

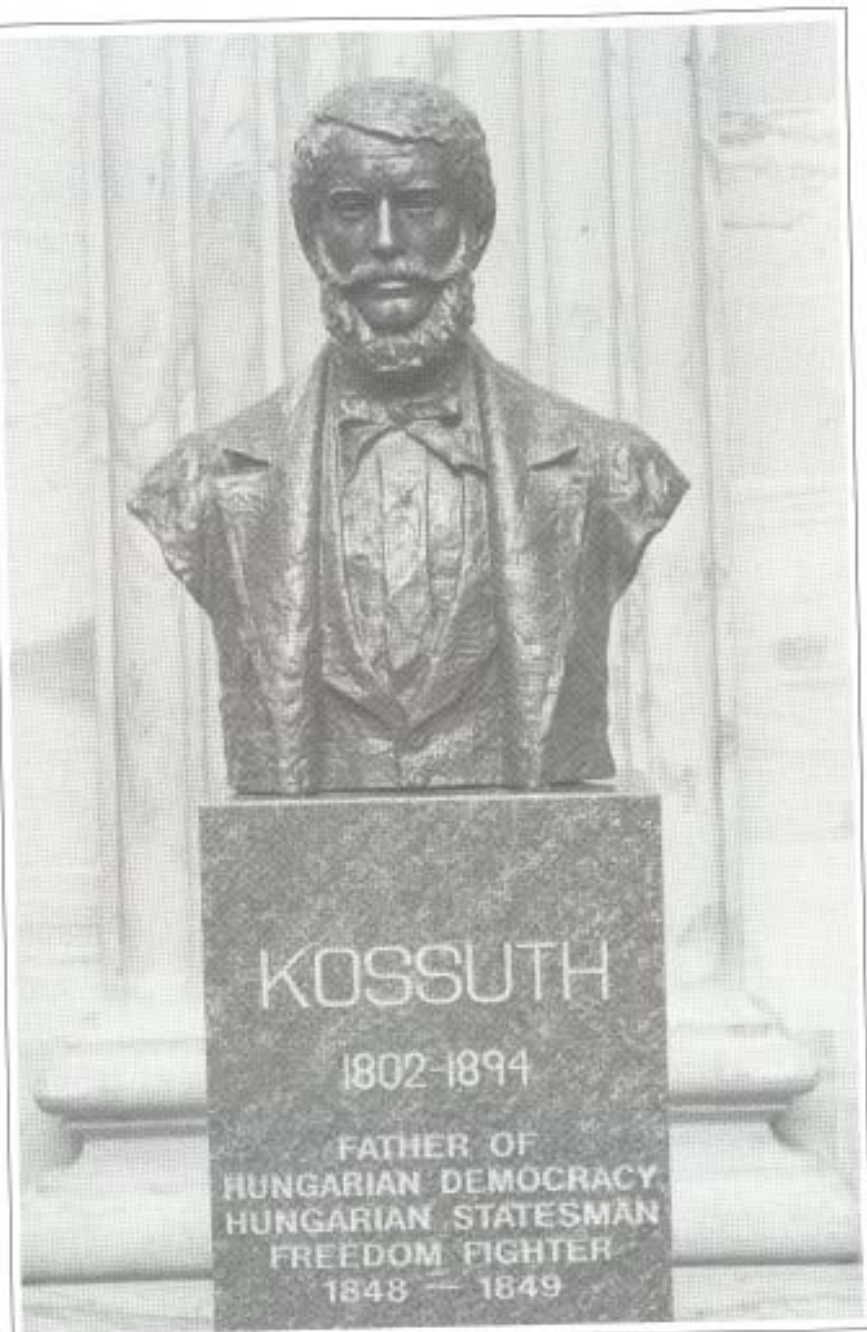
DEDICATION OF A BUST OF
Lajos (Louis) Kossuth



Proceedings in the U.S. Capitol Rotunda



Portrait of Lajos Kossuth, oil painting by Aurél Raskó (New York City, 1938). The painting is on display at the Kossuth House in Washington, DC, which is operated by the Hungarian Reformed Federation of America.



Bronze bust of Lajos Kossuth presented to the Congress on March 15, 1990.

DEDICATION BY THE
CONGRESS OF A BUST OF
LAJOS (LOUIS) KOSSUTH



Proceedings in the U.S. Capitol Rotunda
March 15, 1990
4:00 p.m.

Joint Committee on the Library

FRANK ANNUNZIO, *Chairman*, Representative from Illinois.
CLAIBORNE PELL, *Vice Chairman*, Senator from Rhode Island.
MARY ROSE OAKAR, Representative from Ohio.
WILLIAM (BILL) CLAY, Representative from Missouri.
PAUL E. GILLMOR, Representative from Ohio.
JAMES T. WALSH, Representative from New York.
DENNIS DECONCINI, Senator from Arizona.
DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN, Senator from New York.
MARK O. HATFIELD, Senator from Oregon.
TED STEVENS, Senator from Alaska.

Hilary Lieber, Staff Director

James O. King, Deputy Staff Director

House Concurrent Resolution 251, 101st Congress

[Offered by Mr. Lantos of California and Mr. Broomfield of Michigan]

IN THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
January 30, 1990.

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring).

Section 1. Dedication ceremony and placement of a bust of Lajos Kossuth in the Capitol.

The Joint Committee on the Library is authorized to use the rotunda of the Capitol on an appropriate date in March 1990 for a ceremony to dedicate a bust of Lajos Kossuth, the leader of the Hungarian Revolution of 1848-1849, known as the "George Washington of Hungary." After the ceremony, the Architect of the Capitol shall place the bust in the rotunda for a period of not more than one year and, at the end of such period, shall place the bust in a permanent location in the Capitol.

Section 2. Printing of a transcript of the proceedings of the dedication ceremony.

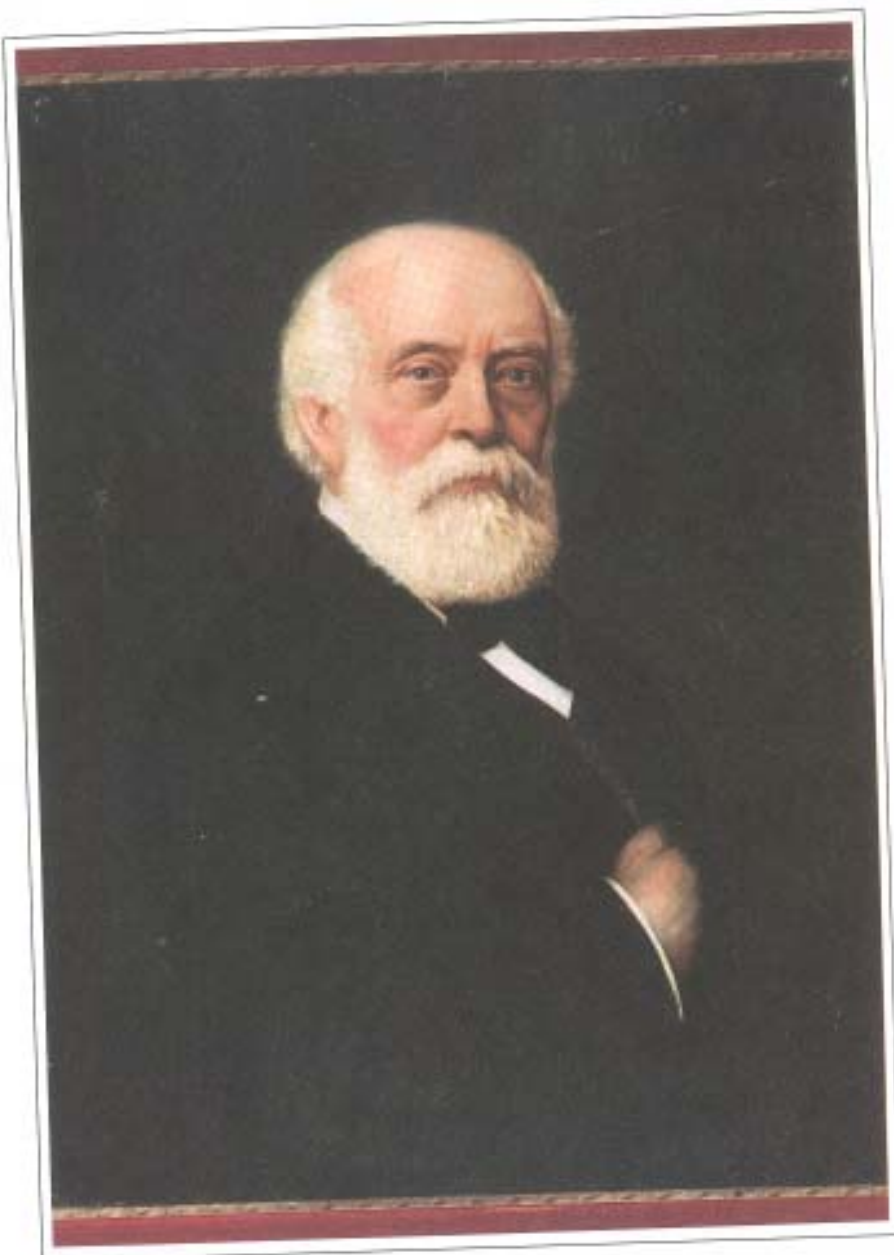
A transcript of the proceedings of the ceremony referred to in section 1 shall be printed as a House document, with illustrations and suitable binding. In addition to the usual number, there shall be printed, for the use of the Joint Committee on the Library, such number of copies of the document as does not exceed a cost of \$1,200.

Passed the House of Representatives, February 27, 1990.

Passed the Senate, March 1, 1990.



Lajos Kossuth's photograph, taken by Kech-Kemithy in Washington, DC, in 1851. It is on display at the Kossuth House in Washington, DC.



Oil portrait of Lajos Kossuth in his later years, in exile. It is on display in the Washington office of Congressman Tom Lantos of California.

Foreword

Kossuth Lajos—Hungarian freedom fighter, democratic visionary, “the George Washington of Hungary”—is the preeminent symbol of democracy, representative government, and national independence for the Hungarian people. His democratic ideals, based on study of the American system of government, demonstrate how far our nation’s democratic values reached beyond our borders. During the middle of the 19th century, Kossuth came to symbolize these values to the people of the United States, as well as to the people of Europe. As an official guest of our government for six months in 1851–1852, Kossuth was the first non-American in our nation’s history after the Marquis de Lafayette to have the honor of addressing the Senate and the House of Representatives.

Placing a bust of this Father of Hungarian Democracy in the United States Capitol is an appropriate recognition of Kossuth’s association with the history of our nation more than a century ago. At the same time, it is also a most timely and fitting gesture marking the historic victory of freedom and democracy in Central and Eastern Europe, which we have witnessed in recent months.

Kossuth’s visit to the United States in 1851 immediately involved him in critical foreign and domestic policy issues facing the American people. U.S. involvement in the struggle for democracy and independence in Europe was the first of these questions. Many American leaders favored our active participation and support for that struggle, while others strongly opposed any involvement beyond our borders. By his very presence in the United States, Kossuth—the leader of the best known revolution against absolutism, monarchy, and repression of the mid-19th century—gave powerful support to those who favored American involvement in the international fight for freedom and democracy. Our nation continues to face this question today, and it is no less controversial. As we see the dramatic changes taking place in Central and Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union, we must decide how great a role our nation will play in fostering freedom, democracy, and economic opportunity in these countries.

The decision by the Congress to accept this bust of Kossuth for permanent placement in our nation’s Capitol is symbolically and historically significant. The date of our dedication ceremony in the Great Rotunda of the Capitol was March 15—the Hungarian national day, which this year

marked the 142nd anniversary of Hungary's assertion of independence from Austria in 1848, an event in which Kossuth played a key role.

Our action reaffirms the strong ties that bind the United States and Hungary. Kossuth's visit here a century and a half ago established an emotional bond between our two peoples, which has been strengthened through the intervening years with the arrival in America of hundreds of thousands of Hungarians who sought freedom and opportunity in this great land. Our ceremony pays tribute to those long ties of friendship, which we hope will grow stronger as Hungary returns to its historic, democratic roots with the election of a representative government in the first free elections in over four decades.

But placing this bust of Kossuth in our Capitol has a much broader significance. It is a timely tribute to the historic changes currently transforming Eastern and Central Europe. The emotional outpouring that all of us experienced at this ceremony was the recognition that we were witnesses of these truly historic events. The years 1989-1990 will go down in our history with dates like 1776 and 1492. These are pivotal years—hinges of history. While the link with the past remains, history is swinging in new directions, toward democracy and freedom, toward courage and decency.

This ceremony was an opportunity for the one thousand of us present to join in a public ritual reaffirming the validity of those great ideals of freedom, justice, liberty, and democracy upon which the United States of America was founded, which were exemplified by Kossuth in his struggle for Hungarian democracy in 1848-1849, and which we are now witnessing as freedom and democracy triumph throughout Central and Eastern Europe.

Our ceremony in the Capitol Rotunda occurred just a few days before the first free elections in Hungary in almost half a century. Acting President of Hungary, Dr. Mátyás Szűrös, who was present at our ceremony, was a key participant in setting up the conditions which permitted those free elections.

In East Germany, the collapse of the Berlin Wall was leading to free elections and the reunification of the German people, and in Bulgaria the first democratic elections since World War II were taking place. In Czechoslovakia, the "Velvet Revolution" had overthrown the discredited communist government, and Vaclav Havel had just been named President of the country; he had spoken to a joint session of the United States Congress less than a month before the Kossuth ceremony. In Poland, the first non-communist government in over half a century was transforming the economic and social system of the country. Lech Walesa, leader of the Polish Solidarity trade union movement, like President Havel, also addressed a joint meeting of the United States Congress just a few months earlier.

In Romania the discredited totalitarian dictatorship of Nicolae Ceaușescu was overthrown in a violent, bloody revolution. The hero who

sparked that revolution was the Right Reverend László Tökés, an ethnic Hungarian human rights leader from the Transylvanian area of Romania. Bishop Tökés made his first speech to Members of the United States Congress at this ceremony honoring Kossuth. The standing ovation he received was a spontaneous, emotional acknowledgement that this man of integrity perpetuates the democratic ideals Kossuth exemplified a century and a half earlier. The line of courage and commitment to the ideals of freedom and democracy runs directly from Kossuth, the freedom fighter of 1848, to Tökés, the freedom fighter of 1989. The presence of Bishop Tökés at our ceremony emphasized to all of us the role that such men of vision and ideals play in changing the history of Eastern and Central Europe, and indeed, the whole world.

The significance of the placement of the Kossuth bust and the reemphasis on his role in the 1848-1849 Revolution highlighted one of the most important facts about these events taking place throughout Central and Eastern Europe. Kossuth was a consistent and outspoken advocate of the necessity of cooperation among the peoples of the Danube Basin, because the fates of these peoples are inextricably linked. This point was driven home by the cascade of change which we witnessed in this region over the past year—events in one country produced responses elsewhere; democratic developments in one area amplified and reinforced positive change in other states. Like ripples on a pond, the effects of these changes have radiated out to other regions of the world and have emphasized that the fate of all mankind is often dramatically intertwined.

I would like to pay tribute to many people and organizations who played key roles in the effort to place this Kossuth bust in our nation's Capitol. I would like first to recognize the American Hungarian Federation, which commissioned this remarkable likeness of the father of Hungarian democracy. The leadership of the Federation initially approached my wife, Annette, and me with their generous proposal to present it to the American people for placement in the Capitol. Thanks to Annette's persistent and determined efforts, we succeeded where others had failed.

Several of my colleagues in the Congress deserve special recognition. Senator Claiborne Pell, the distinguished Chairman of the Joint Committee on the Library at the time, completed the process of securing the formal permission for placement of the bust in the Capitol. The legislation which I introduced to hold the formal presentation ceremony in the Great Rotunda of the Capitol was cosponsored in the House by my distinguished colleague on the Foreign Affairs Committee, William S. Broomfield of Michigan, and in the Senate it was introduced by Senator Pell. Congressman Frank Annunzio, the Chairman of the Joint Committee on the Library in this session of Congress, was instrumental in approving necessary arrangements for the ceremony and placement of the bust. I am most grateful for many other of my colleagues who played

supporting roles, in adopting the necessary legislation and completing the procedural details.

Many helped with the preparation of this volume. Dr. Elemer Bako prepared much of the historical background and the chronologies of Kossuth's life. My Administrative Assistant, Dr. Robert R. King, prepared some of the historical materials and assisted in editing. Special thanks also goes to Dr. Duane Nystrom of the staff of the Joint Committee on Printing.

Many individuals who participated in the Rotunda ceremony and in other Kossuth events in connection with this ceremony. These individuals are recognized in my remarks at the ceremony, which are included hereafter, and I will not repeat the names here.

Several members of my staff spent a great deal of time and effort in bringing together these events. None worked harder or longer at every step of the way than Dr. Kay Atkinson King, and I want to recognize the importance of her invaluable contribution in arranging for the acceptance of the Kossuth bust, the Rotunda ceremony, the preparation of this volume and other activities in connection with these events.

Finally, I want to pay special tribute to the enthusiasm and determination of my wife, Annette, who provided leadership for this project from beginning to end. Thanks principally to her efforts, we have realized the dream of having Kossuth Lajos appropriately immortalized in the halls of the United States Capitol.



Member of Congress from California,
Spring 1990.

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Lajos Kossuth, 1802–1894

Lajos Kossuth, the Hungarian political reformer and leader of the 1848–1849 revolution for Hungarian independence, was one of the greatest statesmen and orators of the mid-19th century. He was a prominent figure, well known in the United States and Europe for his leadership of the democratic forces who sought Hungarian independence from Austrian domination. During his triumphal tour of the United States in 1851–1852, American journalist Horace Greeley said of Kossuth: “Among the orators, patriots, statesmen, exiles, he has, living or dead, no superior.”

Kossuth was born in Monok, in northeastern Hungary in the year 1802. At that time Hungary was a part of the Austrian Empire ruled by the Habsburg Dynasty. Kossuth was born in modest circumstances, although his father was a member of the gentry. Young Lajos, following his father's profession, became an attorney and began his career as an agent for a local wealthy noblewoman.

In 1832 he was designated a substitute to represent a local noble in the Hungarian Diet (national parliament) in Pozsony (now Bratislava, Czechoslovakia). Kossuth, a prolific writer and editor, produced a record of the Diet's proceedings as well as other newspapers and journals. His advocacy of political reform and national independence resulted in his imprisonment for three years by the Austrian government. During his confinement, he taught himself English by studying the Bible and Shakespeare.

In 1847 Kossuth was elected to the Diet as a representative of the county of Pest, which included the cities of Buda and Pest. He became the leader of the opposition Reform Party, which was urging an extensive program of political and social reforms. The outbreak of the 1848 revolution in Paris in February gave the Hungarian reform movement new impetus. On March 3, in a powerful speech to the Diet, Kossuth demanded the removal of the dead hand of Austrian absolutism as the only way to protect the liberties of the Hungarian and other peoples of the monarchy. The outbreak of a popular uprising in Vienna on March 13 gave the Hungarian reformers new resolve to implement their goals. In another masterful address to the Diet on March 14, Kossuth voiced the popular demands that the Austrian government be replaced by a new Hungarian government responsible to elected Hungarian representatives, and that liberal political and social reforms, similar to those being introduced in other parts of Europe at the time, be implemented throughout Austria.

On March 15, in response to events taking place in the Diet at Pozsony (Bratislava) and elsewhere throughout Europe, Hungarians in the city of Pest staged a massive peaceful uprising demanding their independence from Austria. In recognition of the importance of these events, March 15 subsequently became the Hungarian national day. On that same day in Vienna, Kossuth joined the Hungarian parliamentary delegation to Vienna, which presented the demands of the Diet to the Austrian court. The proposals gave Hungary virtual independence from Austria by severing all ties, except for the personal union of the Habsburg Emperor, who was also the King of Hungary.

