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ART. I. — *The Reformation in Hungary and Transyl-*

vania.
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By the persecutions carried on against the Albigenses and Waldenses, many of these devoted people were scattered through other countries, where they became a seed of reformation. The followers of John Huss and Jerome of Prague were also numerous and widely dispersed in the eastern parts of Europe, which prepared the way for the dissemination of evangelical doctrines in these regions after the reformation commenced in Germany and Switzerland. This will in some measure account for the rapidity with which the doctrines of the reformation spread through almost every part of Christendom. It is, however, greatly to be lamented that in many places no permanent record was made of the first planting of reformed churches. Those persons who were the instruments of propagating this blessed reformation, and who were capable of writing a correct history of events, were too much occupied with their more important labours to have leisure for things of this kind: and it is generally the fact, that men do not consider the importance of transmitting passing events by means of accurate records to posterity; so that often the witnesses of important transactions in the church and state pass off the stage before the importance of

preserving their testimony is felt. Hence it has been found very difficult to trace the progress of the reformation in several countries where it obtained an extended influence. This is especially true in respect to those nations in which, by the violence of persecution and the insidious arts of the Jesuits, the light of the reformed churches has been nearly extinguished. Dr. M'Crie, of Scotland, has laboured with some success in collecting facts, not commonly known, in regard to the progress of the reformation in Italy and Spain, where the truth was soon suppressed, and the professors of the true religion dispersed or murdered. But in regard to the progress of the reformation in the countries to the east of Germany, our accounts are still exceedingly meager. The history of the reformation in Poland and Bohemia is but little known among us; and as to Hungary, it seems to be scarcely known at all that the reformation ever extended so far to the east. We are not aware that any distinct account of the many churches planted in this rich country is to be met with in our language. At least we must confess our own ignorance of this part of ecclesiastical history, until a friend, not long since, put into our hands a volume written on this subject, by the learned Frederick Adolphus Lampe, whose praise is in all the reformed churches.

It appears from authentic documents, that in Hungary and Transylvania there were many who perceived, and groaned under the sad corruptions of the church, and earnestly desired a reformation both in the clergy and the people. Hence, within one year from the commencement of the reformation in Saxony, some rays of light were shed on this benighted region by means of a book, brought into the country by travelling merchants, in which the horrible crime of idolatry, and the punishment by which a just God pursued it, were set forth in forcible language. This had the effect of turning the minds of many people against the reigning system of popery. And it is distinctly recorded by some credible authors of that period, that in 1521 some of Luther's works were brought into Transylvania, and were read with avidity, so that by this means the eyes of many were opened. His tracts *on Christian Liberty—on Confession—on a Twofold Righteousness—on Penitence—on Baptism—on the Passion of Christ—on Monastic Vows—on Communion in both kinds—on the Babylonish Captivity—and his Exposition of the Epistle to the Galatians*, are specified as having been circulated in these regions.

In the years 1522, 1523, 1524, the evangelical doctrines made great progress in Upper Hungary, and also in Transylvania; and several popular preachers came forward and boldly denounced popery as an idolatrous system. Who these preachers were is not certainly known, but two of them were arrested and brought before the archbishop of Strigonia; and king Lewis issued several decrees against the innovators. In one of these we find the names of Ambrosius, and an abbot of the order of Preachers, who appear to have been leaders in the reformation now commenced.

It is recorded by Thomas Faber, who has written a narrative of the commencement of the reformation in Hungary, that five principal cities embraced the new religion, and that the ministers who were chiefly instrumental in bringing about the change were Simon Grynæus and Vitus Winshemius, who had their residence at Buda. But these learned and excellent reformers were soon banished from the country: Grynæus took up his abode at Basel, where he was chosen professor of philosophy, and Vitus was made professor of the Greek language at Wittenberg. From other sources of evidence it appears, that Grynæus was imprisoned before he was exiled, but was released by the intercession of certain noblemen of Hungary.

Sculdet moreover relates that the Lutheran doctrines were preached by one Antony in Transylvania, who was himself a native of the country; and says that he had seen a letter addressed by Luther to this man, in which he exhorts him to constancy, and urges upon him the importance of adhering firmly to the doctrine which he had received. In this letter he complains of John, a preacher of Cibinium, who had embraced the opinions of the Sacramentarians. Scultet also declares that he had seen many epistles of Luther and Melancthon addressed to the churches and to the nobility of Transylvania and Hungary, from which it is manifest that they were all strongly attached to the Saxon Confession. Indeed, it appears that Luther and Melancthon sent two distinguished men from Wittenberg to institute churches and schools in those regions. These missionaries were John Honter and Leonard Stockelius.

Grynæus, after he was settled at Basel, laboured sincerely to reconcile the Lutherans and Zuinglians; but it is known that in this controversy his own opinions coincided with those of Oecolampadius, Bucer, Calvin, &c., with whom he lived on terms of the most intimate friendship.

In the year 1526, the archbishop of Buda, with the whole body of the monks, endeavoured to obtain from king Lewis a decree, devoting to destruction all that professed the Lutheran heresy; and requesting that count Pemphlinger, who favoured the reformers, should be cut off also. But at this time a formidable army of Turks was pressing on the territory of the king; so that, although he issued severe laws against the Lutherans, yet he deferred their execution until he should return from the military expedition which now called for all his energies. He wrote, however, to the count, and promised him his royal favour if he would exert himself to extirpate this sect. The count, without doing any thing respecting religion, set off to see the king; but before he reached his camp, he heard the sad tidings of the total defeat of the king's forces by the Turks. Before the return of count Pemphlinger, the monks endeavoured to have the king's orders against the Protestants carried into effect; and urged the Cibiriansen senate to proceed against George, the preacher before mentioned, and to proscribe all of this sect. And they would have succeeded in their cruel purpose, had not the count opportunely returned, who shielded them from persecution, and took John into his own house that he might be secure from the rage and violence of the monks, who thirsted for his blood. The persecution determined on by the king was however prevented by the providence of God; for at the famous defeat of the Hungarian forces at Mohatz, he and all the flower of his nobility, and many dignified ecclesiastics were slain. The king and those around him sought refuge in a morass, where they were pursued and overtaken, and miserably slaughtered.

Count Pemphlinger, upon receiving the sad intelligence of the death of the king, went into Transylvania to consult about a successor. The monks, as soon as he was gone, again urged the magistrates of Cibinium to banish and proscribe George and his associates, and their efforts would not have proved ineffectual, had they not again been disappointed by the return of the count; for no sooner had he arrived than he again took this Silesian preacher under his protection and into his house; and permitted him publicly to exercise his ministry. The consequence was that the light of the gospel, by degrees, shone not only upon this town, but in many other places in that country.

In the mean time John was elected king of Hungary, who, that he might curry favour with the clergy and the monks,

thundered out his anathemas against the Lutherans, and commenced against them a violent persecution. This royal mandate was issued January 21, 1527. It appears, also, that the king was much displeased with the inhabitants of Cibinium, because he understood that they hung in doubt whether they would take part with him, or adhere to Ferdinand, his competitor. But these threatening measures produced very little effect in retarding the progress of the gospel; especially as king John, in a short time, was entirely overthrown by Ferdinand, and was obliged to fly into Poland, leaving Transylvania without a ruler, which was governed in his absence by Alexius Bethelenius.

The gospel now, for several successive years, made great progress in Hungary, so that a large part of the nobles, counts, and barons embraced the evangelical doctrine. Ferdinand, who had obtained undisturbed possession of the kingdom, was a person of great moderation, and sought rather to reconcile the contending religious parties than to exasperate them; and recommended that, prejudice aside, they should confer amicably with one another, and endeavour to come to some agreement. But the Papists would listen to no terms. They were resolved to treat with the Lutherans in no other way than by fire and sword; and insisted on the execution of the royal edicts which king John had promulged against them. But the Lutherans in Cibinium, having now become a large majority, began to retaliate upon their persecutors, and on the 18th of February 1529, published an edict, requiring all the monks, on pain of death, and all who followed their tenets, within three days, to leave the place, or renounce the Popish religion: and so unexpected was the success of this measure, that within the time prescribed, no one remained in the place who adhered to the monks.

In the year 1530 five free cities in Upper Hungary presented a confession of their faith to Ferdinand, king of Hungary and Bohemia.

There lived at this time a woman who was an eminent instrument of promoting the reformation both in Upper and Lower Hungary. This was Ann, the widow of Peter Jaxith. By her influence John Vitus, a man celebrated throughout Hungary, was made professor in the college at Patak. She also was instrumental in bringing forward and patronizing many other men of learning and worth. And as many of the young men of Hungary resorted to Wittenberg for education, she greatly aided the funds of that important institution.

That noble and eminent man, Caspar Dragfius, disregarding the wrath of the king and bishops, did, from the first, greatly promote the cause of the reformation in the towns over which his jurisdiction extended, using especially the instrumentality of those zealous preachers of evangelical doctrine, Devai, Batizi, and Dereskei, and furnished a safe asylum for such Protestants as were persecuted in other places.

At this time some success attended the efforts of evangelical men to introduce the gospel into Barcia, but the union of the Turks and Wallachians, and their sudden irruption into Transylvania, cut off all communication with this province. Hitherto the Lutherans only had gained an entrance into Hungary; but in 1531 the inhabitants of Patak erected a commodious house of worship for the reformed, and in the same year laid the foundation of a famous school or college in that place.

In the year 1532, king John having again got possession of Buda, the Romish clergy left no means untried to induce him to exert all his power to suppress the reformation. And Statelius, by favour of the king, having obtained the episcopal dignity in the city of Weissenburg, exercised unheard of cruelties towards all who frequented the meetings of the Lutherans, or received their books. This bishop was a Dalmatian by nation, and a sensual epicurean in his sentiments and habits of life. And that he might confirm the people in the Popish faith, he circulated the foulest slanders against the Lutherans, charging them with every species of wickedness. He inflicted an exemplary punishment on a certain priest who had said, in a public discourse, that the eating of flesh was a thing indifferent in itself, and not prohibited in the holy scriptures. For, having first reprov'd this preacher with much severity, he sent him to prison, where, by order of the bishop, he was committed to the public executioner to be scourged with rods from morning until the evening; and this was continued until the bishop could invent some more cruel mode of punishment. That to which he resorted was to have him dragged out of the prison by the lictors, and his body loaded with dead hares, geese, and other animals, and then to set the dogs on him to hunt him through the public streets of the city; until, being torn to pieces, he miserably perished; a sad spectacle to many, but a sport to the wicked. But the bishop did not long escape the deserved punishment of such cruelty; for, a few days after, being seized with re-

morse of conscience, he was soon reduced to insanity, and died a maniac on the 4th of November in this year.

