

RECEPTION OF KOSSUTH IN ENGLAND AND THE MAGAZINE PUNCH IN 1851

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The Hungarian War of Independence had been lost, and Kossuth's internment in Turkey was drawing to a close. When Buol, the new Austrian Ambassador in England learned from Palmerston's answer to Dudley Stuart's question¹ in the Commons that Kossuth was to be released on 1 September, he anxiously sought the opportunity to sound Palmerston out on the matter. When in the second half of September, Palmerston received him in his country house at Broadlands, Kossuth was already free, and declared his intention to visit England, before going to America. The apprehension of the Austrian Ambassador was shared by his Prussian and Russian colleagues alike, and together the three diplomats communicated their governments' anxiety on the extreme danger that such revolutionary elements present to the peace and security of Continental Europe.² The English Foreign Secretary tried to reassure the Ambassadors that the Government would not be influenced by a friendly public reception in any way. As long as aliens did not abuse the right to hospitality, Parliament would not permit the Government to proceed against them. Furthermore, since Kossuth had no financial means to equip an army or a fleet, he should not be thought dangerous when free. Buol's immediate reaction was to absent himself from London for the period of Kossuth's visit, while his Government resorted to petty reprisals. The English Chargé d'Affaires, Magenis reported from Vienna that because of Palmerston's friendly attitude to Kossuth, the Austrians refused entry to British travellers into Hungary.³

The long-drawn diplomatic negotiations over the fate of Kossuth had exasperated Ferenc Pulszky, partly, perhaps, because he had no important role to play in his chief's liberation. Pulszky had been Hungary's plenipotentiary during the War; in the summer of 1851 he was the president of the Hungarian Refugee Association in Britain. The tone of his welcoming letter to Kossuth, written on 6 October from Southampton, is full of impatience, and his important information is mingled with indignation on further intrigues which lay in Kossuth's way.⁴ Pulszky complained that European diplomacy tried to keep Kossuth at sea (literally), to deflate the enthusiasm of the people. Every European refugee party—so Pulszky claimed—tried to put Kossuth's name on its banner. Mazzini's European Central Committee included the Rumanian

Bratianu, an enemy of the Hungarians. He had more cheerful news about his English friends: the former army officers and friends of the Hungarian cause were ready to help. Algernon Massingberd vacated his house in Eaton Place for Kossuth, and Henningsen set out to organise matters, so that he might receive anyone he wished discreetly; a subscription was being prepared in his name. But alas, his voyage from France (Kossuth was in Marseilles on 2 October), would be the longest in memory, Pulszky forecasted. The interest of the powers was to let him spend as little time on European soil as possible. To have the chance of further discussions and to help Kossuth impress American public opinion, Pulszky was ready to accompany his friend across the Ocean after his English visit.

The nearer Kossuth got to England the more Pulszky went out of his way to prove his loyalty and friendship. What bond held the two men previously together apart from the radical Magyar nationalism both had adhered to? Kossuth was a senior of Pulszky by twelve years, and like him a Protestant from Northern Hungary. Though Pulszky's family was by far the more prosperous, both men came from the middle strata of untitled Hungarian nobility, and both their respective ancestors were of mixed Slav and Magyar stock. They belonged to the most talented of the liberal opposition of the reform era; but while Pulszky, when he got himself into trouble, was whisked off to a foreign tour by his uncle, Kossuth welcomed the role of the martyr. Pulszky liked to be an eminence grise supporting a great man,⁵ while Kossuth had the mould of a charismatic leader. In 1837, when Kossuth was first arrested, the best school for a would-be political leader was imprisonment—the same as in our century: for it allows individual preparation and strengthens the sympathy of the community which awaits the liberation of the prisoner.

It was after Kossuth had served his first term in captivity and took up the editorship of *Pesti Hírlap*, that Pulszky joined him. Between 1841 and 1843 Pulszky wrote several articles in Kossuth's paper, and in 1847 he wrote a very flattering political character-study of Kossuth in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*.⁶ When Kossuth received the position of Minister of Finances in Lajos Batthyány's Government in April 1848 he chose Pulszky as Under-Secretary of Financial Affairs.