The Hungarian demands were promptly accepted by the panic-stricken court in Vienna. Emperor Ferdinand I (King Ferdinand V of Hungary) appointed a new Hungarian government led by Count Lajos Batthyány as Prime Minister. When the new ministers took office on March 17, Kossuth was sworn in as minister of finance. A principal area of disagreement between Austria and the new Hungarian government involved financial matters, and Kossuth was soon at loggerheads with the Finance Ministry in Vienna. Although his confrontations with Vienna were a source of great concern to the other members of the Batthyány cabinet, Kossuth's great popularity among the Hungarian people was one of the greatest assets of the government, and they could not afford to dismiss him.

The new government developed a set of reform laws, known later as the "April laws" or the "1848 legislation," which eliminated the vestiges of feudalism and transformed Hungary into a modern democratic state. The reform program, however, failed to deal with two critical issues—the relationship of Hungary to Austria and the rights and role of the non-Hungarian ethnic population in Hungary. The plan was to resolve these two issues later through further negotiations, but the failure to resolve the first intensified the confrontation with Austrian authorities, and failure to resolve the second led to national discontent among non-Hungarians and resulted in a serious weakening of the government.

In July Kossuth played a major role in the final break with Austria. He convinced the Diet to link the shipment of 20,000 Hungarian troops to imperial territories in Italy under Austrian command with political demands for Hungary. Vienna found this demand unacceptable. On that same occasion, Kossuth urged the Diet to mobilize a national military force of 200,000 to defend Hungary against the hostility of Croat and Serb populations, which were being manipulated by Austria against the Batthyány government.

Earlier Emperor Ferdinand had appointed Baron Joseph Jellačić as the Ban (governor) of Croatia. Count Batthyány's government attempted unsuccessfully to negotiate with Jellačić, while the Vienna government incited the Croats against Hungary. On June 5, the Croatian-Slavonic legislative assembly rejected the authority of Batthyány's Hungarian gov-

ernment. In September, with the blessing of the Vienna government, Jellačić's army invaded Hungary in an effort to suppress the Hungarian revolution. Batthyány's government resigned and the Diet quickly named Kossuth President of the Committee of National Defense and gave him almost complete dictatorial powers.

Kossuth's personal magnetism and courage, his unparalleled oratorical skills, his organizational talent, and his genius for leadership enabled him to mobilize the Hungarian nation against these overwhelming odds. No one but Kossuth could have given the Hungarians the heart to face threat before them. Kossuth established the new Hungarian military force, which was aided by contingents of Slovaks and Ruthenians, as well as by revolutionary forces which came to the aid of Hungary from Vienna, Italy, and Poland.

Jellačić was made commander-in-chief of all imperial forces against Hungary, but the quickly-mobilized Hungarian troops drove him out and forced him back to within sight of Vienna. The forces under Jellačić then joined other imperial troops and took control of Vienna. By the end of 1848, the imperial government in Vienna had succeeded in putting down the revolution throughout the empire, with the exception of Hungary. Ferdinand, who had sanctioned the Hungarian Diet's April Laws and whose coronation oath obliged him to recognize the substantial measure of independence Hungary had achieved, was forced to abdicate in favor of his nephew Franz Josef I. The new emperor and his government did not consider themselves bound by the previous promises and agreements with Hungary. On March 4, 1849, the Imperial Court issued a new constitution which annulled the Diet's April Laws of 1848 and ended *de jure* Hungary's movement for independence.

In January an imperial force succeeded in occupying Budapest and won a further victory at Kapolna in February. The Hungarian troops under the leadership of General Arthur Görgei, however, rallied and by April of 1849, they had again forced the Austrian troops to evacuate nearly all of Hungary.

On April 14, the Hungarian Diet meeting in Debrecen in eastern Hungary, inspired by Kossuth, proclaimed the complete independence of Hungary from Austria and deposed the Habsburg dynasty. The Hungarian declaration of independence was influenced by the American document. At this same time the Diet elected Kossuth "governor-president" and charged him to render an account of his actions to the parliament. Hungary was the last bastion of the democratic revolutions of 1848 to remain standing against the forces of absolutism, and Hungarian developments were carefully followed with considerable sympathy by the governments and people of Europe and the United States.

The inability of the Austrian government to reestablish its authority over Hungary was a great concern to the autocratic government of Rus-

sia. Czar Nicholas I offered to aid the Austrians in suppressing the Hungarian revolution. In June Emperor Franz Josef accepted. On June 17–18, a powerful Russian army of more than 200,000 invaded Hungary from the north, while at the same time an Austrian army began to move against Hungary from the west. At the same time, the imperial government in Vienna continued to stir up discontent among the Croats, Serbs, and Romanians within Hungary. The exhausted Hungarian army of only 152,000 men was no match for this massive gathering of forces, but troops under General Görgei put up a vigorous resistance. The Russian army swept through eastern Hungary and Transylvania and defeated Görgei's regiments in the Battle of Temesvár. The situation was hopeless. Kossuth transferred government authority to Görgei, who surrendered to the Russian commander at Világos on August 13.

Despite promises of clemency by the Russian commander and subsequent demands by the governments of Great Britain and France, the surrender led to savage reprisals by the Austrian commander, General Julius Haynau. Former Prime Minister Batthyány was executed, as were thirteen generals and hundreds of other Hungarian military officers. The execution of the generals on October 6 at Arad (now in Romania) later became a Hungarian day of commemoration. Hungary was put under Austrian military occupation and subjected to an absolutist rule from Vienna carried out by a foreign bureaucracy under the Imperial Minister of the Interior.

At the time of the Hungarian surrender, Kossuth with many of his loyal followers and thousands of Hungarian troops and some Polish volunteers, fled to the Lower Danube, which was then a part of the Turkish Empire, to escape Russian and Austrian forces. Kossuth spent two years in exile in Kutahiyah in Asia Minor.

The governments of Great Britain, the United States, and other West European nations successfully pressured the Turkish Sultan to refuse Austrian and Russian demands for Kossuth's extradition. They were able to arrange for his departure from Turkey, and on September 10, 1851, he steamed from the Turkish port of Smyrna (now Izmir) aboard the U.S. Navy's frigate *Mississippi*. After brief stops in France and Britain, he arrived in New York City on December 5, 1851, to great public acclaim. His triumphant six-month tour throughout the country was an unprecedented popular success.

Although Kossuth did not achieve his goal of winning official United States government support and recognition for continuing his struggle for Hungarian independence, his visit did leave a permanent legacy in America. He gave several hundred speeches in all parts of the United States, including separate addresses to both Houses of Congress. During this tour 250 poems, dozens of books, hundreds of pamphlets, and thousands of editorials were written about him and his democratic ideals. His

achievements were praised by English and American political leaders and intellectuals, such as Matthew Arnold, Elizabeth Browning, Algernon Charles Swinburne, John Griscom, William Lloyd Garrison, James Russell Lowell, John Edward Massey, John Greenleaf Whittier, William Cullen Bryant, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Horace Greeley.

He left the United States after six months, returning to Europe in July 1852 in an effort to rally support for the Hungarian cause. He lived for a period of time in London, and eventually settled in Turin, Italy. In exile, he continued his efforts for Hungarian independence, but he did not return to Hungary.

Following his death in Turin in 1894, his body was returned to Hungary, where he was buried amid nationwide mourning. After his death, Kossuth continued as the popular symbol of the aspiration of the Hungarian people for independence.

Dedication by the
United States Congress
of the Bust of
Lajos (Louis) Kossuth



Dedication of the Bust of Lajos (Louis) Kossuth

U.S. Capitol Rotunda, March 15, 1990, 4:00 p.m.

CHORAL PRELUDE—Béla Bartók Men's Choir, Garfield, New Jersey, Thomas Siklós,
Director

PRESENTATION OF COLORS—Joint Armed Forces Color Guard

SINGING OF THE UNITED STATES AND HUNGARIAN NATIONAL ANTHEMS—Choirs and
audience, led by Cecilia Bros, accompanied by Adam Renner

Invocation

Dr. James D. Ford, Chaplain of the U.S. House of Representatives

Welcome

Representative Tom Lantos, Master of Ceremonies

Distinguished Guests

Representative Thomas Foley—Speaker of the House of Representatives

Senator Robert Dole—Republican Leader of the Senate

Representative Richard Gephardt—Majority Leader, U.S. House of Representatives

Representative William Broomfield—Ranking Minority Member, Committee on Foreign
Affairs

Lawrence Eagleburger—Deputy Secretary of State

Presentation of Bust

Right Reverend Tibor Dömötör—National President, The American Hungarian
Federation

Unveiling

Csaba Kür, Sculptor

Annette Lantos

Elizabeth Dole, Secretary of Labor

Acceptance of the Bust

Representative Frank Annunzio—Chairman, Joint Committee on the Library

George M. White—Architect of the Capitol

CHORAL SELECTION—Musica Hungarica, Washington, DC, Reverend Imre Bertalan,
Director

Remarks

Péter Várkonyi—Hungarian Ambassador to the United States

Mátyás Szűrös—Interim President of the Republic of Hungary

László Hámos—President, Hungarian Human Rights Foundation

Right Reverend László Tökés—Human Rights Leader

CHORAL SELECTION—Béla Bartók's Men's Choir

Benediction

Reverend Imre Bertalan

CHORAL POSTLUDE—Musica Hungarica

Capitol Rotunda Ceremony

Thursday, March 15, 1990, 4:00 p.m.

MR. LANTOS. Will you please remain standing for the Presentation of
Colors, the singing of the National Anthems of the Republic of Hungary
and the United States of America, and for the invocation by Dr. Ford,
Chaplain of the House of Representatives.

The Color Guard will present Colors.

[The Colors were presented by the Joint Armed Forces Color Guard.]

Cecilia Bros will lead us in the two National Anthems.

[The Hungarian and United States National Anthems were sung.]

HOUSE CHAPLAIN

DR. FORD. Let us pray.

*We give you thanks, O gracious God, that on this day of days, in
this hallowed place, surrounded as we are by the symbols of democ-
racy, we can gather as friends to celebrate the freedoms that we share
together.*

*We are grateful, O God, for all your gifts to us; the gifts of family
and friends and colleagues; the gifts of understanding and reconcilia-
tion; the gifts of faith and hope and love.*

*At this special moment we are conscious of the heroes of today and
other days, those men and women who did not count personal cost,
but who had a vision of a better world and who had the commitment
and integrity not only to speak the truth, but were faithful in doing
that truth as you gave them the strength.*

*O God of history, bless those who today serve you by serving oth-
ers, that their message of hope and peace will encourage each one of
us to do what we can to be messengers of good will and stewards of
all your mighty graces.*

*And may we, in all that we do, ever seek to do justice, love mercy,
and walk humbly with you. This is our earnest prayer. Amen.*



MR. LANTOS. Mr. President, Speaker Foley, Secretary of Labor Dole, Republican Leader of the Senate Dole, Majority Leader of the U.S. House of Representatives, Congressman Gephardt, Secretary Eagleburger, Ambassador Várkonyi, distinguished guests, colleagues, ambassadors, friends of freedom everywhere, in recent months we in this country have come to learn a lot of strange new names, like Lech Walesa and Vaclav Havel. Today we are relearning one of the most distinguished names of a lover of democracy and freedom from the nineteenth century, Lajos Kossuth.

1989 and 1848 were pivotal years in human history. They were hinges of history. In 1848 and 1989 we knew that while we were connected to the past, we were swinging in new directions, good directions, free, open, and democratic directions.

Lajos Kossuth, the hero of Hungary's democratic revolution of 1848, was a man way, way ahead of his time. He said, "To find the sunlight of freedom, we must come to America."

He said he believed in a government of the people, by the people, and for the people. Some of us have some suspicions that others may have read and learned and maybe to some extent repeated his own prophetic words. He did all the things that Havel did and Walesa did. He was imprisoned on political charges by the Habsburg regime, and he fought a

good fight until in a way somewhat different from 1989, that fight for freedom was put down by the overwhelming forces of the armies of the czar.

He came to this country. He was received as a hero. He was presented with a resolution in the Congress welcoming him, honoring him.

I might add that the Senate debated that resolution four days, Mr. Leader. The House debated it for five, Mr. Speaker. But finally it was passed, and the American people and the Congress of the United States honored him.

He was welcomed and received by President Millard Fillmore at the White House, and he addressed both the House and the Senate. He was only the second foreign visitor after the Marquis de Lafayette to be officially welcomed by the Congress of the United States. He followed his reception here with a triumphant tour of the United States.

What he said here in Washington is noteworthy. He said,

"It is a remarkable fact in the history of mankind that while in the past honors were bestowed upon glory and glory was attached only to success, the legislative authorities of this great republic bestow the highest honors upon the persecuted in exile, not conspicuous by glory, not favored by success, but engaged in a just cause."

There is a triumph of republican principles in fact. He meant that with a small "r," Mr. Leader.

[Applause.]

It is such a joy that joining us on this occasion, and you will be hearing from him at the conclusion of this ceremony, is another ethnic Hungarian, a freedom fighter of 1989, whose heroism in his small church in the town of Timisoara resulted in the Romanian uprising, the Reverend László Tökés, who, had it not been for his heroism, his larger than life commitment to our principles, for all we know Ceaucescu would still be ruling over the unfortunate people of Romania.

The line from Kossuth Lajos to Tökés László is a direct line.

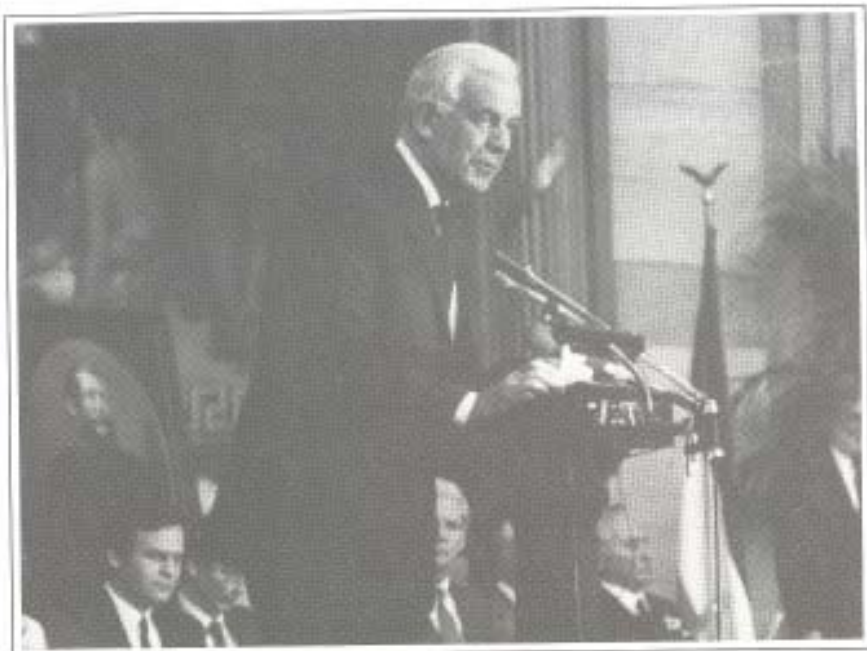
[Applause.]

It is the line of the best in Hungary, a commitment to decency and pluralism, freedom of speech and faith, and the recognition that we are our brothers' and sisters' keeper, and it is worthwhile to risk your lives to live freely.

Hungarian history is not all made up of Kossuth Lajos and Tökés László. We had more than our fair share of fascist tyrants and brutal communist dictators. But we also had the men and women we can look to with pride, because they are the best that any nation can offer.

To begin this solemn and joyful ceremony, I would like to call on the distinguished Speaker of the House of Representatives, Congressman Tom Foley.

[Applause.]



MR. FOLEY. Mr. President, Madam Secretary, Mr. Secretary, Distinguished Leaders Bob Dole and Mr. Gephardt, Members of Congress, special recognition to Pastor Tökés, who did us the honor today of opening the House of Representatives with a prayer, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, it is my singular honor to welcome all of you to the Capitol and to participate in this ceremony honoring one of the great heroes of Hungary, Lajos Kossuth.

We are gathered here at the center of American democracy, the symbolic center of the American Nation. This building represents the hopes and aspirations of the American people, our dedication to the ideals of political and economic liberty, and the fulfillment in fact of our attempts at self-government.

It is entirely fitting that we should honor here another great defender of freedom, Lajos Kossuth, the father of Hungarian democracy.

We Americans recognize in Kossuth the same dedication to democratic values upon which our Republic was founded, and which have flourished here for over two centuries, and which still are our most cherished national asset.

In fact, as Tom Lantos said, when Kossuth visited the United States in the last century, he was greeted with wild enthusiasm and acclaim wher-

ever he went in recognition of the historic efforts that he had undertaken on behalf of Hungarian democracy and the Hungarian independence in the revolution of 1848.

But Kossuth's efforts bear special meaning today as people in places as distant and desperate as Beijing and Managua and Budapest struggle for the right of self-determination.

After four decades of totalitarian darkness, Hungary has emerged into the warm light of democracy. In celebrating Kossuth we also pay tribute to the courage, conviction and vision of the Hungarian people who have undertaken a peaceful revolution in an effort to ensure the rights and dignity of all humanity.

With this unveiling, we salute those efforts. And may we also unveil today a new era of friendship between the Hungarian and American people, one that is based upon peace, freedom and democracy.

I am honored to be with you today.

[Applause.]

MR. LANTOS. Thank you very much, Speaker Foley. I am delighted and proud to present a man who has been in the forefront of the fight for democracy, physically and intellectually, for whom the commitment to a free society is a deeply felt personal value, the distinguished Minority Leader of the Senate, Senator Robert Dole.

[Applause.]



Right Reverend Tibor Dömötör, Annette Lantos, Chaplain James D. Ford, Representative William Broomfield, Representative Richard Gephardt, Senator Robert Dole, Secretary of Labor Elizabeth Dole, Representative Thomas S. Foley, Interim President of Hungary Mátyás Szűrös, Dr. Tamás Lovassy (interpreter).



MR. DOLE. I am very honored to be here representing the United States Senate, all of us, Democrats and Republicans alike. This is, as Congressman Lantos pointed out, a very special moment in history and a very special moment for all of us who are honored together here today.

Today, nearly a century after his death, we remember Louis Kossuth, and we celebrate the power of the democratic idea, to which he dedicated his life.

I have been around a while—I've fought in a war, fought back from personal hardship, and spent more than 30 years in public life. You get to the point where you think: "I've seen it all."

The last four or five months have reminded me anew of the truth of a line from Shakespeare that was a favorite of Kossuth: "There are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamed of in our philosophy."

I happened to be in Poland last year, on the day Prime Minister Mazowiecki took office. I attended a Solidarity party caucus. It reminded me of the stories we have all read, of those days in Philadelphia 200 years ago—when our Founding Fathers laid the foundations of our Republic.

I am struck today by this thought: Louis Kossuth would have been very much at home in Philadelphia of the late 18th century, or in Warsaw of the late 1880's.

He would be very much at home today in Budapest, in Bucharest, and in Berlin. He would be very much at home in Managua and in Pretoria,

and, indeed, wherever freedom is the goal, and the struggle for freedom is the issue.

And so I believe that Louis Kossuth—the man and the spirit, represented in this bust—will be very much at home here, too. Louis Kossuth was all about freedom. This building, this Congress, and all of us privileged to work here—that's what we're all about, too.

So I am proud to be here today, to join in this dedication of a statue—and, more importantly, this rededication to the ideal of freedom.

From this spot, Louis Kossuth will continue to inspire us all—as for more than a century he has inspired all those dedicated to freedom.

Thank you.

