

HISTORY
OF THE
PROTESTANT CHURCH IN HUNGARY,
FROM THE
BEGINNING OF THE REFORMATION TO 1850;

WITH
SPECIAL REFERENCE TO TRANSYLVANIA.

TRANSLATED BY
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WITH AN INTRODUCTION

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I.

INTRODUCTION.

DURING the course of a tour in Germany in the year 1846, a number of documents, both printed and in manuscript, relating to the history of religion in Hungary, were kindly submitted to my consideration. The Christian friends who had bestowed so much care and pains in forming this collection, at the same time earnestly requested me to make use of its contents, for the purpose of writing a History of the Reformation in Hungary. They thought that such a narrative, while bringing to the notice of Evangelical Christendom in the West many instructive facts which had been hitherto unknown, would at the same time evince to the Protestants of Hungary that the great principles of the Christian faith had been endeared to their forefathers, and had formed the groundwork of their own Reformation in the sixteenth century. I recall to mind the place where this request was made to me, and the many interesting circumstances that attended it, together with the persons who were the bearers of it, whom I shall probably never see again. That epoch of my life is associated in my memory with ineffaceable feelings of respect and love. It

soon, however, became evident to me that these documents did not so much appertain to the history of the Reformation in Hungary as to the general history of that country from the first introduction of Christianity, and more particularly to the period after the Reformation. For this reason I considered it impossible to give up writing the history of evangelical religion in the first half of the sixteenth century, which I could with difficulty accomplish, to enter upon an entirely new work. I was therefore compelled to decline the request which had been made to me; but at the same time I mentioned the names of several writers, both in Germany and the French cantons, whom I thought quite capable of performing the honorable task that had been proposed to me.

I heard no more of the work in question until lately (July, 1853), when I learnt that the book had been completed, and I was requested to edit it, or at least introduce it to the Christian public by writing a preface. The friend who asked me to do this urged as a motive for my compliance, that it would be for the sake of the Gospel and of suffering Hungary. "The Lord," said he, "will, I hope, show you plainly that the demand comes less from man than from God." Though I felt that there were other Protestant authors more capable than myself of making this work known to the public, still I did not feel justified in meeting this second request with another refusal, and therefore replied in the affirmative.

I wish, therefore, in accordance with this desire, to recommend the narrative to the notice of all friends of the Protestant faith. No complete history of the Church of God in Hungary has yet been published;

and the period intervening between the reign of Maria Theresa and the present time especially has been hardly sketched, save in a few detached fragments. The work that we now offer to the public ought, therefore, to be considered worthy of attention, were it only for its novelty, but more particularly so on account of the labor that has been bestowed on its composition. The author is a man possessed of enlightened piety, sound judgment, integrity, faithfulness, and Christian wisdom,—qualities well calculated to inspire perfect confidence. He has obtained his materials from the most authentic sources. Government edicts, convent protocols, visitation reports, and official correspondence, have all been consulted with scrupulous attention, as is proved by the numerous quotations which he cites. He has thus sought to place the authenticity of his book on an indisputable basis, and at the same time to render it impervious to the shafts of hostile criticism. It remains for the future to prove how far he has succeeded. While bearing honorable testimony to the care that has been expended in the production of this book, I do not mean to affirm that, as a historical composition, it is without faults. But I am writing an introduction, and not a critique. I think that in some parts the History might have been fuller and more detailed; but the author sought to be brief, and this is a merit that certainly possesses its own advantages. However that may be, I cannot help thinking that this volume will be read with interest, for it fills up a chasm that has long existed in the history of Protestant Christianity; it unfolds a page in the annals of martyrdom that has been hitherto unread; it opens up to

the Protestant Christian the view of a suffering and oppressed Church; and it makes known a nation, distant, it is true, but brought near to us by its faith, and which has ever become to those who have lived within it an object of warm and sincere affection. "Open thy mouth for the dumb, in the cause of all such as are appointed to destruction," said the mother of King Lemuel to her son (Proverbs xxxi. 8). This book obeys that ancient precept. It tells of wicked persecutions, and pronounces in favor of the oppressed party, while it brings to light the intrigues of their oppressors. The Christian, when he reads it, will surely be led to pay more attention to the cause of his suffering brethren in the East of Europe; to intercede with Heaven in their behalf; to undertake their defence; "to do justice to the afflicted and the needy" (ver. 9): for "if one member suffer all the members suffer with it" (1 Cor. xii. 26).

Now, although this book is well calculated to interest us, — the Christian people of Western Europe, — it also reads a useful lesson to those who suffer persecution in Hungary, as well as to those who inflict it. I wish to address a few words to both these parties, and it is to our oppressed brethren that I would first speak.

It is absolutely necessary to the very existence of a truly Christian Church that it should possess two qualifications: one is *authority*; the other, *freedom*. The *authority of God*, which calls for *obedience of man*, is the principle of faith and life; and *freedom* is necessary to the action of the Church. Although these two principles may appear contradictory, they are nevertheless intimately connected. True freedom

cannot exist without authority; and authority, to be firm and salutary, must be blended with freedom. There is an authority which must exist in the Church; and this I would especially recommend to the Hungarian Protestants. I cannot give them a stronger proof of my regard than in so doing, for never was submission to this authority more needful. Some Roman controversialists seem to believe that Christianity consists wholly in authority (the *authority in the Church* is their chief dogma); but, while this is unquestionably far from being true, it is not untrue to affirm that a divine authority (the authority of Scripture) forms the outward principle of Christianity, and without it, faith is but a vapor that passeth away. Did not Christ himself rest his own teaching upon the words, "It is written"? There is a wide difference between the authority exercised by the Gospel, and that claimed by the Church of Rome. For Rome rests her power on the earthly authority of councils and priests, while we derive ours from the will of God himself, made known in the writings which he has inspired. One is, the rebellious tyranny of fallen man; the other, the legitimate rule of Heaven itself. Let us reject the one, and hold fast by the other.

It is probable that the Protestant Church of Hungary erred by departing from this divine authority, and therefore did not escape that blight of rationalism which swept over the whole of Europe during the second half of the eighteenth century. This History informs us that there were a party of laymen who exhorted their pastors to rest satisfied with teaching the people their duty as citizens and Christians,

and to set aside the doctrines of what they denominated a vulgar orthodoxy. There were some ministers — blind guides — who thus yielded to the spirit of the age, and thought themselves wise in their own folly. This was the inward canker of the Hungarian Church, — an evil more dangerous in its consequences than the most cruel persecutions.

The first thing needful, then, to restore the Hungarian Church, is to establish within it the perfect and undivided control of the will of God as revealed to us in Holy Scripture. This was the working principle of our glorious Reformation. "I have neither seen, nor heard, nor perceived any thing of it," said Luther, when speaking of the mysteries of God; "but, because God says it, I will believe it must be, and follow the word" (Watch x., pp. 13, 14). This precept, in reference to the supreme authority of *what is written*, is not only to be met with in all the books of Luther; it was also the guiding principle of his whole life. How does the Reformer write to the Pope? "I am ready," says he, "to give up to all men, and in all things; but as for the Word of truth, I neither can nor will let that go." When the Pope ordered the books of Luther to be burnt, — "Let them burn," says he; "I have only wished to bring men to the *Bible*." When officious mediators, in the solemn days at Worms, said to him, "Trust yourself to us, and we will settle this matter in a Christian way," he answered, "I can intrust to the power of the emperor both my person and my life, but the *Word of God*, — never!" Thus spoke, not Luther only, but Zwinglius, Farel, Calvin, Tindal, Cranmer, and Knox. The doctors of the Genevese school are perhaps even

more explicit than the Lutheran teachers touching the paramount authority of Holy Scripture.

