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ADDRESS

delivered by

LOUIS KOSSUTH

late Governor of Hungary

at the Banquet
given in honor by the members
of the two Houses of the
Congress of the U. S.

National Hotel,
Washington, D. C.
Jan. 7, 1852

PREFACE

In commemoration of the 150th anniversary of the American Bill of Rights and of the 90th anniversary of the arrival of Louis Kossuth, the great Hungarian patriot, the Hungarian Reformed Federation of America started a series of festivals among the Americans of Hungarian origin in several of the largest Hungarian settlements of the country. The Federation also publishes this booklet, containing the address of Kossuth delivered at the Congressional banquet in Washington. This address is one of the most representative of the hundreds of speeches Kossuth delivered in many states of the Union and clearly presents his most frequently used arguments in behalf of Hungary's liberation.

The banquet, given by a large number of the two Houses of Congress in honor of Louis Kossuth took place at the National Hotel, in Washington, D. C., Wednesday evening, Jan. 7, 1852. The number present was about two hundred and fifty. The Hon. William R. King, of Alabama, President of the Senate, presided. On his right sat Louis Kossuth, and on his left the Hon. Daniel Webster, Secretary of State. On the right of Kossuth at the same table, sat the Hon. Linn Boyd, Speaker of the House, with Associate Justice Wayne of the Supreme Court of the U. S., Senator Shields of Illinois, Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, all of whom spoke. Present were also the Hon. Thomas Corwin, Secretary of Treasury and the Hon. Alexander H. H. Stuart, Secretary of the Interior. Kossuth spoke twice, his second speech being the response for the toast on Turkey.

A WORD FOR KOSSUTH

Not to the swift, nor to the strong
The battles of the right belong.
For he who strikes for Freedom wears
The armor of the captive's prayers,
And nature proffers to his cause
The strength of the eternal laws;
While he, whose arm essays to bind
And herd with common brutes his kind,
Strives evermore of fearful odds
With Nature and the jealous gods,
And dares the dread recoil which late
Or soon, their right shall vindicate.

JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER
In: Boston Evening Transcript,
May 3, 1852.



KOSSUTHERT

— I. G. Whittier —

Nem az erős véres vasát
Illetik meg a szent esaták.
Kit elnyomottak ezrei
Imája vérték küzdeni,
Annak ügyét segíti meg
A természet s az Istenek;
Míg az, ki jogra nem vigyáz,
Csordába hajl, tipor, igaz,
Ezerszer is hu halba száll
Köszömla gátakat talál
S elveszté őt a gyűlölelem:
Igaz ügyé a gyűlölelem.

Magyarra fordította:
BORSHY KERÉKES GYÖRGY

Mr. King, in giving the following toast, said it was one to which every generous American would cordially respond. He, in common with others, while the Hungarian struggle was going on, rejoiced in her success, and mourned her temporary defeats. We honored those who struggled, and were prepared to sacrifice all to obtain liberty. We followed our illustrious guest in his mournful exile, were the first to call on him to return, and were the last that were ready to receive him with open arms to the land of liberty and of hospitality. The toast I give you is:

"Hungary represented in the person of our honored guest — Having proved herself worthy to be free, by the virtue and valor of her sons, the law of nations, and the dictates of justice, alike demand that she shall have fair play in her struggle for independence."

To which Kossuth responded as follows:

Sir: — As once Cyneas, the Epirote, stood among the senators of Rome, who, with an earnest word of self-conscious majesty, controlled the condition of the world, and arrested mighty kings in their ambitious march, thus, full of admiration and of reverence, I stand before you, legislature of the new capitol — that glorious hall of your people's collective majesty. The capitol of old yet stands, but the spirit has departed from it and come over to yours, purified by the air of liberty. The old stands, a mournful monument of the fragility of human things — yours as a sanctuary of eternal rights. The old beamed with the red lustre of conquest, now darkened by oppression's gloomy night — yours beams with freedom's bright ray. The old absorbed the world by its own centralized glory — yours protects your own nation against absorption, even by itself. The old was awful, with unrestricted power — yours is glorious with having restricted it. At the view of the old, nations trembled — at the view of yours, humanity hopes. To the old, misfortune was only introduced with fettered hands to kneel at the triumphant conqueror's