One of the most distinguished preachers among the reformed was Matthias Devai, whose labours and influence were such in spreading evangelical doctrines, that he received the appellation of the *Hungarian Luther*. But this distinguished man entertained no bigoted attachment to the Saxon confession, for it is well known, that in regard to the dispute concerning the eucharist, he followed the creed of the Helvetic churches. But the fact was, that in the earlier stages of the reformation in Hungary, this matter was not disputed, and occasioned no division among evangelical men. They who held dissentient opinions willingly tolerated one another. How conspicuous Devai was in the commencement of the Hungarian reformation is abundantly attested by the annals and publications of those times. By his instrumentality that noble patron of the reformation, Caspar Dragfus, already mentioned, was brought over to embrace the gospel. His influence was not confined to one town, but his light shone around to a wide extent. He boldly preached the gospel at Buda, the former capital of the kingdom; and gained many proselytes, even from among the courtiers of king John. In consequence he was taken and cast into prison at Buda, from which he was delivered in a very extraordinary manner. And afterwards, while preaching the gospel in that part of the country which bordered on Austria, he was again seized and imprisoned in Vienna. Devai held a public disputation with a Franciscan monk, named Gregory Szegedinus, which was printed, and to which are added "an Apology for certain Doctrines, and a Summary of the Christian Religion." This work is dedicated to "Martin Luther, the apostle of Christ." The title of a dispute which Devai held with the bishop of Constance is "concerning the state of the souls of the blessed after this life, and before the day of judgment;" and also, "concerning the principal doctrines of the Christian religion:" to which is added "notes of his examination while in prison by Faber." The articles on account of which he was condemned by Faber, were twenty-seven in number, and were the common doctrines of the reformed.

It is a remarkable parallelism in the events of the life of Devai, that he was imprisoned by both the kings of Hungary, John and Ferdinand; by the first at Buda, and by the last at Vienna. That in each place he had a conference with a man called Faber, but with very different results. When in the

prison of Buda, the smith of the king, who had injured the king's horse in shooing him, was confined in the same apartment. This man was converted in the prison by the instructions of Devai, and most cordially embraced the gospel. The king's horse having quickly recovered from the injury, orders were given to release the smith (Faber), and to retain Devai in confinement to be burnt. The smith declared himself to be of the same opinion with Devai, and that he was ready to suffer with him for the gospel. Upon this the king, to the surprise of every one, gave orders that both of them should be released unconditionally.

After a long contest for the kingdom of Hungary, the two competitors, John and Ferdinand, at length made a compromise. The agreement was that John should retain the kingdom during his life, and that upon his decease, Ferdinand, if he survived him, should take possession. After this compact was formed, there was peace in the country until the death of John, which occurred in the year 1540, when he was carried off by a fever. During these years he abstained from persecuting the Protestants, either because he was desirous of quiet, or because the disturbed state of affairs in Transylvania occupied his attention. In this interval of peace, the reformation struck its roots deep in Hungary, and was widely extended by the evangelical labours of many eminent men. Among these none holds a more distinguished place than John Honter, a native of Corona, in Transylvania. This man was, at the same time, a rhetorician, a philosopher, and celebrated mathematician. His elementary education was obtained at Cracow, in Poland, but he went afterwards to Basel, to which place he was attracted by the fame of Reuchlin and other eminent professors at that university. Having finished his education, he returned to his own country, in the year 1533, where he applied himself vigorously to the promotion of the reformation which had there been begun. To promote this object, he introduced, at his own expense, the typographical art, and hired skilful printers, by whose instrumentality he published, in the vernacular tongue, a number of valuable works, suited to enlighten the minds and soften the dispositions of his countrymen. And, by degrees, he became more bold, and ventured to edit several of the writings of Luther; particularly "the Augsburg Confession." He also published a number of small works containing evangelical doctrine, by means of which the reformation was rapidly extended; for, before his time, no books of this kind

were circulated in Hungary, but a few brought from Germany, and procured at a very high price.

The senate of Cronstat was so impressed with the talents and worth of Honter, that they committed the whole business of religion into his hands: and he having associated with himself Matthias Calvin, a man distinguished for his courage and for his knowledge of the reformed doctrines; and excelling in the faculty of extemporaneous speaking; by whose aid he exerted all his influence to expel Popery from his native city. He also had the co-operation of Valentine Wagner, a man distinguished for his knowledge of the Greek language, and John Fuchsius, the chief magistrate of Cronstat, a man estimable for his integrity of life and purity of morals. A book, in which the true principles of the doctrines of the reformation were set forth, was published, and all were encouraged to read it. A most desirable success attended these efforts, so that in a short time, the whole province of Barcia was brought over to embrace the Lutheran doctrines; and in the year 1542, private masses were abolished, and the communion was administered to the people in both kinds.

After the death of king John, his widow refused to give up the kingdom of Hungary to Ferdinand, agreeably to the compact entered into with him by her husband. Upon which Ferdinand attempted to gain possession by force; but this ambitious woman had the imprudence to apply to Solyman, the grand Seignior, for assistance. This tyrant was well pleased with the opportunity of introducing an army into Hungary. He marched against the forces of Ferdinand, and defeated them entirely. But the widow of John reaped the just reward of her temerity; for, instead of putting her in possession of the kingdom, the Turks held it themselves, and she was obliged to seek her own safety by retiring into Transylvania, where she not a little obstructed the progress of evangelical doctrine.

In the year 1543, by the instigation of Martinusius, a general convention was called to meet at Clausenburg, to consult about the affairs of the kingdom of Transylvania, and also to take measures to settle upon a right footing the business of religion. John Honter, and other leading reformers of Corona, were summoned to attend this convention. And great fears were entertained by many that the design was to proceed against them, and bring them to the stake, as had been done in the case of George Varadinus. It was therefore determined that John Honter should be left at home, and that,

in his place, John Fuchsius, accompanied by a judge and two senators, and Matthias Calvin, should attend, relying on the protection of God. And that with these, Jeremiah Jokelius and Nicholas Stephens, pastors of the reformed churches of Cronstat, should also be commissioned to render an account of the grounds and reasons of the reformed religion; and to intercede with the queen for liberty to enjoy its public exercise. When all had convened, Martinusius, in order that he might give evidence of the sincerity of his attachment to the faith of Rome, and maintain the authority of that ecclesiastical court, demanded that the Lutheran doctors should be led forth to be burned at the stake; but several of the most distinguished councillors of the queen opposed this motion, and declared, that before any thing was done, or any punishment inflicted, a conference should be held between the parties. In this conference the Lutheran doctors made their appeal entirely to the holy scriptures, from the testimonies of which they demonstrated the truth of their doctrines; while their adversaries had recourse to the fathers, to councils, and to traditions, and endeavoured to expose the scriptural arguments to reproach. The night after these transactions, the Lutherans were called in, and by promises and threats, were earnestly solicited to embrace the Popish religion. But their stability could not be shaken. They declared that it was their fixed purpose to hold fast the truth which they had confessed. Martinusius still urged that these men should be treated as heretics, and would have prevailed, had it not been for the opposition of the councillors, before mentioned, who advised them to return to their own places. Thus, while an opportunity was afforded to expose the futile arguments of the defenders of Popery, and to exhibit the pure doctrines of the reformation, under the guardianship of God, they were permitted to return to Corona uninjured. But the effect of this conference on the minds of the nobles who were present, was favourable to the cause of the reformation; for not a few of them were convinced that the dogmas of the Papists were trifling and without evidence, and they could not but see that the Lutheran religion was sustained by the undoubted testimonies of scripture. The success of the reformation in this region now far exceeded the expectations of most. Several learned men renounced the Popish religion and joined themselves to the reformers. Among these was Ægidius, who, with an extraordinary candour, as soon as he became acquainted with the doctrines of a purer reli-

gion, with the utmost zeal and diligence proceeded to instil them into the minds of his hearers. But it would be tedious to name all who were active in promoting the reformation during this period; and Martinusius was under the necessity of being a witness of the progress of that cause which he hated, but was unable to obstruct. In the year 1545, the whole country around Corona had come over to the reformed religion. And as many Greeks visited Corona, and often took up their residence there, Wagner undertook to prepare a catechism, in the Greek language, for their use, containing a concise summary of the doctrines of the reformation. When this was printed and published, it called forth the highest expressions of approbation from the favourers of the reformation in Germany, and particularly from the professors at Wittenberg.

In the year 1545 several synods were convened in Hungary, at one of which it was agreed by the reformers to adopt entire the Augsburg Confession, and to use the ceremonies as practised in Saxony. But the other synod which met this year, consisting of twenty-nine reformed pastors, judged it expedient to draw up a confession of their own faith, which was comprehended in twelve articles.

Martinusius was exceedingly chagrined to observe the rapid progress of the Protestant religion in Hungary and Transylvania; and especially to see that synods were called and transacted their business openly without fear. This state of things was owing to the patronage afforded to the reformers by several of the most powerful among the nobles; the chief of whom was Urban Batjani, who disconcerted and rendered ineffectual all the hostile designs of the monks. This man was of one of the most ancient and honourable families of the race of the Huns, who was respected for his incorruptible integrity, his solid learning, and his unshaken loyalty to the queen. But as he stood very much in the way of the wicked designs of the monks, it was resolved to take him off by poison, which one of his own domestics was hired to administer. And this wicked act was followed up by the persecution of several of the reformed pastors. This persecution was especially directed against some excellent ministers who had translated several books of the holy scriptures into the vernacular tongue of Hungary.

In the year 1549, this unhappy country fell under the government of Ferdinand again, who had now become emperor. Although he was disposed to gratify the monks, and connived

at their persecution of the evangelical ministers, yet he was also much influenced by the nobles of the country, who took pains to soothe his mind, and thus he was led to pursue a course somewhat moderate towards the Protestants.

In this year a large synod of reformed pastors convened at Thorn, where they agreed upon thirteen articles of religion. But although this synod was numerously attended, it remains uncertain where they met; for there were several towns very similar in their names. Lampe has bestowed more attention on this point than to us it seems to deserve. After a learned discussion, he comes to the conclusion that the place called Torna, in the records of the times, was no other than Temesvar, where the famous reformer Szegedinus was pastor. The following year it seems another synod met at the same place, in which rules were adopted to regulate the bishops or superintendents in the visitation of the churches.

As we have given the character of two eminent reformers in Hungary, Matthias Devai and John Honter, it will now be proper to give some account of a third, Stephen Szegedinus, whose name has been just mentioned. This man was an eminent promoter of the pure doctrines of the gospel, and deserves to be particularly commemorated for maintaining a sound doctrine respecting the sacrament of the Lord's supper. The celebrated Hulderick speaks of him in the following terms: "Should I not grieve for the departure of that venerable old man, Szegedinus, worthy of the apostolic age? Such was the piety, the gravity, and the prudence of this man, in the administration of ecclesiastical affairs, that he was exceedingly profitable to the great Luther and holy Melancthon when he lived with them, in the management of the most important concerns. When I was a boy, he was the second person who pointed out the corruptions prevalent in regard to the sacred supper, and by his influence almost entirely removed it from the churches in this land. His skill in divine things was equal to his polish in human literature. I have often heard my revered preceptor, Paul Thuxius, call him 'another Cicero.' From the school over which he presided issued almost as many champions as from the Trojan horse, whose influence and labours in our churches have been most salutary. But, alas, the churches, thirty-four in number, over which he was superintendent, were desolated by the invasion of the barbarous Turks; and he was cast into prison, whence, after remaining two years, he was redeemed by the payment of a great sum by the churches." Queensted,

in his account of illustrious men, mentions Szegedinus, and says, that he derived his name from his country, and was a zealous defender of Christianity against the Arians, Mohammedans, and other pernicious sectaries, but was addicted to the Calvinian party."