In September 1848 the Government resigned and Kossuth emerged as the leader of the Committee of Defence—in fact, the country's leader—it was he again who sent Pulszky to Vienna to negotiate between Hungary and the revolutionaries there. Later, they rode together to the battle-lines at Schwechat. And finally, in November and December 1848 Kossuth entrusted Pulszky with the task of supplying arm and equipment to the army.

Anxiously waited by Pulszky, Kossuth was taking his own course on his journey. His first seven days of freedom were spent by travelling from Kiutahia to the port of Gömlek,⁷ where he was joined by Mazzini's secret agents Lemmi and Beriggi, and some Hungarians who, like Kossuth's small entourage, wished to settle in America. In

mid-September, the assigned American warship, the *Mississippi* called at Smyrna, where some of the refugees had stayed, and embarked at the harbour of La Spezia on 21 September. Colonel Monti, the leader of the Italian legion in Hungary and Kossuth's fellow captive at Widdin received him there, conveying a message from Mazzini for Kossuth to go through France. Four days later in the port of Marseilles Kossuth declared his intention to abandon the ship and proceed over land, via Paris, to London. The Prefect of the city sent a telegraphic message to Napoleon and after two days' delay the President's answer came, refusing permission for Kossuth to traverse French soil. In response, Kossuth gave a rousing republican speech to the people of Marseilles, adopting the motto of a French workman who had previously swum to his ship to embrace him, with the words: "There are no obstacles to him who will."⁸ The Times reported the speech with the comment that, with this speech, M. Kossuth gave himself away: *he was in fact no better than the revolutionaries conspiring in England: Mazzini, Ledru Rollin and their associates.*⁹

This was the corollary of The Times's hardening attitude towards Kossuth. Having been on the side of pro-Austrian conservatism during the War, The Times somewhat changed its stance when it came to reporting on Hungarian refugees. On 7 October The Times, in fact, printed the text of Kossuth's speech in Marseilles, but also called attention to the anti-Kossuth views of Kázmér Batthyány, Hungary's last independent Minister of Foreign Affairs who lived in France at the time. On 14 October The Times printed an article entitled the "Advent of Kossuth" which voiced mixed feelings about the Hungarian governor. On 15 October a letter of Kossuth's to the mayor of Southampton was printed together with some unfavourable comments from the French press. In a long article on the 17th October, The Times apologized for its reportage of the War: "information derived from our own English correspondent" and mentioned that Kossuth was a revolutionary. The report of the arrival of Kossuth in The Times of 24th October was once again objective and unprejudiced. Having left France, Kossuth's next port of call was Malaga, and then Gibraltar, where Kossuth left the American ship, taking only his family and a few others with him, and promised his comrades who stayed on the *Mississippi* and proceeded to the States, that he would follow them shortly. After ten days waiting in Gibraltar, on 15 October he boarded the English ship, *Madrid*, which landed him in Southampton on 23 October.

The reception of Kossuth in Southampton was prepared by Pulszky with the help of Joseph Andrews, the Mayor of the city, and Rodney Crosskey, the American consul.¹⁰ The multitude was several thousands strong, the newspaper reporters were ready for a full coverage¹¹ of Kossuth's whole tour, and the politicians were out-bidding one another to get near the ex-Governor of Hungary. Pulszky claims that even Palmerston invited Kossuth to Broadlands through Lord Dudley Stuart who was waiting in the port to deliver the Foreign Secretary's invitation. Pulszky, on the other hand, was carrying a letter of warning from Mazzini, who had learned of Palmerston's intentions

