worth of champagne [sic] alone had cost us \$80 dollars. (\$1,971.11 in 2007)⁷¹ Kossuth instructed us that hereafter we should arrange our own quarters, preferably at unpretentious places with modest accommodations. Nor should we ever ask to have anything brought to our rooms, which would give them a chance to overcharge us once more. This is impertinence! The members of the Reception Committee had traveled with us on our sleighs, they have eaten with us for several days, and they consumed alcohol and smoked cigars in their rooms at our expense. And now Kossuth was asked to pay for all this, using the funds he had collected for the liberation of our oppressed and poor Hungary; with money that came from workers who had deprived themselves of food to be able to help us! This was the reason why we accumulated so little money in the cities we have visited. The cost of local festivities was always deducted from the collected funds. Kossuth therefore decided that wherever we go, he would personally collect the money intended for local celebrations. By using modest accommodations, we would be able to save more funds for our poor country.⁷²

While László's description of this problem may be somewhat one-sided and subjective, it does point to a practice that came as a shock to Kossuth, and which undercut his ability to collect sufficient funds for his political goals.

Although Kossuth was bitter about the turn of events concerning the monies collected for the liberation of Hungary, he also had many uplifting experiences in Pittsburgh. He spoke to church congregations, ladies' societies, and groups of immigrant workers, all of whom feted him and anxiously supported his cause. The ultimate failure of his American tour, however, was not so much the squandering of collected funds by the various reception committees, but rather his own inability to break the bonds of nonintervention that dominated American political life through much of the 19th century. ☀

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The author would like to thank Andrea Meszaros, president, Cleveland Hungarian Heritage Society and Mr. Leslie L Megyeri, Secretary/Treasurer of the Hungarian Reformed Federation of America, for their permission to reprint photographs.



The famed revolutionary Louis Kossuth lived to be 92 years old.

From Dedication of a Bust of Lajos (Louis) Kossuth, 1990. Courtesy of HRFA.

¹ See Izabella H. Janda, "Hungarian Place Names in the United States: in *The Third LACUS Forum 1976*, ed. Robert J. Di Pietro and Edward L. Blansitt, Jr. (Columbia, SC: Hornbeam Press, Inc., 1977), pp. 219-227; and Joseph Széplaki, *Hungarians in America, 1583-1974* (Dobbs Ferry, NY: Oceana Publications, Inc., 1975), p. 138. See also "Kossuth. The Legacy and Remembrance: Monuments and Public Recognition." Cf. <http://hungaria.org/vadasz/kossuth/legacy.html>

² See Steven Béla Várdy, *Historical Dictionary of Hungary* (Lanham, MD & London: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1997), pp. 9, 60-64, 327-328.

³ Cf. László Kontler, *A History of Hungary* (New York: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2002), pp. 137-259; Paul Lendvai, *The Hungarians. A Thousand Years of Victory and Defeat* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003), pp. 94-241; and Várdy, *Historical Dictionary of Hungary*, pp. 60-64, 434-437.

⁴ Cf. Géza Kende, *Magyarok Amerikában* [Hungarians in America], 2 vols. (Cleveland: Szabadság Kiadása, 1927), I, pp. 110-114; and Károly László's journal entry for July 14, 1852.

⁵ On Kossuth's achievements and failures in America, see some of my own relevant studies: Steven Béla

Várdy, (1) "Epilogue. Kossuth and Mid-Nineteenth-Century America," in *The Life of Governor Louis Kossuth, with his Public Speeches in the United States, and with a Brief History of the Hungarian War of Independence*. Illustrated by Handsome Engravings. By An Officer of the Hungarian Army (New York: Published at 128 Nassau Street, 1852. Reprinted in Budapest: Osiris Kiadó, 2001), pp. 181-199; (2) "Kossuth's Efforts to Enlist America into the Hungarian National Cause," *Hungarian Studies* (Bloomington-Budapest), vol. 16, no. 2 (2002), pp. 237-252; (3) "Kossuth and the Slavery Question in America," in *East European Quarterly*, vol. 39, no. 4 (Winter