heels — to yours, the triumph of introduction is granted to unfortunate exiles invited to the honor of a seat, and where kings and Caesars never are hailed for their powers, might, and wealth, there, the persecuted chief of a downtrodden nation is welcomed as your great republic's guest, precisely because he is persecuted, helpless and poor. In the old, the terrible *vaevictis* was the rule — in yours, protection to the oppressed, malediction to ambitious oppressors, and consolation to the vanquished, in a just cause. And while out of the old conquered world was ruled, you, in yours, provide for the common confederative interests of a territory larger than the conquered world of old. There sat men, boasting their will to be the sovereign of the world — here sit men whose glory is to acknowledge the laws of Nature and of Nature's God, and to do what their sovereign, the people, wills. Sir, there is history in these parallels; history of past ages, and history of future centuries may be often recorded in a few words. The small particulars to which the passion of living men clings with fervent zeal, as if the fragile fingers of men could arrest the rotation of destiny's wheel — these particulars die away. It is the issue which makes history, and that issue is always logical. There is a necessity of consequences wherever the necessity of position exists. Principles are the Alpha — they must finish with Omega, and they will. Thus history may be told, often in a few words. Before yet the heroic struggles of Greece first engaged your country's sympathy for the fate of freedom in Europe — then so far distant, now so near — Chateaubriand happened to be in Athens, and he heard, from a minaret raised upon the Propyleum's ruins, a Turkish priest, in Arabic language, announcing the lapse of hours to the Christians of Minervastown. What immense history in the small fact of a Turkish imam, crying out, "Pray, man, the hour is running fast, and the judgement draws near!" Sir, there is equally a history of future ages written in the honor bestowed by you to my humble self. The first governor of independent Hungary, driven from his native land by Russian violence, an exile on Turkish soil, protected by a Mohammedan sultan against the blood-thirst of Christian tyrants, cast back a prisoner to far Asia by diplomacy; rescued from his Asiatic prison by America; crossing the Atlantic, charged with the hopes of Europe's oppressed nations, pleading, a poor exile, before

the people of this great republic, his down-trodden country's wrongs, and its intimate connection with the fate of the European continent, and with the boldness of a just cause, claiming the principles of the Christian religion to be raised to a law of nations; and to see not only the boldness of the poor exile forgiven, but to see him consoled by the sympathy of millions, encouraged by individuals, associations, meetings, cities and states; supported by operative aid, and greeted by congress, and by the government, as the nation's guest; honored out of generosity, with that honor which only one man before me received — and that man received them out of gratitude — with honors such as no potentate ever can receive, and this banquet here, and the toast which I have to thank for; oh, indeed sir, there is a history of future ages in all these facts. Sir, though I have the noble pride of my principle, and though I have the inspiration of a just cause, still I have also the consciousness of my personal humility. Never will I forget what is due from me to the sovereign source of my public capacity. This I owe to my nation's dignity, and therefore, respectfully thanking this highly distinguished assembly in my country's name, I have the boldness to say that Hungary well deserves your sympathy — that Hungary has a claim to protection, because it has a claim to justice. But as to myself, permit me humbly to express that I am well aware not to have, in all these honors, any personal share. Nay, I know that even that which might seem to be personal in your toast, is only an acknowledgement of an historical fact; very instructively connected with a principle valuable and dear to every republican heart in the United States of America. Sir, you were pleased to mention in your toast, that I am unconquered by misfortune and unswayed by ambition. Now, it is a providential fact, that misfortune has the privilege to ennoble man's mind and to strengthen men's character. There is a sort of natural instinct of human dignity in the heart of man, which steels his very nerves not to bend beneath the heavy blows of a great adversity. The palm-tree grows best beneath a ponderous weight; even so the character of man. There is no merit in it — it is a law of psychology. The petty pangs of small daily cares have often bent the character of men; but great misfortunes, seldom. There is less danger in this than in great luck; and as to ambition, I, indeed, never was able to