and tried to stop Kossuth meeting him. The Italian patriot-conspirator saw a trap in Palmerston's invitation, claiming that all the Foreign Secretary and the English aristocracy wanted was to *disarm* Kossuth, who—by associating with them—would lose his popular appeal to the masses. To deliver this message, Pulszky outwitted his good friend Lord Dudley Stuart, and went out to Kossuth's ship on a small boat. But Pulszky was carrying another warning as well. Richard Cobden, who was anxious to meet Kossuth, and indeed did so, next day, had sent a word to him via Pulszky not to take sides in English political life, and “not to attend any banquet where other people make speeches”.¹² The advice was obviously not to include himself though, as Cobden, already on the second day of Kossuth's stay in England, made a speech after Kossuth, at a banquet in Winchester. The gist of it was that in international relations no nation should interfere with the internal affairs of any other. Cobden, like Mazzini, warned Kossuth to avoid Palmerston.

Lord Dudley Stuart appeared on Kossuth's ship after Pulszky, and accompanied the Hungarian leader all around England. Kossuth thanked him for Palmerston's invitation and asked him to convey a message that he (Kossuth) could not accept the Foreign Secretary's invitation before he had spoken to the people of England, who accepted him as the delegate of the oppressed Hungarian nation. If Lord Palmerston would still like to receive him after such contact with the people, he would be honoured to oblige.¹³ In what form Lord Dudley conveyed this message, if he conveyed it at all, we do not know. But he certainly made at least one further attempt to bring Palmerston and Kossuth together. On 29 October he asked the Foreign Secretary to dine at his home at any convenient day within the next fortnight, in order to meet Kossuth. Palmerston declined the offer.¹⁴ Queen Victoria, alarmed by the possibility of severing ties with Austria, asked Lord Russell to stop Palmerston meeting Kossuth.¹⁵ When Lord Russell conveyed the Queen's wish, as his own, Palmerston's answer showed reluctance, but he complied.¹⁶

Political advice for Kossuth coming from Pulszky's other friends, was polarized on the question of whether he ought to meet Lord Palmerston and Giuseppe Mazzini. Professor Newman belonged to the *Circle of the Friends of Italy*—one of the off-shoots of Mazzini's Italian Committee—so quite understandably, he argued against Palmerston and for Mazzini.¹⁷ David Urquhart, who had visited Kossuth in Kiutahia at Pulszky's instigation, was hoping to gain his support for his anti-Palmerstonian campaign, but at the same time was warning him against Mazzini too.¹⁸ Evidently, in the eyes of their contemporaries, Mazzini commanded as much respect in conspiratorial diplomacy as did Palmerston in official diplomacy.

Kossuth met Mazzini in London on 30 October.¹⁹ They agreed to join forces for the liberation of Hungary and Italy. Synchronised revolts should be started in Lombardy, Venice and in Hungary, when they have suitably prepared the Italian and Hungarian elements of the Austrian army for it. Italy's final aim was unity and riddance of foreign

occupation, Hungary's future perspectives—as Kossuth saw them—were independence and a republican system, with a governor in charge. Kossuth and Mazzini differed on one important point. Mazzini believed the fight had to start immediately, following the presidential election in December, or in the spring of 1852 at the latest. Kossuth thought that a revolt had more chance of success if they waited until the outbreak of the Russian—Turkish war, which was bound to happen fairly soon.

Meanwhile the network of conflicting interests and intrigues around Kossuth's person had reached the other exiles. Prince Czartoryski tried to persuade Dudley to keep the republican Poles away from Kossuth. The German emigrants were equally split: Marx and his associates 'the Communists' condemned Kossuth,²⁰ whereas the 'bourgeois democrats' Karl Schurz and his organisation of German exiles sent a deputation to welcome him.²¹ The Hungarians were divided into three groups. Two of his former cabinet ministers, Szemere and Batthyány were overtly against him. There were those who kept at a distance from him: Sabbas Vukovics, his former Minister of Justice, Miklós Jósika, the well-known novelist, and his personal friend, László Teleki. The former plenipotentiary in Paris had disagreed with him—as reflected by the exchange of letters that passed through between Paris and Kiutahia²²—on two scores: he would not accept Kossuth assuming directorial powers in any future combination, and his own federative plan for Hungary and for the surrounding states would be less Magyar centred than Kossuth's plan.