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- 2005), pp. 449-464; and (4) "Hungary's Revolutionary Statesman, Louis Kossuth: His Achievements and Failures," in *Revolutionary Statesmen*, ed. William R. Weisberger (New York: East European Monographs, Columbia University Press, 2006), pp. 300-321.
- ⁶ See "John Langdon Sibley's diary, known as Silbey's private journal, 1846-1882," p. 175. Cf. <http://hul.harvard.edu/huarc/refs/helf/Sibley.htm#1851>
- ⁷ Donald S. Spencer, *Louis Kossuth and Young America. A Study of Sectionalism and Foreign Policy, 1848-1852* (Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 1977). See also the contemporary work by William Jay, *The Kossuth Excitement* (Boston: American Peace Society, 1852). For an older assessment of Kossuth's impact, see John W. Oliver, "Louis Kossuth's Appeal to the Middle West," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, vol. 14 (March 1928), pp. 481-495.
- ⁸ One of the early historians of Hungarians in America claims that "many thousands of American children born in 1851 and 1852 took the name of Kossuth as their middle name." He also claims that "not long ago a decent American by the name of E. K. Willox died in Cleveland, whose initials represented the [Hungarian] words "Éljen Kossuth" ["Long Live Kossuth"]. Thus, his legally recorded name, which allegedly made him proud until his death, was: "Eljen Kossuth Willox." Cf. Kende, *Magyarok Amerikában*, I, p. 84. Such a naming also took place in Pittsburgh. In the "Associate Reformed Church" of Allegheny City [today's North Side] a little six month old baby was presented to Kossuth, who had been christened "Louis Kossuth Johnston." Kossuth took the child and said with deep feeling: "May he be wiser—may he be happier than his namesake. But one pride I am permitted to feel: May he love his country as I love mine, love justice and freedom as I, and be honest as I, before God, believe that I am." Cf. *Pittsburgh Gazette*, Saturday, January 31, 1852.
- ⁹ Some of the most widely read contemporary books and pamphlets about Kossuth included the following: *Kossuth. His Life and Career. With a Memoir of the Hungarian War of Independence* (New York: Henry Gibb, 1851), 31 pp.; *Kossuth and the Hungarian War* (Philadelphia: H. C. Peck and T. Bliss, 1851), 288 pp.; *Kossuth Coppered, or the Banquet at the Capital of Laputa* (New York: T. Ferer, 1852), 32 pp.; *Kossuth in New England* (Boston: J. P. Jewett and Co., 1852), 343 pp.; *The Kossuth Offering and Family Souvenir. A Gift Book for All Seasons* (New York: M. H. Newman, 1852), 241 pp.; *Programme or Arrangements for the Reception of the Distinguished Hungarian Patriot, Louis Kossuth, by the Municipal Authorities of the City of New York* (New York, 1851); *Proceedings, Speeches, etc. at the Dinner Given to Louis Kossuth at the National Hotel, Washington, Jan. 7. 1852* (Washington, DC: Globe Office, 1852), 16 pp. and *The Life of Governor Louis Kossuth. With his Public Speeches in the United States* (New York: NP, 1852), 184 pp.
- ¹⁰ For a list of well over 1,000 publications, see Joseph Széplaki, *Louis Kossuth. The Nation's Guest* (Ligonier, PA: Bethlen Press, 1976), pp. 27-123.
- ¹¹ Many of these poems have appeared in such prominent national periodicals as the *Knickerbocker Magazine*, *The National Era*, and *Living Age*, and they include poems by C. E. Hamilton ("Lines to Kossuth"), L. H. Julian ("America's Welcome to Kossuth"), The Workshop Bard ("The Fall of Hungary"), Henry Bradfield ("A Voice from Hungary"), Zdenko ("Kossuth. An Impromptu"), W. Jones ("Welcome Kossuth"), Catherine Ledyard ("Kossuth"), and Edward D. Howard ("Kossuth"). Several of these poems have been reprinted in Széplaki, *Louis Kossuth*, pp. 134-149. Széplaki, with whom I have communicated orally, claims that his collection includes about 250 poems.
- ¹² "Kossuth in Pittsburgh. Reception by the Clergy," in *Pittsburgh Gazette*, Wednesday, January 28, 1852. The same author also wrote another poem, which was published two days later in the *Pittsburgh Gazette*, Friday, January 30, 1852.
- ¹³ The most prominent newspapers, each of which published dozens of articles on Kossuth, included the following: *The New York Times* (New York), *National Era* (Washington, DC), *The Liberator* (Boston), *Athens Messenger* (Athens, Ohio), *The Pittsburgh Gazette* (Pittsburgh). The periodicals that wrote regularly about Kossuth and his mission in the United States include: *Living Age* (New York), *New Englander* (New Haven, Conn.), *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* (New York), *Eclectic Magazine* (New York), *The American Whig Review* (New York), *The Southern Literary Messenger* (Richmond, Va.), *United States Magazine and Democratic Review* (New York), *The International Monthly Magazine* (New York), *The Literary World* (New York), *North American Review* (Boston), *Daily National Intelligencer* (Washington, DC), and several others. Cf. Széplaki, *Louis Kossuth*, pp. 40-56.