Although the first Protestant churches in Hungary were constituted on the Saxon platform and adopted the Augsburg Confession, yet from the middle of the century, the Helvetic or Geneva creed obtained many followers, and had increasing prevalence in the kingdom of Hungary. This appears very evident from the letters of John Reyerthoy, secretary to the chancellor of Hungary, in the year 1551, addressed to the celebrated Bullinger, which Hulderick has preserved. A specimen from one of these is as follows: "Although you are unknown to me by face, yet by your writings, and the spirit which breathes in them, you seem to be perfectly known; for whenever I peruse your writings (which I do, day and night, to discipline my mind to the standard of the Christian religion), I seem to myself to be conversing with you. For, all flattery aside, to your learned writings, above those of other authors, this our Hungarian nation, so oppressed by the worship of idols and by the tyranny of the Turks, has been reformed from innumerable superstitions, and recalled to the true rule of the Christian religion. For this blessed reformation we feel ourselves, under God, more indebted to you than to any other person. By this means the pious have been confirmed in sound doctrine which they had not before heard, not only in these parts of Hungary now under the power of the Turks, but even in Thrace, and as far as Constantinople, the pure gospel is preached, and the afflicted hearts of dispersed Christians have been filled with consolation; which thing seems to afford some indication of the fulfilment of Christ's prediction, that in the last days his gospel should be preached throughout the whole world. Therefore, in the name of the Hungarian churches, I give you thanks for the rich benefits conferred upon us by your writings; and if the distance which separates us was not so great, you should understand, in some degree, the warmth of our gratitude towards you."

The same thing is evident from the letters of other distinguished men in Hungary, addressed also to Henry Bullinger. An extract from one of these is as follows: "The gospel is preached every where, through the whole of Hungary, not however without opposition from the Popish priests and

bishops; but in Turkey the truth is permitted to be freely published. In Transylvania there are pious and learned men, skilled in the tongues, who have prepared and circulated catechisms among the Greeks, Thracians, and Lithuanians, in their own languages. And it is said, that in Turkey, many Turks mingle in the assemblies of Christians, and hear their discourses; whence it may be readily conjectured, that unless they are speedily destroyed, they will in a short time embrace the Christian faith. And it is a thing surprising, and worthy of particular observation, that in the numerous controversies which take place between the reformed pastors and the Papists, in the presence of the Turkish prefects and courts, their judgment is always given in favour of our cause. The enclosed letter from Michael Starinus, who has been a preacher of the word of God in the town of Lazko, which, for fifteen years, has been in the possession of the Turks, will furnish you with an interesting account of the preservation of the Christian church under Turkish tyranny.”

The letter referred to is as follows: “Seven years have now elapsed since, by the will of the supreme and infinite God, I have lived under the dominion of the Turks, in Lower Baronia, where I have not only been the first, but the sole minister of the word in the town of Lazko, which is about one Hungarian mile from Ezek. Here I commenced preaching the gospel, and with the aid of some brethren, who afterwards entered into these fields white for the harvest, by the influence of the Holy Spirit, I built up one hundred and twenty churches, on both sides of the Danube and of the Drave. In all these the pure word of God has been preached, and most cordially and unanimously received; so that many who have seen these churches have declared, that they have never observed any churches better instructed, even among those who have enjoyed the gospel for more than thirty years. For this blessed work we attribute no praise to ourselves; but ascribe the whole to the power of God. ‘It is the Lord’s doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes,’ that the stone Christ rejected not only by the Hungarians, but by all nations, should thus be constituted the *head* of this part of Hungary, groaning as it is under Turkish oppression, and destitute of all help from other nations. Our thanks are due to God, who, in the midst of our servitude, has granted us liberty, and for our degradation hath bestowed upon us nobility, and while suffering under the conquest of our enemies, has given us the victory over death and hell. For when in this world

we are judged and corrected of the Lord, it is that we may not be condemned with the world. As David sings, 'It is good for me that I have been afflicted, that I might learn thy statutes.'

"It would be tedious, my very dear Nicholas, to tell you of all the severe conflicts which for seven years we have had with the Popish priests, whilst we have been preaching the word of God. Let it suffice to say, that every where we have come off victorious in these contests, and have succeeded in driving them as wolves from the sheepfold of Christ. Some of them have taken refuge beyond the river Titius; others beyond the Save, and some even among the Sarmatians, beyond the snowy Caucasus. In this very year, at the meeting of our synod at Vulcovar, during the feast of the Passover, we overcame them in two battles; and some of them were driven, through fear, to hide themselves in a large basket, on which, to conceal them, three women took their seats. This circumstance gave rise to a Hungarian proverb. *Popge pad coriton pad Troyam senom.*"

The extraordinary success of Michael Starinus in that part of Hungary called Lower Baronia, is fully attested by the ecclesiastical historians of that time. It is stated that in a short time many of the priests and monks renounced Popery, and resigned their parishes into the hands of Starinus.

Another distinguished Hungarian reformer deserves especially to be mentioned and remembered, because he suffered martyrdom, attesting the truth which he preached with his own blood. This was Basilius Radan.

In the year 1552, a synod was held, in which an article concerning the Lord's supper, agreed upon at the former synod, was enlarged and strengthened. This was judged expedient because there were still some pastors who held the doctrine of consubstantiation. A second article related to auricular confession, which was condemned; and public confessions sanctioned. In the third place, the subject of altars in churches was discussed, and it was determined that where they had already been removed from the churches they should not be restored; but where they existed they might remain, and be used as a table for the administration of the sacred supper.

A fourth subject which engaged the attention of this synod was the support of pastors; especially where there were no patrons, and the people few.

The flourishing state of the Hungarian churches, about the

middle of the sixteenth century, may be learned from letters to Edward VI. from the celebrated Martin Bucer, and Paul Fagius, which have been preserved by Thuanus in his history. In a letter of Bucer, dated 1549, he writes as follows: "In Hungary, glory be to God, there now exists not a small number of churches, which, together with the pure doctrine of Christ, have also received a sound system of discipline, which they religiously observe. May our king Christ bring it about, that very many may follow the example of these churches."

Szegedinus, of whom we have already spoken, having been driven from his home, went ultimately to Torna, where he greatly aided that eminent man Michael Starinus, both by his counsels and his labours.

Unpleasant disputes, about 1554, arose in Hungary, between the Lutherans and Calvinists, respecting the Lord's supper. We have mentioned one synod in which the Helvetic doctrine was avowed; we will now mention, that a synod was convened in a town called Ovarinum, consisting of eighty-nine pastors, in which Hanerus asserts that the Lutheran doctrine was confirmed; but Lampe says, that the acts of this synod are lost, and does not admit the correctness of the above statement; because the church of Ovarinum favoured the reformed doctrine, and it was situated within the jurisdiction of Drafgius, who was an eminent patron of the Calvinistic pastors.

The first who enkindled the flames of contention between these two bodies of Protestants was Francis Stancar, who, in 1553, began to disturb the churches of Hungary; but his designs being detected and frustrated, he went to Transylvania, where he propagated his impious doctrine, that Christ was mediator in his human nature only, and that the divine nature contributed nothing to the mediatorial office. And, moreover, that Christ had become our justifying righteousness, in his human nature alone, and not at all in his divine nature. In opposition to this erroneous opinion of Stancar, a confession was drawn up by Caspar Heltus, and adopted at Claudiopolis. This turbulent man happening to agree with the reformed on the subject of the sacred supper, and having manifested an intemperate zeal in its defence, his erroneous opinions on the points before mentioned were attributed to them also, but most unjustly; for they were opposed and refuted by none with more earnestness and ability than by Calvin and his followers. And how little he cared for any

of the reformers, and especially for Calvin, may be learned from his famous declaration, "that Peter Lombard, alone, was worth a hundred Luthers, two hundred Melancthons, three hundred Bullingers, four hundred Martyrs, and five hundred Calvins." Ferdinand, the emperor, who was also king of Hungary, in the year 1555, granted the free exercise of religion to five cities of Upper Hungary, namely Cassovia, Bartpha, Epperjessium, Leutschovia and Cibinium. This religious liberty was exceedingly favourable to the progress of the reformed religion in all that region.

The following year (1556) is principally famous for the irruption of the Anabaptists into Hungary. Having been expelled from Germany, multitudes of this fanatical sect came into this country, and as every where else, created much confusion. As early as 1549, a decree had been passed by the royal diet at Posnia against these deluded people; which decree was now renewed in 1556. By this it was provided, that all Anabaptists should, within the space of four weeks, be ejected from the country; an exception, however, was made in favour of some mechanics in the employ of the nobles.

The reformation in some towns of Hungary was universal, and included all the inhabitants, of all ranks. This was especially the fact in regard to Huztinum. The gospel was first preached here by Thomas Hustinas, who was settled in another part of the country, but coming to this place to visit his parents, he lost no opportunity of preaching to the people the pure doctrines of the reformation. Often he taught the people in assemblies convened in private houses, and in the night. But by the wrath of the monks he was expelled from the place; yet he did not desist from his efforts, but in several neighbouring towns he faithfully proclaimed the gospel, and not without fruit. This preacher was attached to the Lutheran church; but in 1556, this place was visited by a reformed minister by the name of Paulus, who instructed the people in the tenets of the reformed church, to which they afterwards firmly adhered.

About the year 1557 or 1558 a synod met at Tzengerina, which is famous in the ecclesiastical history of Hungary, on account of a confession of faith agreed upon, consisting of 92 articles, which was published at Geneva in 1612, in the *Collection of Confessions*, and by this means was widely extended, and read by many nations; and may still be seen by those who are curious to know precisely what was believed by the Hungarian churches.

The controversy which had arisen between the Lutherans and reformed, about this time became very hot; so that a synod was held at Claudiopilis, for the purpose of censuring some of the most eminent of the reformed ministers, who were now stigmatized by the name of *Sacramentarians*. Martin Kalmanshi, a leader among the reformed, was expected to attend at this synod, to dispute with the Lutheran doctors; but his attendance was prevented by indisposition. His adversaries asserted that his sickness was feigned, and proceeded to condemn him being absent; and then drew up a confession respecting the sacred supper in conformity with the doctrine of Wittenberg, and all the pastors in Transylvania were required to receive this doctrine, and to avoid all innovations.

The breach between the Lutherans and Calvinists grew wider every day. At a synod which convened at Cibinium, severe measures were taken against those who refused to accede to the Saxon formularies and ceremonies. One of the articles agreed upon was, "That all the errors of the Nestorians, Sacramentarians, of Wickliff, of Berengarius, of Carolstadt, of Zuingle, of Oecolampadius, of Calvin, &c. are condemned."