The third group of the Magyar emigrants, which constituted the majority, turned to him loyally—in fact demanding his leadership. Czetz in Paris, Hajnik, Miklós Kiss, Pulszky in London, Újházy and Wass in America, and with them the scores of Magyars in diaspora were welcoming his release with enthusiasm, waiting for his word and ready to rally around him. And what is more, some of these people who identified Kossuth with the independence of Hungary, carried this belief to such religious fervour that they were ready to fight against overwhelming odds and endanger or sacrifice their lives at the first opportunity. Kossuth's belief, that at the next outbreak of war, Hungary would be liberated, was taken as a true prophecy by such people as Fülöp Figyelmessy, János Matthaides and Mihály Piringer, who volunteered to go to Hungary, with secret missions from the ex-Governor, to organize revolutionary cells inside the country.

While Kossuth appeared as an uncompromising republican to the people of Marseilles and a secret revolutionary conspirator to his fellow-exiles in London, he presented his case to the people of England as the defender of the constitutional liberties of Hungary. His public speeches reiterated almost exactly the same arguments Pulszky had been using in his propaganda campaign in 1849, and in his literary ventures of the fifties. Some of his advisers were the same as Pulszky's, like Dudley Stuart who, just as Pulszky, followed him around England and was chairman of four meetings out of nine. Still, it is striking that the outline for some of the speeches might

have been written by Pulszky himself.²³ His first speech in England, an expression of gratitude delivered to the multitude welcoming him at Southampton on 23 October, was a masterpiece of oratory disguised as an improvisation giving vent to pent up feelings. His second speech on the twenty-fifth, at the banquet given in his honour by Joseph Andrews in Winchester, moved the speaker himself, as well as some of his audience, to tears: Kossuth gave a summary of Hungarian history of the past decade, and at mentioning the circumstances of the Russian intervention "a burst of sympathy broke from the assembly".²⁴ The next public oration, on the twenty-seventh again in Southampton, dealt with the idea of liberty, with special reference to England as the chief upholder of the virtue as opposed to contemporary Austria wherefrom it was entirely lacking. On 30 October Kossuth spoke at the Guildhall in London, on 10 November in the Free Trade Hall in Manchester, and on 12 November at a public banquet in Birmingham,²⁵ in each case emphasizing the special eminence of the town he happened to be in, and how this eminence was based on free municipal institutions—which was a key to free trade and prosperity. Parallel to this, Hungary had, in Kossuth's interpretation, a constitution which had created similar institutions.

These speeches freely incorporated the ideas of Toulmin Smith, the constitutional lawyer,²⁶ Richard Cobden, the apostle of free trade, and Ferenc Pulszky, the propagandist, in dramatized and personalized form, but propagated nothing of a Mazzinian revolutionary. Even the speech at Copenhagen House, delivered on 3 November, on an invitation of a London Committee representing the Trade Unions, was not aimed at inciting the working classes, which Kossuth's conservative critics so greatly feared, but at the most, modestly justifying the dethronement of the House of Hapsburg and vindicating the short-lived Hungarian republic. The two farewell perorations in the Hanover Square Rooms in London on 13 November, and in Southampton at the day of his departure, touched upon two themes which revealed Kossuth's political purpose, at least in general terms. He condemned the secrecy of diplomacy on high-power level (not among revolutionaries where he practised it himself), and advocated 'interference for non-interference', in other words, stopping Russia from dealing with Turkey, as she had dealt with Hungary.