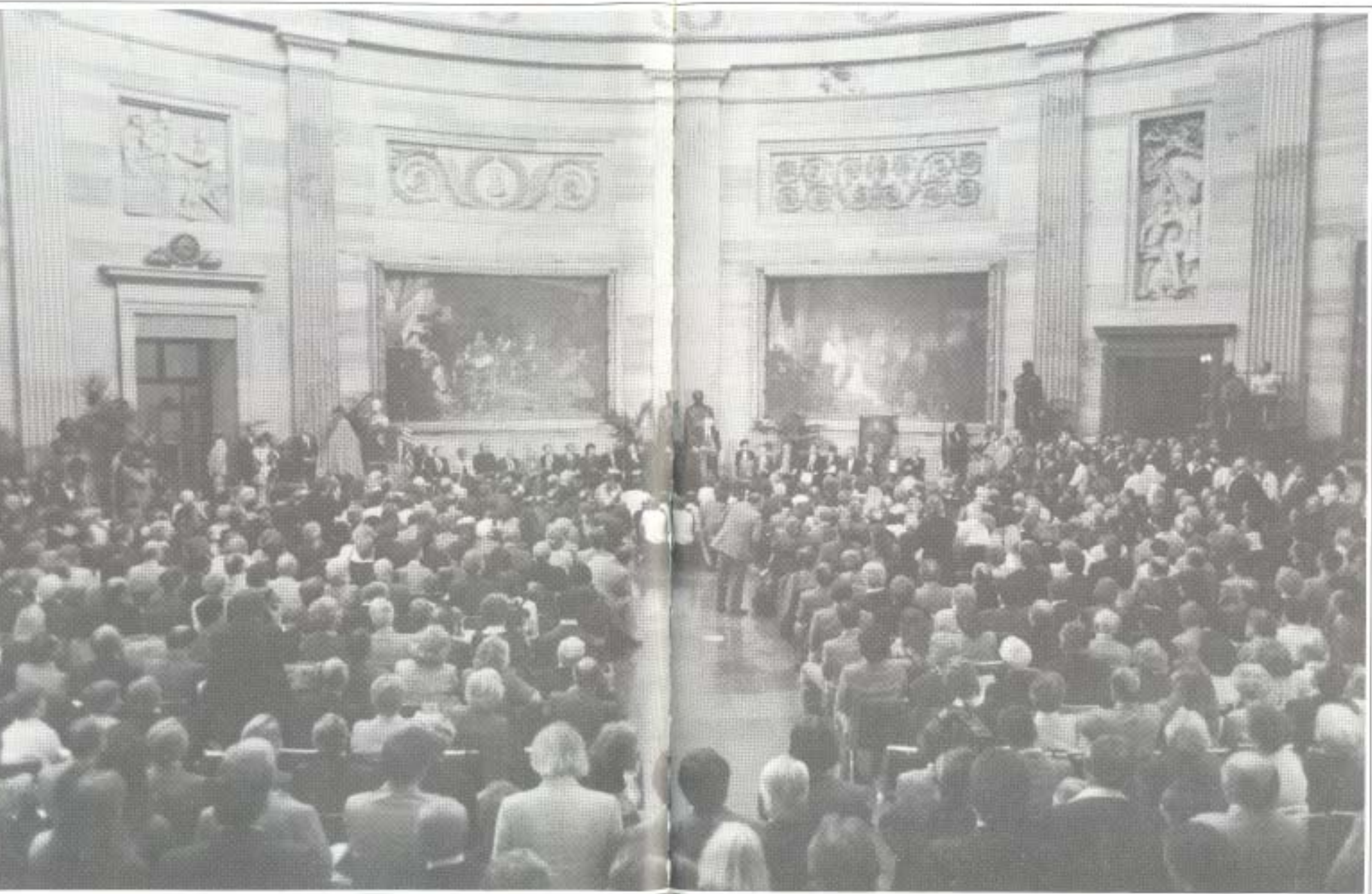
MR. LANTOS. Thank you very much, Senator Dole. It was just three months ago that the distinguished Majority Leader of the House of Representatives campaigned on the square for Vaclav Havel, and it was just a few weeks ago that he greeted Vaclav Havel here in our own Congress at a joint session.

I had the pleasure of visiting with him in the capitals of Central and Eastern Europe in December. I know that his commitment to a free and open and democratic Hungary and to the free and open and democratic elections we expect in Hungary in ten days, is second to none, Congressman Gephardt.

[Applause.]



Representative Tom Lantos, Dr. Kay Atkinson King, Hungarian Ambassador Péter Várkonyi, Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger, Right Reverend László Tökés, President of the Hungarian Human Rights Foundation László Hámos, Architect of the Capitol George M. White, Librarian of Congress James H. Billington, Sculptor Csaba Kúr, and Reverend Imre Bertalan.



Unveiling ceremony in the Capitol Rotunda, March 15, 1990.



MR. GEPHARDT. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Speaker, Mr. Leader, Madam Secretary, Real Life Hero Reverend Tökés.

We meet today to honor Lajos Kossuth, the father of Hungarian democracy, and to place a bust of this great leader in the Capitol Rotunda. It is fitting and proper in this great time of change in Eastern Europe and throughout the world that we honor a man who dedicated his life to democracy and freedom in Hungary. It took 150 years for his dreams to come true, but then again, the Hungarians are a patient people with a sense of history.

Two months ago, I was traveling through Budapest, with my good friend and distinguished colleague Tom Lantos. There never could be a more fatal mistake than to believe that by not caring about the political condition of Europe, America may remain unaffected by it.

Today, America cares deeply about the political and economic condition of Europe, because it affects the political and economic future of America. The ties that bind us are deep and strong. So much of the strength and the soul of our nation has its roots in Eastern Europe. Millions of Hungarian-Americans like Tom Lantos, Polish-Americans like Dan Rostenkowski and John Dingell, and Czech-Americans like Bob Mrazek—and my wife and I—have distinguished themselves in this country.

So it is only fitting that here, where the people rule, we honor a great leader of the people.

Tom, who was born in Budapest, pointed out a Turkish Bath, one of the few remnants of Ottoman rule. When I asked him why there were so few relics of that period, he shrugged and replied, "The Turks were only here 150 years." Perhaps that explains how easily the Hungarians are shrugging off four decades of Soviet domination.

Two years after his revolution was crushed and he was driven into exile, Mr. Kossuth came to the United States. He said to a group in Concord, Massachusetts:

"I would pledge life, honor, and everything dear to man's heart that America must take her part in the political regeneration of Europe . . ."

His vision for Hungary is becoming a reality: his vision for all of humanity will become a reality as well. This is the most exciting time of our lifetime. We are all honored to be here today.

MR. LANTOS. Thank you very much, Congressman Gephardt. Although occasionally we have our differences, all of our real triumphs are bipartisan triumphs. The House Foreign Affairs Committee, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, our Republican and Democratic administrations since the end of the War, worked together to achieve what was the miracle of 1989—the opening up of all these countries to freedom and democracy and a civilized life.

In the House of Representatives we are delighted and honored to have had the leadership of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, the ranking Republican of that committee, my cosponsor in authorizing the statue here, my good friend, Congressman Bill Broomfield of Michigan.



MR. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, Senator Dole, Secretary Eagleburger, Reverend Tökés, and my friend Tom Lantos, I want to thank you very much for this opportunity of being here today. I've walked through these halls for many years, and one thing that never fails to thrill me is the sense of history that permeates this great institution. For 200 years, Congress has struggled over this meaning of our own democracy. On the Foreign Affairs Committee, the longest running debate boils down to this: how much should our policy protect America's interests, and how much should it project America's ideals. Today, we commemorate a great statesman whose life and achievements illustrate how far America's ideals can reach out into this world. Louis Kossuth was a student of the American Revolution. No doubt the lives of America's Founding Fathers helped inspire his own struggle for independence and democracy in Hungary. Like those he studied, Louis Kossuth took up the cause of democracy at great personal sacrifice. For his passionate dedication to freedom he spent much of his life in exile. He belongs here with those who helped inspire him, and we are proud to have him. After years of oppression, the flame of freedom is once again burning in Eastern Europe. We are in the company of a modern-day hero of Eastern Europe, someone whose own personal bravery gave millions of

Romanians the courage to overthrow one of the most brutal regimes in modern history.

Reverend Tökés, we are proud to have you here today as well, and hope that your example will inspire those still in bondage to break their chains and those who live in freedom to struggle to preserve it.

The story of democracy is a thread that is woven right through the fabric of world history. It extends from ancient Greece through the American Revolution, through the democratic movements of the 19th century and right up to the events of the present day.

I'd like to think that this great Capitol is a spiritual home not only for the American people, but also for those who helped weave the thread of freedom throughout the world.

Thank you.

MR. LANTOS. You have heard from the leaders of the Congress. Now we move to a tribute by the administration to this great hero.

Before we introduce our next speaker, I would like to share with you the message I was asked to read to you by President Bush:

The White House.

I am pleased to bring all those gathered today in the Rotunda of the United States Capitol for the unveiling of the bust of the courageous Hungarian freedom fighter and the father of Hungarian democracy, Louis Kossuth, my special greetings to his Excellency, the Acting President of Hungary, and to the Reverend László Tökés. The world has witnessed many extraordinary changes across Eastern and Central Europe.

One after another, the peoples of the region have raised their voices and thrown off the oppressive chains of totalitarianism, claiming their right to freedom and self-determination, and inspiring millions of others around the region and the world.

When the seeds of democratic and free market economics began to burst forth in Hungary, we could not have imagined the triumphant flowering of freedom we see today. The people of Hungary have served as a model and a source of hope to all freedom loving men and women. We rejoice in the freedoms imagined by Louis Kossuth finally being realized. It is most fitting that a bust of this champion of Hungary's independence will stand in the home of an institution that he held in great esteem, the United States Congress. I hope that this sculpture will long serve as a symbol of America's great admiration for Louis Kossuth and of our own country's commitment to democracy and freedom for all.

Barbara joins me in sending best wishes to all for a memorable event. God bless you all.

GEORGE BUSH

MR. LANTOS. I am delighted to present the administration's leading expert on Central and Eastern Europe, who has worked in the vineyards of developing free and democratic institutions for many years, as Ambassador of the United States to Yugoslavia, as Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, and now Deputy Secretary of State, Lawrence Eagleburger.



MR. EAGLEBURGER. President Szűrös, Mr. Speaker, Senator Dole, Mr. Gephardt, Mr. Broomfield, Mr. Lantos, Reverend Tökés, distinguished guests.

It is always difficult to follow at the end of a list of speakers. It is particularly difficult when they are all politicians who have made their lives making speeches. I should tell you all that I have lived in terror this afternoon that they would have found a quote that I wanted to use in my remarks, and I would therefore be destroyed before I got here. I am relieved to say that they did not find the quote.

There has perhaps never been a more appropriate time in the past century or more for us to gather here to pay tribute to the life of Lajos Kossuth—a patriot, a hero, and a visionary. I am honored to represent President Bush and Secretary Baker here today.

When Kossuth fled his native land and arrived in New York City in 1851, he was greeted by hundreds of thousands of Americans hailing him as the "Hungarian Washington." He made more than 300 major speeches throughout the United States. In every major city, from the far North to the deep South, he was greeted by large, enthusiastic crowds.

Why was Kossuth so popular in our country, and why is his memory of such enduring value to Americans?

First, his ideal of an independent, democratic Hungary struck a chord with Americans, who had fought for their own freedom against arbitrary government and foreign rule only seventy-five years before.

And second, because he preached, prophetically, that unless America helped to regenerate the Old World, it too would be drawn into the rivalries that had for so long jeopardized peace in Europe.

Kossuth championed a free press, freedom of association, and freedom of religion in Hungary. But he also truly believed in the universality of what we today call human rights—so much so that he was prevented from addressing a joint session of Congress because some members feared that his speech would stir up abolitionist sentiment and arouse demands to free the slaves.

Kossuth believed that the Hungarian yearning for individual liberties and democratic self-expression would endure despite repression and dictatorship. On a recent trip to Hungary, I saw that his confidence was not misplaced. I saw a Budapest almost exploding with activity—independent newspapers, rallies and political campaigns unthinkable just one year ago. With Hungary about to hold its first democratic elections in more than forty years, Kossuth's dream has been vindicated.

Americans and Hungarians face a new challenge today—to ensure that democracy and respect for human rights become a permanent part of Hungary's—and all of East Central Europe's—political tradition. We cannot ignore Kossuth's admonition that freedom is indivisible and that freedom's cause everywhere must be our own. We will, therefore, remain actively engaged to ensure the fulfillment of Kossuth's ideals for a liberated, democratic and free Hungary, and a Europe which is free and whole and at peace.

We are honoring today a great man of the nineteenth century, a visionary whose message is no less relevant now than it was during his lifetime. This message Kossuth eloquently described in an address to the Ohio State legislature:

"Almost every century has had one predominant idea which imparted a common direction to the activity of nations. This predominant idea is the spirit of the age, invisible yet omnipresent, impregnable, all-pervading, scorned, abused, opposed yet omnipotent. The spirit of our age is democracy."

Ladies and gentlemen, democracy is still the spirit of our age—in America, in Hungary, and, increasingly, around the world.

Thank you.

MR. LANTOS. Thank you very much, Secretary Eagleburger. Now to the presentation and unveiling of the bust. I would like to ask the Reverend to come up to the podium. I would like to ask Mrs. Dole and Mrs. Lantos to go over to the statue with Csaba Kür, the sculptor, and after a few remarks by Reverend Tibor Dömötör, we shall unveil Lajos Kossuth's bust.



RIGHT REVEREND DÖMÖTÖR. Honored guests, ladies and gentlemen. On March 15th, 1848, 142 years ago today the most famous Hungarian war of independence started in Budapest. The leader of this war was the greatest Hungarian freedom fighter, Lajos Kossuth. Lajos Kossuth had a deep belief in God, a strong faith in the historical mission of the Hungarian nation and a lifelong dedication to freedom. His thinking was greatly influenced by the Constitution and the republican form of government in the United States of America. His faith gave him strength in battle, foresight in victory and the ability to endure defeat and to accept humiliation. His courage can be an inspiration for every freedom fighter. His thinking and his prophecy have been vindicated by history. In 1852, in a speech in Ohio, Lajos Kossuth said: "The spirit of our age is democracy. All for the people and all by the people. Nothing about the people without the people. This is democracy." A few years later President Lincoln said the same words in his Gettysburg Address. Similar thoughts were expressed a few months ago by President Bush. Kossuth clearly saw, that only the United States could offer a meaningful defense against the servitude prevailing in Austria and Russia. In his Salem, Massachusetts speech he said that "the duty of the United States is not to intervene in the affairs of the small European nations but to prevent the intervention of other outside powers." The thinking of Kossuth is the driving force of the political movements of Eastern Europe today. Kossuth said that peace will come to Europe when peace will be based on

freedom and justice. The world could have learned much from Lajos Kossuth. It was in memory of this Lajos Kossuth that a few years ago in Akron, Ohio we decided to create a monument in his honor.

In the name of the American Hungarian Federation I hand over this bust of Lajos Kossuth to the Congress of the United States in memory of the 1848-1849 freedom fighters, heroes and martyrs. At the same time we wish to remember the 1956 freedom fighters, heroes and martyrs, who fought and died for the goals that Lajos Kossuth set forth. We wish to thank the American people for their commitment to freedom and democracy.

God bless the United States!

God bless a free, independent and democratic Hungary!

MR. LANTOS. Before the statue is unveiled, I would like to ask if you can join me in giving the sculptor, Mr. Csaba Kúr, a hand.

[Applause.]

Let us now unveil the bust.

[Applause.]

UNVEILING OF THE BUST OF LAJOS KOSSUTH



Annette Lantos, Secretary of Labor Elizabeth Dole, and sculptor, Csaba Kúr, unveil the bust of Lajos Kossuth.

MR. LANTOS. Two people were instrumental in having this statue accepted and placed in the Capitol. It gives me a great deal of pleasure first to call on my friend and colleague from Illinois, Congressman Frank Annunzio, Chairman of the Joint Committee on the Library to officially accept the bust.



MR. ANNUNZIO. As Chairman of the Joint Committee on the Library, I am pleased to be here today to honor the brilliant statesman, Lajos Kossuth, known throughout history as the George Washington of Hungary.

Lajos Kossuth was the life and soul of Hungary's fight for independence from Austria, which began 142 years ago today. Not unlike the reformers in Eastern Europe today, some of whom are seated here, Lajos Kossuth above all else believed in national liberty, and felt passionately that no social or economic progress was possible until Hungary enjoyed the internal freedom to which its laws entitled it.

The recent and remarkable events that have and continue to take place in Eastern Europe today make the placement of a bust of Lajos Kossuth in the United States Capitol a most appropriate tribute to the past and present struggle for independence and freedom in the Republic of Hungary.

I hereby accept the bust of Lajos Kossuth on behalf of the United States Congress.

MR. LANTOS. Thank you very much, Chairman Annunzio. The other person who was particularly helpful in achieving acceptance of the bust was Senator Claiborne Pell, who at the time it was accepted was the chairman of the Joint Committee on the Library. Senator Pell unfortunately could not be with us today but he sent this statement.

I send my special greetings to all who gather today to honor the memory of Hungary's great national hero, Louis Kossuth. I regret very much that I am not able to be with you.

This year's commemoration of the 1848 Budapest revolution holds special meaning because it comes at a time of dramatic renewal and transformation in Eastern Europe. What a fitting time it is for us to celebrate the life of Louis Kossuth, the leader of that first fight for democracy 142 years ago.

I have had a long and rich association with Hungary, where my father served as U.S. Minister in the 1940's, and have always been inspired by Kossuth's historic role in changing the map of Europe. I was especially pleased to be able to secure acceptance of the statue we unveil today on behalf of Congress in my capacity as chairman of the Joint Committee on the Library in 1988.

With the permanent placement of this bust in the U.S. Capitol, Louis Kossuth can indeed be said to have come home to the Congress and the country who acclaimed him so warmly. He was indeed a hero in his own time on both sides of the Atlantic.

MR. LANTOS. Before introducing the Architect of the Capitol, without whose invaluable help we could not have achieved this, I would like to introduce one more person. We had a very moving opening of the Lajos Kossuth exhibit in the Russell Rotunda on the Senate side, and a marvelous historical perspective on Kossuth by the most distinguished historian we are honored to have, as the Librarian of Congress, Dr. James Billington. On behalf of all of us, I want to thank Dr. Billington.

Now, George White, the Architect of the Capitol.

ARCHITECT OF THE CAPITOL

MR. WHITE. I am honored indeed to have been asked to participate in the acceptance of this beautiful portrait bust by Csaba Kúr, distinguished sculptor, which we are now glad to be representing here in the Capitol.

I am pleased on more than one ground. First, to have been asked and be helpful to my good friend, Tom Lantos, who has been the driving force behind this creation. Secondly, because I grew up in Cleveland, Ohio, where as most of you know, there is a very large Hungarian community. So I have heard the name Louis Kossuth since I was a very little boy.

I am honored indeed to again to have been asked in our office, because it is responsible for the care of statuary in this building, and will, of course, have the care and maintenance of this beautiful portrait bust. I can therefore pledge to you its perpetual respect and care not only for the statue but for the symbolism which it represents. Thank you.

MR. LANTOS. To set the stage properly for the remarks of the President of the Republic of Hungary and of the Reverend Tökés, I would like to ask first to have a few Hungarian songs.

[Three Hungarian selections were sung.]

Thank you very much. The man we will hear from in a moment arrived in Washington early this morning from Budapest. He will be introduced by the distinguished Ambassador of the Republic of Hungary to the United States, Dr. Péter Várkonyi.

AMBASSADOR OF THE REPUBLIC OF HUNGARY



DR. VÁRKONYI. Ladies and gentlemen, I feel honored to introduce to you Dr. Mátyás Szűrös, President ad interim of the Republic of Hungary, who regardless of his busy schedule at home found time to attend this great, historical event of the Hungarian-American relations. Dr. Szűrös is not unknown to most of you present here, Americans and Hungarians alike. After a long career in the foreign service he was elected member of Parliament in 1985 where he became the Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee. On March 10, 1989, Dr. Szűrös was elected speaker of Parliament.

After far-reaching constitutional amendments it was he, who proclaimed the Republic of Hungary on October 23, 1989 and became its President ad interim. At the forthcoming elections Dr. Szűrös is a candidate for member of Parliament. He is well-known for his firm stand on human rights and especially on the rights of Hungarian minorities.

INTERIM PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF HUNGARY



DR. SZÜRÖS. Ladies and gentlemen, I am moved and deeply emotional now that I am standing here in this shrine of democracy, known and recognized all over the world. I am especially happy and proud that many excellent and outstanding personalities of the American political, social and business life remember now a great Hungarian man, who fought for democracy and for the liberty of peoples.