understand how anybody can more love ambition than liberty. But I am glad to state a historical fact as a principal demonstration of that influence which institutions exercise upon the character of nations. We Hungarians are very fond of the principle of municipal self-government, and we have a natural horror against the principle of centralization. That fond attachment to municipal self-government, without which there is no provincial freedom possible, is a fundamental feature of our national character. We brought it with us from far Asia, a thousand years ago, and we conserved it throughout the vicissitudes of ten centuries. No nation has, perhaps, so much struggled and suffered from the civilized Christian world, as ours. We do not complain of this lot. It may be heavy, but it is not inglorious. Where the cradle of our Savior stood, and where his divine doctrine was founded, there another faith now rules, and the whole of Europe's armed pilgrimage could not avert this fate from that sacred spot, nor stop the rushing waves of Islamism absorbing the Christian empire of Constantine. We stopped those rushing waves. The breast of my nation proved a break-water to them. We guarded Christianity, that Luthers or Calvins might reform it. It was a dangerous time, and the dangers of the time often placed the confidence of my nation into one man's hand, and their confidence gave power into his hands to become ambitious. But there was not a single instance in history when a man, honored by his people's confidence, had deceived his people by becoming ambitious. The man of whom Russian diplomacy succeeded in making the murderer of his nation's confidence — he never had it, but was rather regarded always with distrust. But he gained some victories, when victories were the moment's chief necessity. At the head of an army, circumstances placed him in the capacity to ruin his country. But he never had the people's confidence. So, even he is no contradiction to the historical truth, that no Hungarian, whom his nation honored with his confidence, was ever seduced by ambition to become dangerous to his country's liberty. That is a remarkable fact, and yet it is not accidental. It is the logical consequence of the influence of institutions upon the national character. Our nation, through all its history, was educated in the school of municipal self-government; and in such a country, ambition, having no field, has also no place in man's character.

The truth of this doctrine becomes yet more illustrated by a quite contrary historical fact in France. Whatever have been the changes of government in that great country, and many they have been, to be sure — we have seen a convention, a directorate of consuls, and one consul, and an emperor, and the restoration — the fundamental tone of the constitution of France, was power always centralized; omnipotence always vested somewhere, and remarkably, indeed, France has never yet raised a single man to the seat of power who has not sacrificed his country's freedom to his personal ambition. It is sorrowful indeed; but it is natural. It is in the garden of centralization where the venomous plant of ambition thrives. I dare confidently affirm, that in your great country there exists not a single man through whose brains has ever passed the thought that he would wish to raise the seat of his ambition upon the ruins of your country's liberty if he could; such a wish is impossible in the United States. Institutions react upon the character of nations. He who sows the wind will reap the storm. History is the revelation of Providence. The Almighty rules by eternal laws, not only the material, but the moral world; and every law is a principle, and every principle is a law. Men, as well as nations, are endowed with free will to choose a principle, but that, once chosen, the consequence must be abided. With self-government is freedom, and with freedom are justice and patriotism; with centralization is ambition, and with ambition dwells despotism. Happy your great country, sir, for being so warmly addicted to that great principle of self-government. Upon this foundation your fathers raised a home to freedom, more glorious than the world has even seen. Upon this foundation you have developed it to a living wonder of the world. Happy 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 conserving their state rights and their self-government, and yet united in one — every star beaming with its own lustre, but all together one constellation on mankind's canopy. Upon this foundation your free country has grown to a prodigious power in a surprisingly brief period. You have attracted power in that. Your fundamental principles have conquered more in seventy-five years, than Rome, by arms, in centuries. Your principles will conquer the world. By the glorious example

of your freedom, welfare and security, mankind is about to become conscious of its aim. The lesson you give to humanity will not be lost, and the respect of the state rights in the federal government of America and in its several states, will become an instructive example for universal toleration, forbearance and justice, to the future states and republics of Europe. Upon this basis will be got rid of the mysterious question of language and nationalities, raised by the cunning despotism in Europe to murder liberty; and the smaller states will find security in the principles of federative union, while they will conserve their nation freedom by the principles of sovereign self-government; and while larger states, abdicating the principle of centralization, will cease to be a blood-field to sanguinary usurpation and a tool to the ambition of wicked men; municipal institutions will insure the development of local, particular elements. Freedom, formerly an abstract political theory, will become the household benefit to municipalities; and out of the welfare and contentment of all the parts will flow happiness, peace and security for the whole. That is my confident hope. There will at once subside the fluctuations of Germany's fate. It will become the heart of Europe, not by melting North Germany into a southern frame, or the south into a northern — not by absorbing historical peculiarities by centralized omnipotence; not by mixing in one state, but by federating several sovereign states into a union like yours, upon a similar basis, will take place the national regeneration of the Slavonic states, and not upon the sacrilegious idea of Pan Slavism equivalent to the omnipotence of the Czar. Upon a similar basis will we see fair Italy independent and free. Not unity, but union, will and must become the watchword of national bodies, severed into desecrated limbs by provincial rivalries, out of which a flock of despots and common servitude arose. To be sure, it will be a noble joy to this, your great republic, to feel that the moral influence of your glorius example has operated in producing this happy development in mankind's destiny; and I have not the slightest doubt of the efficacy of your example's influence. But there is one thing indispensable to it, without which there is no hope for this happy issue. This indispensable thing is, that the oppressed nations of Europe become the masters of their future, free to regulate their own domestic concerns; and to secure this, nothing is