This was the essence of his message to the people of England, who came in greater multitudes to listen to him than to any other public orator in his century,²⁷ or to an Aldermaston march at its height in ours. Despite his moderation he made more enemies than friends among the leading parliamentarians: Russell, Disraeli and Gladstone condemned him outright as a 'Mazzinian'.²⁸

But the strongest attacks came from the Times, whose editor, John Thaddeus Delange, was in Vienna meeting Schwarzenberg,²⁹ while Kossuth visited England. In his absence Henry Reed, the assistant editor, directed the paper's campaign against the Hungarian leader, who, among other unsubstantiated charges, accused by them of impounding the property of Count Eugen (Ödön) Zichy, a Hungarian aristocrat,

executed by the Hungarians for high treason, during the War of Independence. The consistent attacks,³⁰ letters and reports of correspondents so perseveringly maligned Kossuth that Henningsen sprang to his defence with a pamphlet³¹ which accused The Times of being in the pay of the Austrian Secret Police. Whatever their origins, The Times' attacks on Kossuth's personal conduct were fabrications as his honesty and high-mindedness regarding pecuniary affairs were without reproach.

In sharp contrast with The Times the relatively new and radical satirical weekly Punch represented the *voice of the oppressed*.³² "When Kossuth visited London in 1851, Punch's heart, like that of the rest of England [i.e. liberal England (TK)] went out to the patriot". *It was not Louis Kossuth whom the thousands gazed upon and cheered, wrote Punch, it was Hungary bound and bleeding but still hopeful, resolute, defying Hungary.* "And it may be observed that for many years Punch sided, for one reason or another, with Austria's successive adversaries."³³

Punch's article *What shall be done unto the Sultan?* (12th October) is the first of its radical pro-Kossuth contributions. "Cities and towns, and boroughs, are assembling to do congratulatory honour to Kossuth. Well-and-good but what shall be done unto the Sultan, who, at his own peril, harboured and comforted the patriot, defying the beaks and talons of the double-beeded eagle? . . . Let every city . . . send to the Sultan some testimonial . . . curtains . . . razors . . . cannons . . . ships." In other words Punch, apart from honouring Abdul Medjid advocated pro-Turkish British foreign policy.

The central cartoon of the October 12th number represents Kossuth in a traveller's cap trying to turn a street corner. There are graffiti on the wall: LIBERTÉ, EGALITÉ, FRATERNITÉ but a soldier bars the patriot's way with his rifle-butt: "You can't pass here!". The soldier has the caricature-likeness of Louis Napoleon.

A week later (19 October) Punch publishes another central cartoon. The armoured figure of Britannia shows Kossuth the way: "*Welcome to Kossuth*". On his left a tame (British) lion, on his right Mr. Punch with his dog.

On 26 October Punch comes out with five lines, worth quoting in full: "*The crowns of Hungary and Austria.*" It has been asked, "Where is the crown of St. Stephen?" One is unable to say where; but of this Punch is certain. Wherever it may be, it is far better off than the crown of Austria; for this (at present) is on the head of a perjurer, named Francis-Joseph." The central cartoon of this number shows Kossuth, in his Hungarian hat, embraced by England and America—two ladies—on either side.

The November 2nd issue of Punch is dominated by Kossuth's name, fame and period. The article "The tyranny of customs" warns the Hungarian leader that because of customs and excises England is not (or not yet) a free country. This leaves little doubt that the Editors were on the side of free trade and Cobdenite internationalism. There are three poems dedicated to Kossuth: *Kossuth for the million (to the genteel)* which is a satirical song of six four-line stanzas. It upbraids the upper classes for calling

Kossuth a knave. (There had indeed been discordant noises from conservatives in the Parliament such as Lord Claude Hamilton). The second poem is the *Voice of the Exile* which has seventeen four-line verses and is written in a style of a hymn.

And like a war-spent soldier, faint and breathless,
Hungary, prostrate there,
Lay, seeming wounded to death; but deathless
was her defiant stare.

Indeed, Hungary is only one of the nations listed, her exiles just *some* amidst Poles, Italians, Germans-emigrés who had peopled London after 1848.