- ¹⁴ Quoted from "The Hungary Page - Louis (Lajos) Kossuth: The Father of Hungarian Democracy." Cf. <http://www.webgenetics.com/hungary/kossuth.htm>
- ¹⁵ Samples of Emerson's, Whittier's, Greeley's, and Lowell's essays and poems addressed to Kossuth can be found in Endre Sebestyén, *Kossuth. A Magyar Apostle of World Democracy* (Pittsburgh: Expert Printing Company, 1850), pp. 207-218.
- ¹⁶ Whittier's poem is reprinted in its entirety in Sebestyén, *Kossuth*, pp. 212-213.
- ¹⁷ Horace Greeley's essay on Kossuth is reprinted in its entirety in Sebestyén, *Kossuth*, pp. 217-218.
- ¹⁸ James Russell Lowell's poem on Kossuth is reprinted in its entirety in Sebestyén, *Kossuth*, pp. 217-218.
- ¹⁹ See especially Spencer, *Louis Kossuth and Young America*, pp. 29-47.
- ²⁰ *The New York Times*, December 8, 1851. This view about his reception was repeated by Kossuth himself in his *Memories of My Exile*, tr. by Ferencz Jausz (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1880), p. 446.
- ²¹ Spencer, *Louis Kossuth and Young America*, pp. 5-6.
- ²² See for example *The New York Tribune*, December 4 & 5, 1851; *The New York Herald*, December 12 & 13, 1851. See also *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, vol. II, pp. 624-525, which discusses the alleged origins of the so-called "Kossuth-hat," taking it back to a certain haberdasher, the owner of a hat company, by the name of John Nicholas Genin (1819-1878). On Genin see <http://www.sff.net/people/john-sullivan/j2ksite/entries/02-0506.htm>
- ²³ "The images of these "Kossuth dollars" have been reprinted in many publications, among them in Spencer, *Louis Kossuth and Young America*, p. 60; and in *Dedication by the Congress of a Bust of Lajos (Louis) Kossuth, March 15, 1990* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1990), p. 46.
- ²⁴ On the "Kossuth-oysters" see *The New York Herald*, December 13, 1851.
- ²⁵ *The New York Tribune*, December 4 and 5, 1851; *The New York Herald*, December 12 and 13, 1851. Other examples and citations can be found in Andor M. Leffler's Ph.D. dissertation: *The Kossuth Episode in America* (Cleveland: Western Reserve University, 1949).
- ²⁶ Kossuth's words were first uttered in the "Ohio Legislature. In Senate," printed in *Ohio State Journal*, Saturday, February 7, 1852.
- ²⁷ President Lincoln's "Gettysburg Address" has been published innumerable times in many languages. It can also be found on the Internet: <http://showcase.netins.net/web/creative/lincoln/speeches/gettysburg.htm> See also Steven Béla Várdy, "Louis Kossuth's Words in Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg Address," in *Eurasian Studies Yearbook*, 71 (1999), pp 27-32.
- ²⁸ For the dozen or so Kossuth plaques in the United States (including the Columbus and the Washington, DC plaques), see <http://hungaria.org/vadasz/kossuth/legacy.html>.
- ²⁹ The ship was paid for by the American Hungarian community, and its photograph has been reproduced many times in various publications. See, for example, the memorial volume, *Hungarian Reformed Federation of America, 1896-1996*, ed. by George Dózsa (Washington, DC: Hungarian Reformed Federation of America, 1995), part 2, p. 86.
- ³⁰ "Remarks by President Bill Clinton at the reception in honor of President Árpád Göncz of Hungary, on June 8, 1999, at the South Grounds of the White House, Washington, DC." Cf. <http://www.cnn.com/WORLD/europe/9906/09/hungary.dinner.01/>. The author of this study, and his wife, dr. Agnes H. Várdy, were invited guests at this reception.
- ³¹ This event is mentioned, among others, by Robert D. Novak in his op-ed piece, "Will Defiance End Up Costing GOP Lawmakers?" in *The Washington Post*, March 20, 2006. The best-detailed summary, however, is by Judit Csernyánszky in the Hungarian American weekly, *Népszava - Szabadság [People's Voice - Liberty]*, March 31, 2006, pp. 1 and 7.
- ³² See the sources cited in note #1, above.
- ³³ For the text of Washington's Farewell Address, see <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/washing.htm> See also *Encyclopedia of American History* (Guilford, CT: The Dushkin Publishing Group, 1973), pp. 368-369.
- ³⁴ *Daily National Intelligencer*, February 26, 1882; and John H. Komlós, *Kossuth in America, 1851-1852* (Buffalo, NY: East European Institute, 1973), p. 121.