This principle is a necessary concomitant of Christian life. No Church or people can exist without obedience to this divine rule. I do not wish to enter now upon the field of political discussion; neither is it my desire to depreciate the ancient constitution of nations, and the liberties which children have inherited from their fathers. But I declare, without any hesitation, that, in the existing condition of Hungary, I know of but one cure for its numerous ills, for its deeply festering wounds; and this remedy is pointed out in the passage of Revelation to be found in chapter xxii. 2. "The leaves of the tree of life, which are for the healing of the nations," represent the Word of God, and the authority, the teaching, the faith, and the life, which derive their source from Holy Scripture. It is to this divine authority that Protestant Hungary ought to give in her hearty allegiance. She has sought a cure for her wounds in the sphere of politics, when she should, before all else, have sought it in the sphere of Christianity. I do not mean to say that political freedom is a chimera. Certainly not! But I affirm that no nation can enjoy this condition of liberty, until the authority of the Word of God is paramount among them. There is some counterpoise necessary to freedom. Men cannot make a proper use of civil liberty, except they are inwardly influenced by the Word of God. Should the restraints of Holy Scripture ever cease to be exercised in England and the United States of America, the religious and political freedom which these nations now enjoy would soon be merged in the excesses of an unbridled

democracy. That respect for law which distinguishes these nations, is a pledge of the continuance of their liberty, their power, and prosperity. Now, this respect for the law is essentially derived from the influence of Holy Scripture, from obedience to that *Divine Word* which has said, "Fear God; honor the king" (1 Pet. ii. 17).

If, however, I have descanted on *authority* in addressing the people, I would now speak of *freedom* as relating to the princes and magistrates. No Protestant Church has experienced so much oppression as that of Hungary. The persecution arose at the time of the Reformation, and exists to this very day in some measure. Religion is a matter between God and man, or, as the great autocrat, Napoleon I., himself expressed it, "The rule of the prince terminates where that of conscience begins." When governors fail to acknowledge this principle, then, under color of enforcing order, a door is opened to all sorts of disturbances in the state. If a man is debarred from the freedom to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, he suffers in his holiest and highest feelings,—he becomes disaffected, irritated, and indignant against that human authority which claims an obedience due to God alone. On the one hand, doubtless, men wanting in moral courage, and incapable of sacrificing the comforts of life for the sake of their faith, would yield to violence, give up their religious profession, and subscribe a fatal recantation from the truth. This has sometimes happened even in Hungary. Turning to the other side, we shall find pious, faithful Christians, holding fast their confession, and suffering patiently the infliction of chains,

even of death itself, rather than deny the Gospel: they are, as their Master, sheep dumb before the shearers. But besides these two parties, there must always exist some proud, independent spirits, not brought as yet under the controlling influence of the Divine Word, who will be driven by oppression into fearful excesses. Wherever there is a Louis XIV., there will also be *Camisards*. It is an old saying, that "Persecution stirs up revolt"; and if it does not actually produce rebellion, it at least fosters discontent, disaffection, and ill-will, — conditions essentially opposed to the public welfare. It is, then, for the sake of their own interest that we earnestly supplicate the higher powers to grant liberty of conscience. What is to be gained by refusing it? Despite of all that can be said or done, the subjection of conscience is beyond the reach of human power. A few harmless individuals may be terrified and ill-treated, but of their faith they cannot be deprived. Can those who attempt to justify religious persecution bring forward as an excuse the righteousness of their cause? Ah! if they had really at heart the prevalence of truth, they would allow it unrestrained action. By its own innate power, and the voice of inward conviction, it will make its way into the hearts of men. It has never yet been thrust upon them by the sword and the prison-house; such a line of proceeding would be like teaching philosophy by means of the rod. Can we even allow the security of public welfare to be alleged as a motive in justification of proceedings hostile to religious liberty? Is it not rather well known by experience, that a religion imposed by priests, and enforced by the civil power, has no intrinsic strength?

It is like the cords with which Delilah bound Samson, — a single effort suffices to break through them (Judges xvi. 9). Let us turn our eyes towards the Roman Catholic countries of Italy, Spain, Portugal, and France, — constantly a prey to revolution ; while Protestant nations possess a stability united with freedom, and enjoy a public tranquillity which must command confidence in proportion as it is based upon the influence of the Word of God. For this reason, after requiring that the people should submit to the will of God, we would require of the prince to recognize the liberty of the Christian.

Nevertheless, *control* and *freedom* are not alone sufficient for the Church : she must also possess faith and life. The dominion of the Church among the Romanists is an entirely outward system of rule, which is in a greater or less degree mechanically submitted to. The authority of the Word of God, as acknowledged by the Protestants, is, on the contrary, an inward power acting upon the affections, the will, and the intellect, renewing them by the Holy Ghost, and leading the converted man to obey with joy and not with grief, — with love and not with fear, — from a strong internal conviction of duty, instead of a stupid and unreflecting servility.

To enable the Church of Hungary to take the position that belongs to her among the other reformed churches, the pure faith held by the children of God must become mighty within her. She must, in obedience to the Word of God, believe with the heart and confess with the mouth, the fall of man through Adam's transgression, — his corruption through sin, — his utter inability to raise himself from the miserable

condition into which he has fallen, — the eternal Godhead of the Son of God, who became man, and was offered up for us on the altar of the cross, — justification by faith, which, resting upon that sacrifice, rescues the sinner from the death which he has deserved, and gives him eternal life; — finally, the Holy Ghost (God as well as the Father and the Son) ruling in the heart by the Word, and liberating it from the law of sin. It is necessary, then, that the Church of God in Hungary should confess in heartfelt sincerity, with Luther, as have also confessed Calvin and all the other Reformers: “The first and principal article of our faith is, that Jesus Christ our God and Lord died for our sins, and rose again for our justification. All have sinned and are justified freely by his grace, without works or merit of their own, by the redemption that is in Christ Jesus through his blood. No pious man can give up any portion of this belief, even if heaven, and earth, and all things, should be involved in ruin. In this belief is contained all that we teach, bear witness to in our lives, and act upon, in spite of the Pope, the Devil, and the whole world.”*

If faith in these articles be a living principle in the Church of Hungary, that Church is secure. We demand then of that Church to hold this belief, to pro-

* “Hic primus et principalis articulus est, quòd Jesus Christus Deus et Dominus noster sit propter peccata nostra mortuus, et propter justitiam nostram resurrexerit. Omnes peccaverunt et justificantur gratis, absque operibus, seu meritis propriis, ex ipsius gratiâ, per redemptionem quæ est in Christo Jesu in sanguine ejus. . . . De hoc articulo cedere nemo piorum potest, etiam si cælum et terra ac omnia corruant. In hoc articulo sita sunt et consistant omnia quæ contra papam, diabolum, et universum mundum, in vitâ nostrâ docemus, testamur, et agimus.” — (Artic. Smalcaldii, 2d part.)

claim it from the pulpit, to keep it alive in the heart. We make this demand for the sake of its forefathers, for the sake of its martyrs, for the sake of its own life and prosperity, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, which is pronounced over the heads of all its children. This Church has been illustrious in ancient times, and ought at the present period to rise up and again take her place among us. Perhaps she may only be able to raise herself amidst privation and tears, bound like Lazarus "with grave-clothes, and swathed in a shroud"; but if she lives by faith, that is sufficient: her reward will not fail her. We can exhort her boldly from the West of Europe,—from the foot of the Alps,—from that town of Calvin which has always regarded her with affection,—in words from Holy Writ: "Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light" (Eph. v. 14).

In conclusion, I would return to what I have before expressed. This book is not one for ordinary reading. It is not simply to be considered as a book, for it is the exponent of a fact. A branch of the great family of the Gospel has been forgotten by the rest, and this wrong, although of long existence, must be redressed. After having read this volume, the reader must not rest satisfied, as is usually the case, with placing it upon the shelves of his library. These pages contain a solemn appeal to all true Christians. What God requires of those who shall read them is,—to pray, to believe, to hope, and to act towards Protestant Hungary in faith and love.

I will terminate by quoting the prayer which Luther offered up when he saw the Turks threatening to

attack Hungary, and thence Germany: "Here comes the Turk, the Rod of God, with a great and powerful army, sweeping over Hungary"; and I would wish every Hungarian, and every friend of Hungary, to pray with that reformer (Opp. xxii. p. 2350):—

"O Lord God, have mercy upon this poor land. Confound the Devil according to thy great power. Protect thy Church against thy foes. Glorify thy Son. Look not on our sins. Give us thy Holy Spirit, and grant us a true and certain knowledge of thy pure Word. Amen."