The third poem *Kossuth for ever!* tells in five six lined stanzas “why do millions cheer Kossuth”. Having made a number of historical comparisons, in the last stanza the poet declares:

Therefore among men, Kossuth we class,
Who fairly, truly, fought for liberty;
We hail him as we should LEONIDAS
Our guest, arisen from Thermopylae;
And hope his eloquence of honest hate,
Europe may urge her tyrants to abate.

Articles, poems, cartoons were published in *Punch* unsigned. On the whole the cartoons were executed by Henry Mayhew, *Punch*'s cartoonist at the time, while the articles were written by one of the editorial trio: Mayhew, Ebenezer Landells or Marc Lemon. Marc Lemon was *Punch*'s editor in 1850 and—since he had a poetic vein—he might well have written the Kossuth poems.

As for the Hungarian leader, at the end of his tour in England he accepted the financial contributions offered to him as the fruits of a nation-wide collection, not for his personal use, even then, but for the cause. We do not know the sum it amounted to, but we do know that he gave £200 to the Association of the Hungarian Exiles, directly. He left Toulmin Smith in charge of the funds who advanced another £500 to the London emigrants, which Kossuth repaid him from America in December.³⁴ In January he sent another £450 through Toulmin Smith to Miklós Kiss, the *new* chairman of the exiles in London. He was taking the *former* chairman, Ferenc Pulszky, as his closest adviser to the United States.

Notes

1. Hansard, 3rd series. Vol. 118. pp. 1888–89.
2. Dénes Jánossy, *A Kossuth-emigráció Angliában és Amerikában* (Budapest, Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1940–1948) Vol. I. pp. 90–I. Jánossy's evidence is based on the Ambassadorial reports of these conversations.
3. P.R.O. F.O. Austria. No. 182. 30 September 1851.
4. Pulszky to Kossuth, 6 October 1851. KH. OL. 8p. Published as: Document 66, by Jánossy, op. cit. Vol. I. pp. 663–5.
5. First Deák, later Kossuth then Garibaldi and finally Deák again.
6. No. 72. Wien, 19 February 1847. Ludwig Kossuth. . .
7. Sándor Veress, *A magyar emigratio a Keleten* (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1878) Vol. I. pp. 217–222.
8. 29 October. The Times, 7 October 1851, noted the origin of the motto, which Kossuth was to repeat many times and in various forms and contexts during his tour of England and America.
9. The Times, 7 October 1851.
10. Ferenc Pulszky, *Életem és korom* (Budapest: Franklin, 1884) Vol. II. p. 64. Dudley Stuart, M. P. for Marylebone, was a cousin to Palmerston and the most influential English politician supporting Kossuth.
11. For three weeks from 1 November to 22 November 1851, the *Illustrated London News* described Kossuth's every move, reported all his speeches and drew nearly two dozen pictures of his journey in England. 1 Nov. 1851, pp. 537–8, 544–6. Supplement, pp. 558–9; 8 Nov. pp. 565, 567–8; 570, 502–3; 22 Nov. pp. 609–11. In the Supplement to 15 Nov. issue, there appeared an *Authentic Life of L. Kossuth* (pp. 587–91) which was soon reprinted and issued in book form by Bradbury and Evans. Practically the same material was used by P. C. Headley, *The Life of Louis Kossuth* (Auburn, Derby & Miller, 1852). When adding the description of Kossuth's tour in America, he brought out the most detailed biography of Kossuth in English.
12. Cobden to Pulszky, Midhurst, 4 October. Letter VIII of Cobden in *South Eastern Affairs* (materials relative to the history of Central Europe and the Balkan Peninsula). Ed. by Jenő Horváth. Vols VIII.–IX. 1938–40. (Typescript copies kindly communicated by the late Dr. István Gál.) In his letters, Cobden was of the opinion that Kossuth should have gone to America first, then come to Britain. He also offered to take Kossuth around the Great Exhibition, before it closed.—*Ibid.* Letter VII. 22 September, and Letter X. (undated). Cobden was afraid of Kossuth's possible involvement with the Chartists. Their leader Ernest Jones had approached Kossuth but the Hungarian leader turned his invitation down.
13. Pulszky, op. cit. Vol. II. p. 65.
14. Appendix 4. Exchange of letters between Lord Dudley Stuart and Lord Palmerston. Harrowby MSS. Vol. 453. Unpublished sources, Section 13. 3 Xerox copies. of N.R.A. P.P. GC/ST/144–145.
15. These events were also described in: Thomas Kabdebo, *Diplomat in Exile* (New York: Columbia, 1979) pp. 67–75.
16. Arthur Christopher Benson—Reginald Baliol Esher, (ed.) *The letters of Queen Victoria*. Ser. 1. A selection from Her Majesty's correspondence between the years 1837–1861. Vol. II. 1844–1853. p. 234 (London: Murray, 1908).
17. Dénes Jánossy, *Great Britain and Kossuth* (Budapest, Sárkány 1937) pp. 134–8.
18. *Kossuth e Urquhart, estratto di una corrispondenza* (Londra, 1859).
19. Jánossy, *A Kossuth-emigráció*, Vol. I. pp. 503–4.
20. "On 27 October 1851 Marx wrote to Engels: 'Mr. Kossuth is, like the Apostle Paul, all things to all men. In Marseilles he shouts: 'Vive la republique!', and in Southampton 'God save the Queen!.'" Zoltán Vas, "Kossuth in England" *New Hungarian Quarterly*, Vol. IX. p. 140. In fact the letter was written by Engels to Marx. Marx–Engels Werke, Berlin, 1962). Vol. 28, p. 368.