Lajos Kossuth is respected all over the world as an outstanding figure in the history of Hungarian and universal revolutions and liberation struggles. His spirit, pointing beyond 19th century Hungary, had an effect on nations fighting for national independence and social progress. Even the Resolution of Congress states that Lajos Kossuth is known as the Hungarian George Washington! This is an absolutely well-founded statement. The set-up of the United States system was a decisive example to Kossuth, as well as to other radical ideologists fighting for national independence.

Perhaps few people know that Kossuth tried to introduce the idea of an American type of presidential system in Central Europe already in 1849. Practically at the same time with France, without precedent in Europe, Hungary too united the presidential and executive powers—as in the American system—in the supreme body of the revolution and liberation struggle. The National Defense Committee, of which Kossuth him-

self was chairman, drew upon the ideology of the American state organization when it proclaimed Hungary a republic in April 1849.

Allow me to go further into the common Hungarian-American ideological-historical roots. We can prove that within the ideology of the progressive Hungarian intellectuals fighting for independence from under foreign, that is, Habsburg rule, there was just as much interest in the United States as in Western Europe. A good example for the interest in American ideas and solutions is the fact that books by the Hungarian, Alexander Böllöni Farkas, and the French author, Alexis de Tocqueville, on American democracy were the most searched for sources at the time among these people. *Pesti Hirlap*, in which Kossuth published his articles regularly and worked for it as editor too, continuously offered the latest news on the results of American development. This could partially be a reason why the progressive youth often said that our situation was similar to that of America: America used to be a British colony and won her independence. Hungary was a colony of Austria and would win her independence. I can also mention that Kossuth's ideas on self government were based entirely on the concept of American local self governments.

Ladies and gentlemen, already at the middle of the last century, Kossuth realized that the only way the Danube Valley nations could win their freedom was through joint efforts. His observation still holds: the Central East European nations have started again to realize their century-old dream by eliminating the Stalinist structure, by introducing democracy and market economy. But this goal can be achieved only through close cooperation: going against one another would surely result in failure. The practical realization of Kossuth's ideas in the middle of the last century was prevented—as so many times in our history—by external circumstances and by the unfavorable behavior of foreign powers.

I think I am right to say that Kossuth was far ahead of his times in this way of thinking and in his spirit. Nevertheless, a century had to pass before his great statesman is placed at a site worthy of him, here in the United States, where he was received with great sympathy and solidarity, and where he committed himself to the idea of confederation while in exile.

May I just emphasize that in Hungary today, such a process of similar dimensions and importance is taking place which Kossuth led, 142 years ago. By starting a peaceful transformation of an outdated system unable to develop, my country had a pioneer role in changing the political map of Central East Europe. I am convinced that the Berlin Wall would not have fallen down if Hungary had not started to pull down the "Iron Curtain" and open her frontiers completely a few months earlier. In the course of our peaceful transformation, we rely on the rich ideological heritage of our great predecessors, such as Lajos Kossuth or István Széchenyi. I dare only hope, however, that the country which started the transformation of the whole region, which is a determining factor and a

catalyzer in the continuation of this process, will win the recognition, respect and support of the world just as our great compatriot, Lajos Kossuth did some century and a half ago. The visit of President Bush to Hungary last year, the regular interest of Congressmen and the activities of the American Hungarian Federation have supported greatly the continuation of reforms and transformation.

I hope that this bust of Lajos Kossuth, here in the Capitol will be an everlasting reminder of the century-old wish of the Central East European peoples and nations to be independent and free. I believe that its presence in the home of legislation will make the attention turn to the need of our region and of my country of the support and cooperation of the developed countries, among them especially of the United States. If we are successful in a peaceful switch in systems, we will contribute considerably to our regional and to international peace and security, and in a wider sense, to the realization of human rights and democratic development.

Thank you for your attention.

MR. LANTOS. Thank you very much, President Szűrös.

On several occasions during the course of this afternoon there was spontaneous and generous applause for our concluding speaker. We all know why we applauded him. He is perhaps the most moving, impressive, committed champion of free and open society and human rights. Those of us who are in the political arena also applauded him because they are fortunate enough not to have him run against us.

He will be introduced by László Hámos of the Hungarian Human Rights Foundation, an organization which patiently and persistently has fought for human rights for ethnic Hungarians in Romania and elsewhere, and which also has sponsored Reverend Tökés' visit here today.



MR. HAMOS. Distinguished guests, as we gather for this historic commemoration to Lajos Kossuth and his heroic Freedom Fight, it is fitting that we greet another heroic Hungarian freedom fighter. I can think of no more appropriate way to do so than to quote the words of the great 19th century American poet Ralph Waldo Emerson when he welcomed Kossuth to our country. Emerson's words apply to our guest today in exactly the same fashion they did to Kossuth 139 years ago.

In greeting Emerson said:

"We see in you the angel of freedom, crossing the sea and land, crossing parties and nationalities, private interests and self-esteem, dividing populations wherever you go and drawing to your heart only the good."

Our guest of honor today is a new Hungarian dragon slayer of our century. He represents the 2.5 million strong Hungarian community of Romania the largest national minority in Europe. It was his defiant stand in the face of Ceaucescu's regime's brutal persecution, that sparked the uprising last December which led to revolution all over the country, and ultimately to the fall of the Ceaucescu regime.

It is my privilege on this historic occasion to make a major announcement, to proclaim a piece of history in the making. Last Saturday, as Reverend László Tökés was beginning his tour here in the United States, an

election was held in the city of Nagyvárad (Oradea) to fill the position of Bishop of the Hungarian Reformed Church in Romania—a position vacated in December by Reverend Tökés' longtime persecutor, who is now in hiding. Here, in the Rotunda of the United States Capitol, as we celebrate freedom and democracy of the greatest Hungarian national holiday, March 15, it is with particular pride and joy that I announce to you, for the first time anywhere, that Reverend László Tökés was elected by free and popular vote and that he is now the Right Reverend Dr. László Tökés, Bishop of the Hungarian Reformed Church in Romania.

[Applause.]

Lajos Kossuth came to the United States after a defeated revolution. Though he was hailed by the Congress and the American people as a defender of liberty, Kossuth ultimately returned to Europe empty-handed. His much-lauded trip to the United States ended in vain.

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Majority Leader, distinguished Members of Congress, Administration and State Department officials, I appeal to you—all freedom-loving peoples—let's not make the same mistake of sending this great hero back to his homeland empty-handed. Ladies and gentlemen, I give you the ethnic Hungarian hero of Romania's revolution, the Right Reverend László Tökés.

BISHOP LÁSZLÓ TÖKÉS



RIGHT REVEREND TÖKÉS, Distinguished President of Hungary, Members of the House of Representatives and the Senate, Your Excellencies, the Ambassadors of Romania and Hungary, ladies and gentlemen:

I feel honored to be a guest of the House of Representatives today, the day of commemoration of the 1848-49 revolution of Hungary, one of the most important fights for freedom, not only for the Hungarian people, but of the world as well.

We have unveiled the bust of Lajos Kossuth, the leader of the Revolution, who symbolizes the deep desire and perseverance of mankind for freedom. In 1851 the American people, already enjoying freedom and democracy, received the exiled Kossuth with love and admiration. Since then, America's support for liberty has become a reality, and all peoples, from Hungary to South Africa, from Romania to Nicaragua, look with hope to its moral, political and material support. The placement of Kossuth's bust in the Capitol Rotunda, as well as the opportunity for my compatriots and me to be here, significantly expresses once more the United States' commitment to freedom, human rights and social justice all over the world.

There is a well-known Hungarian song, which sounds thus:

Kossuth Lajos azt üzen,
Elfogyott a regimentje,
Ha még egyszer azt üzeni,
Mindnyájunknak el kell menni.
Éljen a magyar szabadság, éljen a haza.

In rough English translation, it reads:

Lajos Kossuth sent a message:
'Gone are the troops, he needs recruits'
If he repeats this call just once more,
We all must go, we must all be there.
Long live Hungarian liberty! Long live our nation!

Proceeding from this song, whose strains resonate right up to the present, the obvious question poses itself: what can the message of Lajos Kossuth be today?

By the Providence of God, at this time I have the privilege to represent the Revolution of Romania against one of the worst tyrannies in the history of mankind, the Ceaucescu dictatorship. At the Advent of Christmas 1989, the members of the Hungarian Reformed Congregation of Timisoara, joined by thousands of Romanian people and people belonging to different nationalities and religious denominations, were determined to defend me, a minister of Christ, against brutal secret police action, leading to the outbreak of the Revolution in all of Romania.

The victory of the Revolution became the result of our collective fight. The common and universal cause of Freedom united us, different languages and religions. It united not only us, but also the free nations and

countries all over the world which felt compassion for the people of Romania, "rejoicing with those who rejoice and weeping with those who weep." (*Romans 12:15*)

I am firmly convinced that this is the very message of Lajos Kossuth. To be united for freedom. To overcome all obstacles, conflicts and hostilities which separate the peoples from one another and to join forces to win freedom for all humankind. This is the message of Lajos Kossuth, together with Nicolae Balcescu, the leader of the Romanian Revolution, who succeeded at that time to come to an understanding with regard to the Hungarians' and Romanians' common fight for liberty, and social and national justice.

Lajos Kossuth sends us the message of reconciliation. "We must all go, we must all be there," on the same side of the barricades in the fight for freedom! Together, the Romanian and Hungarian people! Together the peoples of the Danubian Valley!

It is for this noble aim that we beseech the United States and its allies for support. And, at one and the same time, we thank you for this support.

[Applause.]

MR. LANTOS. It is rare that we are in the presence of greatness. With László Tökés here, we are indeed in the presence of greatness, courage and decency.

I am deeply grateful to all who have made this possible, and I am particularly grateful to our very, very distinguished guests for staying through the entire length of this remarkable afternoon.

Let me tell you what lies ahead, because I know some of our distinguished guests have some other obligations and they may need to leave us.

We will now hear a few beautiful selections from the Béla Bartók Men's Choir. Then we will have Benediction by Reverend Imre Bertalan, and finally a Choral Postlude by Musica Hungarica.

At this stage I want to thank all the participants. I want to thank the Hungarian Reformed Federation of America and its president, the Reverend Imre Bertalan, the William Penn Association and its president, Elmer Vargo, the Congressional Human Rights Foundation and its executive director, David Phillips, for sponsoring the reception that will follow this ceremony in Statuary Hall.

[Applause.]

I want to especially express my personal thanks to two women who have done a remarkable job in bringing this all about, Dr. Kay King, and the source of all of my good ideas, Annette Lantos.

We will now hear from the Béla Bartók Men's Choir. The selection will be followed by the Benediction and more songs, which will be performed by Musica Hungarica.

[The Béla Bartók Men's Choir performed.]

REVEREND IMRE BERTALAN

REVEREND BERTALAN. The closing prayer are not my words, but in fact the words of Lajos Kossuth. He was not only a champion of liberty, he was also a man of prayer.

In our Kossuth House in Washington there is a very much cherished picture where Kossuth is kneeling in prayer after the Battle of Kápolna, where he lost so many of his regiments. And while he mourns there and says these words, let us think of the heroes of Timisoara, Romanians and Hungarians who died for freedom.

Let us stand in prayer.

Majestic Lord, from your throne in the magnificent heavens, have mercy upon us and harken unto your servant's supplication, from whose lips the prayers of millions are sent toward the splendor of your heavenly kingdom.

My God, above me shines your life-giving sun, while beneath my knees rest the valiant patriots who lost their lives in the struggle for freedom. Above me the blue sky smiles brightly. Beneath my feet the Earth is in mourning for the spilled blood of our forefathers and grandsons.

By your mercy, grant that the life-giving rays of the sun descend upon us, so flowers may bloom upon their graves. These cherished remains must not be allowed to rest without a wreath of glory.

As a free son of a free homeland, I kneel upon this latest resting place for my fallen brother-patriots, their broken bodies. May their great sacrifice atone our sins; and by your grace, we whose lives were spared, may we go on and live in freedom and liberty. By your mercy, may your almighty power be blessed and praised.

Amen.

And now to improvise, since I am separated from my singing group, I would like to call the sweet voice, Annette, and the strong voice in the Congress, Tom. Would you please come up here and call on the two singing choirs and the hundreds in the audience and sing together the poem and the song that we heard from Bishop Tökés before, please.

[Whereupon, at 5:50 p.m., the ceremony was concluded with the song, *Kossuth Lajos azt üzenté . . .* ("Kossuth's message . . ."), led by Congressman and Mrs. Lantos, Reverend Bertalan, and Bishop Tökés.]



Annette Lantos, Reverend Imre Bertalan, Bishop László Tökés, and Representative Tom Lantos sing a Hungarian folk song at the conclusion of the ceremony.



Interim President of Hungary, Mátyás Szűrös, and Congressman Tom Lantos of California greet human rights leader, László Tökés, in the Capitol Rotunda.



House Majority Leader Richard Gephardt, Interim President of Hungary Mátyás Szűrös, Speaker Thomas S. Foley, and Secretary of Labor Elizabeth Dole in the Capitol Rotunda after the dedication ceremony.



Pál Göncz, President of the Republic of Hungary, and Congressman Tom Lantos on May 17, 1990. They are standing next to the Kossuth bust in its permanent location in the House rotunda on the first floor of the Capitol building.

Chronology of the Life of Lajos Kossuth





Lajos Kossuth, painted in 1851, by Walter G. Gould. Kossuth met Mr. Gould in
utahiyah, Turkey while in exile.

Lajos Kossuth, 1802–1894

- 1802:** *September 19.* Lajos Kossuth was born to László Kossuth and the former Sarolta Weber in Monok, a Hungarian village in northern Hungary. He was the oldest of five children, and the only son. Kossuth's father was a lawyer, a legal adviser to land owners, and a member of the common nobility. His mother's family, of German stock, was raised to Hungarian nobility in 1648. Kossuth was born and raised in the Evangelical (Lutheran) faith. He finished his elementary school education at Sátoraljaújhely.
- 1816–1819:** Attended the Lutheran College of Eperjes, northern Hungary (now Prešov, Slovakia) then, at the age of seventeen, he matriculated at the Reformed (Calvinist) College of Sárospatak, northeastern Hungary, as a law student.
- 1821:** Practiced law in Budapest, and, in 1823, took his examination as a lawyer.
- 1823:** Returned to his birthplace, and, for several years, he practiced as a lawyer in Zemplén county. He attended meetings of the county assembly and demonstrated his talents as a skillful speaker by taking the side of the dissidents in the Polish revolt in 1831. He also demanded freedom of the press. In this respect, he followed a family tradition: between 1527 and 1715 no fewer than 17 members of the Kossuth family had been accused of seditious acts against the House of Habsburg—then rulers over Hungary.
- 1825:** Kossuth was appointed by a noble delegate as a nonvoting representative at the National Diet in Pozsony (now Bratislava, Czechoslovakia), the capital city of Hungary. The Diet was the legislative body of Hungary, but it was unsuccessful in gaining royal support for its constitutional and reformist efforts. The cabinet of the Habsburg king in Vienna, Austria, issued its orders through an administrative body, the Chancery in Vienna, Austria, the seat of the Imperial government.
- 1832–1836:** At the suggestion of his friends, Kossuth began to report on the activities of the Diet. The reports demonstrated his skills as a political writer. Because of the scarcity of free, non-official printing facilities, Kossuth was forced to employ 40 young men for copying. In 1833, however, the police of the Imperial government confiscated his lithograph machine and then blocked the publication of a book he

wanted to have printed in Leipzig, Germany. Nevertheless, the long session of this Diet allowed Kossuth to gain national attention through his reform-minded publication, the *National Diet Reports*. By the session's end, 344 issues had been written.

136: Kossuth moved his residence to the City of Pest, and, urged by his readers, began the publication of the *Municipal Reports* on the activities of the Pest County Assembly. The government promptly stopped him from publishing, but Kossuth found new ways, again and again, to issue the paper. His home was searched and nothing was discovered by which a formal court procedure could have been launched against him, but Kossuth was thrown into prison. The prisoner immediately asked for an English grammar and dictionary, the Bible in English, and the original texts of several works by Shakespeare.

After he had been imprisoned for 22 months, he finally was brought to trial on February 23, 1839. He was accused of violating censorship regulations and of conducting underground activities and endangering the welfare of the state. In a masterpiece of legal reasoning, Kossuth refuted the charges, but he nevertheless was sentenced to three years. His sentence was added to the time he had already spent in prison. An outcry for Kossuth's liberation swept over Hungary and against the powerful Imperial chancellor, Austrian Prince Metternich, who had ordered Kossuth's punishment. The delegates of the new Diet, called up for 1839–1840, brought this fervent indignation to the legislature.

140: May 10. The besieged government was compelled to release Kossuth. Soon after regaining his freedom, he married Theresa Meszlényi, whom he had met while in Buda's prison. She was Catholic and he Lutheran.

140: A wealthy printer and a confidant of the Viennese court, Lajos Landerer, decided to enter the newspaper publishing field. After long negotiations with the Metternich government (with secret hopes that in this way Kossuth could be controlled), he engaged Kossuth as the editor of *Pesti Hírlap*. Ironically, the publication soon became Kossuth's most successful platform for his political views. His grasp of the most complicated issues, as well as the clarity of his style established a new kind of newspaper in Hungary—elegant and officially blameless—much to the chagrin of his censors.

Kossuth's increasing popularity put him on a collision course with the highly respected leader of Hungary's reform movement, Count István Széchenyi, who had founded the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 1825. The public debate between Széchenyi, the liberal aristocrat, and Kossuth, the democrat, forged a national consensus. The nation chose Kossuth's direction: a sovereignty of the State of Hungary, constitutionally validated by the people.

1843: Kossuth's contract with the newspaper was about to expire. A new one, which intended to further curtail his powers as an editor, was offered to him. Kossuth refused. His search for a new employment with another paper failed.

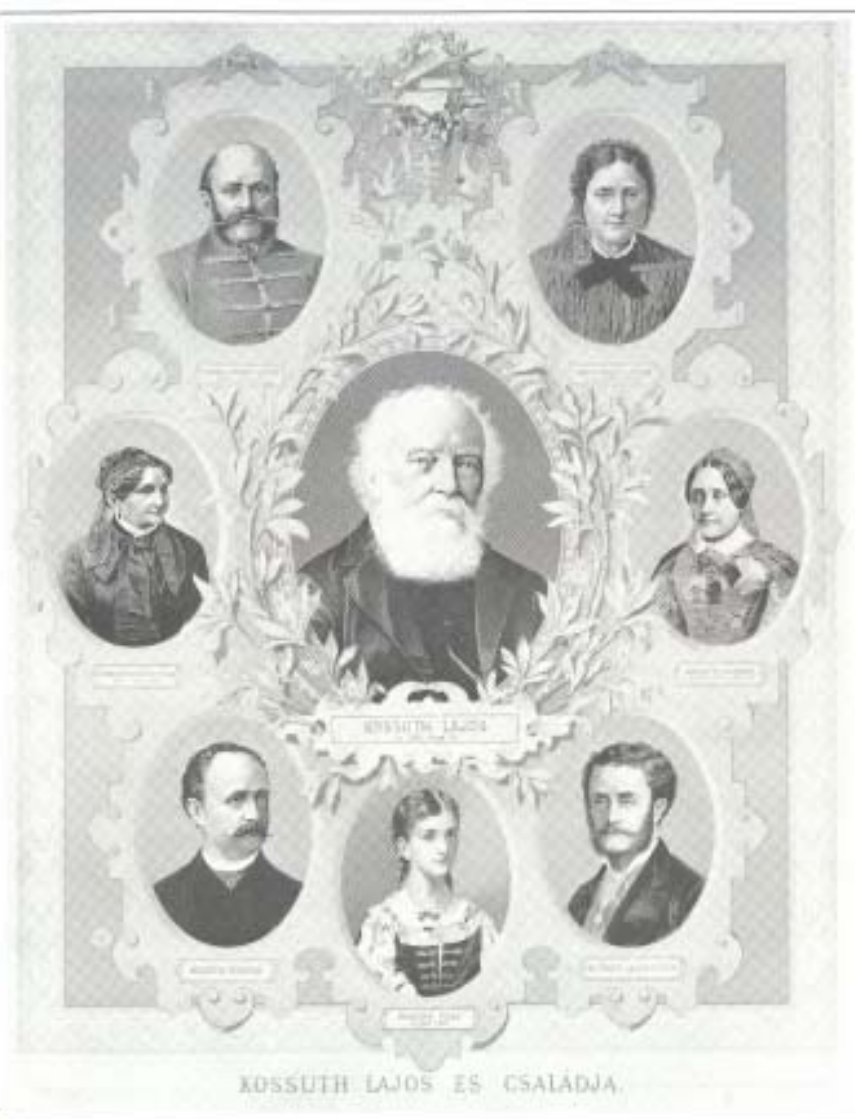
1843–1844: The Diet ended in complete failure. Because of Kossuth's personal difficulties, his Liberal reform organization lost its unity of purpose. In the meantime, he maintained that as long as the government in Vienna held Hungary's economic life under its control, there was no hope for a constructive national life.