MERLE D'AUBIGNÉ.

GENEVA, *September*, 1853.

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PROTESTANT CHURCH OF HUNGARY.

FIRST PERIOD.

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TILL THE PEACE
OF VIENNA, A. D. 1608.

CHAPTER I.

CONSTITUENT PARTS; ORIGINAL INHABITANTS; FIRST TRACES
OF CHRISTIANITY, TILL THE TIME OF STEPHEN THE FIRST.

THE kingdom of Hungary, also called Pannonia, once so mighty and powerful, is even now one of the largest crown lands of the Austrian empire; containing above 5,000 geographical or 110,000 English square miles. It was only by slow degrees that it assumed its present form. It is divided into Upper and Lower Hungary, or the circuits beyond and on this side of the Danube and Teiss, and contains fifty-two counties, which in independence and form of jurisdiction much resemble the Swiss Cantons. Some of the counties occupy the space of a small kingdom; for example, Bihar county contains 4,200, and Pesth 4,050 English square miles. There are also entire circuits which have hitherto enjoyed peculiar immunities, freedoms, and privileges, as in the Jazygier and Rumania, as also in Little Rumania between the Danube and Teiss, which have always had the Palatine as their highest judge. To Hungary are also reckoned the regencies of Transylvania, Slavonia, Croatia, Dalmatia, and

the Military Boundary. The whole territory is 460 English miles long, and 345 broad.

This large kingdom — almost surrounded by the majestic Carpathian chain as a garden with a fence, and intersected by various navigable rivers, abounding with the choicest fish, as the Teiss, the Save, the Drave, and the royal Danube — produces within itself all that the necessities and comforts of life demand. Distinguished by its excellent breeds of cattle, and by natural productions of every kind, as corn, wine, and tobacco, gold and silver, rock-salt and iron; with a climate temperate and (excepting the marshy regions of Lower Hungary) very healthy; the industrious inhabitants enjoy everywhere an abundance of all that they require. Strangers need only avoid the richer diet of the country, and they soon find themselves at home, ready to join in the songs of our fathers, —

“No other land like Hungary,
No other songs like hers.” *

For these reasons the Romans chose to take forcible possession of Hungary beyond the Danube † six years before the Christian era, and gradually pushed forward, till, in the year 106, the territory above the Teiss and the present Transylvania were conquered under the Emperor Trajan, from whom it received the name of Dacia. Hither were Roman colonies sent, according to the usual custom; but when the power of Rome began to decline, this land met with the fate of other Roman dependencies, and passed gradually into other hands. In the year 270 the Goths took possession of Dacia; and a hundred years later yielded to the Huns, who, coming from Asia like a swarm of locusts, covered the land.

* “Mag mein Ungarn nicht vertauschen,
Mag nicht fremden Liedern lauschen,
Nirgends ist's wie hier, so gut.”

† Beyond the Danube means, here and elsewhere in this book, the southwestern side of the river, or the part nearer Rome.

In the year 434, under Attila, "the scourge of God," had the power of the Huns reached its height; but that power was doomed to crumble down in the year 469, through the quarrels of Attila's three sons. We now find in Dacia the Gepidæ, and in Pannonia the Eastgoths, who, in the year 489, under their king, Theodorick, passed over into Italy.

Into their place came the Longobarden or Longbeards, and shortly after the Avari, a people nearly related to the Huns. These last, in the year 565, conquered the Gepidæ, and thus took possession of Pannonia. They also conquered Styria, Illyria, Dalmatia, and Austria (Noricum), and even took possession of Constantinople. •

By their plundering excursions in Germany, Italy, and even so far as France, the Avari drew on themselves the wrath and the army of Charlemagne, who, in the year 803, defeated and drove them back.

About this time we find some weak attempts made to introduce the Gospel among this barbarous people; pious and learned monks from England and Italy ventured among them, but, being ignorant of the language, and seeking to influence the people less by schools and regular continued training than by the outward ceremonies of religion, they left but few traces of their work behind. The little which they had done was shortly after destroyed by the *Magyars* or Hungarians, who, coming over from Asia under the guidance of Almus, took possession of and gradually consolidated the entire land. These sought out the seats of their distinguished ancestors, the Huns, and increased in power, until, under the renowned Arpad, they reached the summit of their glory, and made themselves the terror of all surrounding nations. About this time two distinguished Christian missionaries, Cyrill of Illyria and his brother Methodius, labored with much success in the countries adjoining Hungary. The former had been sent out by the Greek Emperor Michael into Bulgaria, from whence he passed, accompanied by his brother,

into Croatia and Moravia. Here he succeeded, about the year 902, in persuading Swatopluck, King of Moravia, with his whole nation, to embrace the Christian religion.

Of all the accounts we have of the religion of the Magyars at that time, the best authenticated seems to be, that they worshipped Mars as their principal deity, and, on the outbreak of hostilities, summoned the warriors by sending round a sword, — the symbol of their god. They worshipped also the earth, fire, the sun and moon, and a goddess * “ Rasdi,” whence “ varayslo,” the soothsayers or prophets of Rasdi. Whether they offered human sacrifices is uncertain, but not improbable; for every religion devised by man leads more or less to intolerance and cruelty, and, instead of advancing the cause of humanity, *sinks man deeper in vice and crime.*†

Under Duke Zoltan, between the years 907 – 947, we find the Hungarians plundering in Bavaria and Saxony, Switzerland and Alsace, and bringing home a booty stained with the blood of their innocent victims. After a nine years’ peace with Henry the First, surnamed the Bird-catcher, they resumed their predatory excursions, and learned to their cost that Henry could do more than catch birds, for, in a pitched battle at Merseberg, thirty-six thousand Magyars were left dead on the field. At Augsburg they sustained a still greater defeat in an engagement with the Emperor Otto, their forces being nearly completely swept away, while three of their chief leaders, Bulesu, Lehel, and Botond, were taken, and hanged.

Humbled by these misfortunes, the remnant of the people

* Vossius de Idolatriâ, Lib. III. p. 807. Bonfinius, Rerum Hung. Decade II. Lib. II. p. 223.

† A passage in an edict of Ladislaus, 1077 – 1095, throws some light on the heathen worship of the Hungarians. It runs thus : — “ Whosoever shall, after the usual heathen custom, offer sacrifices at lakes and springs, under trees or on heaps of stones, shall for each offence be fined in the penalty of an ox.”

listened most attentively to the message of the Gospel. The number of the Christian teachers gradually increased in Upper and Lower Hungary; and being favored in their operations by the naturally mild disposition of the Regent Geyza, they soon succeeded in persuading many of this indomitable race to forsake their idols, and turn to the living God.

According to some accounts, Joxus, the father of Geyza, had, so early as the year 950, commenced to favor the introduction of Christianity among his people. It is evident that under his reign some families had embraced Christianity, and that his own children were baptized; for one son was called Michael, and another Ladislaus, one daughter Beatrix, and another Agnes, — names which are not found among the heathen. .

More marked was the influence of Charlotte in this great work. She was the daughter of a Transylvanian prince, Gyula, and was married to Geyza. She had been already baptized before marriage, and her genuine piety won the hearts of all around her. Among the captives, also, whom the Hungarians had brought home in their predatory excursions, were many Christians, even priests and monks, who, having learned the language, became, in the providence of God, the means of leavening the families in which they resided with the influence of Christianity. Exactly in proportion as they succeeded in this work did they themselves receive milder treatment, as if they should thus be spurred on to greater zeal. Artisans and merchants from Germany were invited to settle in the land. Light is coming into contact with darkness. The issue of the struggle will soon appear. The Emperor Otto hears of the spread of the Gospel in Hungary, and, in the year 972, sends Bishop Bruno to encourage Geyza in favoring the great work.

In the year 977 Geyza was solemnly baptized. The Gospel plan of spreading the truth seemed now too slow.