- ³⁵ Cf. *Southern Advocate* (Alabama), December 3, 1851; and *Brownlow's Knoxville* (Tennessee), December 20, 1851.
- ³⁶ Horace Mann to Rev. S. J. May, January 3, 1852. See also Mary Peabody Mann, *The Life of Horace Mann* (Boston, 1891; reprinted in Washington, DC, 1937), p. 356.
- ³⁷ Francis and Theresa Pulszky, *White, Red, Black: Sketches of American Society in the United States during the Visit of Their Guests*, 3 vols. (London: Trübner and Co., 1853; reprinted in New York: Negro Universities Press, 1968), II, p. 62.
- ³⁸ Some of Kossuth's most important speeches have been collected and reprinted in *Selected Speeches of Kossuth. Condensed and abridged, with Kossuth's Express Sanction*, ed. Francis W. Newman (London: Trübner and Co., 1853). The editor of Kossuth's speeches was the younger brother of Cardinal John H. Newman (1801-1890).
- ³⁹ Spencer, *Louis Kossuth and Young America*, p. 100.
- ⁴⁰ On Károly László, see Ildikó Pordán's introduction to her edition of László's American diary. Cf. Ildikó Pordán, *László Károly beszámolója Kossuth amerikai útjáról* [Károly László's Description of Kossuth's American Tour]. (Doctoral Dissertation. Pécs: Janus Pannonius Tudományegyetem, 1996), pp. 1-2; hereafter: *Károly László's journal*. Available on the Internet: <http://mek.oszk.hu/02200/02216/02216.htm>. See also Tivadar Ács, *Magyar úttörők az Újvilágban. László Károly 1850-67 évi naplójegyzetei a Kossuth-emigráció amerikai életéből* [Hungarian Pioneers in the New World. Károly László's Diary from the Years 1850-67 about the Lives of the Kossuth-emigrés in America] (Budapest: Láthatár Kiadó, 1942).
- ⁴¹ Francis [Ferenc] Pulszky (1814-1897), a social philosopher and archeologist, was a close political ally of Louis Kossuth. During the Hungarian Revolution of 1848-1849, he was a member of the National Defense Council that was in charge of the country during the second half of the Revolution. In 1851-1852 he and his wife—the Viennese-born Theresa Walter Pulszky (1819-1866)—accompanied Kossuth on his American tour. In 1866, just before the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867, he returned home and became the director of the Hungarian National Museum, as well as a member of the Hungarian Parliament. Pulszky and his wife coauthored several books about their émigré life and experiences in America.
- ⁴² In the mid-19th century, Pittsburgh's name was usually spelled without the "h" as "Pittsburg." When quoting from contemporary documents, I have retained the original spelling.
- ⁴³ Pulszky, *White, Red, Black*, II, pp. 76-80.
- ⁴⁴ John Newton Boucher, *A Century and Half of Pittsburg and Her People*, 3 vols. (New York: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1908), I, pp. 411-412.
- ⁴⁵ Boucher, *A Century and Half of Pittsburg and Her People*, I, p. 412.
- ⁴⁶ László erred in this statement. Colonel Black was never the Governor of Pennsylvania, but between 1859 and 1861 he did serve as the Governor of the Nebraska Territory. He was killed at the Battle of Gaines' Mill on June 27, 1862. Cf. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Samuel_W_Black
- ⁴⁷ Károly László's journal entry for January 24, 1852.
- ⁴⁸ The events in the Masonic Hall, as well as Kossuth's speech, are reprinted in the *Pittsburgh Gazette*, Tuesday, January 27, 1852.
- ⁴⁹ Széplaki, *Louis Kossuth*, p. 23.
- ⁵⁰ On General Larimer, cf. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/William_Larimer,_Jr. The organizational meeting of the "Kossuth Executive Committee" first met on December 31, 1851, in the Mayor's Office, where its leaders and the members of the various sub-committees were elected. The Kossuth Executive Committee—which represented Pittsburgh and such other nearby communities as Allegheny, Manchester, South Pittsburgh, Birmingham, and Duquesne—was headed by the Committee's Treasurer General Larimer and it had over 60 members. Cf. *Pittsburgh Gazette*, Thursday, January 1, 1852.
- ⁵¹ Boucher, *A Century and Half of Pittsburg and Her People*, vol. I, p. 409.
- ⁵² Pulszky, *White, Red, Black*, II, p. 84. Also quoted, with slight variations, in Boucher, *A Century and Half of Pittsburg and Her People*, vol. I, p. 412.
- ⁵³ "Kossuth in Pittsburgh. Proceedings of Thursday," in *Pittsburgh Gazette*, Friday, January 30, 1852. See also Károly László's journal entry for January 29, 1852.