1844: A "Commercial Society," proposed by Kossuth, began its operations with a thousand stockholders. It was soon followed by a "Protective Association," also initiated by him, for the production and marketing of home-manufactured goods. In December 1844, a "Factory Founding Society" was launched. This venture gained the support of Széchenyi. Also a "Savings Bank" of Pest, with many affiliations in various parts of the country, was founded.

1847: October 19. Kossuth was elected to the Diet at Pozsony to represent the county of Pest, and he assumed the leadership of the party opposed to the Habsburg authority. A democratic platform was accepted. The preamble of the liberal party program declared benefits to the Habsburg monarchy if the reforms proposed by the Hungarians could be carried to the remainder of the empire as well. The declaration included the following points:

1. That all the peasants of the kingdom, no matter what their religion or race, should be immediately exempted from all urbarial dues and obligations to their landlords, for which the latter were to receive an indemnity from the state.
2. That, without exception for religion or race, all the inhabitants of the country, noble and non-noble, should be declared equal before the law.
3. That every inhabitant whose income amounted to ten pounds (fifty dollars), which included all persons not vagabonds or state paupers, should be entitled to vote.
4. That every inhabitant should bear his equal proportion of the expenses of the government, by being taxed on his income.
5. That the Hungarian Diet, not the Chancery at Vienna, should decide on the use of the public revenue.
6. That the revenue and other national resources should be put into the hands of a cabinet of Hungarian ministers who would be responsible to the people.

In the same year, Kossuth's new project, a society for the railroad line to the port of Fiume (now Rijeka, Yugoslavia), on the Adriatic Sea, raised eight and a half million forints.



Lajos Kossuth and his Family. (Clockwise, from top left) László Udvardy-Kossuth, Lajos' father; Sarolta Weber Udvardy-Kossuth, his mother; Teresa Mezlényi Kossuth, his wife; Lajos Tódor Kossuth, his younger son; Vilma Kossuth, his daughter; Ferencz Kossuth, his older son; Rutkay Lujza Kossuth, his younger sister. Kossuth in center. Illustration provided by the Hungarian Reformed Federation of America.

1848: March 3. Two days after the news of the "February revolution" of Paris reached Pozsony, Kossuth spoke to the Diet and repeated the need for reforms for the entire monarchy. He identified the

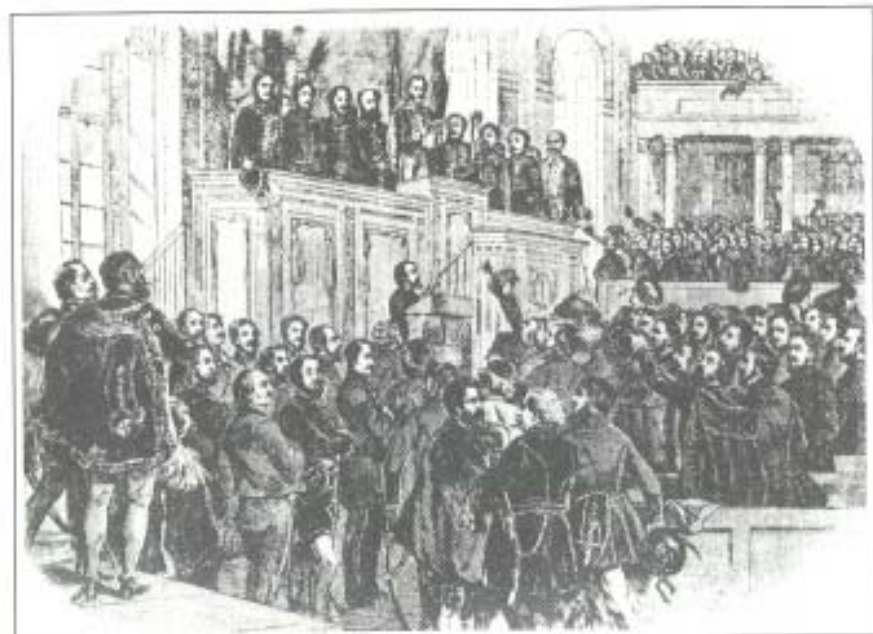
major obstacle to the success of their efforts—the government of Prince Metternich.

March 13. Metternich was dismissed by the Emperor Ferdinand of Austria.

March 15. A popular demonstration led by the Hungarian youth, intellectual and civic leaders and the people of the City of Pest demanded reduction of restrictions on the population, as well as the union with Transylvania. The crowds freed political prisoners and announced the end of Austrian censorship.

March 17. The Diet at Pozsony elected Count Lajos Batthyány as prime minister of a new government, which was to be responsible to the elected representatives of the people. Kossuth was appointed as minister of finance. The cabinet traveled to Vienna, to be "sanctioned," or confirmed by Emperor Ferdinand V in his capacity as King of Hungary. The new ministry assumed the direction of Hungary. An inner circle of courtiers at Vienna, however, plotted against the reform-minded government and encouraged the *Ban* of Croatia, Baron Joseph Jellačić, to muster his army and several Serbian units, against the Hungarians.

April. Military campaign by the Austrian army was begun to reclaim control of Hungary. Kossuth started a newspaper, *Kossuth Lapja*.



Kossuth delivered an address on July 11 to the Hungarian Diet. From Sebestyén's *A Magyar Apostle of World Democracy*.

July 11. In this session of the Diet, which opened on July 2, Kossuth learned that 150,000 forints had been transferred by the Vienna court to the aid of Jellačić's army. Kossuth rose and requested the authority to conscript 200,000 men for the defense of Hungary. The Batthyány government resigned.

September 11. The Croatian army invaded Hungary in force.

September 19. Kossuth became Governor of Hungary, heading a Committee of National Defense, which was appointed to govern in the situation of emergency. The war between Austria and Hungary, known as the Hungarian War of Independence of 1848–1849, began on September 29.

December 2. Emperor Ferdinand V was forced to resign both as Emperor and King of Hungary. His successor was his 18-year-old nephew Franz Josef, who assumed power without honoring requirements of the Hungarian constitution.

1848–1849: Winter. Having defeated Jellačić's forces, the Hungarian General Móga advanced to Vienna, but was defeated by an Austrian army of 70,000 men under the command of Prince Windischgraetz. Still anxious to avert a bloody struggle, Kossuth unsuccessfully appealed to the American envoy in Vienna, W.H. Stiles, to secure an armistice. On December 16, Windischgraetz' army entered Hungary and proceeded to take Pest, while the Hungarian army under Görgey retreated. The Hungarian government transferred its seat to Debrecen, beyond the Tisza river. The winter months passed quietly, except in Transylvania, where the Polish General Joseph Bem, commander of Kossuth's Transylvanian army, forced an Austrian retreat.

1849: Spring. A series of battles against four Austrian generals and Jellačić were won by the young Hungarian armies. The Kossuth government overturned the Austrian declaration of March 4, which had abolished the Hungarian constitution and had listed Hungary as a hereditary dominion of the House of Habsburg.

1849: April 14. The Hungarian Declaration of Independence, significantly following the language of its American counterpart, was approved in a session of the Hungarian National Assembly held in the Calvinist church at Debrecen. It repudiated the House of Habsburg and named Kossuth as "Governing President" of Hungary, "under obligation to render an account of all acts." Kossuth appointed Bertalan Szemere as premier, and assigned him to draft a republican platform. In a short time, several victories by the Hungarian armies were capped by the recapture of the fortress of Buda on May 21, 1849.

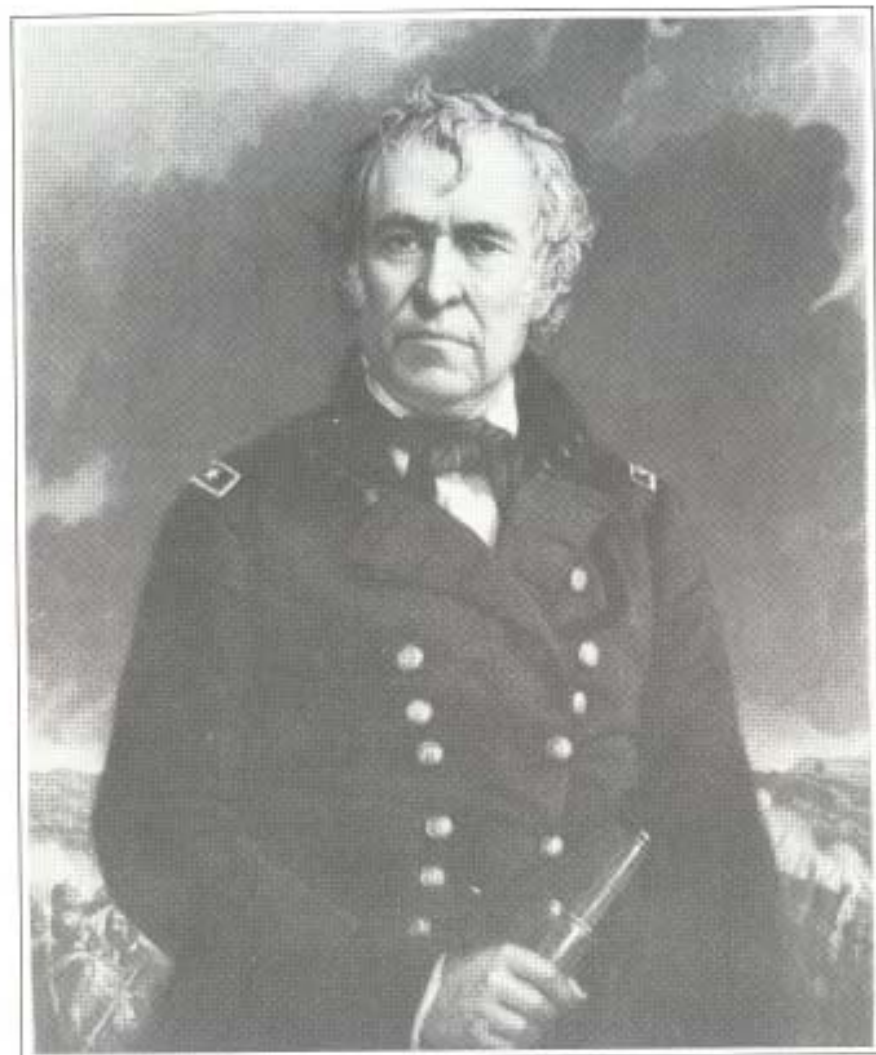
Summer. The defeat of Windischgraetz' army forced Emperor

Franz Josef to invoke Russia's military obligations under the post-Napoleonic Holy Alliance agreement. Czar Nicholas I, on the pretext that the Hungarians and Poles had launched an international revolution of democracy, dispatched an army of 200,000 under the command of Prince Paskievich of Warsaw. Thus, a total of 370,000 of Austrian and Russian troops, with 1200 cannon, faced a Hungarian army of 152,000 tired men with 450 cannon. After several engagements, all of Hungary was occupied by enemy troops, with the exception of the fortress of Komárom at the upper Danube.

1849: August 12. Kossuth abdicated, and transferred civil authority to the military commander, General Arthur Görgey. The war council surrendered to the Czarist army to avoid further destruction. At the same time, Kossuth, with many thousands of his followers crossed over to Turkish territory, first hiding St. Stephen's crown near Orsova, on the southern Hungarian border. On August 13, at Világos, near Arad, (now in Romania), Görgey and his remaining forces of 30,000 laid down their arms. The Russian commander, Paskievich, argued for amnesty by the Austrian government, and Czar Alexander II sent his own son to Vienna to prevail upon Franz Josef to apply "rightly interpreted mercy." The fate of Hungary, however, was decided by Austrian generals, Prince Schwarzenberg and Haynau, who were bent on revenge. Except for Görgey, all thirteen other Hungarian generals were executed at Arad on October 6. In Pest, the former premier Count Batthyány was shot.

The Austrian army imprisoned many thousands of Hungarian officers and civil servants, and tens of thousands were pressed into military service. Hungary was divided by the Austrians into occupation zones, and every form of state or municipal administration was eliminated.

The British and French governments formally sided with the Austrian monarchy, but the public and many representatives of the press expressed support for Kossuth. In the United States, the image of a heroic Kossuth fighting for democratic principles—the "George Washington of Hungary"—inspired popular sentiments. Upon issuing the Hungarian Declaration of Independence, Kossuth sent an emissary to the United States. Soon, many "Committees for Hungary" were established, and they resolved to send political, economic and military support to the Hungarian cause. President Zachary Taylor asked Dudley A. Mann to go to Hungary and represent the United States to a free Hungary. Although Mann never got further than Vienna, the early recognition of democratic Hungary by the United States was the groundwork for Kossuth's later contacts with Secretary of State Daniel Webster and with the Congress.



President Zachary Taylor assisted the Hungarian cause for independence when he sent a personal emissary to Europe to represent U.S. interests with Kossuth's new, democratic government.

Although Austrian and Russian diplomats exerted pressures on the Sultan of Turkey for the extradition of Kossuth and other fugitive Hungarians, American, British and French diplomatic pressures were successful in blocking the effort.

1850: Fearing for Kossuth's life, the Turkish Sultan ordered him to be moved to Kutahiyah, in Turkey, together with his family and a sizable entourage. Western efforts for his liberation continued.

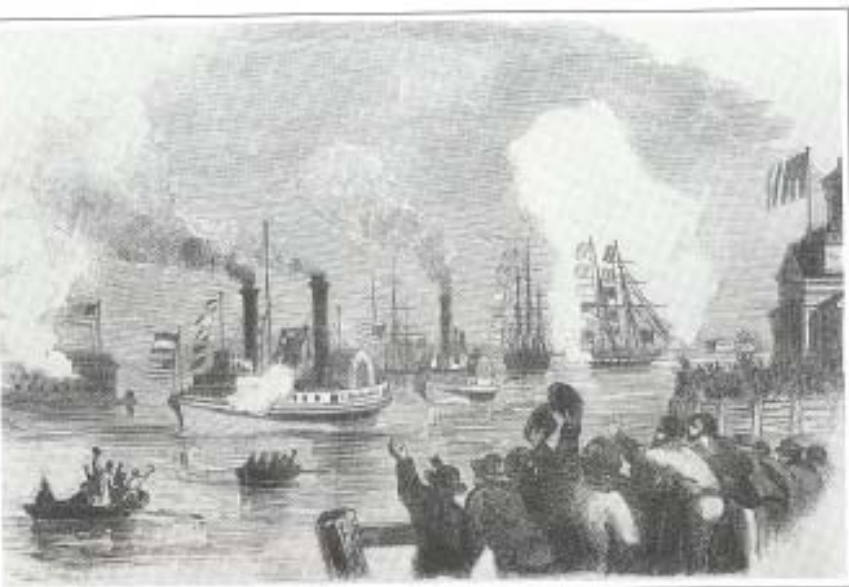
1851: At the proposal of Senator Foote of Mississippi, the United States government invited Kossuth as "the Nation's guest," as once Lafayette had been invited. Subsequently, the American steam frigate *Mississippi* was sent to Smyrna (now Izmir), Turkey to provide for Kossuth's safe departure to America.

September 10. Kossuth and family, with some of his followers, departed from the port of Smyrna. On their journey, a large crowd greeted them at Marseilles, France.



"Kossuth Attended by the Spirits of Freedom and History and the Guardian Genius of Hungary, with his Own Good Angel Calmly Bearing him through Space to America," by an unidentified artist, from "Gleason's Pictorial Drawing Room Companion," December 7, 1851.

October 23. Kossuth arrived in Southampton, England. Several enthusiastic receptions were held for him. Kossuth's addresses outlined his political philosophy. The progress of his journey was reported in the American press, and accounts of his speeches stirred the American public with democratic idealism.



December 5. Kossuth arrived in New York on the steamer *Humboldt*, and began an extended journey throughout the eastern half of the United States. He delivered more than three hundred public addresses and lectures in America.

1852: July 14. Accompanied by his wife and a few friends, Kossuth left for England on the steamer *Europa*.

Several editions of Kossuth's speeches and lectures appeared in print, both in the United States and England. These activities occupied a large part of his time. From this time on, Kossuth made his living by writing and speaking to organizations in Europe. He sought political opportunities to attach the cause of his oppressed nation to European questions of foreign policy.

1853-1856: The "Crimean War" pitted the Russian Czar (supporting the Slavic Christians then living under Turkish domination) against Britain and France. Since Austria was expected to side with Russia, the Western powers undertook steps to gain Kossuth's support against Austria. The western forces offered to recognize Hungary's independence in exchange for Hungarian support against Austria. Under the Hungarian generals Klapka, Kmetty and Türr, a legion was organized, and Hungarian officers trained the Turkish army. Austria hastily concluded a peace treaty with Turkey.

Kossuth delivered several addresses in England, arguing for the repeal of the "Holy Alliance" in Hungary. However, coincident with the reprieve of Turkish sovereignty and restoration of western diplomacy at the conclusion of the Crimean War, promises made to the



Daguerrotype of Lajos Kossuth, taken in 1851 or 1852 in New York.

The spirit of our age is Democracy. All *for* the people and all *by* the people. Nothing *about* the people *without* the people. That is Democracy, and that is the ruling tendency of the spirit of our age.

L. Kossuth
Governor President
of Hungary

Kossuth's definition of democracy, given in an address to the Ohio legislature in Columbus, February 17, 1852.



Kossuth raised money for the Hungarian Fund by selling American Bonds in several denominations from \$1 to \$100. He signed each one.

Hungarian exiles were forgotten. While Kossuth's popularity rose again in public opinion, Austrian power in Hungary continued.

1858: Kossuth's new opportunity to serve the cause of the liberation of Hungary came when the French emperor, Napoleon III, and Cavour, foreign minister of Victor Emmanuel II, king of Piedmont (Italy), concluded a secret treaty for the liberation of Italy from the rule of Austria.

1859: *May 5.* Kossuth met the emperor of France in Paris. On May 8, Kossuth held his first conference with his friends, and then attended four public meetings. His purpose in going to France was to secure British neutrality in case of military conflict between France and Austria. Subsequently, an overwhelming vote of no-confidence by the British electorate caused the pro-Austrian British government in Parliament to collapse. The new government, headed by Lord Palmerston, pledged strict adherence to neutrality in the coming war between Austria and Italy. Having finished his mission in England, Kossuth left for Italy on June 16.

July 11. In spite of several decisive victories by the Italians, the French emperor, fearing that democratic idealism soon might sweep him from his throne, broke off hostilities with Austria. Parts of occupied Italy were left under Austrian rule and the remainder to France. Hungary's independence was not part of the peace treaty.

Later in the year, Kossuth entered into negotiations about a "Plan of Danubian Confederation," which was sponsored also by the Italian foreign minister Cavour. According to Kossuth's plan, all peoples of the Danube Basin would be liberated from the rule of the Habsburgs and united, in the principle of equality, in a federative state. However, through the indiscretion of a newspaperman confidant of Kossuth, the plan gained premature publicity and, in the ensuing chaos of public opinion, even some of Kossuth's loyal followers turned against him.