Some quicker method must be discovered by which the whole nation shall at once follow his example. Geyza tries compulsory measures, and a nation clinging with punctilious exactness to the customs of the fathers is driven to the verge of rebellion, while a baptism which they have been compelled to receive produces no corresponding change of character. His bright prospects are completely clouded.

With his son Waik, who was baptized by Adalbert, Bishop of Prague, in the year 995, and who on his baptism received the name of Stephen, begins the more important era in the history of the Church of Christ in Hungary.

CHAPTER II.

POLITICAL AND ECCLESIASTICAL STATE OF HUNGARY UNDER
THE KINGS OF THE LINE OF ARPAD, FROM STEPHEN TILL
THE DEATH OF ANDREW III. — 997 — 1301.

SHORTLY after his baptism, the young prince Stephen ascended the throne, in his eighteenth year. Trying as the position might otherwise have been, it was rendered doubly so for him on account of his youth, and the religious excitement which then prevailed. Charlemagne had succeeded, though not without bloodshed, in spreading Christianity in Germany; and about the year 890 the Christian religion had been firmly established in Bohemia. Towards the year 965, the Poles followed the example of the Bohemians; and shortly after, there came from Italy and Greece vast numbers of pious missionaries, who, with complete devotedness to their work, penetrated through the whole of Hungary. These labors were regarded favorably by the young king, who, under the guidance of his pious mother and the Christian teachers, aimed at making his people Christians as soon as possible. To this end he issued an edict, commanding them to change their religion, and affixing penalties in case of refusal. The natural consequence was, that the Magyars, jealous of their freedom, refused to obey, and the dissatisfaction which had showed itself under the reign of Geyza now broke out under the guidance of Kupa, Duke of Samogy, into open rebellion.

The young king soon gained a victory over the insurgents, and, as a grateful acknowledgment for his success, he finished and richly endowed the Benedictine monastery which

his father had commenced. He was equally successful in an engagement with the Transylvanian prince Gyula ; and, as he refused to embrace Christianity, Stephen kept him in prison for the remainder of his life, and joined his land to Hungary in the year 1002.

Stephen enforced a strict observance of the Sabbath. All the cattle and implements which were found employed in the desecration of that day were confiscated. He built also several churches ; established and endowed many bishoprics and monasteries.

He divided the kingdom into counties (*Gespanschaften*), appointed a royal palatine, lieutenants of counties, and judges ; he established schools for the education of the youth, and by strict laws secured the right of property. His last days, however, were embittered by domestic troubles. His son Emerich died unexpectedly, in his twenty-fourth year. His wife, a Bavarian princess, rendered his life miserable by her intrigues. She succeeded, by the assistance of the monks, in persuading Stephen to appoint his sister's son Peter, from Italy, as his successor, and thus exclude Vasul, Andrew, and Bela, who had a nearer claim. The two latter fled to Poland, but Vasul was put to death with excruciating torment, his eyes being put out, and boiling lead poured into his ears.

The avenging justice of a righteous God soon visited Peter with ample retribution. By the extravagances of his life, and still more by the preference shown to foreigners at court, he excited his people twice to rebel. In the second revolution he was taken prisoner, had his eyes put out, and died in prison in Stuhlweissenburg in the year 1046.

Glad to be freed from this king, the Hungarians recalled Andrew from banishment, and offered him the throne, on the express condition that he should root out Christianity ; for, according to their opinion, all the evils they had suffered under Peter's reign were to be attributed to the religion

which he professed. Though this condition was much opposed to his own inclination, yet Andrew unhappily consented. Little did he think how many churches and monasteries should thus be wasted; how many clergy, particularly foreigners, should be delivered up to the cruelties of an exasperated people. Without delay the Hungarians proceeded to demolish all that bore the Christian name; and it was on this occasion that Bishop Gellert was thrown from the Blocksberg at Ofen, whence the hill to this day bears his name.*

Very shortly after his coronation, however, Andrew I. issued an edict, commanding the nation to return to the Christian religion; and his whole life was spent in its defence. His brother Bela came to the throne in 1060, and followed in his footsteps, but reigned only three years.

Scarcely had Christianity thus gained a little stability in the land, when the devastating hordes of the wild Rhunen, during the reign of Solomon, breaking out of Moldavia, plundered Hungary to the banks of the Teiss. Equally destructive were the invasions of the Bulgarians and the Greeks about the same time; and it was not till the reign of Ladislaus that the clouds began to scatter.

With his reign commenced a bright period in the history of the Church of Christ in Hungary. Solomon was soon dethroned, and Ladislaus, thus set free, proceeded to invade Croatia, which he conquered in 1091, and founded there the bishopric of Agram. Having attacked a plundering horde of the Rhunen, he conquered them at the river Temes, and took them all captive. He now gave his prisoners the choice between embracing Christianity and suffering death. They chose the former, upon which they received the present Zazygia as their place of residence.

Ladislaus strove to advance the social condition of his

* Called by the Hungarians, "Szent Gellert Hegy," or Gellert's Hill.

people, and for this purpose summoned two general councils or parliaments. He died in the eighteenth year of his reign, A. D. 1095, and was buried in Grosswardein. The people mourned for him three years. During his reign, Pope Gregory VII. had given Stephen I. of Hungary, and his son Emerich, a place in the Calendar; and a later Pope, in consideration of the great benefits which Ladislaus had rendered the Church, placed him also among the Romish saints.

These costly and pompous ceremonies of canonization tended only to enrich the Pope, and to flatter and deceive the people, by leading them to look for salvation in outward ceremonies, and forget the words of the Lord Jesus, "The kingdom of God is within you."

Rome placed other gods beside the Lord Jesus. The Scripture teaches us of only one God and one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus (1 Tim. ii. 5); only one Intercessor and Advocate with the Father (1 John ii. 1, 2); only one High-Priest, holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners, and made higher than the heavens, who is able also to save them to the uttermost that come unto God by him, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for them (Heb. vii. 25).

At a very early period the Papacy had mixed up with the pure doctrines of the Gospel many heathen rites and ceremonies. Thus was the effect of a preached Gospel weakened or destroyed. How glorious might the fruits have been, had Rome availed herself of the opportunities offered by well-disposed princes to spread the pure religion of Jesus! What a bright morning might have dawned on the land, if such an enlightened king as Kolomann had been properly supported and directed by the Church! As a man of penetration and knowledge, far in advance of his time, we find him prohibiting the burning of witches, "because there are none." The fever of the European Crusades had no power over him. The first companies of plundering Crusaders who reached

his territory on the way to Jerusalem, were driven back ; the next companies, under Godfrey of Bouillon, being more regular, obtained a free passage, with the necessary provisions by the way. By prudently yielding to their demands, he quieted the rebellious Croatians, and added Dalmatia to his kingdom.

After his death, in 1114, his son Stephen II. ascended the throne. He led a dissolute life, and died childless, having for the last years usually gone in the garb of a monk. He appointed the blinded Bela, the brother of Andrew, to be his successor. Bela died after a ten years' reign, leaving three sons, of whom the eldest, Geyza II., reigned till 1161.

This wise prince invited laborers from Germany to work in the mines and to till the land. It was during his reign, in the year 1142, that Saxons obtained a settlement in Transylvania, where they have ever since resided, retaining their freedom and their nationality, and numbering, at the present day, 200,000 souls.

His son Stephen III., a good-natured, easy man, suffered Dalmatia to be taken from him by the wily Greek Emperor Mamul. This loss, together with some other reverses, so affected him, that it shortened his life, and he died in the twenty-third year of his age.

His brother Bela III. reigned from the year 1173 till 1196. Although educated at the Greek court, yet he kept himself free from the corrupt principles and practices which there prevailed, and disappointed the fears of the Hungarians by his wise and good government. He introduced among his subjects the custom of handing in all their complaints in writing. His private secretary wrote a History of Hungary. He recovered Dalmatia from the Greeks ; and, as he was preparing for a crusade to Jerusalem, he died, in his forty-sixth year. To his eldest son, Emerich, he left the kingdom, and to the younger, Andrew, immense wealth, with the obligation to expend it in a crusade in the father's stead.