wanted but to have that fair play to all, and for all, which you, sir, in your toast were pleased to pronounce as a right of my nation, alike sanctioned by the law of nations, as by the dictates of eternal justice. Without this fair play there is no hope for Europe — no hope of seeing your principles spread. Yours is a happy country, gentlemen. You had more than fair play. You had active operative aid from Europe in your struggle for independence, which, once achieved, you so wisely used as to become a prodigy of freedom and welfare, and a book of life to nations. But we, in Europe, we, unhappily, have no such fair play with us. Against every palpitation of liberty all despots are united in a common league, and you may be sure despots will never yield to that moral influence of your great example. They hate the very existence of this example. It is the sorrow of their thoughts and the incubus of their dreams. To stop its moral influence abroad, and to check its speeding development at home, is what they wish, instead of yielding to its influence. We will have no fair play. The Cossack already rules, by Louis Napoleon's usurpation, to the very borders of the Atlantic ocean. One of your great statesmen — now, to my deep sorrow, bound to the sick bed of far advanced age — alas, that I am deprived of the advice which his wisdom could have imparted to me — your great statesman told the world, thirty years ago, that Paris was transferred to St. Petersburg. What would he now say, when St. Petersburg is transferred to Paris, and Europe is but an appendix to Russia. Alas! Europe can no more secure to Europe, fair play. Albion only remains; but even Albion casts a sorrowful glance over the waves. Still we will stand in our place, sink or swim, live or die. You know the word. It is your own. We will follow it. It will be a bloody path to tread. Despots have conspired against the world. Terror spreads over Europe, and anticipating persecution rules from Paris to Pesth. There is a gloomy silence like the silence of nature before the terrors of a hurricane. It is a sensible silence only disturbed by the thousand-fold rattling of the muskets by which Napoleon murders the people which gave him a home when he was an exile; and by the groans of a new martyrs in Sicily, Milan, Vienna and Pesth. The very sympathy which I met in England, and was expected to meet here, throws my sisters into the dungeons of Austria. Well, God's will be done. The heart may break, but duty will

be done. We will stand in our place, though to us, in Europe, there be no fair play. But so much I hope, that no just man on the earth can charge me with unbecoming arrogance, when here, on this soil of freedom, I kneel down and raise my prayer to God—"Almighty Father of humanity, will thy merciful arm not raise a power on earth to protect the law of nations, when there are so many to violate it?" It is a prayer, and nothing else. What would remain to the oppressed if they were not permitted to pray. The rest is in the hand of God. Gentlemen, I know where I stand. No honor, no encouraging generosity, will make me ever forget where I stand, and what is due from me to you. Here my duty is silently to await what you or your wisdom will be pleased to pronounce about that which public opinion knows to be my prayer and my aim; and be it your will to pronounce, or be it your will not to take notice of it, I will understand your will and bow before it with devotion, hopeless, perhaps, but my heart full of admiration, love and gratitude to your generous people, to your glorious land. But one single word, even here, I may be permitted to say, only such a word as may secure from being misunderstood. I came to the noble-minded people of the United States to obtain its generous operative sympathy for the impending struggle of oppressed freedom on the European continent, and I freely interpreted the hopes and wishes which these oppressed nations entertain, but as to your great republic, as a state, as a power on earth, I stand before the statesmen, senators and legislators of that great republic, only to ascertain, from their wisdom and experience, what is their judgement upon a question of national law and international right. I hoped, and now hope, that they will, by the foreboding events on the other great continent, feel induced to pronounce in time, their vote about that law and those rights, and I hoped and hope that pronouncing their vote it will be in favor of the broad principles of international justice, and consonant with their republican institutions and their democratic life. That is all I know, and Europe knows the immense weight of such a pronouncement from such a place. But never had I the impious wish to try to entangle this great republic into difficulties inconsistent with its own welfare, its own security, its own interest. I rather repeatedly and earnestly declared that a war on this account, by your country, is utterly impossible, and a mere phantom. I always