21. Rezső Peéry, "Carl Schurz, Londoni fogadáson Kossuth Lajosnál" *Irodalmi Újság*, 15 November 1964.
22. Zoltán Horváth, *Teleki László* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1964) Vol. II. pp. 52–7, 78–9, 81.
23. Pulszky, for instance, wrote in the *Eclectic Review* (January 1850, p. 59): "Centralisation is the political bane of our age. Its . . . results have long been visible in paternal systems and despotism of Europe." This was the very clue to many of Kossuth's speeches in England.
24. *Authentic life of his excellency Louis Kossuth* (London: Bradbury & Evans, 1851) p. 51. The Birmingham speech referred to the city's origins from the time of Julius Caesar.
25. P. C. Headley, *The life of Louis Kossuth* (Auburn: Derby & Miller, 1852) p. 379.
26. The Constitutional parallels between England and Hungary were enhanced by historic parallels, such as: "As the Czar has brought back the Hapsburgs to us, Monk once brought the Stuarts back to you . . . we are now, where you were after 1665." *Ibid.* p. 487; Prof. Newman wrote: "at Southampton, Toulmin Smith boarded his ship . . . handed to him a precise manuscript that gave details concerning the local history and affairs of Southampton. Not many hours later, the great Hungarian . . . seemed to have a truly marvellous acquaintance with our English municipalities." Francis Newman, *Reminiscences of two exiles*. (London, 1888) p. 5.
27. According to contemporary reporting there were 200,000 people at Copenhagen Fields.
28. J. Morley, *The life of William Ewart Gladstone* (London: 1903) Vol. I. p. 402.
29. A. I. Dasent—John Thaddeus Delane, *Editor of the Times* . . . (London: 1908) Vol. I. p. 144.
30. 9 October, 16 October, 17 October 1851.
31. C. F. Henningsen, *Kossuth and the Times* (London: 1851). The author did not print his name.
32. R. G. C. Price: *A History of Punch* (London: 1957) p. 19.
33. M. H. Spielmann, *A History of Punch* (London: 1895) pp. 117–118.
34. Kossuth's letter to Miklós Kiss. Cincinnati, 15 February 1852. Jánossy, *A Kossuth emigráció*. Vol. II. p. 554.