Neither of the sons reached the father's expectations. The eight years' reign of Emerich is to us, however, of importance, chiefly because, during that time, a very considerable number of Hungarians joined that band of faithful men who had dared to claim the Word of God as their rule of faith and practice, and to raise their voice against the errors of the Papacy ; to act as the Greek Church had done long before, and break loose from Rome. It was the sect of the Waldenses and Albigenses, or, as they were called in Italy, Patareni, or Cathari,* which at this time gained so many adherents.

As God has in the rich treasury of nature provided suitable remedies for all the ills that flesh is heir to, so has he also provided abundant relief for our spiritual maladies. When the priests under the Old Testament dispensation forsook the word of God, neglected their office, and turned to the world, the Lord raised up prophets to instruct the people ; and when the Church of Christ was by a hireling priesthood reduced to a state of abject ignorance, He raised up single individuals, and qualified them to strive for his cause. Such a witness for God was *Peter Waldus*. This great man, distinguished by wealth, knowledge, and a thorough acquaintance with the Word of God, who lived at Lyons, in France, and translated the Scriptures about the year 1170, was driven by fierce persecution from his native land, and came to reside in Bohemia. Here he gathered round him pious men, whom he sent out to preach the Gospel in Hungary.

So early as the year 1176, we find in Hungary many adhering to the doctrines of the Waldenses, who had sought here an asylum before the vengeance of Rome ; † even among the clergy, the number who had adopted these sentiments was not inconsiderable. ‡

* See Mosheim, Eccl. Hist., Cent. XI. ch. ii. 13.

† A very satisfactory evidence that the sect of the Waldenses existed long before the days of Peter Waldus, — that is, *Peter the Waldensian*. — Tr.

‡ Vitrings in Apocalyps. xii. 13

Under Emerich's reign, however, the number of Waldensian refugees became much more considerable. Those who, in France, Spain, and Italy, escaped the fire and sword of Innocent III., fled over Venice to Dalmatia and Bosnia, where they applied for protection to the Banus Kulin, who was a member of the Greek United Church, and who stood under the superior government of Hungary. At first the refugees found in him a protector, and afterwards a zealous friend. So soon as the wife of the Banus, and Daniel, Bishop of Bosnia, had declared their adherence to this sect, ten thousand Greeks publicly separated from the Roman Church. The Pope, and Bernhard, Archbishop of Spalatro, now demanded of Emerich, King of Hungary, that he should punish the heretics, and drive them back to the arms of the loving mother Church.

By the advice of the king, the Banus proceeded to Rome, and by his prudence succeeded in removing all danger for the present, — at least from himself if not from his protégés. Soon, however, his zealous neighbor, Wolkven, ruler of Sérvia, accused the Ban Kulin once more to Innocent III. The Pope, urged on by Bernhard, now demanded that Kulin should be banished, as also that the Bishop Daniel and all the heretics should be expelled or subdued by force of arms. But little was wanting to make Hungary and the adjoining countries the scene of a bloody religious warfare, as the plains of France and Savoy had already been made at the bidding of him who styles himself “the Vicar of Christ on earth.”

Emerich was wise enough to refuse the Pope's demand. He advised the Ban and the Bishop to be cautious, and thus thousands escaped the fate of their brethren in the faith in other lands. Daniel continued bishop for life ; * after his death, however, the Pope's legate, John, who came from Ser-

* Catal. Testium Verit., p. 724.

via to Bosnia, succeeded, on the Tuesday after Easter, 1203, in bringing a great number of the Patareni back to the Church of Rome. The Ban Kulin, probably tired of the commotions, assisted him in the work. The conditions were, however, very easy. The contract was first brought to be signed by Emerich, at the royal residence on the Hare Island, between Old and New Ofen, and afterwards sent to the Ban to guide him in his future conduct towards Rome, and also towards the so-called heretics.*

The doctrines of the Albigenses took deep root, however, among the Bosnians, and were by this trading people carried into Dalmatia, Croatia, and Slavonia, with so much effect, that the Hungarian bishops, in terror, demanded the introduction of the Inquisition in the year 1228.†

About this time, after the death of Ladislaus III., the kingdom had passed to Andrew II. It was long before this prince thought of fulfilling his father's wish in undertaking the crusade. And then, the money left for that purpose being all spent, Andrew levied new taxes, and farmed out the royal revenues to the Jews and Mohammedans. The necessary funds being thus obtained, he had his son Bela crowned to rule the land in his absence, while he with ten thousand horsemen set out for the Holy Land. The only fruits of this crusade were, that, after having narrowly escaped being poisoned in the valley of Lebanon, he returned laden with relics, and brought also with him the daughter of the Greek emperor, Laskaris, as a bride for his son Bela.

He found the country like a garden run wild. The haughtiness of the nobility, the rapacity of the clergy, the usurious oppression of those who farmed the public revenues, and the general demoralization of the people, were unbounded.

* Fessler, *Geschichte der Ungarn*, 6tes Heft, p. 345.

† The founder of the Inquisition was Innocent III. in 1215; but it was under Gregory IX., in the year 1233, that this institution first became so terrible.

The difficulties were rather increased than diminished by the famous Diet of 1222, in which, by the Golden Bull, new immunities were granted to the nobility. Contrary to his promise, Dionysius, who was much disliked, continued to be palatine, and the royal revenues still remained in the hands of the Jews and Mohammedans, who oppressed the people to that extent that many changed their faith for that of their oppressors. Thus far was the moral and religious state of the land debased by a monopoly which had been granted without due restrictions. In vain did the Pope, who would gladly have had his own hand in the bag, warn the profligate Andrew to be more moderate in his expenditures, and to give the farming of the taxes only to Christians; it came at last so far that Robert, Archbishop of Grán, laid the whole land under the Papal ban.

Thus was the thirty years' reign of Andrew II. one unbroken chain of difficulty, misfortune, and distress for him and his whole people; and he left the kingdom, in a state of great demoralization and poverty, to his son, Bela IV., in the year 1235. Soon was the royal authority again restored, and Duke Frederick of Austria, whom some malecontents had called into the land, was, in 1236, driven back as far as Vienna, and made to pay dearly for his ravages in Hungary. Misunderstandings soon crept in again between ruler and people; for, as the Rhunen were more and more annoyed by their neighbors, the wild Mongols of Moldavia, Bela brought forty thousand families of them into the present Great Rumania, which highly offended the Hungarians. Both king and people suffered for this on an early day; for when the wild hordes of the Tartars, coming as a scourge over Russia and Poland, broke into Hungary, only a few thousand Hungarians could with difficulty be brought together to meet them. "Love is the fulfilling of the law." The love of a people to their ruler is, in the hour of need, the key which unlocks the treasures, the talisman which conjures up

armies, the secret power which enables to make every sacrifice ; mutual love forms the electric chain through which the spark of the ruler's will is communicated to all his subjects, and the subject's wish is brought back to the ruler.

It was lamentable that this bond was not so firm as the king deserved, and as the people's danger required. On the 12th of March, 1241, the wild hordes of the Mongols, to the number of half a million, under the guidance of Batu Khan, crossed the Carpathian Mountains, and on the third day after they swarmed round Pesth. Contrary to his own wish, but by the advice of Archbishop Ugrin of Kalocz, Bela gave battle with one hundred thousand men, at the river Sajo. The Hungarians, in a bad position, and hampered in their movements, were completely routed. Kalman, the brother of the king, died of his wounds, and it was only with difficulty that the king himself escaped. He fled to Frederick, Duke of Austria, who, however, plundered him of all the money he had left. He then passed over to Dalmatia, where, on the islands Issa and Bua, he found safety.

When the Tartars forsook Hungary, in 1242, they left it literally as a graveyard. Many villages, towns, and churches were burnt and plundered. Some of the inhabitants fled to the marshes and impenetrable woods ; but the rest, without exception, were butchered. When the remnant began to return from their concealments, they found the wild beasts so numerous that the wolves took the infants out of the cradle. In addition to all this, the plague broke out, and swarms of locusts came, devouring every green thing. The people lived on carrion,—indeed, even human flesh was publicly sold in the market ! A terrible judgment of God lay on the land. All religion, all the finer feelings of humanity, seemed completely vanished.