1860: An Austrian "Imperial Diploma" was issued as a result of the Italian military successes. It was an attempt to placate Hungarians by restoring the country's "historical individuality." It renounced the system of centralization and absolutism, reinstated the institutions in existence before 1848, and created a ministry of conservative aristocrats. The new ministry, however, was loyal to Viennese interests.

This step was followed by the issuance of a "Patent," which established a central parliament for the entire Austrian empire. The Hungarians were represented by 85 members from among the total number of 343 members.

The Hungarian Diet of 1861, however, came under the influence of a very strong Liberal opposition against which conservative aristocrats were powerless. The Liberal opposition adopted the 1848

legislation as its platform. A more radical wing of the opposition rejected Franz Josef entirely as the ruler of Hungary—arguing that he had ascended to the throne unconstitutionally. A decisive role was played by Francis Deák, minister of justice in 1848, who maintained that there was only a personal union between Austria and Hungary. Therefore, the government was required to reinstate the rights of the Hungarian nation, which never had renounced the claim to its own constitution. Emperor Franz Josef promptly dissolved the parliament.

1861–1865: The civil war in the United States involved the participation of many hundreds of Hungarians of the so-called “Kossuth emigration.” Their examples revived the spirits of the Hungarian emigré soldiers living in Europe.

1865–1867: The Austro-Prussian war, culminated in Austria’s defeat at Königgrätz (July 3, 1866). The Habsburgs suffered the loss of important territories and Austria’s exclusion from the German federation (*Bund*). Upper Italy was also liberated and was joined in a new, unified kingdom with the rest of Italy. These developments increased pressure at home and abroad for a final arrangement of Austro-Hungarian affairs.

1867: *May 29.* After long negotiations, a compromise or compact (in German, *Ausgleich*) was reached between Austria and Hungary. The agreement was followed by the crowning of Franz Josef as King of Hungary on June 8. The weakening of the Habsburg hegemony was symbolized by the appointment of Count Julius Andrassy (who once had been sentenced to death for his role in revolutionary movements in 1848–1849), as Hungary’s prime minister.

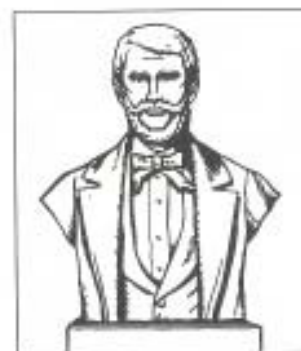
1872: Without his knowledge, Kossuth was elected *in absentia* to the Hungarian parliament. Kossuth declined the honor, while Hungary still had a king.

1882: In Turin, Italy, where Kossuth had lived since 1859, he began the writing of his memoirs. Four volumes were published in Budapest during Kossuth’s lifetime.

1887: For refusing to take an oath in support of a constitutional monarchy, Kossuth was stripped of his citizenship by the Hungarian parliament.

1894: *March 20.* Kossuth died in Turin. His body was taken to Budapest for official burial by the capital city of Hungary. A period of official mourning was observed in the country, despite government warnings to the contrary. His son Francis (Ferencz) who returned to Hungary, became the leader of the Independent Party. In the following decades, many statues of Kossuth were erected all over the country to perpetuate his memory. Also, American Hungarians who faithfully cultivated the “Kossuth myth,” began to erect Kossuth statues, the first in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1903.

Chronology of Kossuth’s American Tour





"Kossuth: President of the Committee of the Defense of Hungary." Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.

Lajos Kossuth's American Tour

December 4, 1851–July 14, 1852

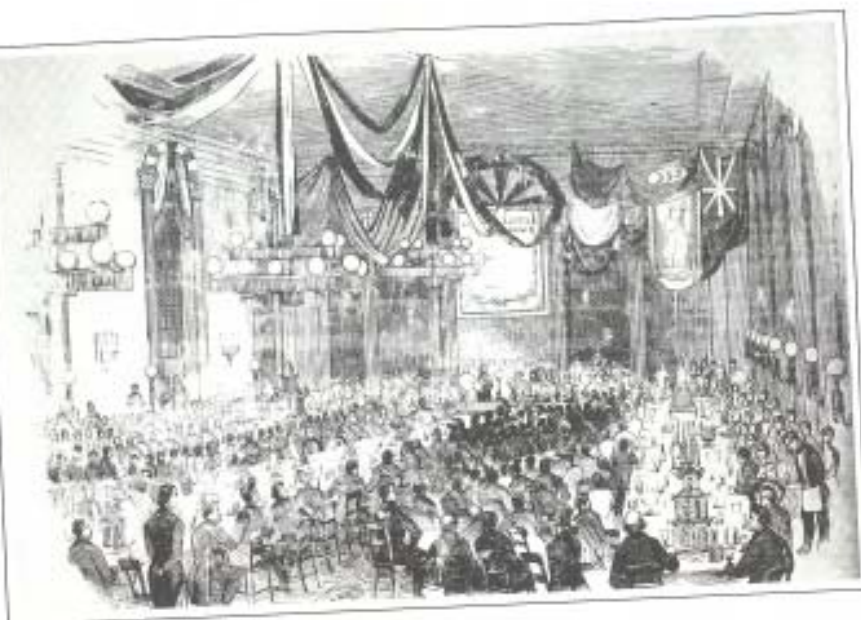
1851: December 4. Kossuth's ship, the steamer *Humboldt*, dropped anchor in Staten Island harbor. Kossuth was greeted by Dr. Sidney Doane, Commissioner of Health on Staten Island, in a warm and formal address. Two days later, he was escorted by a deputation of prominent New Yorkers. The entourage arrived on the steamer *Vanderbilt* at the Battery, where a procession was formed, and moved up the Broadway into the city. Several public addresses were given by Kossuth.

December 11. Corporation Dinner. Kossuth expounded his theory on "Intervention for Non-Intervention," that the United States should prevent Austria and Russia from intervening in Hungary.

December 15. Press Banquet. Kossuth, a former newspaperman emphasized his views on the freedom of speech and the press.



"Kossuth on the Broadway," by Sándor Bodó (Nashville, Tennessee), 1990.



Kossuth at the Press Dinner in New York. Kossuth was one of the first international political figures who also was a journalist. Illustration from "Gleason's Pictorial Drawing Room Companion."

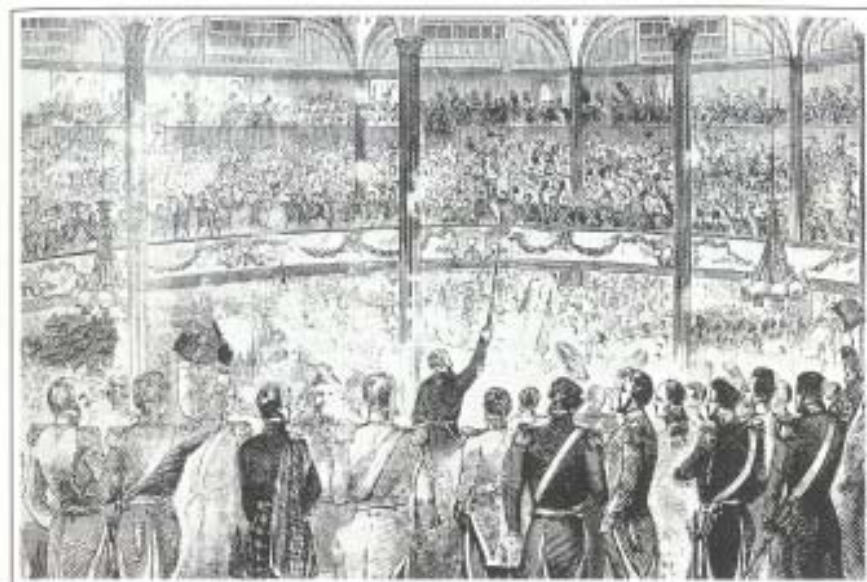
December 16. Address to the New York militia.

December 17. Address at Tammany Hall. "Here is a great glory for your country to aim at. It is glorious to stand at the top of the pyramid of humanity. More glorious to become yourselves the pillar on which the welfare of human nature rests. For this, mankind looks to your country with hope and confidence."

December 18. Plymouth Church, Brooklyn.

December 19. Addressed the Bar of New York. "But may God be blessed, there is hope for human nature, for there is a powerful, free, mighty people here on the virgin soil of America, ready to protect the laws of man and of heaven against the execrated pirates and their associates."

December 21. Addressed organization, "Ladies of New York." "You know that in ancient Rome, after the battle of Cannae, which was won by Hannibal, the Senate called on the people spontaneously to sacrifice all their wealth on the altar of their fatherland. Every jewel, every ornament was brought forth, but still the tribune judged it necessary to pass a law prohibiting the ladies of Rome to wear more than half an ounce of gold, or particolored splendid dress. Now, in Hungary we wanted no such law. The women of Hungary brought all that they had."



Kossuth at the Military Banquet in New York. He was presented with a sword once owned by George Washington. Illustration from "Gleason's Pictorial Drawing Room Companion."

During Kossuth's stay in New York, some delegations visited him at his hotel assuring him of their sympathies for his nation's cause.

December 23. Kossuth left New York for Philadelphia, and spent the Christmas holidays there. He attended a Citizens' Banquet on the 26th. "I stood in Independence Hall, whence the spirit of freedom lisps eternal words of history to the secret recesses of your hearts. Man may be well silent, where from such a place history so speaks."

December 26. Kossuth traveled to Baltimore. "Woe to the people whose citizens care only for their own present, and not for the future of their country. The future, in which they have to live immortally by children and children's children, with whose glory and happiness they ought now to sympathize. Men or nations secluded are like the silk-worm which secrets itself in a self-woven case, and at length creeps out to die. So will it at length be with the nation which is wrapped up in itself."

December 30. Kossuth arrived in Washington, DC.

1852: *January 3.* Kossuth was entertained at dinner by President Fillmore.

January 5. Reception in the United States Senate. Kossuth addressed the members of the Senate.



Daniel Webster, as Secretary of State, was instrumental in arranging for Kossuth's departure from Turkey. He also was one of Kossuth's ardent American supporters during the American tour. The former Senator Webster was asked by the Congress to address Kossuth at the Legislative Banquet. The illustration is from the Hungarian book, *Kossuth Amerikában, 1851-1852*, by József Balassa.

January 7. Reception in the House of Representatives. Kossuth addressed the House.

Legislative Banquet. "Happy is your great country, Sir, for being so warmly attached to that great principle of self-government. Upon this foundation your fathers raised a home for freedom more glorious than the world has ever seen. Happy is your great country, Sir, that it was selected by the blessing of the Lord to prove the glorious practicability of a federative union of many sovereign states, all pre-

serving their state-rights and their self-government, and yet united in one. Every star beaming with its own lustre, but altogether one constellation on mankind's canopy."

January 8. In Washington, DC on the anniversary of the Battle of New Orleans. "The memory of the day of New Orleans must of course recall to your mind the wrongs against which you so gloriously fought. Oh, let me entreat you, bury the hatred of past ages in the grave where all the crimes of the past life lie and are mouldering with the ashes of those who sinned, and take the glorious opportunity to benefit the great cause of humanity."

January 12. Kossuth traveled to Annapolis, Maryland, and, on the 13th, addressed the naval academy. "There is hope for us because there is a God in heaven, and an America on earth. May be that our nameless woes were necessary that the glorious destiny of America may be fulfilled, that after it had been an asylum for the oppressed, it should become, by regenerating Europe, the pillar of mankind's liberty."

January 14-17. Harrisburg and Hollidaysburg, Pennsylvania. "I hope to God, that the people of this glorious land are and ever will be fervently attached to this their free, great and happy home. I hope to God that whatever tongue they speak, they are and will ever be American. And so they must be if they will be free, if they desire for their adopted home greatness and perpetuity." (Addressing the Legislature at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, on the 14th.)

January 21. Blairsville, Pennsylvania.

January 22-31. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. "One thing I am sure of, and that is, that Russia triumphant in Europe, can and will attack you in your most vital interests, and can hurt you mortally, without even resorting to war." (Pittsburgh Festival, January 26th.)

January 31. Salem and Ravenna, Ohio.

January 31-February 4. Cleveland, Ohio. "Sir, if I am not mistaken, it is now the one hundred and fifty-sixth time, since I entered America, I am sure that it is the thirty-fourth time since I left Washington on the 12th of January that I have had the honor to address an American audience in that language which I learned from Shakespeare while confined in an Austrian prison for having dared to claim the right of a free press which now, like the hundred-handed Briareus of old, pours my words by thousands of channels into the hearts of millions of free men who comprise in their national capacity a mighty republic, destined to enforce the Law of Nations, upon which rests the deliverance of the world from an all-overwhelming despotism." (February 3.)

February 7. Columbus, Ohio. "Almost every century has had one predominant idea which imparted a common direction to the ac-

tivity of nations. This predominant idea is the spirit of the age, invisible yet omnipresent, impregnable, all-pervading, scorned, abused, opposed yet omnipotent. The spirit of our age is Democracy. All for the people and all by the people. Nothing about the people without the people. That is democracy, and that is the ruling tendency of the spirit of our age." (Address to the Legislature.)

February 9-26. Cincinnati, Ohio. En route to Cincinnati, addresses in Xenia, Springfield, Dayton, and Hamilton, Ohio. "Sir, I have studied the history of your immortal Washington, and have, from my early youth, considered his principles as a living source of instruction to statesmen and to patriots." (Washington's Birthday, February 22.)

"A nation may have a master even if it has no king. A nation may be called a republic, and yet be not free. Wherever centralization exists, there the nation has either sold or lent, either alienated or delegated its sovereignty. And whenever this is done, the nation has a master, and he who has a master, is, of course, not his own master."

February 18-26. Cincinnati, Ohio. Admission of Kossuth and his four associates, Count Gergely Bethlen, Pál Hajnik, Péter A. Nagy and Dr. Gyula Utasy (Strasser) to membership in Lodge No. 133 of free and accepted Masons.

Kossuth and his associates were admitted to the degree of master by the Masonic Lodge on three consecutive days, which was an unusually short time for approval and initiation. On February 26, Kossuth was elected honorary member of the Lodge.

February 26. Madison, Ohio.

February 27-March 2. Indianapolis, Indiana, and Madison, Ohio.

March 3-7. Louisville, Kentucky. "I believe the Anglo-Saxon race must have a high destiny in the history of mankind. It is the only race, the younger brother of which is free, while the elder brother has also some freedom. You, gentlemen, acknowledge that from the mother country you obtained certain of your principles of liberty, free thought and speech, a free press, etc., and I am sure, gentlemen, the English people are proud of their liberty. Called to pronounce against the league of despots, if the republican United States and constitutional England were in concord, what could be the consequence?" (Courthouse, March 9.)

"Neutrality, as a constant rule, is impossible to a great power. Only small countries, as Switzerland and Belgium, can exist upon the basis of neutrality. Great powers may remain neutral in a particular case, but they can not take neutrality for a constant principle, and they chiefly can not remain neutral in respect to principles. Great powers can never play with impunity the part of no power at all. Neutrality, when taken as a principle, means indifference to the

To the Worshipful Master, Wardens and Brethren
of Cincinnati Lodge No. 133 of free and ac-
cepted Masons

The petition of the subscriber respectfully sheweth
that having long entertained a favorable
opinion of your ancient institution, he
is desirous of being admitted a member
thereof if found worthy

Being an ardent proponent of liberty, he has no place
of fixed residence; is now staying at Cin-
cinnati, his age is 44 years, his occupation
is to restore his native land, Hungary to its
national independence, and to achieve by con-
munity of action with other nations, civil
and religious liberty in Europe

Respectfully
By Frederick William Beyer Louis Kossuth

by Bro. F. W. Beyer
Bro. F. W. Beyer

Cincinnati Feb 18th 1852

Petition for admission as a Mason in the Cincinnati Lodge.

condition of the world. Indifference of a great power to the condition of the world is a chance given to foreign powers to regulate the interests of that indifferent foreign power." (Court House, March 9.)

March 9-16. St. Louis, Missouri. "When the struggle is about the principles, indifference is suicide. Nay, indifference is impossible, for indifference about the fate of that principle upon which your national existence and all your future rests, is passive submission to the opposite principle, it is almost equivalent to an alliance with the despots. He, who is not for freedom, is against freedom. There is no third choice!" (Public meeting, March 6.)

"I consider religion to be a matter of conscience which every man has to arrange between himself and God. And therefore I respect the religious conviction of every man. I claim religious liberty for myself and my nation, and must, of course, respect in others the right I claim for myself. There is nothing in the world capable to rouse a greater indignation in my breast than religious oppression." (Public meeting, March 6.)

March 16. Kossuth sailed for New Orleans. En route he visited Jackson, Mississippi, and met Governor Foote, on April 1st.

"One anxiety has weighed upon my breast ever since I have been in the United States, and that is, lest I lose the opportunity to say to you, with a warm grasp of the hand, and in a few but heart-felt words, how thankful I feel for the important part you have been pleased to take in my liberation from captivity. I hope to God, you will never have reason to regret what you have done for me. Allow me to state that there was something Providential in the fact and in the time of intercession in my behalf."

March 26-31. New Orleans, Louisiana.

April 3. Mobile, Alabama. "Like a pestilential disease, the violation of the principle of self-government will spread over all the earth until it is destroyed everywhere in order that despots may sleep in security, for they know that this principle is the strongest stronghold of freedom, and therefore it is hated by all despots and ambitious men, and by those who have sold their soul to despotism and ambition."

April 5. Montgomery, Alabama.

April 7-9. La Grange, Atlanta, Augusta, Georgia, and Charleston, South Carolina.

April 10. Wilmington, North Carolina.

April 13. Alexandria, Virginia. Kossuth visited Mount Vernon, as "a slave at Washington's grave," and called the attention of Presbyterian clergymen to take better care of the grave of the great man. To serve this purpose, the "Mount Vernon Ladies Association" was formed.

April 21. Jersey City, New Jersey. En route visited Trenton. "When I was in private life, I despised to become rich, and sacrificed thousands to the public, and often saw my own family embarrassed by domestic cares. I refused indemnifications, and lived poor. When raised to the highest place in my country, and provided with an allowance four times as great as your president's, I still lived in my old modest way. I had millions at my disposal, yet I went into exile penniless." (At the Presbyterian Church, defending himself against attackers.)

April 24. Kossuth left for New England.

April 26. Springfield, Massachusetts. En route he gave short addresses at Palmer, North Brookfield, Worcester, Westboro, Framingham, Natick, Brookline, and Roxbury, all in Massachusetts.

April 25. Worcester, Massachusetts. "Perhaps, I could say, poor Hungary has well served Christianity, has well served the cause of humanity, but indeed we are not so happy to have served your country in particular. But you are generous enough to permit our unmerited misfortunes to recommend us to your affections in place of good service. It is beautiful to repay a received benefit, but to be-

stow a benefit is divine. It is your good fortune to be able to do good to humanity, let it be your glory that you are willing to do that."

April 27-30. Boston, Massachusetts. "Being charged from one side with being in the hands of the abolitionists, and from the other side with being in the hands of slave holders, I should indeed be at a loss what course to take, if these very contradictory charges were not giving me the satisfaction to feel that I stand just where it is my duty to stand, on a truly American ground." (Faneuil Hall, April 29.)

"It is a long period, one thousand years, and, oh, how it has teemed with adversities to my countrymen! And yet, through this long time, amid all adversities there was no period when the people of Hungary did not resist despotism." (Legislative Banquet, April 30.)

"In respect to Hungarian aristocracy, you must not consider it in the same light as the aristocracy of England. The word *nobleman* in Hungary was originally equivalent to soldier. Every man who defended his country was a nobleman. I believe the duty of defending man's country and also political right should be common." (Legislative Banquet, April 30.)

May 3. Bunker Hill.