declared that the United States remained masters of their actions, and under every circumstance will act as they judge consistent with the supreme duties to themselves. But I said, and say, that such a declaring of just principles would insure to the nations of Europe fair play in their struggle for freedom and independence; because the declaration of such a power as your republic will be respected even where it should not be liked; and Europe's oppressed nations will feel cheered in resolution and enabled in strength to maintain the decision of their American brethren on their own behalf, with their own lives. There is an immense power in the idea to be right, when this idea is sanctioned by a nation like yours, and when the foreboding future will become present, there is an immense field for private benevolence and sympathy upon the basis of the broad principles of international justice pronounced in the sanctuary of your people's collective majority. So much to guard me against misunderstanding. Sir, I must fervently thank you for the acknowledgment that my country has proved worthy to be free. Yes, gentleman, I feel proud of my nation's character, heroism, love of freedom, and vitality, and I bow with reverential awe before the decree of Providence, which placed my country into a position that without its restoration to independence, there is no possibility for freedom and the independence of nations on the European continent. Even what now in France is about to pass, proves the truth of this. Every disappointed hope with which Europe looked toward France is a degree more added to the importance of Hungary to the world. Upon our plains were fought the decisive battles for Christianity. There will be fought the decisive battle for the independence of nations, for state rights, for international law, and for democratic liberty. We will live free, or die like men; but should my people be doomed to die, it will be the first whose death will not be recorded as a suicide, but as a martyrdom for the world; and future ages will mourn over the sad fate of the Magyar race, doomed to perish, not because we deserved it, but because, in the nineteenth century, there was nobody to protect the laws of Nature and of Nature's God. I look to the future with confidence and with hope. Adversities, manifold, of a tempest-tossed life, could, of course, not fail to impart a mark of cheerfulness upon my heart which, if not a source of joy, is at least a guaranty against sanguine

illusions. I, for myself, would not want to hope of success for doing what is right to me. The sense of duty would suffice. Therefore, when I hope, it has nothing in common with that desperate instinct of a drowning man, who, half sunk, is still grasping at a straw for help. No; when I hope, there is a motive for that hope. I have a steady faith in principles. I dare say that experience taught me the logic of events, in connection with principles. I have fathomed the entire bottom of this mystery, and was, I perceive, right in my calculations there, about once in my life. I supposed a principle to exist in a certain quarter, where, indeed, no principle proves to exist. It was a horrible mistake, and resulted in a horrible issue. The present condition of Europe is a very consequence of it; but precisely this condition of Europe proves, I did not wantonly suppose, a principle to exist there, where I found none to have existed. The consequence could not have failed to arrive, as I have contemplated them well. There is a providence in every fact. Without this mistake, the principles of American republicanism would, for a long time yet, find a sterile soil on that continent, where it was considered wisdom to belong to the French school. Now, matters stand thus. That either the continent of Europe has no future at all, or this future is American republicanism. And who could believe that three hundred millions of that continent, which is the mother of civilization, are not to have any future at all? Such a doubt would be almost blasphemy against Providence. But there is a Providence, indeed — a just, a bountiful Providence — I trust, with the piety of my religion in it; I dare say my very humble self was a continual instrument of it. How could I be else, in such a condition as I was, born not conspicuous by any prominent abilities? Having nothing in me more than an iron will, which nothing can bend, and the consciousness of being right, how could I, under the most arduous circumstances, accomplish many a thing which my sense of honest duty prompted me to undertake? Oh, there is, indeed a Providence which rules, even in my being here, when four months ago I was yet a prisoner of the league of European despots, in far Asia, and the sympathy which your glorious people honor me with, and the high benefit of the welcome of your congress, and the honor to be your guest, to be the guest of your great republic, I, the poor, humble, unpretending exile. Is there

not a very intelligible manifestation of Providence in it? the more when I remember that the name of your humble, but thankful guest, is, by the furious rage of the Austrian tyrant, to the gallows nailed. Your generosity is great, and loud your protestation of republican principles against despotism. I firmly trust to those principles, and relying upon this very fact of your generosity, I may be permitted to say that that respectable organ of the free press was mistaken, which announced that I considered my coming hither to be a failure. I confidently trust that the nations of Europe have a future. I am aware that the future is contradicted. Bayonets may support, but afford no chair to sit upon. I trust to the future of my native land, because I know that it is worthy to have it, and it is necessary to the destinies of humanity. I trust to the principles of republicanism, whatever be my personal fate. So much I know, that my country will remember you and your glorious land with everlasting gratitude.