The sorely tried king did his utmost to alleviate the distress. He travelled through the land, strove to comfort the distressed, administered alms to the poor, invited foreigners

to settle in the country, and thus rescued it from the verge of destruction. Bela IV. knew that the inhabitants of a land are its riches, and that king and country are rich and powerful in proportion to the number of industrious hands they can claim as their own. To spare this treasure, which was, indeed, sufficiently small, the king declined obeying the repeated commands of Pope Gregory IX., to undertake a crusade against John Asan, the heretical king of the Bulgarians. Why ruin his people by another war? he thought. The Pope had, by his legate, James, raised sufficient disturbance in Hungary, so that the archbishop preferred taking the side of the king to that of his spiritual master. Bela had much to do to prevent the land falling back to heathen darkness.

The two following kings did little for the land. Stephen V., the ungrateful son of Bela, reigned only two years, and was succeeded by his son, Ladislaus IV., who wore the crown of Hungary till 1290. He spent his time chiefly among the Rumanians, who were mostly heathens, and became a voluptuary and sensualist like themselves. He looked quietly on while they plundered the churches, and compelled those of their own people who had become Christians to turn back to heathenism. The exasperated Hungarians fell on the Rumanians, and were about to compel them to be baptized, on which they rose in troops to leave the land. They returned, to invade Transylvania, in 1282, but were repulsed by Ladislaus; on which they joined with the Tartars, and returned with an immense host, in 1285. They spread such devastations that many of themselves died of hunger; the pestilence raged fearfully among them, and those who tried to escape were cut down by the Hungarians, so that very few reached their home.

So great was the poverty of the people, that many had no cattle to till the fields; and though this was in part attributable to the wars, yet the profligacy of Ladislaus also bore part of the blame. The two-wheeled cars, which were about this

time introduced, bear the name of the Ladislaus cars to this day, as a testimony of public opinion against the king, that he was, at least to some considerable extent, the cause of their poverty. He died a miserable death, being murdered by the Rumanians. He had neglected the customs of his people, and finding, therefore, no place in their affections, they called him "Khan Laszlo," the Rumanian Ladislaus.

The land of the childless king was inherited by Andrew III., who reigned from 1290 till 1301.

Though an intelligent and just prince, yet the land was not permitted, under his reign, to recover from its wounds. Mary, Queen of Naples, the daughter of Stephen, wished to raise her grandson, Charles Robert, then ten years of age, to the Hungarian throne. This unjust claim was supported by the Pope, by Dalmatia, and by a faction of Hungarians. It came so far that Charles Robert was crowned at Agram in the year 1300, by the ungrateful Gregory, whom Andrew had made bishop, and to whom he had shown so many favors.

Andrew's reign was near an end. Not supported by the Pope or the clergy in his aims at religious and moral reform, he made little progress in this respect. While he and the clergy were jealously watching each other, the doctrines of the Waldenses increased rapidly; and even at Ofen were the adherents so numerous, that the Papal legate, Philip Firmian, who had issued a strict edict against them, was obliged to save his life by flight.

In the following spring, as Andrew was, with his nobility and those of the clergy who had remained faithful, preparing to meet his rival in the field, a black deed stopped his course. His Italian body-servant, having been bribed, mixed poison in his food, and he died in the year 1301.

With him ceased the male line of the house of Arpad. Hungary, formerly an hereditary monarchy, from this time elected her king; and from 1301 till 1540, was governed by princes of different families.

CHAPTER III.

STATE OF HUNGARY UNDER RULERS OF DIFFERENT HOUSES,
FROM 1301 TO 1540. — THE HUSSITES.

John Huss. — His Death. — Jerome of Prague. — His Death. — Doctrines of the Hussites. — Spread and Persecution of these Doctrines in Bohemia, Hungary, and Transylvania.

SHORTLY after the death of Andrew III., we find the Waldenses in very considerable numbers in Hungary. Formed into separate congregations, and laboring with great zeal for the spread of their doctrines, they caused the Church of Rome much anxiety. About the year 1315, we find the numbers of this people enlightened by the Word of God — and, even as their enemies confess, maintaining a high standard of morality in Bohemia, Austria, and the neighboring lands — amounting to eighty thousand. Rome, therefore, did her utmost to have them suppressed. No term of disgrace was too bad, no crime too great, to impute to them. They were represented as maintaining the most terrible heresies, though their Catechism, published in 1100, and their Confession of Faith, in 1120, completely refuted the calumny.*

It was in Austria that the influence of Rome was first felt. In Vienna some were publicly led to the stake, and among these we find mention made of Simeon Scaliger, a Hungarian, who is represented as an apostle and angel of the sect, and who nobly witnessed for the truth in a martyr's death.†

* Joannes Honert in Dissert. Hist. Theol. de Fid. Religioneque Vet. Vald., pp. 38, 52, 62.

† Catal. Testium Verit., p. 756.

In Hungary the priests of Rome were less successful in gaining over the civil power to serve their purposes. This land, having been at all times more inclined towards the Greek than the Latin Church, afforded the Waldenses more protection, and furnished the priests with fewer blinded instruments for carrying out their bloody designs. The greater freedom of the Hungarian constitution was also unfavorable to the workings of the dark and slavish Inquisition ; so that even the commands which either by force or fraud were issued against the Waldenses were seldom carried out. Indeed, the Inquisition never gained a firm footing here, and was at no time so terrible as in other lands. Even many of the nobility embraced the new doctrines, and adhered to them with the more zeal, in proportion as they saw the riches and the pride of the Roman clergy increased.

Thus lived the Waldenses in free Hungary, under the protection of the powerful, almost independent nobility, with little to annoy them till the reign of the Emperor Sigismund, when they received the name *Hussites*, and at which time the days of trouble and visitation came.

In the year 1400, John Huss, who had previously been Professor in the Academy of Prague, was preaching in the Bethlehem Church in that city. The church was often too small to contain his audience. With a freedom, and in an evangelical spirit, which remind us of Luther, he testified against the vices of the clergy and the nobility, and did not spare even the Pope and his court. Kindness and severity were both tried for the sake of silencing this voice, but in vain. Many of his sermons are so eloquent, so penetrating and powerful, that they would scarcely be allowed, even in the present day, to appear in Austria without alteration. With him Gospel truth was everything, and in publishing this he cared little for persons and rank. He thought with the Apostles, "If I yet pleased men, I should not be the servant of Christ." (Gal. i. 10.)

As Pope John XXIII., in the year 1411, ordered a crusade to be preached against Naples, and proclaimed a free pardon of sin to all who took part in this war, — John Huss, Jerome of Prague, and other pious men, protested against the act, and publicly declared the Pope to be Antichrist, because he was exciting Christians to wage a deadly war against their brethren. The students carried the Popish bulls and indulgences in disgrace through the city, and afterwards burned them in the presence of many thousands of the inhabitants.

It was very natural that neither Rome, nor the degraded clergy, nor the immoral nobility, could bear such powerful testimonies. "Because ye are not of the world, therefore the world hateth you." The fate of these witnesses is well known. The hatred of the Roman clergy succeeded in having Huss burned at Constance on the 6th of July, 1415, and Jerome of Prague on the 10th of May, 1416, while the clergy of that tender Church, out of which is no salvation, quieted their consciences respecting the "safe-conduct" of the Emperor, by declaring, "No one is bound to keep faith with heretics." *

"Both of these men died praising God. On the way to the stake they sang hymns, and were as cheerful as if going to their wedding. No mere philosopher ever suffered the fiery death so nobly as these men did." Thus does Æneas Sylvius testify of both.† Their ashes were thrown into a pool, but their doctrines, and the love of their followers, could not be drowned. Their friends took home, instead of the ashes, a portion of the earth where they had suffered. Their memory was blessed. The cruelty of their bloodthirsty enemies was in vain, and their hopes were put to shame, for the number of adherents to their doctrines, instead of diminishing, increased very considerably.

* Hist. Present. Bohem., pp. 26, 30, 31.