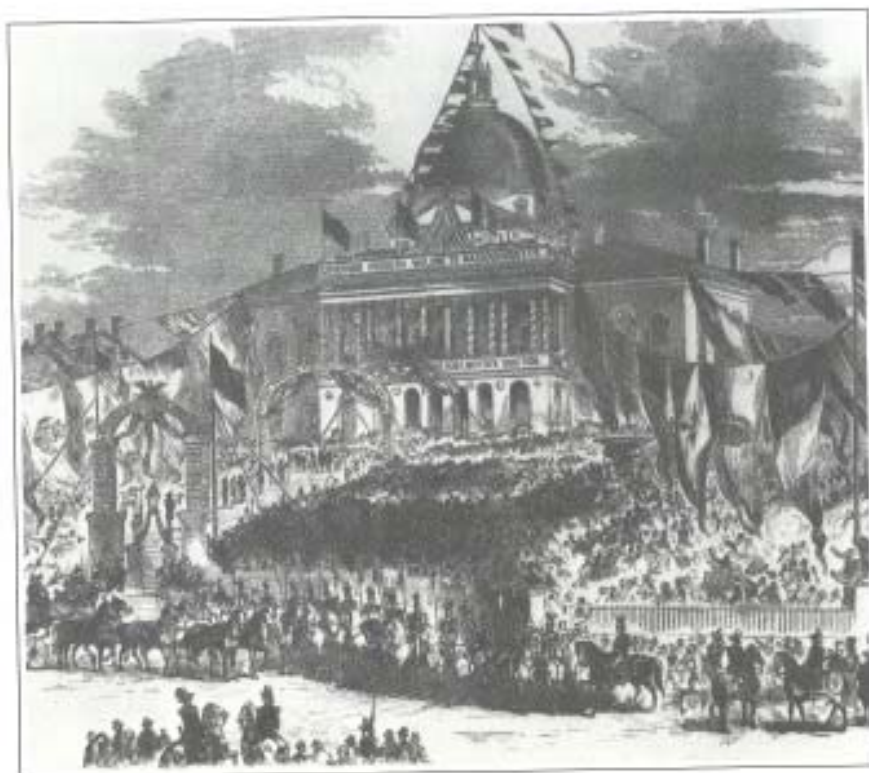
May 4. Cambridge, Massachusetts.

May 5. Lowell, Lynn, Salem, Danvers, Massachusetts.

"Russian diplomacy could never boast of a greater and more fatal victory than it had right to boast, would it succeed to persuade the



"Kossuth on His Way to Boston," oil painting by Sándor Bodó (Nashville, Tennessee), 1990.



"Governor Kossuth, Welcome to Massachusetts," by an unidentified artist. Illustration from "Gleeson's Pictorial Drawing Room Companion," May 15, 1852.

United States not to care about her—Russia, accomplishing her aim to become the ruling power in Europe, the ruling power in Asia, the ruling power in the Mediterranean Sea." (Salem, Massachusetts, May 6.)

May 8. Boston and Roxbury, Massachusetts.

May 11. West Cambridge, Lexington, Concord, Massachusetts. "The principle of evil on the continent is the despotic and encroaching spirit of the Russian power. There is the pillar which supports every one who wishes to establish his ambitious sway on the sufferings of nations, raising himself on the ruins of their liberty . . ." (Lexington, Massachusetts.)

"Keep off the icy blast which blows from the Russian snow, and the tree of freedom will grow up in the garden of Europe." (Concord, Massachusetts, May 11.)

May 12. Plymouth, Massachusetts.

May 13. Falls River, Massachusetts.

May 14. Closing address in Boston.

May 18. Albany, New York. En route Pittsfield, Massachusetts.

"There are moments in the national life of a people when to adopt a certain course becomes a natural necessity, and in such moments the people always get instinctively conscious of the necessity and answer it by adopting a direction spontaneously. That direction is decisive. It must be followed and is followed. Pre-eminent patriots, joining in the people's instinct, may become either the interpreters or the executors of it . . . Those who would endeavor to measure great things by a small individual scale, would always fall short in their calculations and be left behind." (Albany, New York, May 20.)

May 22. Buffalo, New York, visit to Niagara Falls.

June 4. Syracuse, New York. "As the destination of laws in a well-regulated community is to uphold right, justice and security of every individual, rich or poor, powerful or weak, and to protect his life against violence, and his property against the encroachments of fraud and crime, so the destination of the laws of nations is to secure the independence even of the smallest states, from the encroachment of the most powerful ones. Force will prevail instead of right as long as all independent nations do not unite for the maintenance of those laws upon which the security of all nations rest."

June 9. Utica, New York. Left for New York City, visiting en route Schenectady and Troy, New York.

June 21. Lectured in Broadway Tabernacle.

June 23. Last American address to German-Americans in New York City.

July 14. On the steamer *Europa*, Kossuth returned to England.



Kossuth being greeted by New Yorkers on his visit to America.

Many Americans memorialized Kossuth's visit to the United States in verse and prose. Among the notable American writers were Ralph Waldo Emerson and James Russell Lowell.

Emerson's Welcome to Kossuth

One of the highlights of Kossuth's American visit occurred during his visit at Concord, Massachusetts, on May 11, 1852. Cheering crowds prevented the continuation of the ceremonies. When the cheering subsided, Hon. J.S. Keyes introduced Ralph Waldo Emerson, who, on behalf of his townsmen, addressed Kossuth.

Sir: The fatigue of your many public visits, in such unbroken succession as may compare with the toils of a campaign, forbid us to detain you long. The people of this town share with their countrymen the admiration of valor and perseverance; they like their compatriots, have been hungry to see the man whose extraordinary eloquence is seconded by the splendor and the solidity of his actions. But, as it is the privilege of the people of this town to keep a hallowed mound which has a place in the history of the country, we knew beforehand that you would not go by us; you could not take all your steps in the pilgrimage of American liberty, until you had seen with your own eyes the ruins of the little bridge where a handful of brave farmers opened our revolution. Therefore, we sat and waited for you.

And now, sir, we are heartily glad to see you at last in these fields. We set no more value than you do on cheers and huzzas. But we think that the graves of our heroes around us throb today to a footstep that sounded like their own:

"The mighty tread,
Brings from the dust the sound of liberty."

Sir, we have watched with attention your progress through the land, and the varying feeling with which you have been received, and the unvarying tone and countenance you have maintained. We wish to discriminate in our regard. We wish to reserve our honor for actions of the noblest strain. We please ourselves that in you we meet with one whose temper was long since tried in fire, and made equal to all events; man so truly in love with a glorious fortune, that he can not be diverted to any less.

It is our republican doctrine, too, that the wide variety of opinions is an advantage. I believe I may say, of the people of this country at large, that sympathy is more worth, because it stands the test of party. It is not a blind wave; it is a living soul, contending with living souls. It is in every expression antagonized. No opinion will pass, but must stand the tug of war. As you see, the love you win is worth something, for it has been argued through; its foundation searched; it has proved sound and whole; it may be avowed; it will last; and it will draw all opinion to itself.

We have seen with great pleasure that there is nothing accidental in your attitude. We have seen that you are organically in that cause you plead. The man of freedom, you are also a man of fate. You do not elect, but you are elected by God and your genius to your task. We do not, therefore, affect to thank you. We only see in you the angel of freedom, crossing sea and land; crossing parties, nationalities, private interests, and self-esteem; dividing populations, where you go, and drawing to your part only the good. We are afraid you are growing popular, sir; you may be called to the dangers of prosperity. But hitherto you have had, in all countries and in all parties, only the men of heart. I do not know but you will have the million yet. Then, may your strength be equal to your day! But remember, sir, that everything great and excellent in the world is in minorities.

Far be it from us, sir, any tone of patronage; we ought rather to ask yours. We know the austere condition of liberty, that it must be re-conquered over and over again; yea, day by

day, that it is a state of war; that it is always slipping from those who boast it to those who fight for it; and you, the foremost soldier of freedom, in this age;—it is for us to crave your judgement; who are we, that we should dictate to you? You have won your own. We only affirm it. This country of working-men greet you a worker. This republic greets in you a republican. We only say, "Well done, good and faithful." You have earned your own nobility at home. We admit you *ad eundem*, as they say at college; we admit you to the same degree, without new trial; we suspend all rules before so paramount a merit. You may well sit a doctor in the college of liberty, you have achieved your right to interpret our Washington. And I speak the sense, not only of every generous American, but the law of mind, when I say that it is not those who live idly in the city called after his name but those who, all over the world, think and act like him, who may claim to explain the sentiment of Washington.

Sir, whatever obstruction, from selfishness, indifference, or from property—which always sympathizes with possession—you may encounter, we congratulate you that you have learned how to convert calamities into powers, exile into a campaign, present defeat into lasting victory. For this new crusade which you preach to willing and unwilling ears in America is a seed of armed men. You have got your story told in every palace, and log hut, and prairie camp, throughout this continent. And, as the shores of Europe and America approach every month, and their politics will one day mingle, when the crisis arrives, it will find us all instructed beforehand in the rights and wrongs of Hungary, and parties already to her freedom.

Kossuth

By JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL

The poet and man of letters, James Russell Lowell, (1819–1891), was the son of Charles Lowell, the revered dean of Boston's clergy at the time of Kossuth's visit. The elder Lowell was one of a select company of men whose companionship Kossuth greatly cherished while staying in New England. Lowell's poem subsequently was translated into Hungarian by the distinguished Magyar poet and translator Antal Radó.

A race of nobles may die out,
A royal line may leave no heir;
Wise nature sets no guard about
Her pewter plate and wooden ware.

But they fail not, the kinglier breed,
Who starry diadem attain;
To dungeon, axe and stake succeed
Heirs of the old heroic strain.

The zeal of nature never cools,
Nor is she thwarted of her ends;
When gapped and dulled her
cheaper tools,
She a saint and prophet spends.

Land of the Magyars! 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.

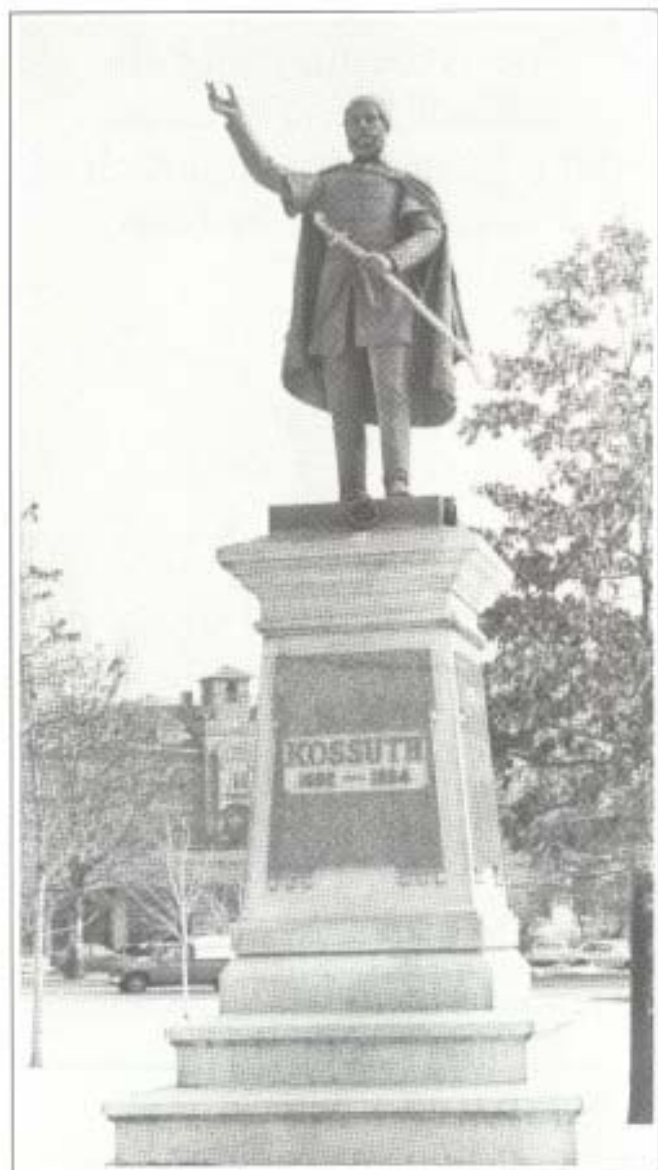
And he, let come what will of woe,
Hath saved the land he strove to save;
No Cossack hordes, no traitors' blow
Can quench the voice shall haunt his grave.

"I Kossuth am! O Future, thou
That clear'st the just and blot't the vile,
O'er this small dust in reverence bow,
Remembering what I was erewhile.

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

The Acceptance of the
Bust of Lajos Kossuth
and a Biographical Sketch of
Sculptor Csaba Kúr





Statue of Lajos Kossuth in Cleveland, Ohio, restored by sculptor Csaba Kúr.

Acceptance of the Bust of Lajos Kossuth

In 1985, Csaba A. Kúr was commissioned by the Hungarian Citizens' League of Cleveland, Ohio, to restore the statue of Lajos Kossuth, which stood in the University Circle of Cleveland. The 12-foot-tall statue was made in Hungary in 1903 in honor of the centennial of Kossuth's birth. To accomplish the restoration, Mr. Kúr conducted extensive studies of Kossuth's facial features as well as his personal history, particularly of the fascinating events of his journey in the United States in 1851-1852.

Upon completion of the restored statue, Mr. Kúr presented a portrait of Kossuth to Ohio Governor Richard Celeste, and he then began to prepare a bust of the Hungarian statesman. He asked a local resident of Warren, Ohio, Phil Arbie, to model for the bust. Mr. Arbie's facial and cranial characteristics are very similar to Kossuth's.

At this stage, Mr. Kúr's work gained substantial support from the Right Reverend Tibor Dömötör, the Bishop of the Free Hungarian Reformed Church in Akron, Ohio and the national president of the American Hungarian Federation. Aided by a grant of \$6,000 from these organizations, the artist completed the bronze bust of Kossuth in the spring of 1986.

Unsuccessful efforts were undertaken to place the bust permanently on public display, first at the Ohio State House, in Columbus, then at the White House in Washington, DC. Dr. Z. Michael Szaz, national director and congressional liaison officer of the American Hungarian Federation, suggested that the bust should be offered as a gift to the United States Congress with the intent that it be permanently placed in the Capitol in Washington, DC. The Kossuth bust formally was offered for placement in the Capitol.

Hungarian-born Congressman Tom Lantos of California, with the help of his wife, Annette, enthusiastically took the lead in arranging for the placement of the bust in the Capitol and arranging the ceremony in the Capitol Rotunda to unveil it. At the request of Congressman Lantos, Senator Claiborne Pell of Rhode Island, then the Chairman of the Joint Committee on the Library, won the approval of the other members of the Committee to accept the bust for permanent placement in the Capitol.

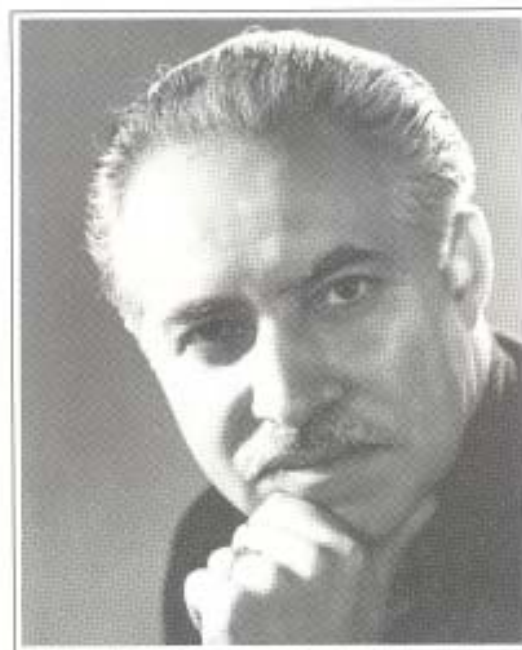
The ceremony for the formal presentation of the bust and its acceptance was set for March 15, the Hungarian national holiday. Congressman Lantos introduced House Concurrent Resolution 251, cosponsored



Kossuth was known for his hat, plumed with crane feathers. This American engraving was reproduced in a Hungarian publication.

by Congressman William S. Broomfield of Michigan, and Senator Pell introduced companion legislation in the Senate. Congressman Lantos' resolution, which was adopted by the House of Representatives on February 27, 1990 and by the Senate on March 1, 1990, permitted the use of the Rotunda of the Capitol for a ceremony to mark the acceptance of the Kossuth bust and for temporary display in the Rotunda before placing it in its permanent location in the Capitol.

Biographical Sketch of Csaba A. Kúr



Csaba A. Kúr was born in Hungary in 1926. He received his elementary and high school education there, and began also his first studies in art and art history.

Fleeing from his homeland, which was under Soviet occupation forces in 1945, he sought refuge in Germany with his parents. His father, Géza Kúr, was a Reformed (Calvinist) minister.

In Augsburg, Germany, he received further training to become a professional artist, painting portraits in oil as well as sculpting. He was the youngest foreign-born artist to be accepted for membership in the "Schutz-Verband Bildender Künstler," an organization of creative artists in Augsburg, Bavaria. Later he worked in the studio of Joseph Z. Kiss, a Hungarian-born portrait painter known in Europe, particularly in England. Mr. Kúr created prints with water colors, and portraits in oil which were dominated by an individually developed, expressionistic style. Soon, however, he was recognized for his work as a sculptor, working mostly in bronze.

In 1951 when Mr. Kúr immigrated to the United States, he also developed his figurative art in religious subjects. His one-man shows in the United States began in 1960, at Thiel College, in Greenville, Pennsylvania. He also showed at Hiram College (Hiram, Ohio, 1962), at the Butler Institute of American Art (Youngstown, Ohio), at Kent State Extension College (Warren, Ohio, 1966), and at the Butler Institute of American Art (Youngstown, Ohio, 1975). He participated in several group shows, such as the exhibits of the Creative Artists' Association (Packard Music Hall, Warren, Ohio, 1967), the World Federation of Hungarian Artists (the United Nations Building, the City of New York, 1967), and the United States Olympic Art Exhibit (Munich, Germany, 1972).

Among the many local and international awards won by Mr. Kúr are the award for artistic excellence by the "Steel Valley Art Teacher Association" (1972), and the first prize (gold medal) which he won at the annual "International Exhibition of Hungarian Artists" organized by the "Árpád Academy" (Cleveland, Ohio, 1983).

Notable works by Mr. Kúr on display in public places include a bust of W.D. Packard in the Packard Music Hall (Warren, Ohio, 1969), a statue of Hungarian composer Béla Bartók in the permanent collection of the John F. Kennedy Center of the Performing Arts (Washington, DC, 1974); the bust of Joseph Butler III, at the Butler Institute of American Art (Youngstown, Ohio, 1981); the War Memorial (Youngstown, Ohio, 1981); the Memorial of the 1920 Peace Treaty of Trianon, France (Akron, Ohio, 1981); the Hungarian Freedom Fighter Memorial (Detroit, Michigan, 1984); and the Memorial of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 (Passaic, New Jersey, 1987).

As a portrait artist, he was commissioned to create portraits or bust reliefs of "Reformers of the Presbyterian Church" (Champion, Ohio, 1981); of Rabbi Berkovitz (Youngstown, Ohio, 1981); of Congressman Lyle Williams (Youngstown, Ohio, 1981); of heroes and martyrs of Hungarian Christian churches persecuted by the Communist regimes in post-World War II Hungary: Reformed (Calvinist) Bishop László Ravasz, Evangelical (Lutheran) Bishop Lajos Ordass, and Roman Catholic Cardinal József Mindszenty (all at Akron, Ohio, 1982). He also painted the first Hungarian who set foot on American soil and died at Newfoundland in 1583, Steven Parmenius of Buda (Akron, Ohio, 1983), and he made a bas relief in bronze of the first Hungarian Auxiliary Bishop for Hungarians in exile, Dr. László Irányi (Youngstown, Ohio, 1988).

At various times, Csaba A. Kúr has taught sculpture classes at the Youngstown State University. In 1979, he opened "The Kúr Gallery and Workshop of Fine Art" at Warren, Ohio, where he teaches and gives demonstrations.

Exhibition Honoring Lajos Kossuth





Cover of sheet music composed in honor of Kossuth's visit to America.



Greeting for Interim President Mátyás Szűrös at the Kossuth Exhibition in the Senate Russell Building rotunda.