It was also decreed, that the form of absolution in the sacraments, observed at Wittenberg, should be preserved, and that the priest in administering it should be clothed in a white surplice, in imitation of the primitive church, and of the angels standing before the throne of the lamb, who are thus habited.

It was also determined in this synod, that private absolution should be retained, that while fabulous paintings should be removed from the churches, the historical should remain. And that the ceremonies and festivals of the Saxon churches should be observed.

But we cannot give a better view of the Hungarian churches at this time, than by laying before the reader, a letter of Gallus Hussar to Henry Bullinger.

"Excellent Pastor—I have many things which I could wish to say to you, both relating to myself and the public; but I must be content to confine my epistle to the state of the church of Christ in these regions, which he hath purchased with his own blood. You are not ignorant how greatly our churches have been afflicted for many years, in this most unhappy kingdom. He who can look upon the disconsolate face of our ecclesiastical affairs, and not be moved to groans and tears must have a heart of iron. For a long time the Turks

have had possession of Buda our metropolis, whence they send out marauding parties into every corner of the land, who lay waste and depopulate the country. A great multitude of virgins, boys, wives, &c. are driven away like cattle to be sold into vile and perpetual slavery. It is heart-rending to witness the miserable parents deprived of their dearly beloved offspring, who are forcibly carried into foreign countries, where they can never hope to see their faces again. And the most chaste virgins and matrons are given up into the hands of ruthless and cruel soldiers. How distressing to see such persons bound round the neck with chains, or cords; brought to the slave-market (called in Turkish *hardey*), and there led about and offered for sale! On which occasions, these delicate females are subjected to the most mortifying examinations and exposures; for the barbarous and unfeeling buyers will not be satisfied without denuding almost every part of the body, to see whether there is any thing faulty in the persons exposed to sale. These things cannot but be horrible to the contemplation of pious minds. And this is not all, for many are wantonly butchered by their cruel tyrants. But our troubles do not proceed alone from the Turks. The Roman antichrist rages against the pure doctrines and faithful ministers of the gospel; especially, in those places which have not fallen under the dominion of the Turk. For strange as it may appear—and undoubtedly it has been so ordered by providence in favour of his church—the Turks have exercised kindness towards our ministers, and oppose no obstacle in the way of their pastoral labours. Indeed, we often see troops of them coming to our religious assemblies, who listen attentively to the sermon preached; but as soon as they see a preparation for the celebration of the Lord's supper, they depart. But the treatment which our ministers experience from the dignitaries of the papal church is far different; of which you will be convinced when I relate to you a single fact. Nicholas Walchius, archbishop of Strigonia, and high chancellor of Ferdinand in Hungary, cast into prison three ministers of the churches of Posen. Two of these, to obtain their release, publicly from the pulpit abjured the doctrines of the reformation. The third continued firm to his principles, and was retained in prison. But mark the result. One of those who had renounced his faith, when he returned home was preparing to celebrate his nuptials with a virtuous young woman, to whom he had been espoused, be-

fore his imprisonment: but in less than a week after his release and abjuration he was so filled with remorse that he fell sick and died in the most miserable agony, but refusing to open his mouth to speak any thing. The other appeared like one deprived of reason, stupidly wandered about through towns and villages; and continues the same vagrant life unto this time. I mention these facts that your church, which feels solicitude for us, may by their assiduous prayers obtain for our afflicted and persecuted churches a more prosperous state. But one end of my writing is to obtain from you an opinion respecting some cases of discipline which have arisen out of the peculiar condition of our churches. It has frequently occurred, that during the devastation of our country and captivity of our people, husbands and wives have been torn asunder. The wife, for example, has been carried away into some distant land and sold as a slave, while the husband, utterly ignorant of her place, or whether she is dead or alive, is left among us. In these circumstances it has not been judged wrong for him, after waiting a reasonable time, to marry again. This has often been done, and children have been the fruit of this second marriage. But in several instances, the captive wife after years of exile has by some means obtained her liberty and returned home. Here then is the difficulty. Which of the two is the lawful wife of the husband? In some instances, the man has preferred his first wife and has relinquished the second; but the reverse has happened in other instances; for having had children by the second, and not by the first, his affections have cleaved to the mother of his children. And some have assigned as a reason for adhering to the second in preference of the first, that females under the power of arbitrary lords, are subject to defilement, and therefore they were unwilling to receive such to their bed and bosom. We know, indeed, what the canon determines in such cases: but this has not proved adequate to satisfy our consciences in a case of so much perplexity. The church of Christ has never given countenance to bigamy, and we are exceedingly perplexed to know what judgment to form in a case of so doubtful a nature; and would be much gratified, if you could convene a synod composed of the most judicious theologians in your vicinity, and let our churches know their views of duty in relation to this vexed subject. We confide this whole matter to your pious zeal and sound discretion; believing that you feel so deep an in-

terest in the good order and purity of our churches, that you will omit nothing which will have a tendency to promote these objects.

“Another subject on which I wish to communicate with you, is the state of our churches in Hungary as it relates to rites and ceremonies in conducting divine worship. Any one may readily conjecture that, in the perturbed state of our affairs, confusion must have arisen. This is the fact; so that in regard to these matters, it may be said, that every one has done what appeared right in his own eyes. And although, throughout Hungary, the churches are harmonious in receiving the same confession of faith—for the Romish tyranny is nearly extinct among us—yet in the mode of administering the sacraments, and conducting divine worship, there is much disparity, and this has had a tendency to diminish a respect for the ministry among the common people. In our doctrinal opinions we are generally disposed to be followers of yourself, and John Calvin, as in your writings you have exhibited your views. What we seem to want is, a catechism which shall prescribe some uniform mode of conducting the singing, prayers, administration of the Lord’s supper, baptism, confirmation, and the solemnization of marriage. A directory for public worship, drawn up by some pious and judicious theologian, would undoubtedly prove a great blessing to our churches. And such a work, coming from your pen, would have great weight among us, since your writings are so universally acceptable, that if you should prepare for us a catechism of the kind mentioned, no one, it may be presumed, would any longer follow his own crude conceptions, so as to disturb the uniformity of worship by using ceremonies different from those commonly in use in the churches.

“As you probably have influence with Philip Melancthon, it would certainly be expedient to exhort him openly and candidly, to declare his opinion respecting the sacrament of the eucharist; for his dissimulation on this point, has brought not a small evil on the church of Christ.

“Other things I would wish to write, but for further particulars I must refer you to Henry Bullinger, jr., your son, a young man of excellent talents and disposition, who will verbally communicate many things from me. Whatever you may be pleased to write in answer, let it be addressed to the care of Raphaël Hofhatter, printer in Vienna, who will have it conveyed to me.

“The brethren of our churches salute you, and beg an inte-

rest in your prayers. Farewell, and excuse the inelegance of my style."

Stancar continued to give new evidence of his turbulent spirit. This year (1558) he addressed letters to the widow of the late king, and to the nobles of Transylvania, urging upon them the duty of extirpating heretics from the land by the sword; and specially named Caspar Heltus, Francis Davidis, and Matthias Gebler, who, he said, had declared war against the Son of God and the Holy Spirit. He insisted that God had given it in charge to all kings and princes, and, indeed, to all men, to defend his truth according to the testimony of the holy scriptures; and that when heretics were convicted, they ought to be cut off by the sword. It was, he alleged, a matter of divine right, and fully established by the canon law, that all heretics should be burnt; and that the civil law required and demanded that their goods should be confiscated, and the proceeds placed in the public treasury.

The calumnies of this man were so loudly and constantly vociferated, that an apology or defence of the clergy of Transylvania was drawn up by order of a synod convened at Claudiopolis, in which the proceedings of the conference with Stancar, held the preceding year, were recited: and it was shown, that the ministers of the churches taught in strict accordance with the prophetic and apostolic doctrine; and a modest refutation of his calumnies was annexed.

In this year Philip Melancthon transmitted to the churches of Transylvania, a writing, containing his views of the controversy respecting the supper of our Lord. And the synod of Torda, after passing some resolutions against Stancar, proceeded to censure all who with Kalmanshius, denied the true, real, and substantial presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Lord's supper. This controversy was now carried on with increasing zeal; so that in 1559, a public disputation was held in the city of Medias, between the adherents of the respective confessions of Saxony and Switzerland. The disputants on the part of the Lutherans were Matthias Hebler, superintendent of the churches of Transylvania, and Dyonysius Milius; and on the part of the Calvinists, Caspar Heltus and Francis Davidis. As is usual in such cases, both parties claimed the victory. Another meeting was convened at the same place in the beginning of the year 1560, by prince John, the son of queen Isabella, who was now dead. He brought the parties together, to see if some plan of concord could not be agreed upon. The result was the reverse of his hopes and

wishes: for after many day's discussion, when the Calvinistic ministers continued firmly to adhere to their former opinions, they were cast out by the majority of the synod who adhered to Luther's opinion respecting the sacrament. About this time the churches of Hungary were also disturbed with a dispute respecting the deep and mysterious doctrine of predestination. A synod was held on this account, in 1561, in Transylvania, at which Stephen Kopatz, a distinguished leader among the reformed presided, and by whose wise councils and conciliatory measures, peace was restored, after the contending parties had frequently met in mutual conference, and fully explained their respective views. In the year 1562, a remarkable event occurred in the city and valley of Agrina. The whole garrison, consisting of cavalry and infantry, and all the inhabitants of every rank, entered into a solemn oath to keep the covenant of God. This is the only fact in ecclesiastical history which has a near resemblance to the solemn covenanting which afterwards took place in Scotland and England. A Catholic confession of faith was also agreed upon at this time, to be presented to Ferdinand I., and to his son Maximilian II. This confession comprehended the principal articles of the Christian religion, and was subscribed by all the nobles, by the whole army stationed in that region, and by all the inhabitants. The churches of the city of Debrecin and the surrounding country, also subscribed this confession. This extraordinary zeal for reformation was very much owing to the preaching and influence of one man, Valentinus Hellowpœus Sziskai, pastor of the reformed church of Agrina for seven years, but afterwards translated to the city of Debrecin. By numerous small works intended to explain and inculcate the pure doctrines of the reformation, he became very much celebrated among the reformed churches in Hungary. He was a very dear friend of Theodore Beza, minister of Geneva.

The above solemn covenanting transaction was by the monks so misrepresented to Ferdinand, that he was led to believe that the reformed had entered into a conspiracy against his authority: whereupon he sent commissioners into Hungary to denounce against these peaceable churches his heavy displeasure. But these pious and intrepid men soon explained their proceedings so as to purge themselves from all suspicion of entertaining any treasonable designs against the government. The paper which they drew up and presented to the emperor's commissioners is still preserved, and

may be seen in Lampe. From this time the doctrines of the reformed, according to the Helvetic confession, made rapid progress, both in Hungary and Transylvania.