† Æneas Sylvius, Hist. Boh., Cap. XXXVI. p. 75.

Shortly afterwards, when the Bohemians were declared to be heretics, and when the soldiers of Sigismund attempted to reduce them to obedience, a valiant general and defender of the faith was raised up in the person of John Ziska, a nobleman, who was so well supported by the people, that he gained eleven victories in succession over the imperial troops.

From this time the doctrines spread rapidly, even over Hungary and Transylvania, where many of the resident Saxons had already embraced the faith, but, for the sake of avoiding Sigismund's persecutions, had fled into Moldavia and Wallachia. The doctrines were also, when contrasted with those of the Church of Rome, of such a nature, that they commended themselves to every lover of truth. What most provoked the court of Rome, and what was regarded as their principal offence, next to the rejection of the Roman sovereignty, was the translation of the Scriptures into the native language, and the free use of this translation among the people.

According to the account of Æneas Sylvius, afterwards Pope Sylvester II., their principal doctrines were as follows:—

The Pope of Rome is nothing more than any other bishop.

No difference of rank should be made among the clergy, and not the ordination, but the holy life, makes the priest.

The souls of the deceased go immediately either to eternal life or eternal misery.

There is no purgatory.

It is a device of priestly avarice, and a useless thing, to pray for the dead.

All pictures of the Divine Being, and of the saints, should be abolished.

The consecrating of water is ridiculous.

The clergy should be poor, and content with their alms.

Confirmation and extreme unction are no sacraments.

The confessional is mere child's play.

Baptism should be performed simply with water.

The consecrating of burying-grounds is only for the sake of gain, and it is all one where the dead lie.

The priest's dress, the church ornaments and vessels, are of little importance.

The priest can, at all times and places, prepare and administer the sacrament of the body of Christ, and the use of the words of consecration is for that purpose sufficient.

Prayer to the saints reigning in heaven with Christ is useless.

On the Sabbath, one is bound to refrain only from daily labor.

The adoration of the saints must be completely rejected.

Fasts appointed by the Church have no merit before God.

The religion of the begging monks is an invention of Satan.

Every man has a right to preach the Gospel.*

These were the principal doctrines which Rome considered dangerous to her interests, and which, by the deluded civil powers, she strove to extinguish in blood. The war which, under Sigismund, had not been very happily ended, was continued by Rome under the reign of his successor Ladislaus, in Hungary. Here, and especially in Upper Hungary, had many Hussites, during the war, found a home. This immigration had taken place especially about the year 1424, when Ziska had led the Hussites triumphantly through Lausitz and Silesia into Hungary. Thousands of them settled in the counties of Presburg, Trentshin, Barsh, Neogräd, Sol, Thurutz, Liptau, Arva, Sharosh, and Albania. Here they formed congregations of their own, and built churches, where they worshipped God according to the dictates of their own conscience.

These circumstances annoyed Rome very much ; but what

* Hist. Boh., Cap. XXXV. p. 67.

was to be done? To banish them from Hungary would be little use. By so doing, the evil would only spread farther. In the year 1444, therefore, the Cardinal Julian concluded a contract with King Uladislaus, that the Hussites, wherever found, *should be completely destroyed*. The carrying out of this bloody decree was hindered by the unsuccessful battle of Varna, where King Uladislaus, who had been persuaded by the legate and the clergy to break his solemnly sworn peace with the Turks, fell in battle, and had his head carried about in triumph on a pike among the Turks.* With him fell the principal Hungarian nobility, and the Cardinal Julian was killed while attempting to escape.

The great misfortune which thus befell the nation was advantageous to the spread of the truth. Many of the clergy had fallen in battle; a dangerous foe was approaching; the cause of the Hussites, though as dangerous to Rome as the Mahometan invasion, was for the present forgotten. Under the regency of Hunyady, during the minority of Ladislaus V., the Hussites, united with the Bohemians under the guidance of Giskra, wasted and annoyed Upper Hungary. Even the brave Hunyady, who had so often defeated the Turks, could do little against them, for his troops were strongly biased in favor of the Hussites. He concluded a peace, therefore, with Giskra, which was the more likely to continue, as a terrible event set all Europe, and especially Hungary, in a state of feverish excitement.

Mahomet II. had taken possession of Constantinople on the 29th of May, 1453, and thus was the Greek empire brought to an end. Pope Martin V. proclaimed a crusade for the recovery of Constantinople, and, through the monk

* "God of the Christians," said Amurad II., as he saw the Hungarian king coming down to the fight, "punish the traitor who dishonorest thy holy name by breach of his solemn oath!" Soon he fell under the swords of the Janizaries.

John Kapistran, issued a plenary indulgence to all who should take part in the war.

The Hungarians soon mustered under the guidance of the brave Hunyady. But not many of the nobility were in arms; for the Diet which had been held at Ofen, for considering the best means of defending the land, had led to no beneficial result; and the king, with his evil counsellor, Cilley, fled to Vienna, so that the defence of the country rested on Hunyady and his little noble band. He was soon strengthened by a company of sixty thousand volunteers whom John Kapistran had gathered. Other powers had promised help, but did not send. These volunteers, though of very different stations in life, and from different countries, as well as being very badly armed, were soon, under the prudent management of Hunyady, in such a state that they attacked the Turkish army, consisting of two hundred thousand men, at Belgrade, and obliged them to fly, with a loss of forty thousand men.

Shortly after this, Hunyady died at Zimon, in the eightieth year of his age, and in his stead his bitterest foe was appointed regent of Hungary. As he was about to punish with death Ladislaus, the son of Hunyady, at Belgrade, the army mutinied, and killed him. Thus were king and country freed from this evil counsellor. The king declared the sons of Hunyady not guilty, and, to relieve the mother's mind, took a solemn oath "that he would never avenge the death of Cilley on the sons of Hunyady." Notwithstanding this, however, he beheaded the eldest son, Ladislaus, on the 17th of March, 1457, and threw the younger son Matthew into prison. As the mother, and a near relative, Michael Kilagyi, raised troops to compel the king to set the guiltless youth free, Ladislaus V. fled to Vienna, and took Matthew with him. Shortly after, he went to Prague, and died on the 23d of November, 1457. People remarked that it was on that day twelve months before, that he had taken the oath not to harm the sons of Hunyady.

Matthew remained in the power of George Podiebrad. It was not long, however, till the remembrance of his father's merits, and some other circumstances, awakened such a feeling in his favor, that, at a general council held at Ofen for settling the affairs of the kingdom, amidst universal rejoicing, Kilagyi, standing with forty thousand troops on the frozen Danube, proclaimed this youth of fifteen years King of Hungary. In a few days an embassy was sent to bring Matthew — known as Matthew Corvinus — with great honor to Ofen.

The design of the present work will not allow us to follow this distinguished king, and recount all the good which he did for his country, — especially to record how he, during the thirty-two years of his reign, advanced the cause of learning. Though constantly engaged in war, yet he spared no expense to collect all the books and manuscripts which escaped the plunder in Constantinople and Athens, and to found a library in Ofen, and brought thither distinguished men from other countries. He also established a printing-press.

The more astonishing was it in this prince, that he dealt hardly with the Hussites. The Roman clergy, however, and the Pope, were able to stir him up to this work with so much more success, as the Bohemian king, Podiebrad, had openly taken their part, and, to please them, was oppressing Roman Catholics. When Paul II., therefore, had excommunicated the king of Bohemia, and promised to bestow the kingdom on any one who could conquer it, not only the Pope, but also the Emperor Frederick III., gave Matthew no rest till he took the field against his father-in-law, Podiebrad, in the year 1468. Though the Emperor neglected to send the promised assistance, yet Matthew at last conquered Moravia, Silesia, and Lausitz, and was crowned, at Brünn, King of Bohemia, in the year 1469. This was, however, of little use, for, at a Diet in Prague, Podiebrad succeeded in having a resolution

passed, that after his death the electors should choose Uladislaus, the son of Casimir, king of Poland, and not Matthew, to be their king. And they kept their word.