Kossuth Commemorative Exhibition

Rotunda, Russell Senate Office Building, March 15, 1990

As a prelude to the ceremony in the Capitol Rotunda, scheduled for 4:00 p.m. on March 15, an exhibition celebrating the life and accomplishments of Lajos Kossuth was displayed in the Russell Senate Office Building. The "Kossuth Commemorative Exhibit" was a joint project of the Library of Congress and the American Hungarian Federation and was sponsored by Senator Claiborne Pell of Rhode Island and Congressman Tom Lantos of California. It was officially opened at 3:00 p.m. in the Rotunda of the Russell Senate Office Building. The exhibition remained in the Russell Rotunda for several days following the dedication ceremonies.

The documents and illustrations were selected largely from the sizable Hungarian collections of the Library of Congress. The selection was enhanced by rare editions of Kossuth's early biographies and collections of his public addresses and lectures held in the United States and England, which were loaned by private collectors. The exhibition was prepared by Dr. Elemer Bako, retired Hungarian and Finno-Ugrian Area Specialist of the Library and honorary national president of the American Hungarian Federation. Paul Takács, a Hungarian-born artist of Silver Spring, Maryland, assisted in the arrangements for the exhibit.

The exhibition showed Kossuth as the leader of the Hungarian nation in its struggle for freedom and independence in 1848-1849, culminating with Kossuth's election as "Governing President" of a new, democratic Hungary. Also displayed were portraits of American supporters of Kossuth, including President Zachary Taylor, and a young politician from Springfield, IL, Abraham Lincoln, who, as a member of the local "Committee for Hungary," supported Kossuth's government.

The focus of the exhibit, documented the main events of Kossuth's memorable journey in the United States: his enthusiastic welcome in New York City; his official receptions by the Congress, by President Millard Fillmore, and Secretary of State Daniel Webster; and the historical tour of New England where the leading intellectuals of the age, headed by Ralph Waldo Emerson, greeted Kossuth as the apostle of world democracy.

Artist Sándor Bodó, a Hungarian-born painter and sculptor of Nashville, Tennessee, loaned two of his excellent oil paintings for the exhibit: "Kossuth on the Broadway in New York," and, "Kossuth on His Way to

Boston." Another Hungarian-born artist, Mrs. Gabriella F. Varsa exhibited her original design for a "First Day of Issue" envelope which gained world-wide distribution in connection with the issuance of the Kossuth commemorative stamps by the United States Post Office in 1958 [issued in the "Champions of Liberty" series]. Kossuth was the first European so honored by the United States Government.

A short ceremony was opened by Congressman Tom Lantos of California, who greeted Dr. Mátyás Szűrös, interim president of the Republic of Hungary, and Dr. Péter Várkonyi, Ambassador of Hungary. Dr. James H. Billington, Librarian of Congress, gave the formal opening address.

ADDRESS BY JAMES H. BILLINGTON, LIBRARIAN OF CONGRESS



Dr. James H. Billington addresses the gathering at the Kossuth exhibition in the Russell Senate Office Building. Standing next to Dr. Billington is Annette Lantos.

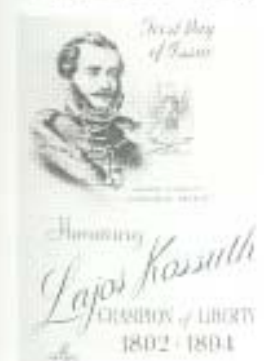
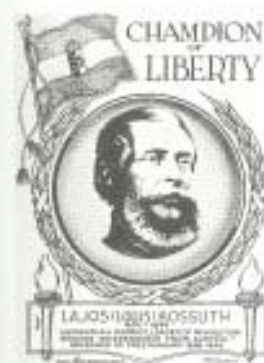
* DR. BILLINGTON. President Szűrös, Congressman Lantos, distinguished guests, the Library of Congress is pleased and honored to make portions of its collections of works by and about Lajos Kossuth available for this exhibit. Dr. Elemer Bako, retired Hungarian specialist at the Library, drew on his expert knowledge of these collections to prepare the exhibition that is a collaborative effort of the Library and the American Hungarian Federation.

The Library's collections are particularly strong in the works of champions of liberty, such as Kossuth. We have 130 works by and about him, as well as newspaper and journal articles and photographs. The Hungar-

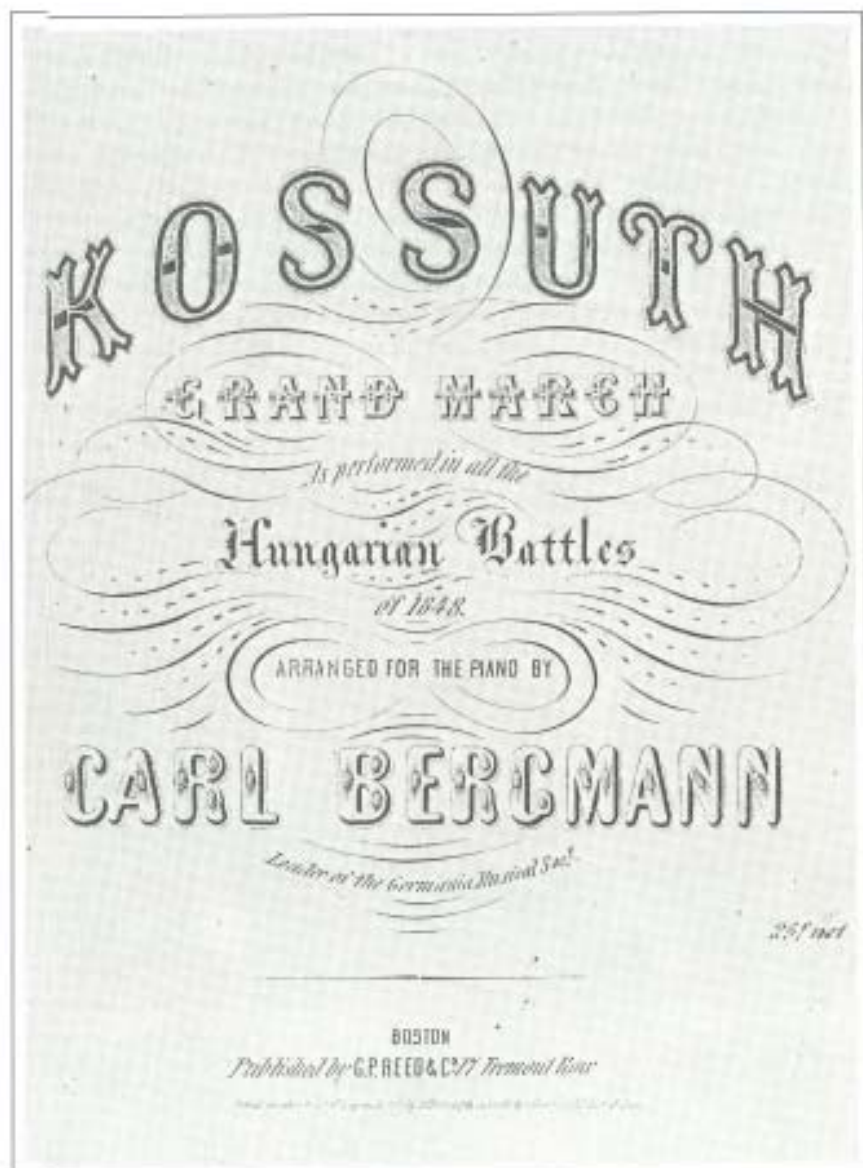
ian collection—numbering 130,000 items—in the Library of Congress is, in all probability, the largest collection of knowledge about Hungary outside of Hungary itself. Kossuth's *Declaration of Independence* and republican platform promulgated during the Hungarian uprising of 1848–1849 against Austria, showed strong American influence. That uprising, under Kossuth's leadership, drew the attention and sympathy of the American public and accounted for Kossuth's enthusiastic reception during his tour of the United States in 1851–1852. Secretary of State Daniel Webster, one of many prominent Americans to receive or honor Kossuth at that time, remarked "my first prayer shall be that Hungary may become independent of all foreign power, that her destinies may be entrusted to her own hand and her own discretion."

The exhibit, which I now formally open, presents the Kossuth story from its beginnings in 19th century Europe to the present day with emphasis on Kossuth in America, his pronouncements on liberty and on the rights and position of a small nation among superpowers.

It is particularly fitting that Kossuth be recognized and honored at this time, when the fulfillment of his dream of a truly independent Hungary seems at hand.



Stamp and first-day covers honoring Kossuth in the *Champions of Liberty* series.



A march composed in Kossuth's honor by American composer Carl Bergmann. This sheet music is in the collection of the Music Division of the Library of Congress.

Organizations Contributing to the Kossuth Bust Presentation Ceremony





The Béla Bartók Men's Choir of Garfield, New Jersey.



Musica Hungarica of Washington, DC.

Choirs Providing Music for the Kossuth Ceremony

Two outstanding choirs provided the music for the Kossuth ceremony in the United States Capitol Rotunda:

The Béla Bartók Men's Choir of Garfield, New Jersey, was founded in 1981 at the Hungarian Citizens' League Club House in Garfield, by Simon Zoltán and Rinkó János. It currently has thirty members and performs widely, including an annual performance on March 15th (the Hungarian national day) in St. Bartholomew Cathedral in New York City. The choir's music director and conductor is Thomas Siklós. At the Kossuth ceremony the choir performed the United States and Hungarian national anthems, the Transylvanian anthem, four patriotic songs about the 1848 freedom fight, and the Rákóczi March with Hungarian text.

Musica Hungarica of Washington, DC is sponsored by the Washington, DC, branch of the Hungarian Reformed Federation of America. It is composed of dedicated, music-loving singers who perform on special, festive occasions. This mixed choir is directed by the Reverend Imre Bertalan. At the Kossuth ceremony the group sang some of the famous, well-known Kossuth songs such as *Éljen a magyar szabadság* ("Long Live the Hungarian Freedom"), *Kossuth toborzó* ("Kossuth's Recruiting Song"), and *Husár gyerek* ("Huszar Boy"). At the end of the program the whole audience joined in with the choir to sing the popular Kossuth folk song, *Kossuth Lajos azt üzenté . . .* ("Kossuth's message . . .").

Reception in Statuary Hall

At the conclusion of the Kossuth ceremony the audience joined the distinguished guests at a reception in Statuary Hall, the elegant room immediately adjacent to the Great Rotunda of the Capitol. Originally, it served as the chamber of the House of Representatives from October 6, 1807, until the House of Representatives moved to its present chamber on December 16, 1857. In 1864 the historic old House chamber was designated "Statuary Hall," to be used to display statues from each state of the Union, with each permitted to place two statues in the Capitol. Many, but not all, of these statues are now in Statuary Hall itself, but some statues are located elsewhere throughout the Capitol building because the weight and space requirements for such a large number of statues is too great for this single room. During the 1976 Bicentennial

celebration, Statuary Hall was restored to reflect the grandeur of the chamber in 1822.

The reception following the Kossuth ceremony was sponsored by three organizations:

The Hungarian Reformed Federation of America, Washington, DC, the Reverend Imre Bertalan, President.

The William Penn Association, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, Elmer E. Vargo, President. These organizations are the two fraternal life insurance associations of Hungarian origin in the United States with a history of 100 years of charitable service and voluntary work helping people of all ages.

The Congressional Human Rights Foundation, David L. Phillips, Executive Director. Established in 1985 by Congressmen Tom Lantos of California and John Porter of Illinois, the Foundation is a bi-partisan, non-profit educational organization which actively addresses political, ethnic, religious, racial, and other human rights violations around the world. The Foundation helps to educate Members of Congress, their staff, and constituents about the critical role of human rights in international relations.

The Hungarian Human Rights Foundation

The visit to the United States of the Right Reverend László Tökés, the distinguished ethnic Hungarian human rights leader from Romania, and his participation in the Kossuth ceremony in the Capitol Rotunda was arranged by the Hungarian Human Rights Foundation (HHRF). The HHRF is an independent non-profit, non-governmental organization headquartered and incorporated in New York.

The Hungarian Human Rights Foundation, initially Committee for Human Rights in Romania, was formed in 1976 to monitor the human rights condition of the nearly four million Hungarians who live as minorities in the countries surrounding Hungary. In accordance with its purpose, HHRF regularly collects, translates, analyzes and disseminates reliable reports on the human rights conditions of these Hungarian minority communities. Their specific, though not exclusive focus is on the Hungarians of Romania, Europe's largest national minority, who were a particular target of persecution under the Ceaușescu regime.

Kossuth House and the Hungarian Reformed Federation of America

An oil painting of Kossuth by Aurél Raskó, which is the frontispiece of this book, was displayed at the unveiling ceremony in the Capitol Rotunda. It is part of a permanent exhibit of Kossuth memorabilia on display at the Kossuth House at 2001 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington,

DC. The Kossuth House, which is open to the public during regular business hours, is the national headquarters of the Hungarian Reformed Federation of America, which was originally founded in 1896 in Trenton, New Jersey. A large bronze plaque on the outside wall of the building depicts Kossuth and the text of his famous statement from his address to the Ohio State Legislature in 1852: "All for the People, and all by the people. Nothing about the people without the people. That is democracy."

Most of the items displayed on the first floor of the Kossuth House relate to Kossuth's voyage to the United States and his visit to various American cities. Original lithographs depict his family, his generals, and other events of interest pertaining to his life in exile.

In the President's room on the first floor are two old Hungarian flags, one of which was donated in 1902 by the people of Budapest to the Hungarian immigrants in the United States. A beautiful ornamental tapestry, hand-woven for the World Exhibit held in New York City in 1939, adorns the hallway. Also on display on this floor is a copy of the Congressional Charter of the Hungarian Reformed Federation of America, which was signed in 1907 by President Theodore Roosevelt. The second floor of the Kossuth House is dedicated to the founding fathers of the Federation, members of its board of directors, and the orphanage and home for the elderly, both in Ligonier, Pennsylvania.

The American Hungarian Federation Dinner

The American Hungarian Federation, a nation-wide umbrella organization of American Hungarian churches, fraternal and civic organizations, held a private dinner the evening of the Kossuth ceremony. At that event the group issued a declaration to commemorate the dedication of the Kossuth bust by the Congress of the United States on March 15, 1990. The declaration states:

We, American Hungarians, believe that we shall forever see this great nation of the United States and the presently poor, much suffered nation of Hungarians, the nation of our former Fatherland, to stay in harmonious friendship and cooperation with each other and with all other freedom-loving, democratic nations of the earth.

And, that from this day on, that likeness of Louis Kossuth which was accepted as the gift of our American Hungarian Federation for the Statuary Hall of the United States Capitol will forever symbolize Louis Kossuth's great ideas as well as our firm belief in them.

Congressman Don Ritter from Pennsylvania was the keynote speaker at that banquet.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

As the son of a father born in Hungary, it is a distinct pleasure for me to address this gathering on Hungarian National Independence Day, especially as we celebrate the permanent placement of the bust of Governing President Louis Kossuth in the United States Capitol.

Indeed, there is an organic connection between Louis Kossuth and March 15, 1848—the July 4 of the Hungarian nation. Without the work of Kossuth during the Metternich era which landed him in jail as a young journalist, and without the accomplishments of the Era of Reform between 1825–48, there would have been no rising of the Hungarian youth on March 15, no overthrow of the feudal, absolutist regime, and no establishment of Hungarian democracy.

During his lifetime, Kossuth was one of the foremost revolutionary democrats in Europe. Despite his commitment to the Hungarian nation, he remained a European; a freedom fighter who sympathized with Germans, Italians, and other nations in their yearnings for freedom and democracy; a man who was respected and loved by Mazzini and the German democrats as well.

Yet Kossuth loved his nation first. His oratory, his sincerity, his idealism and patriotism, caused the Hungarian nation to follow him first to victory, then to the bitter end following the Czarist intervention. The contemporary song stated it well: "If Kossuth calls again, we all have to go to replace those fallen."

The Fight for Freedom between March 15, 1848, and August, 1849, constituted one of the golden pages of Hungarian history. Incredible heroism stopped the military might of the Habsburg Empire, and created a democratic Hungary in which the nobility voluntarily surrendered their privileges, the serfs were emancipated, and a government responsible to a parliament was called into being.

Throughout their history, the love of freedom is a typical Hungarian trait. Liberation campaigns were led by Prince Francis Rákóczy II between 1704 and 1711. And again, the blood of Hungarian youth was shed profusely in the dark days of October and November, 1956, when the nation rose as one against Soviet occupation and the Communist dictatorship. It is a wonderful irony that as I am speaking here, Soviet troops are finally withdrawing from Hungary. With free elections only 10 days away, a new day of democracy is dawning in Hungary.

These are exciting days in Hungary, despite the economic hardships. A nation is being reborn. Out of the bonds of a 40-year-old tyranny, Hungary is resuming its rightful place in Europe, from which it was separated by Soviet Communist fiat. As we welcome these developments, we must remember the legacy of Kossuth to the people of Hungary, and to the world.

What were the basic tenets of Kossuth's philosophy? First, belief in the freedom of the individual as the keystone of all democracy; and the faith that the individual rather than the monarch or the state should be governing the realm. Without democracy, there can be no guaranteed individual freedom; without individual freedom, there can be no national unity. This brings us to Kossuth's second tenet: the national self-determination of peoples. In this, Kossuth pre-dated President Wilson by many decades. He spoke out for the national self-determination of all peoples; and only because he believed in it could he espouse, without reservation, the national self-determination of the Hungarian people. He was no chauvinist; he respected the freedom of all nations, and worked with the Italian and German democrats to create Italian and German unity, sending emissaries to the German Parliament as it was writing the German Constitution at St. Paul's Cathedral, and to the leaders of the many Italian city states struggling to become one.

It is interesting to note that today, we are witnessing new efforts to reunite the divided people of the German nation, also kept from unity by Soviet Communist fiat. History repeats itself.

Kossuth, both during his short-lived reign and in his exile, promoted the cooperation of the peoples of Central and Southeastern Europe. He knew the pressures put on the Hungarian people by the Austrian Habsburg power and the imperialist Russian power of Czar Alexander II. He knew that without cooperation between the peoples of the region, either Teutonic or Russian imperialism would wrest control of their destinies away from them.

The geopolitical situation has changed only a little since then. But events have placed an onerous burden on the Hungarian nation. As a result of the Trianon and Paris Peace Treaties, one-third of all Hungarians live in the neighboring states as minorities, especially in Romania, which harbors 2.5 million Hungarians, mostly in Transylvania. Without a just resolution of the problems of these national minorities, the region will remain a hotbed of ethnic conflicts, an easy prey for outside powers to dominate.

We in the United States are aware of the problems. We have denounced the chauvinistic communist measures of the Ceauseșcu regime for many years. Here I must praise your Federation and Dr. Z. Michael Szaz, the Chairman of the International Relations Committee, for the fine work in Congress on the issue. We're glad that that repressive period has come to an end. It is a particular pleasure to have here with us the Reverend László Tőkés from Temesvár, whose eviction and arrest sparked the revolution against Ceauseșcu in Romania by Hungarians, Romanians, Germans and Serbs alike. He is a shining example of total commitment to human and religious rights—even amid persecution and brutality. We hope that the new Romanian government will use his

tremendous prestige and goodwill for a reconciliation between the two peoples rather than to give way to renewed nationalist passions which are not far from the surface.

Finally, let us ask ourselves: what is Louis Kossuth's message for us today? For Americans living in a bountiful land of freedom and democracy, for Hungarian-Americans who partake in this freedom and prosperity, yet hear the anguished cries of our former fellow countrymen for freedom, justice, and economic progress.

I believe Kossuth's famous words that a world cannot live half-free and half-slave must be echoing in our ears. We must promote democracy, freedom and justice in Hungary, and in all countries of Central and Southeast Europe, not only with words, but by technical and managerial aid, investments, and—only where it can be effectively applied—financial assistance.

We must remember that unless we find a just solution to the problem of national minorities, we can never establish a lasting peace in the region. Freedom and democracy mean tolerance and the respect for national self-determination. It is on these principles that we hope to establish a new world order in the wake of the decline of communism and dictatorship. And it is to these principles that I am pledging my support—and to you and the Hungarian people everywhere.

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Oil painting of Lajos Kossuth by Kurowski.

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