In the year 1564, Maxamilian II. who now reigned over Hungary, granted the free exercise of the Protestant religion, according to the confession of Augsburg, to the people of the mining districts in the mountains. In this year also a general synod was convened at Enjedinum, a town of Transylvania, to which king John II. sent the famous George Blandrata, with full authority to act in his name, and to put the synod in mind of the importance of choosing a superintendent from the Saxon, and another from the Hungarian nation; and also to admonish them to adopt some measures of peace and reconciliation respecting the sacred supper. The letter which king John addressed to the synod is also preserved by Lampe in his *History of the Hungarian Churches* (p. 123), and is weighty in its sentiments and conciliatory in its spirit. He represents strongly the evils to the churches from perpetual controversy; urges the appointment of a superintendent for each party for the purpose of preventing these disgraceful altercations.

It is recorded by the historians of that time, that pope Pius V. granted to the Catholics of Hungary and Transylvania permission to receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper in both kinds.

In the year 1566, a copy of the Geneva Confession of Faith was sent by Theodore Beza into Hungary, which was immediately adopted and subscribed by almost all the reformed churches in Hungary, on this side the river Theiss (Tibescus). In two synods this confession was approved, and it was enjoined upon the ministers "to study this formulary with care, and to make themselves well acquainted with it; not because it was the work of Theodore Beza, but because it was accordant with the sacred scriptures."

It may be proper here to remark, that the Helvetic Confession, drawn up by Bullinger, Myconius, and Grynæus, and then transmitted for approbation to Capito and Bucer at Strasburg, and also to the professors at Wittenberg, in the year 1566, for important reasons, underwent a revision, and was much enlarged, and many things more accurately explained. This confession, thus amended, was subscribed by all the ministers of Switzerland and Geneva; and the same was approved by the churches of England, of Scotland, of Belgium, of Poland, and also of Hungary. It was also ap-

proved by many churches in Germany. All which is evident from the preface to the "Collection of Confessions." It was reprinted at Debretzin, in Hungary, with some additional articles, and presented to king John II. in 1567. Henceforward this became the uniform and established confession of the Hungarian churches, and continued to be subscribed by all the reformed ministers, without exception.

At first, the Hungarian churches used the catechism composed by John Calvin. Afterwards, several eminent men composed brief catechisms in the Hungarian idiom, which were much approved, and were very useful. But when, in 1563, the Heidelberg or Palatinate catechism came into Hungary, which had been composed by Ursinus and Olivian, ministers of Heidelberg, it was received into common use, as soon as it was translated into the language of the country. Indeed, no catechism has been so widely diffused as this. It was adopted by all the reformed churches in Germany, Holland, Switzerland, &c., and has been translated into Belgic, English, Saxon, French, Italian, Bohemian, Slavonic, Greek, and even into Hebrew. Although the Heidelberg catechism was now universally adopted by the reformed churches of Hungary, it was not the only one in use; two smaller works, adapted to children of a tender age, were also extensively used. From the above statement it will be evident that the reformed churches in Hungary were, in doctrine, in perfect agreement with the reformed churches in Germany, Switzerland, Geneva, Holland—and, indeed, throughout the world the reformed churches held and professed the very same doctrines, at this period.

A greater affliction befel the reformed churches of Hungary now, than any external oppression of either Turks or Papists. This was the declension of some leading men into Arian and Sabellian errors. George Blandrata, who had manifested his partiality for anti-trinitarian errors while resident in Geneva, was now the leader in the propagation of heresy. And having ingratiated himself fully into the favour of the young king of Transylvania, John II., to whom he was appointed physician, he acquired an unbounded influence in Transylvania, both in civil and ecclesiastical affairs. The other person who disturbed the churches by avowing heretical opinions respecting the sacred Trinity, was Francis Davidis, pastor of the church at Clausenburg. In the years 1566, 1567, and 1568, frequent synods were convened to

consider, and to endeavour to suppress these dangerous opinions. Lucas Agriensis also, gave much trouble to the churches, by his impious and heretical opinions, which he defended with obstinacy. The synod of Gontz met January 22, 1566, and agreed upon twenty-two articles relating to doctrine and discipline. They also addressed a pastoral letter to the churches containing much good and seasonable advice. The opinions of Lucas Agriensis, adverse to the divinity of Christ, were considered and refuted in this synod. Caspar Karoli exhibited an able answer to the thesis of Lucas, to which he returned an answer in writing, both of which are preserved by Prof. Lampe. In March of the same year, a synod met in Transylvania, to consider the hold errors propagated by Blandrata and Davidis. This synod also drew up a number of articles relative to the doctrine of the Trinity, which were widely circulated. But these heretics had long been concocting their errors, and secretly poisoning the minds of many, and the decrees of the synod had little effect on them. Besides these synodical meetings, others for disputation were instituted, where the advocates of the opposing opinions discussed this mysterious subject for many successive days. One of these was held at Weissenburg in 1568, where the disputation lasted ten days. The principal opposer of the orthodox doctrine was Francis Davidis, who, however, had George Blandrata at his right hand. This meeting took place in one of the rooms of the palace, and the king was present through the whole, and also the principal nobility of the country. The synod met this year at Szeksovia and adopted twenty-four orthodox articles.

Another synod met at Cassovia, where the errors of Lucas Agriensis again were brought under consideration, and twenty-seven articles were agreed upon in opposition to these errors; but the result was as before, he published an answer to the articles of the synod, and persisted in his errors. To this paper a replication was made in behalf of the synod; and they published also a confession of their faith in regard to this fundamental article of religion.

The number of ministers who subscribed the orthodox confession of the synod of Cassovia, against the errors of Lucas Agriensis and Francis Davidis, was forty-five. Lampe has preserved their names, and not only the articles agreed upon by the synod, but the answers of the persons accused, and the replication of the synod to these answers. This may be as good an opportunity as we shall have of mentioning the

gratifying fact, that Lucas Agriensis, before mentioned, in process of time, that is, after fifteen or sixteen years, renounced his errors, and addressed to the churches which he had troubled and offended, an orthodox confession of his faith. At the time, he seems to have been an exile, and in a state of captivity; but we are unacquainted with the circumstances which led to this condition. The following is an extract from this paper, "I believe in and confess one true and eternal God, existing in one undivided essence, but in three persons, or eternal hypostases, peculiar to the divine nature alone, that is *ὁμονοις*, possessing one and the same divine essence, neither separated nor separable, as in the persons of men and angels, in which there is a multiplicity; but distinguished by certain personal properties, peculiar to each. The Father is eternal; the Son is co-eternal with the Father; and the Holy Spirit, in like manner co-eternal. The Father is uncreated, unbegotten, and not existing by or from another, who from eternity in an ineffable manner generated the only begotten Son, the *λογος*, from his own substance. Moreover, the Son of God, and only begotten of the Father, as John testifies, is truly God, 'for the *λογος* was God;' and was not created out of nothing, as Arius blasphemously said: but was begotten of the Father before all ages, by whom all things were made, and who became a man for us; so that he is true God and true man, in one person, the Mediator, Redeemer, and Saviour of men. Finally, the Holy Spirit proceedeth from the Father and the Son, and is co-eternal with them, and was sent by the Son to sanctify the church. These three Divine Persons, I believe and confess to be the ever blessed Trinity, in whose name Christians are baptized, according to the command of Christ." Under his signature he adds, "now a captive five years." Affliction often brings men to sobriety and humility, so that they throw away their vain speculations, which are the product of pride and unsanctified gifts. The result was very different with regard to Francis Davidis and George Blandrata. These heretics, so far from recanting their errors, went on from bad to worse, and were the cause of more evil to the church than can be calculated.

Bullinger was evidently the reformer who was most admired by the Hungarian churches, and they kept up a brisk correspondence with this eminent pastor. We have already given one letter addressed to him from one of the ministers of Hungary, which contained much intelligence respecting ecclesiastical

affairs in that region. We will now subjoin another, from Matthias Thurius, written in 1568.

“Reverend and illustrious preceptor—I wish to make you acquainted with the most audacious spirit and progress of that most impure man, George Blandrata. How great his success, and that of his Achates, Francis Davidis, in propagating their pestiferous doctrine, I cannot mention without the greatest grief of mind. Of these things I wrote some account to that celebrated man, John Wolf, from which you may learn in how disastrous a state our ecclesiastical affairs now are. From their success in Transylvania, Lucas was emboldened to attempt to disturb our churches in Upper Hungary; but he did not meet with equal encouragement; for our ministers resolutely opposed his designs, and disputed keenly with him for the orthodox faith. . . . May the just Lord manifest his displeasure towards these enemies of his truth! I sincerely wish that what you said once to me in a most delightful conversation which I had with you, may be verified in this case, namely, ‘that no one in any age ever opposed himself to Christ with impunity.’ And when you uttered these words, you informed me, that this same Blandrata, who has proved so great a pest to the church in these parts, had been dismissed from your house. The evils which our unhappy country has suffered from continual wars, for a few years past, cannot be told, but much sorer evils have we endured from the unbridled fury of these heretics. And since they run every where, with equal audacity attacking the majesty of God and the throne of his Son, you, whom God hath appointed the propagators and defenders of his truth, should not endure that they should go on any farther in their impious course with impunity. For, under God, those arms with which we must contend, we must derive from you.—But I will not say more on this subject. I know that you and other of God’s instruments cannot be indifferent witnesses of the grievous evils under which our churches labour. What I wish distinctly to bring before your mind is, that a greater benefit cannot be conferred upon us, than that something should be written which might render us more skilful in our contest with these raging enemies. Finally, I pray God, that for a long time yet he may preserve your person, venerable for age, not only for your own sake, but for the sake of his church.”

The following is an extract of the letter to Wolf, mentioned

in the preceding—"What that most abandoned physician has attempted in Transylvania, I informed you before. I will now let you know what progress he has made. In hither Transylvania, he has infected the minds of almost all with his poison; and I do not believe that even Arius himself, or any other heretic of past ages, ever belched out so many and so great blasphemies against God and against his Son, as this man has done. To give you an example. He has proceeded to such impious audacity, that he has had pictures printed to bring into derision those whom he denominates *anti-christs*. In these, the doctrine of the Trinity is exhibited under the figure of a three-headed Geryon, or three heads united to one body; another of these prints represents Janus with his two faces; and another by a ring in the form of a triangle. . . . Lucas Agriensis, formerly a colleague of Davidis, was detected in his attempts to play the same game among us; but our ministers promptly met him, and contended earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints. I sent a copy of his book to our venerated preceptor, Henry Bullinger, which contains also an account of the proceedings against him. Another copy I sent to that highly celebrated man, Theodore Beza. Now when you see the glory of the most high God thus assailed by *these dogs*, you ought to remember in what station in the church you are placed. I pray you not to permit these monsters to rage against the sheep of Christ with impunity. Do try to confirm the churches, many of which are now wavering. The Rev. Josias Simler wrote some things on this controverted subject, which, as we had hoped, conferred important benefits on our churches. Whatever he, or others among you may be able to do, the bleeding condition of our distracted churches demands, in which there are many whose consciences are greatly disturbed by the variety of contending opinions, which are every where tossed about. I beg you, in my name, to salute those very venerable men, your colleagues, Gualter, Simler, Lavater, Haller, Hulderick, Zuingle, and our beloved and highly respected instructors. Farewell."