To the last regular toast, viz:

"Turkey — Her noble hospitality extended to a foreign patriot, even at the risk of war, proves her to be worthy of the respect of liberal nations."

Governor Kossuth responded as follows:

Sir: — I feel very thankful for having the opportunity to express, in this place, how much I feel obliged, in everlasting gratitude to the Sultan of Turkey, and to his noble people. I am now a man in the world. Before God, the people, and principles, I bow — before none else. But I am proud to say, that I bow with deep acknowledgement, and with warm gratitude, before the memory of the generous conduct I met with in Turkey. Instead of any pretension to an eloquent speech, I would rather humbly entreat your kind permission to make a few dry remarks upon facts, which may, perhaps, contribute something to a better knowledge of Turkey; because, I am confidently sure that, once better known, more attention will be paid to its fate. First, as to myself. When I was in that country, Russia and Austria, in the full pride of their victory, opposing their will upon the sultan, claimed the delivery of me and my associates. It is true that a grand divan was held at Constantinople, and not very favorable opinions were pronounced by a party opposed to the present

existing government in Turkey, which induced the Sublime Porte himself, to believe that there was no help for us poor exiles, only to abandon our faith and become Mohammedans, in order that Turkey might be able to protect us. I have, in that respect, declared what the duty of every honest man, I believe, would have been, to declare, under similar circumstances; but I owe it to the power of the sultan to declare openly, that I would rather die than accept the condition. (Applause.) That declaration was conveyed to Constantinople before any one there could have got knowledge that I had applied to the public opinion of the people of England in relation thereto—before all this was known to Constantinople, where the very decision of the majority of that great divan was announced to the sultan, to be unfavorable to the protection of the poor exiles. Out of the generosity of his own heart, without knowing if we were willing to accept, or not accept, he declared—“They are upon the soil—they have trusted to my honor; they have trusted to my justice—to my religion; they shall not be deceived; rather war, than that I should deliver them up. (Great Applause.) That is entirely his merit. But, notwithstanding these high obligations, which I feel toward Turkey, I never, indeed, will venture to try to engage sympathy and attention toward a country on the basis of one single act; but there are many considerations, in reference to Turkey, which merit the full attention of the United States of America. Firstly, when we make a comparison between the Turkish government and that of Austria and Russia, in respect to religious liberty, the scale turns entirely in favor of Turkey. There is not only liberal toleration for all religions, but the government does not mix with their religious affairs, but leaves them entirely to their own control; whereas, in Austria, self-government was secured by three victorious revolutions and pacifications, which insured these revolutions and hundreds of laws, and still Austria has blotted out of the condition of Hungary, the self-government of the Protestant church, while Turkey accords and protects the self-government, of whatever religious denomination. Russia, taking for a political tool the very principle of religion, as it is universally known, persecutes the Roman Catholics; and, indeed, the Greeks and Jews, in a most horrible manner—in such a manner that the heart of man must revolt against it. The Sultan of Turkey, whenever, in his wide

dominions, one single man of fanaticism dares to encroach upon the religious freedom of whomsoever is in his country, is the unimpeachable judge and vindicator of that religious liberty which is permitted in all his dominions. (Applause.) Again; I must recall, out of the history of Hungary, this fact—that when one half of Hungary was under Turkish dominion, and the other half under Austrian, religious liberty was always encouraged in that part which was under the Turkish rule, and there was not only a full and entire development of Protestantism; but Unitarianism was also protected, and the Unitarians, though they were, in Transylvania, lawfully protected in those times, by the sultan who governed that country, were still, in the last revolution, excluded from every civil right, because they were Unitarians. Only our revolution restored them to full and entire religious liberty. That was the condition, in respect to religious liberty, under the Austrian and under the Turkish dominion. Now, in respect to municipal self-government, Hungary, and all those different provinces which were now opposed to the Austrian empire—if, indeed, it existed, which I do not believe—became an empire, which only rests upon the good will of a foreign master, and has no existence, scarcely vegetation. (Applause.) All those different provinces were absorbed by Austria. They were attacked in their existence, and there was not a single one which had not, in former times, a constitutional life, and of which Austria did not deprive it, by centralizing power in its own court. That is the principle of the law of the Christian powers. Now, take on the other hand the Turk. In Turkey, I have not only seen developed, to a very considerable degree, the municipal self-government of cities; but I have seen a demonstration of justice very much like the institution of the jury. I have seen a public trial, in a case where one party, a Turk, and the other, a Christian, were engaged; where the municipal authorities of the Christian population were called together, to be not only witnesses of the trial, but materially to control and direct it, with perfect publicity. But more yet; there exists Wallachia Moldavia, under Turkish dominion, and the Turkish nation dominant, which has conquered that province, out of respect for national self-government, has prescribed itself not to have a right of a house to dwell in, or a single step of soil in that land, or any interference whatever with the