- ⁵⁴ According to "The Inflation Calculator" available on the internet, \$1,040 in 1852 is equivalent to \$25,624.42 in 2007. But, according to some experts, taking into consideration the relative size of the U.S. economy in 1852 and 2006, respectively, the comparative value of \$250 is actually is even more. I would like to thank my Duquesne University colleagues (Dr. Joseph Rishel, Dr. Holly Mayer, and Dr. Perry Blatz) for helping me with these calculations.
- ⁵⁵ Károly László's journal entry for January 29, 1852.
- ⁵⁶ "Kossuth in Pittsburgh. Proceedings of Thursday," in *Pittsburgh Gazette*, Friday, January 30, 1852.
- ⁵⁷ The Bennet and Berry's Alkali Works of Birmingham (Pittsburgh) processed soda ash, otherwise known as sodium carbonate. As far as we can tell, it was a modest size establishment with a few dozen mostly immigrant workers. Cf. "Kossuth in Pittsburgh. Proceedings of Tuesday. Reception by the Clergy," in *Pittsburgh Gazette*, Wednesday, January 28, 1852.
- ⁵⁸ Boucher, *A century and Half of Pittsburg and Her People*, vol. I, p. 412. Boucher undoubtedly relied on Pulszky, *White, Red, Black*, II, p. 84, because Károly László's personal diary has never been translated into English.
- ⁵⁹ Károly László's journal entry for January 27, 1852.
- ⁶⁰ According to "The Inflation Calculator" available on the internet, \$250 in 1852 is equivalent to \$6,159.72 in 2007. But according to experts, taking into consideration the relative size of the U.S. economy of those years it is actually many times that sum. It should also be pointed out the that average Pittsburgh factory worker in 1852 earned about \$5.00 a week, which consisted of six days, 10-12 hours per day. If the Pittsburgh Alkali Works employed 50 workers at \$5.00 per week—which is a reasonable assumption based on Pittsburgh's population and
- economy in 1852—then the Alkali Workers' contribution of one week's wages per worker amounted to \$250, which is exactly the figure mentioned by Kossuth in his speech. On the wages of factory workers in Pennsylvania in the mid-19th century, see William A. Sullivan, *The Industrial Worker in Pennsylvania, 1800-1840* (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1955), pp. 29-83. Concerning the size of the work force of the factories in those days, see Richard Jules Oesterreicher, *Solidarity and Fragmentation. Working People and Class Consciousness in Detroit, 1875-1900* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1989), p. 6. Even as late as 1896 nearly 90% of the factories in Detroit employed fewer than 100 workers. It should perhaps be mentioned here that as late as the 1880s, the wage of an immigrant steel worker in Pittsburgh was 9 or 10 cents per hour, which equates to about one dollar per day, or \$6 per week. Cf. Thomas Bell, *Out of this Furnace* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1976), p. 21.
- ⁶¹ Cf. "Kossuth's Speech at the Alkali Works," in *Pittsburgh Gazette*, Wednesday, January 28, 1852.
- ⁶² Cf. Károly László's journal entry for January 29, 1852; and Pulszky, *White, Red, Black*, II, p. 84.
- ⁶³ The above argumentation is in response to the comments of one of the readers of the original manuscript.
- ⁶⁴ Cf. *Pittsburgh Gazette*, Saturday, January 31, 1852. Also cited by Boucher, *A Century and Half of Pittsburg and Her People*, I, p. 412.
- ⁶⁵ Károly László's journal entry for January 27, 1852.
- ⁶⁶ "Kossuth's speech at the Alkali Works," in *Pittsburgh Gazette*, Wednesday, January 28, 1852.
- ⁶⁷ Cf. *Pittsburgh Gazette*, Saturday, January 31, 1852. Also cited by Boucher, *A Century and Half of Pittsburg and Her People*, I, p. 412.
- ⁶⁸ Károly László's journal entry for January 25, 1852.
- ⁶⁹ *Pittsburg Gazette*, Saturday, January 31, 1852. Also quoted by Boucher, *A Century and Half of Pittsburg and Her People*, I, p. 412.
- ⁷⁰ Cf. *Pittsburgh Gazette*, Saturday, January 31, 1852; and *Pittsburg Gazette*, Monday, February 2, 1852.
- ⁷¹ On the value of the U.S. dollar in 1852, as compared to its value in 2006, see <http://mykindred.com/cloud/TX/Documents/dollar/> See also the "Inflation Calculator" available on the internet.
- ⁷² Károly László's journal entry for January 29, 1852.