In the year 1569, Francis Davidis, minister of Clausenburg, and superintendent of the churches in that region, instigated by Blandrata, and by the authority of the young king, John II., summoned the clergy to meet in synod at Varadinum, in the month of October; and in the letter of convocation it was declared, that the object was to consider and discuss the points respecting the Trinity which were in dispute. And

to prepare the way for the discussion of these theological questions, he sent certain propositions to each minister, which expressed his own opinions. These restless men seem to have expected a majority on their side at this synod, or they would not have been so industrious in calling the meeting. But when the ministers of the churches had come together, and had maturely considered the questions submitted to them, they drew up a confession of their faith in entire conformity with the orthodox creed of the reformed churches. The number of ministers in this synod of Varadinum, as we may learn from the list preserved by Lampe, was above sixty. In 1576, a synod of forty ministers met in Lower Hungary, in a town situated between the rivers Save and Drave; but the object of this meeting seems to have been to form rules of order and discipline, and to regulate the manners of the clergy. It was, however, an orthodox synod, as in the first article agreed upon, we have a distinct recognition of the doctrine of the Trinity. Before this time, some of the most eminent ministers of Hungary had been released from their labours; among whom were Stephen Szegedinus and Peter Melius.

From the year 1570 to 1579, nothing remarkable occurred in the churches of Hungary and Transylvania. Blandrata and Davidis spared no pains to disseminate their pestiferous doctrines, which were vigorously opposed by the orthodox ministers of the churches. But in the last mentioned year, a dissension arose between these two heresiarchs, respecting the propriety of offering divine worship to Christ. This Davidis denied, but Blandrata maintained that worship was due to the Son of God. It was agreed to send for Faustus Socinus, from Poland, to be a judge in this controversy. He accordingly came, and was maintained at the expense of Blandrata; but lodged in the house of Davidis from Nov. 1578, till April 1579. But this capricious man, so far from yielding any thing to the arguments of Socinus, went still farther, and maintained that Jesus Christ was no more than a man, and was truly the son of Joseph and Mary; with many other impious opinions. Blandrata and Socinus, fearing that these opinions would be imputed to them and their party, made a representation of the case to the king, who caused Davidis to be put into confinement, where the unhappy man, partly worn out with the agitations of his own mind, and partly by the decays of old age, terminated his life. The state of his mind before his death was that of horror and madness; and

for three days before his end, he did nothing but howl in his distress, seeming to have before him frightful apparitions of demons and spectres.

In the year 1588, when Sigismund Bathori, grandson of Stephen Bathori, king of Poland, was advanced to the throne of Transylvania, the Jesuits, under whose institutions he had been educated, entertained great hopes of recovering their lost influence in the country, and spared no exertions to gain over the king to exert his power in favour of the Catholic religion. With this view they addressed an humble memorial to him, in which they strongly represented the misery of the nation on account of the multitude of discordant and contending sects, by means of which the people were kept in a state of perpetual agitation. To counteract these efforts, the Protestants addressed a long and earnest petition to the king, urging him, by strong considerations, to banish the Jesuits from the country. Finding that the Protestants, though much divided among themselves, were united in opposition to this society, the king, contrary to all his own prejudices and feelings derived from education, published an edict, requiring all Jesuits to depart the country within fifteen days. This caused much joy to the great body of the people to whom these ambitious intriguing men were exceedingly odious.

In the year 1589 an unspeakable benefit was conferred on the whole Hungarian nation by the publication of the holy scriptures in the vernacular tongue of the country. The name of the author of this version of the Bible was Caspar Karoli. He is represented to have been a man of great worth, a very eloquent preacher, and a learned philologist. He was a minister among the Calvinists, and has been much celebrated by those who belonged to this communion.

The controversy concerning the eucharist, although it had greatly disturbed the peace of the Hungarian churches, had not, until about this time, produced a separation of the adherents of the Saxon and Helvetic confessions. The youth of both parties had been in the habit of resorting to Wittenberg to pursue their theological studies; but now the Lutheran theologians became so much embittered against the Calvinists, that some of them made application to the elector to have all students excluded from the university who denied the ubiquity of Christ's body. The instigator of this illiberal measure was that fiery polemic, Ægidius Hunnius. The elector, yielding to the urgent solicitations of the Lu-

theran doctors, directed that all of the above description should be expelled from the university. The consequence was, that twenty-six Hungarian youth, candidates for the ministry, were sent away for not professing to believe in the doctrine of consubstantiation. Lampe has judged it proper to preserve a list of the names of these conscientious students. From this time the youth of the reformed churches in Hungary resorted to Heidelberg instead of Wittenberg; so that henceforth there were very few Hungarian students found at this university.

We have now brought the prosperous part of the history of the reformed churches in Hungary nearly to a termination. For fifteen or twenty years, indeed, there was a quiet and undisturbed state of things, when the churches were well supplied with able and faithful pastors. But about the year 1604, the Jesuits renewed their efforts to regain their former standing and liberty. This they now attempted by means of the authority and influence of Matthias, archduke of Austria, and son of Maximilian II. who revived all the laws and ancient usages in favour of the Roman Catholic religion. The Jesuits being now restored, and being permitted to remain in the country, exerted all their influence to gain a predominance.

In the early part of the seventeenth century that celebrated theologian, David Paræus, had much correspondence with the Hungarian brethren respecting ecclesiastical affairs.

In the year 1620 the Bohemian churches suffered severe persecution under Ferdinand II. The churches of the Protestants were shut up, and their ministers were driven into exile. These severities aroused the Bohemians to open resistance; and a civil war ensued, but it belongs not to our plan to go into any details respecting the churches of Bohemia. We mention the persecution in that country, and the troubles there, because these occasioned a troop of Anabaptists to take refuge in Hungary.

Gabriel Bethlen had succeeded Bathori in the government of Transylvania. He was a patron of the Protestant churches, and promoted their prosperity much; and was induced to lend his aid to the persecuted Bohemian brethren, but without success. This prince died about the year 1630.

It is an unexpected fact in ecclesiastical history, that the dissensions in England between the established church and the Puritans, should have produced an effect on the reformed churches of Hungary. But so it was. It seems probable to

us that the history of this event by Lampe, being altogether derived from documents written by persons unfavourable to the Puritans, is not altogether impartial; but we will give an abstract of his narrative, making ourselves responsible only for the fidelity of our abridgment.

After the Hungarian students, of the reformed religion, had been excluded from the university of Wittenberg, for refusing to acknowledge the doctrine of consubstantiation, they, as has been stated, resorted to the university of Heidelberg. But this seminary being situated in the midst of the scenes of war, the students were scattered and the instructions suspended. The Hungarian students, intent on a thorough theological education, went still farther west, to Groningen and Franeker. At this latter institution, they came under the influence and instructions of the celebrated English theologian, Amesius (Dr. Ames), who had forsaken his native country on account of the persecution of non-conformists, and had taken up his residence in the Low Countries, and was chosen a professor of theology in the above mentioned university. Among the young Hungarians who attended his lectures, there was one of noble birth and aspiring genius, by the name of Tholney. This young man, probably at the suggestion of Amesius, determined to visit England and become acquainted with the Puritans, whose sentiments he had already imbibed. Accordingly he passed over to London, where he lived two years in intimate communion with the non-conformists. And being desirous that their peculiar views and religious customs should be transplanted into his own country, he invited over to England, a number of the Hungarian students, who all became imbued with the spirit of Puritanism. These young men, under the influence of Tholney, now formed an association, the object of which was to promote a more perfect reformation in Hungary, in conformity with the new views which they had imbibed in England. Some of them were sent home to prepare the way for the return of Tholney, their leader. These freely censured many of the existing customs and arrangements of the Hungarian churches, and openly proclaimed the purpose which was formed to attempt to remodel the ecclesiastical constitution of the country; and they observed no moderation in celebrating the praises of Tholney, whom they represented as a very extraordinary man; so that the public expectation in regard to him was greatly excited. This threatened innovation gave much uneasiness and alarm to the ministers of the churches, who im-

mediately took measures to prevent what appeared to them a formidable evil. A synod was convened of the pastors on both sides the river Theiss; which met at the city of Debretzin. Letters were addressed by this synod to all directors of the public schools, to be very cautious in the admission of professors and teachers. And they adopted a resolution, that no student returning from abroad should be received into the ministry in the reformed churches of Hungary, until he underwent a strict examination, and gave full satisfaction to the superintendents of the respective diocesses. And it was also resolved, that every such candidate for the ministry, or for the office of public teacher in the schools, should be required to bind himself by a solemn oath, that he would attempt to introduce no innovations in the doctrines, ceremonies, and government of the churches, unless the same should be agreed upon by a general synod of the country. And, moreover, that if any person, after solemn admonition, should persist in violating the preceding orders, he should, by the civil magistrate, be banished from the country.

After an absence of six years, Tholney returned, and was received by his associates as if he had been an angel from heaven. His first object was to survey the country, and to see with his own eyes the true state of affairs. Accordingly, he travelled over the whole of Hungary and Transylvania; exhibiting every where a great appearance of piety; so that he gained an astonishing influence over the minds of men; and was especially received with great cordiality by laymen and civilians.

The reformed churches had established a famous school at Patak, into the presidency of which Tholney was introduced by the patronage of some leading political men, and with the consent of the prince, within whose jurisdiction this seminary was situated. But the clergy of the district were very unwilling that this aspiring young man, with whose innovating designs they were acquainted, should get possession of so important a school, from which he might, as from a Trojan horse, send forth his emissaries through the whole country. They, therefore, met, and calling Tholney before them, proposed certain conditions which they wished him to subscribe. At first he utterly refused, and treated the proposal with contempt; but when the matter was laid before the prince, and his opinion obtained in favour of the restrictions which the presbytery wished to impose, he submitted, and subscribed every thing which they required, and so was

inducted into this important office. On the occasion, Tholney pronounced an inaugural oration, replete with the keenest satire, and surcharged with calumny and reproaches against the ministers of the reformed churches of Hungary. But when a copy of the oration was demanded, he refused to furnish it.

In a synod which met not long afterwards, he was provoked to engage in public controversy with some of the ministers, in which he departed from all the established rules of disputation, and his discourse degenerated into mere railing.

No sooner had the new principal entered fairly on his office, and commenced his course of instruction, than dissension and confusion arose. Among the students, there was nothing but fierce disputation about the new divinity; and even the directors themselves were split into parties. The consequence was, that animosity and hatred began to pervade the body of the people to such a degree, that it was found necessary to bring the grievances of the church before the prince, and petition to have this man removed from the presidency of the school. After a full consideration of the whole case it was resolved, that Tholney should be removed from his office of principal, and be translated to be the pastor of the church of Miskoltzien. But although peace was now restored to the seminary, this restless man could not be quiet.