domestic concerns of this province, because it has got a charter for centuries, by which charter the self-government of Wallachia Moldavia was insured. It is worthy to mention, that the Turk has never broken his oath. (Applause.) Whereas, on the European continent, there exists not a single king, or prince, or duke, or emperor, who has not broken his word a thousand times, before God and man. Now, the executive of this Turkey, great as the present condition of Europe is, is indispensable to the security of Europe. You know that, in St. Petersburg, in the time of Catherine, the policy all turned on a way to Constantinople. The politics indicated by the king, at that time, are always the politics of St. Petersburg; and Constantinople is that place of which Napoleon rightly said, that the power which has Constantinople in command, if it is willing to rule three quarters of the world, has power to rule. Now, it is the intention, it is the consistent policy of the Russian cabinet to get hold of Constantinople; and, therefore, I declare that, to protect the independent existence of Turkey, is so necessary to Europe, because, Turkey crushed, Russia becomes, not only entirely predominant, as she already is, but becomes the single master and ruler of Asia, and of all Europe. And to conserve this independence of Turkey, gentlemen, nothing is wanted but some encouragement from such a power as the United States. Since Turkey has lost its dominion in Buda, in Hungary, its power is declining. But why? Because, from that time European diplomatists began to succeed in persuading Turkey that she had not sufficient power or strength to stand upon her own feet; and, by-and-by, it became the rule in Constantinople, that every small, petty, interior question was to be decided with the interference of European diplomacy. Now, I say, Turkey has vitality such as not many nations have. It has a power that not many have. Turkey wants nothing but a consciousness of its own powers, and encouragement to stand upon its feet; and this encouragement, if it comes as counsel, as kind advice, out of such a place as the United States, I am confident, will not only be thankfully heard, but joyfully followed. That is the only thing which is wanted there; and, besides this political consideration, that the existence of Turkey, as it is, is necessary to the future of Europe, there are also high commercial considerations, proper to interest, and to attract the attention of the United States. The freedom of commerce on the Danube,

is a law of nations, guaranteed by treaties; and yet there exists no freedom; it is in the hands of Russia. Turkey, to be sure, is very anxious to re-establish freedom; but there is nobody to back her in her demands. Turkey can also present to the manufacturing industry of such a country as the United States, a far larger and more important market than all China, with her two hundred and fifty millions inhabitants. But one consideration I can mention, and, though it has no reference to the public opinion here, I beg permission to avail myself of this opportunity to pronounce it, and give it publicity; and that is, that I hope, in the name of the future freedom and independence of the European nations, those provinces of Turkey, which are inhabited by Christians, will not, out of theoretical passion, and out of attachment to a mere word, neglect to act in such a manner as only can convey to them the future development of their own freedom and independence. Gentlemen, I declare, that should the revolutionary movement in Europe extend to the Turkish provinces; and, by that extension Turkey falls, this would not become a benefit to those provinces of the Moldavians and Servians, but would only benefit Russia; because then, Turkey, no more existing, all those provinces are, and will be naturally absorbed by Russia; whereas, holding fast to Turkey, that Turkey which respects religious liberty, gives them, entirely and fully, self-good. So much, gentlemen, I desired to express. I believe you will excuse me for the inappropriate manner in which I have acquitted myself. In this, which I considered to be my duty, in expressing my thanks to Turkey, I declare before you, that I am fully convinced of the identity of interest of Hungary and of Turkey. We have a common enemy — therefore, Hungary and Turkey are, by national ties, provoked to a close alliance against that enemy. I declare, that not only out of gratitude, but also out of knowledge of this community of interest, I will never in my life let escape a single opportunity where I, in my humble capacity, can contribute to the glory, welfare and happiness of Turkey; but will consider it the duty of honor toward my country, ever to be the truest, most faithful friend of the Turkish empire.





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