Ferdinand III. being now king of Hungary, as well as emperor of Germany, through the influence of the Jesuits and monks, at the diet which met at Presburg in 1638, caused a decree to be published, commanding all Protestant ministers to leave the kingdom of Hungary. By this unexpected persecution they were reduced to the utmost distress; but confiding in the friendly feelings of prince Rakotz, they earnestly supplicated his interposition with the emperor in their behalf. The prince did not disappoint their expectations, but sent a solemn embassy to Ferdinand, to urge and demand, that the late edict should be rescinded, and that the Protestant ministers should be restored to their liberties and wonted privileges; and upon the refusal of the emperor to give any satisfaction, the prince resolved to take up arms; and accordingly published a declaration containing a full account of the reasons which had induced him to take this step. The result was, that the prince Rakotz easily routed all the forces sent against him by the emperor; so that he was now very willing to listen to reasonable terms. And, whereas the churches of the Protestants had been forcibly seized by

the Romanists, they were now, by treaty, restored, and the power of the prince was greatly increased. In this war, the son of prince Rakotz, who was one of the commanding generals, had taken Tholney as his chaplain. The consequence was, that he gained an almost unbounded influence over the young man; and gained exceedingly also upon the prince himself; by which means his general reputation and influence among the people were much increased. The superintendent of the whole district, together with a large number of the most learned and grave of the clergy, having been cut off by a pestilence which spread through the country, when the synod met to choose a successor, no one seemed to have higher claims than Tholney. Accordingly, in March 1645, he was elected to this important office. For some time, his behaviour to the clergy and churches was so affable and courteous, that many were persuaded that he was in disposition an altered man. But it was not long before he too evidently manifested his wonted arrogance and arbitrary temper, and contempt for his brethren. He now availed himself of his important station in the church to introduce his Puritanical principles and innovations. One of the things which he strenuously insisted on, was, that baptism should be administered only in the church; and even in cases of sickness, he would not permit the ministers under his superintendency to baptize children in private houses. The consequence was that many parents carried their children to the Lutheran ministers, and even to the Roman Catholic priests, for baptism; and many were suffered to die unbaptized.

One thing in his system which appeared to all inconsistent with his office and station, was, that being senior, or superintendent of all the clergy in the district, he insisted on an absolute parity of ministers, and held that the placing any one above the rest, was inconsistent with the New Testament. Here it may be remarked that the Hungarian churches, from the beginning of the reformation, were accustomed to choose a superintendent, who exercised a kind of episcopal supervision over the other clergy in the district. Neither Lutherans nor Calvinists believed, that bishops were a distinct order from presbyters; but they defended this practice upon principles of expediency. Against this arrangement Tholney proclaimed his opposition, although he had accepted, and was now with a high hand exercising, the authority of this office; for he not only required obedience from his clergy, but bound them to obedience by a solemn oath.

In conformity with his Puritanical principles, he endeavoured to have all holy-days, or church festivals, set aside; which had been observed by the Protestants in Hungary, both Lutheran and Calvinistic, uniformly. But the point on which he laid the greatest stress was, the absolute independency of each church. He held that every pastor was the sole bishop of his own flock; and that even if a church should degenerate into heresy, the neighbouring churches had no right to interfere, or at all to inflict any censure upon them. Although frequently admonished of the consequences of the course which he was pursuing, he would not desist, but went forward pursuing his own plans, in a reckless manner. The result was a state of confusion and dissension in the schools and ecclesiastical meetings; and also a state of unhappy commotion and disputation in the churches, which extended to political men. The peace of society was interrupted. Hatred and ill-will became general between the contending parties; and the whole mass of society was pervaded and disturbed by the spirit excited by these innovations. The confusion and disturbance increased to such a degree, that Tholney himself judged it to be necessary to convene a synod, to see if they could apply a remedy. But this synod, instead of tranquillizing the public mind, added oil to the fire; for they were as much divided as the people; so that after much altercation and mutual denunciations, they broke up without effecting any thing for the peace of the churches. Frequent conferences were now held among the ministers who were opposed to the innovations of Tholney, and many letters were written to the clergy of other districts for counsel and aid, in extinguishing the fire which threatened to consume the Hungarian churches. The ministers belonging to other superintendencies, while they sympathized with the difficulties and sufferings of their brethren who lived under the jurisdiction of Tholney, were of opinion that they could not with propriety interfere in these disputes, or thrust in their sickle into another's harvest.

At length Tholney was persuaded to call a more general synod, and to invite the seniors or superintendents of the neighbouring districts, to meet with them, and endeavour to compose their differences. This synod consisted of more than a hundred ministers, and met at Tokay, on the river Theiss, Feb. 14, 1646. Delegates appeared, not only from Hungary, but also from Transylvania; many of whom were men of exquisite learning and consummate prudence. As

soon as the synod was constituted, the contending parties were called before them, and asked whether they were willing to submit the whole cause to their brethren now convened; and to have it brought to issue by a regular process, one party acting as accusers, and the other as defendants. When all agreed to this, John Venayi, pastor of the church at Tartzal, and secretary of the district, undertook the part of accuser against Tholney and his associates. The charges were digested under six heads. 1. Schism. 2. Violation of his oath as superintendent. 3. Mal-administration. 4. Heterodoxy. 5. Contempt of his brethren. 6. Arbitrary acts and proceedings. All these charges were established by abundant testimony; and, indeed, Tholney did not dispute most of the facts alleged against him; but defended them: others he simply denied. But these also were confirmed by undoubted testimony.

Prince Rakotz took a deep interest in the proceedings of this synod, and transmitted to them the autographs of many important documents from the archives of his palace. He also wrote a letter to the synod in which he animadverted severely on the conduct of the innovators. The result was that Tholney and a number of his associates were found guilty. The sentence of the synod, subject to the revision of the prince, was, "That John Tholney be suspended from his office, and also from the pastoral charge of the church of Tokay. And that the ministers who had continued to adhere to him and support him, should also be suspended from the pastoral office over the flocks of which they had charge." This sentence seems to have come unexpectedly on most of these brethren. When it was read they appeared deeply affected, and begged that it might be reconsidered; but the president of the synod informed them that the sentence had been the subject of the most solemn and mature deliberation; but encouraged them to hope that at the meeting of the next general synod they might be restored. They were also informed that during their suspension their stipends would be paid as before. A full account of the proceedings of this synod was sent to the superintendents of the reformed churches who were not present. Among their other resolutions there was one relating to the call of a national synod; as the state of the church seemed to require such a measure: and prince Rakotz was requested to take upon himself the convening of such a synod at such time and place as might be judged most expedient, for the purpose of

completely terminating the dissensions which had so disturbed the Hungarian churches. The prince, after consultation had with the superintendent of Transylvania and others, issued his letters of convocation to all the seniors and pastors in Upper and Lower Hungary and Transylvania, to meet in a national synod, on the 10th of next June, at Szattmar-Nemethi, on the river Samos; and these letters recommended to all the superintendents to call meetings of their own clergy to deliberate on the state of the churches previously to the meeting of the national synod.

The synod met agreeably to the appointment in the letters of convocation; and after hearing an excellent sermon from Francis Werecky, founded on 2 Cor. xiii. 11, they chose as their president, Stephen Geleus, superintendent of all the orthodox churches in Transylvania. Upon taking the chair, he pronounced a long and elegant oration on the various stratagems of Satan against the reformed churches of Hungary and Transylvania, and illustrated his positions by many interesting facts.

As soon as the synod was regularly constituted, John Venayi, the prosecutor at the synod of Tokay, gave a lucid narrative of the proceedings of that synod, and of the sentence pronounced upon the persons accused. Tholney then arose and delivered an elaborate defence; which, however, had more the appearance of an accusation of his prosecutors and judges, than an apology for himself. A copy of his speech was immediately demanded, and was committed to the consideration of a number of grave, sagacious, and learned ministers, members of the synod. This business being thus disposed of, the synod listened to an interesting discourse from Nicholas Szattmar, pastor of a reformed church in Vis-kien, in which he demonstrated the importance of maintaining the union which had so long existed between the churches of Hungary and those of Transylvania. The synod next held a private session, in which there was opportunity for free deliberation respecting the present state of the church.

On the 20th of June, the most illustrious prince Etzedinus, entered the synod in state, and was received with all the respect due to his dignity; and Stephen Geleus, the president, addressed him in the name of the synod, and gave him a succinct account of their proceedings; and most respectfully besought his aid in terminating those disputes which had so distracted the church.

The persons to whom the oration of Tholney, and the pro-

ceedings of the synod of Tokay had been committed, now reported. Their opinion was expressed in a series of distinct propositions, which were now taken up, and discussed for many days in the synod. The result was, that the innovators were again condemned, and the sentence of the provincial synod fully sustained. Thus this troublesome business was brought to a close, and peace restored again to the churches, which had been kept so long in a state of perturbation, by the restless innovating spirit of a single individual.

The national synod, however, did not stop here, but went on to adopt a number of rules or canons, to the number of thirty, which are preserved by Lampe; and appear to have been judiciously framed. They also collected and digested into one body the acts and resolutions of former synods, for the government of the churches in Hungary and Transylvania. These amounted to one hundred.

In the year 1659, the emperor Leopold was proclaimed also king of Hungary; but before he was received as such by the nation, they insisted upon his granting certain specified conditions; one of which was the free profession of the Protestant religion; for at this time a very large majority of the people were of this denomination, and most of them belonged to the reformed or Calvinistic church.

In the year 1661, the literary world suffered an irreparable loss by the conflagration of the library of Weissenburg, which Gabriel Bethlen, prince of the district, had collected from all parts, with incredible industry; and which contained not only a rich collection of printed books, but also of ancient and valuable manuscripts.

A truce had been agreed upon between the emperor and Turks for twenty years, which terminated in the year 1665.

The efforts of the Popish party to gain the ascendancy, by the favour of the emperor, began to be more and more successful. Some unsuccessful efforts at resistance by the nobles of the country, greatly injured the cause of Protestantism in Hungary. Under the pretence of treasonable designs against the government, many of the reformed ministers were called from their flocks and their homes to Presburg, where they were treated by the king's commissioners with injustice, and unheard of cruelties. Indeed, during the year 1669, and onward, a violent persecution was carried on against the Protestant churches in Hungary and Transylvania. Some idea of the number of the reformed churches at that time may be formed from the fact, that no less than three

hundred of their houses of worship were now forcibly wrested from them, and put into the hands of the Papists. And what rendered this persecution doubly distressing was the apostacy of some of the Protestant ministers, whose violence of opposition, as is common, exceeded that of all others. At one time as many as eleven Lutheran ministers renounced Protestantism, and embraced the Popish religion; and also several of the reformed. The historian, however, records distinctly the unhappy end of most of these apostates. But the greater number continued steadfast, and manifested a constancy in suffering worthy of the primitive age. The method of proceeding against these pastors was the most insidious. A paper was artfully drawn up, which they were peremptorily required to subscribe, on pain of being subjected to capital punishment, on the pretext of purging themselves from the alleged crime of rebellion. But by doing so, they would have virtually renounced their religion, and abdicated their office as ministers. They, therefore, firmly refused to perform an act so inconsistent with their principles, while most of those ministers brought up to Presburg by the officers of government, both Lutherans and Calvinists, absolutely, many Protestant ministers, discouraged by the dark clouds which hovered over the Hungarian churches, forsook their flocks and their native country, and sought refuge in other lands. This course was highly censured by those excellent men who remained, and bore the heat of this day of persecution. They admitted that Christ permitted his disciples, when persecuted in one city, to fly to another; but maintained that the pastor of Christ's flock must not flee when he seeth the wolf coming, but should remain with them, and share in their sufferings, if he could not protect them. Of those distinguished ministers who refused subscription to the terms proposed by the government, forty-one were condemned to be sold as slaves to the Spanish galleies at Naples, for life. And to prevent a tumult among the people, they were hurried off under a military guard, and conducted by roads little frequented, until they were beyond the limits of their own country; one-fourth of this number were Lutherans and the rest Calvinists. These martyrs for the truth, were driven on as if they had been beasts of burden; exposed to every indignity and insult, which a bigoted soldiery could inflict. Some of them were aged and infirm, and before they reached Naples, the place of their destination, two expired on the way, and six they were obliged to leave at Teale (Theatina), in the kingdom of

Naples, where they suffered from hunger, sickness, vermin, filth, and reproach, more than words declare. One of these, Harsanyi, was a man of distinguished learning and abilities, and far advanced in years, who, with another, lay sick without a bed, on the dank floor of a dungeon, for more than seven weeks; and yet survived. Another was so crippled in his feet by the journey that he was unable to walk or stand; and when their prison was changed, this afflicted minister was forced to crawl on his hands and knees through mud and water. One died in prison, destitute of all external comforts: four were conducted to Naples, and placed in the galleys with their brethren. What became of the two who were unable to make the journey, is not said. Most of the galley-slaves are among the most abandoned of human beings, the sweeping of the jails of Europe; among such felons were these learned and godly ministers confined; and not only subjected to hard labour, but to the rude and profane conversation of these wretched men. But God never forsakes his own servants, who trust in him. In several instances, comfort and help were received from the most unexpected sources. In one case, those imprisoned received essential aid from a soldier on guard, who professed to be a Protestant, and not only comforted them with kind words, but gave them all the money which he could raise, by which they were preserved from starvation. And in another instance, a man of noble family, confined for manslaughter, gave to these men a part of the provision which he received for his own subsistence; and in return they gave him religious instruction, which he received with avidity, and apparently became a true Christian; and to the last moment (for he died in prison) he acknowledged Harsanyi as his spiritual father.

When it was known among the Protestant churches in Europe, that so many learned and excellent ministers had been sent to the galleys, and were there enslaved, it excited a strong feeling of sympathy. Even kings and princes participated in this feeling, and contributions were made in England, Switzerland, Holland, and Germany for their redemption. In Geneva alone, one thousand crowns were contributed, and the poorest of the people, as we learn by a letter of Francis Parretin addressed to them, came forward and begged that their mite might be accepted. This general interest in favour of these oppressed ministers was principally owing to the correspondence and exertions of two men, whose names deserve to be handed down with honour to the

latest posterity. The one was a physician of Venice, Dr. Zaff, who ceased not to address consolatory letters to the ministers themselves, and to make known their distressed condition to men of influence and benevolence in several countries of Europe. The other was a gentleman by the name of George Weltz, probably a Swiss, who spared no pains, by writing and journeying, to obtain the deliverance of these suffering servants of Jesus Christ. And he never gave over until he had accomplished his object. By securing the interposition of Van Haen, the vice-admiral of the Dutch fleet, a man of fervent piety; and especially by the authority and influence of admiral Ruyter, they were rescued from their degrading and disagreeable condition, and when brought on board the vice-admiral's ship, the pious commander not only received them cordially, but notwithstanding their filth and tattered garments, with tears of affection kissed every one of them. And they were also kindly entertained on board the lord admiral's vessel, who not only treated them courteously, but furnished them with clothing suited to their office and station, gave them a free participation of the provisions of the fleet, and offered to have them conveyed to whatever port they wished to enter. As some of them had friends at Zurich, they resorted to that city, where they were kindly entertained by the reformed pastors of the city. From this place they addressed a letter of thanks to the States General, for their deliverance, and took the occasion to entreat their High Mightinesses to interpose their good offices with the emperor to obtain religious freedom for the Hungarian churches. It is probable that this request was complied with; for soon after this time the Protestants were relieved from persecution, and the reformed churches in Hungary and Transylvania enjoyed some degree of tranquillity, and had a part of the temples of God which had been unjustly wrested from them restored. As far as is known to us, religious toleration, if not liberty, has been enjoyed by Protestants in that country unto this day; but what the state of religion has been in that country during the last hundred years, we have no satisfactory information. It is, however, entirely probable, that the same declension of vital piety and evangelical truth which has taken place in the reformed church in other countries of Europe, has been realized in Hungary also. The tendency has not been to Unitarianism during that period, as we conjecture, but to Romanism; for although Unitarian churches were once exceedingly numerous in Transylvania as well as Poland; yet

it is believed that few of them exist at present. And while one hundred years ago, the Protestants, most of whom were reformed, far exceeded the Papists in number, at present the fact is otherwise. Would it not be desirable to send a missionary into Hungary, to ascertain the present condition of the reformed churches in that country? Or if some of our enterprising travellers, who take an interest in the state of the church, would direct their course into those unexplored regions, instead of running round the common circle of France, Germany, and Switzerland, they might probably bring back some interesting ecclesiastical information.

Malte Brun, in his geographical work, makes the Lutherans now in Hungary to be above eight hundred thousand, and other Protestants about twelve hundred thousand; while the Roman Catholics amount to nearly five millions. Besides these there are nearly two millions in the communion of the Greek church; and a hundred and fifty thousand Jews. Although parts of this country were so long under the dominion of the Turks, it does not appear, that they ever made any proselytes to Islam during that period. There was at that period too much light and evangelical religion in the country to admit such a gross and carnal religion to gain influence. The following extract is from Malte Brun (Vol. IV. p. 195), "The Hungarians are in possession of religious liberty: more than half of the population profess the Catholic faith, and the dignitaries of that church possess many valuable political rights. Places are assigned to them in the diets, and they are considered the *pillars* of the court party. The archbishop of Gran possesses an annual revenue of £30,000. The income of the bishop of Erlau is about £20,000; that of Grass-Waradin £8,400; and the annual averages of the diocesses from £400 to £4,200. It may easily be believed that the first families of the country canvass for these offices. A king passed a law by which the bishopric of Erlau was set apart for the fourth son of the reigning prince. Many bishops are governors of the provinces in which they reside, and others possess monopolies on wine and salt. But although the Catholic clergy have so many advantages, they are not actuated by Christian charity to other sects. Enemies of religious freedom, they oppose every privilege claimed by heretics; but it must not be imagined that they are sufficiently powerful to oppress them, or destroy their lawful rights. The Protestants are mostly Calvinists; among those of that persuasion are many noble families; and the doctrines of the

Genevese reformer are preached in every part of the kingdom. The Lutheran creed is chiefly confined to the miners and German artizans, and exists in all the rigour of the sixteenth century. The Lutheran ministers cannot conceal their animosity against the Calvinistic preachers. The Catholic party avails itself of their strifes and contentions, and the remonstrances of the Protestants to the diet are as numerous and ineffectual as those of the Catholics to the British parliament. It is evident from the sermons of the priests, the diocesan charges, and the public edicts of the bishops, that they deplore the spread of evangelical doctrines. The Greek or Eastern church, by which the seeds of Christianity were first sown in Hungary, has been for a long time in a state of decay: more than a third of its members have apostatized to the Roman faith; but it still retains a majority of the inhabitants in the most southern provinces. The united Greek rites are observed by the Rousniacs and Wallachians.

“Transylvania is represented by a separate diet—Catholics, Calvinists, and Lutherans are represented; and a Unitarian church, the only one in the world which has existed since the time of Socinus, is acknowledged by law in Transylvania. Most of the Wallachians, the greater number of inhabitants in the province, profess the united Greek religion, but from some strange caprice, their church is only tolerated.

“The influence of an ignorant priesthood is exerted in all the Catholic seminaries, and monks have their doubts on the propriety of using astronomical instruments made by heretics.

“The danger of innovation, the fear of misapplying, or of eventually losing the funds left by pious individuals for benevolent purposes, paralyse the efforts of Protestants. Still knowledge advances: the Hungarian patriots are animated by a noble zeal; and the poor are instructed without the aid, sometimes in defiance of authority. Improvements made in other countries are adopted, and libraries formed for the use of the common people.

“The sects in Transylvania are, first, the Greek or Eastern church, which is divided into two sects, and numbers more than a million; the Catholics, about a hundred and twenty thousand; the Lutherans, a hundred and seventy thousand; the Calvinists, above two hundred thousand; and the Unitarians, forty-four thousand.”

We hope that it will not be long before some more particular and satisfactory information is given to the public respecting the present condition of the three millions of Pro-

testants, most of them Presbyterians, who still may be found in Hungary and Transylvania.

J. N. Alexander

ART. II.—*Gleanings from the German Periodicals.*

THE exciting topic now among the German theologians is the *Leben Jesu* (Life of Jesus), published by Strauss of Tübingen, in which the infidel theology appears to have reached its consummation. In this one book, says Tholuck, are concentrated all the skepticism and unbelief of the age. The same writer, in a sketch of the rationalistic controversy, distinguishes three periods or eras; the first extending from 1814 (when the philosophy of Schelling had given the first blow to the common-sense rationalism then prevailing) to 1827, the date of the celebrated Leipzig disputation, when Hahn advanced the doctrine, that rationalists were bound to leave the church; the second from 1827 to 1830, the date of the disturbances at Halle, when Gesenius and Wegscheider were arraigned before a royal commissioner, on a charge of treating scripture with irreverence, and when Hengstenberg's journal first maintained, that the rationalists ought to be excluded from the church. Up to this point, says Tholuck, rationalism had held fast to something positive or historical in religion, the existence of a personal God, a providence, a future state of retribution, and the historical reality of some facts contained in scripture. Premonitions now appeared, however, of ulterior changes, and a radical reform. At length, as he expresses it, the Mirabeaus of this theological revolution have been followed by a Marat. "The work of Strauss has carried negation to a point beyond which there is only one thing left. That he should have thrown down the last pilasters of this lofty temple without a tear, is deplorable enough; but he is so far a man of honour, that he has kept back nothing. We now know the Gospel of Reason in perfection."

To understand these strong expressions, it must be known that Strauss denies the *historical* truth of the gospel altogether, and explains it as a mere philosophical or religious *mythus*. He is a pantheist, and acknowledges no God but the God incarnate in the human race. And this man is writing books for popular instruction! A doctrine so extrava-