Matthew was not only involved in a dangerous war with Poland, but also engaged in quelling an insurrection in his own land. His former tutor, John Vitez, Archbishop of Grán, had excited this insurrection. The king was successful, and came away as conqueror in both cases.

About this time, the king, who was naturally inclined to be just, and who had obtained better information respecting the Hussites, recalled those whom he had banished two years before to Moravia, and gave them a residence in their own land.* What the Jesuits, Szent, Yvanyi, and especially Florimund, relate of the great severity of Matthew against the Hussites, seems, therefore, to be unfounded, as being directly opposed to the general character of the king; and especially as the latter historian shows himself to have been in other points badly informed. Florimund, for example, while telling of the burning of the Hussites before Ofen, makes Matthew to have died in 1525, while his death really took place on the 5th of April, 1490.

How little the king was inclined blindly to serve the interests of Rome, and how firmly he was resolved to protect his own royal rights and privileges against all pretensions of the Pope, may be seen from the extraordinary letter which he wrote to the Cardinal of Aragon, in which he declares that the right of the crown to bestow the bishoprics and other places of trust, he would on no account surrender to the Pope.† It is also worthy of notice, that he kept the learned and witty John, Bishop of Wardein, surnamed Pannonicus, as favorite poet at his court, and always near his person, although he was frequently writing cutting satires against the abuses of Rome

* *Historia Persecutionis Bohemiae*, XXII.

† *Apud Revan, Cant. V. p. 45.*

and the person of the Pope, with a keenness which sometimes resembles Juvenal. *

Matthew's successor was Uladislaus II., a good-natured and indolent prince, paying little attention to the affairs of his kingdom. The Hussites had, therefore, heavy trials during his reign. He was in the habit of replying to every request, whatever it was, "Dobre" (Good), for the sake of being freed from all further trouble, wherefore even the Hungarians called him in mockery, "Dobre Laszlo," Uladislaus the Good. When his queen was near her confinement, and her mind therefore more easily affected by the arguments and promises of her spiritual advisers, she was persuaded by the bishops to obtain from him an edict by which all the Hussites should be excluded from offices of trust, cast into prison, and, if they did not recant, be punished with death. †

In the year 1508 the Hussites suffered another persecution, which proceeded chiefly from the Augustine monks. In self-defence they handed their confession of faith to the king; and, as he very naturally could not find in this confession the heresies with which they were charged, and as they pictured forcibly the distresses to which they had been exposed, he was so moved, that he modified very considerably the severe edicts which had gone out against them. ‡ In forming this resolution, perhaps he was also moved by the fate of

* As a specimen, we may take a few lines out of his poem on the Roman Jubilee: —

"Hispani, Galli, Slavini, Teutones, Hunni,
Clavigeri petitis limina sancti Petri;
Quo ruitis, stulti? Latios ditare Penates?
Salvari in patria hiccine nemo potest?"

"O Spaniards, Gauls, Slavonians, Germans, Huns,
Ye seek the gates of him who bears the keys;
Why run so far, ye fools? To enrich the Latin gods?
Is no one saved, then, who remains at home?"

† Adrian Regenvolscius in Hist. Eccl. Slavoniæ.

‡ Istvanfy, Lib. II. p. 177.

his wife. Shortly after persuading him to issue these severe decrees against the Hussites, she had died in Prague of a premature confinement. With much difficulty the life of the child was saved, and he afterwards reigned as King of Hungary till he met with his death in the battle of Mohács.*

The threatening aspects of the times — arising from the fear that Selim I., the Turkish emperor, would invade Hungary, and still more, from that irregular mass of crusaders, who, to the amount of forty thousand men, under the guidance of Dorsa, were turning their weapons against the nobility — induced the priests, and indeed all who were possessed of property, to give the persecuted Hussites a little rest. They lived then quietly and retired till the sun of the Reformation, with its enlightening and warming beams, shone also on them. As, with the exception of a few points, they held generally the same principles as the Reformers, agreeing with them completely in acknowledging the supremacy of the Word of God, they gladly united with this movement. To escape the bloody persecution under Ferdinand II. of Austria, many of them emigrated from Bohemia and Moravia into Germany, where they, under the guidance of Count Zinzendorf, founded flourishing congregations at Herrnhut and other places. These churches made most incredible sacrifices for the spread of the Gospel in Greenland, Africa, and America; and even to the present day their missions are in a most prosperous state. The Hussites in Hungary and Transylvania escaped from the oppression of the priests by emigrating to Wallachia, where they long maintained their principles uncontaminated. In the year 1716 they sent to the Reformed Church of Transylvania, asking for preachers to be sent them. As this demand, however, could not be fully satisfied, part of them joined the Greek Church, and part fell into the hands of the Franciscan monks.

* Hist. Present. Bohem., Cap. XXIV. p. 82.

CHAPTER IV.

DECAY OF CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE AND MORALS AMONG CLERGY
AND LAITY IN HUNGARY PREVIOUS TO THE REFORMATION.

How far the religion of Jesus had decayed in the Middle Ages under the hands of the priests of Rome, and how deep the Church and her servants were, both morally and intellectually, sunk, is universally acknowledged. The state of Hungary^p was naturally no better than other countries similarly situated. For, in the first place, the constant wars did not tend to improve the morals, and then the wealth and high rank of the clergy gave them frequent opportunities for sensual gratification. The bishops, abbots, and superior clergy of Hungary, were, in general, also wealthy landholders, who, under the prevailing feudal system, were often called on to decide, not only with reference to the property, but also the lives and liberties, of their descendants. It was no wonder, then, that, instead of feeding the lambs of the fold of Christ, they involved themselves in worldly business and affairs of state, while their lives were notoriously ill calculated to adorn the Gospel.

The essence of religion was supposed to lie in the outward ceremonies of the Church, which were performed without devotion by the clergy, and attended on by the people merely out of custom. The orthodoxy of the people was tested by their attendance on these services. The Popes created one saint after another, and appointed them patron deities of certain lands, to whom altars were built, and to whom the superstitious people fled for protection in the time of need. Pretended wonders said to have been performed by these saints

were, with the Pope's approbation, used as means of drawing the people still more closely to the worship even of their pictures and images.

What Cardinal Bellarmin says of other countries, was also true of Hungary. "There was scarcely any true religion more." In proportion, however, to the want of vital godliness, was the number of "holy places." In Hungary there were reckoned one hundred and forty different places where the image of the Virgin Mary was represented as working wonders. These were afterwards described with great care, and illustrated with wood-cuts, by Prince Paul Esterházy, Palatine of Hungary, and printed in the Hungarian language, "for the conversion and confounding of all heretics, for the comfort of all orthodox (that is, Roman Catholic) Christians, and to the greater glory of the Mother of God"; dedicated especially to this hereditary queen of Hungary, "on whose birthday the author also was born."

To give the reader an idea of this book, which is very rare, we extract one description, entitled, —

*The Wonder-working Image of Our Lady at Presburg.**

"John Clemens, a native of Presburg, who died in 1641, in the sixtieth year of his age, returned shortly after to tell that, though he had died in a believing and penitent state, yet he must bear great pain in purgatory, because he had not done sufficient penance for his sins, especially for a murder for which he had paid only two hundred florins. He begged his wife, therefore, to divide two hundred florins more among the poor, otherwise he could not be saved.† Besides, in fulfilment of a vow which he had made, an image of the Virgin must be set on the altar of the largest church, and a certain number of prayers be read for him. As now a certain en-

* The wood-cut represents Mary sitting dressed as a nun, with a stola; the body of the Lord resting on her bosom, and his head supported by her right arm. At his feet may be seen a candle burning.

† Rome's commentary on the text 1 John i. 7-9! — Tr.

graver was about to form a suitable image, the spirit of the deceased man showed him an old image of the Virgin which he should set up in the church. When this was done, the spirit hung a veil over Mary, and placed a wax candle at the feet of Christ, which are preserved to this day. The spirit remained some days in the appearance of a white dove, and was seen by many, and then, surrounded with great glory, was taken up to the joys of the blessed. Many pious Christians receive to this day great benefits and blessings from this image, to the eternal glory of God."

The wonders which are told of some of these images are so great, that those of the Lord and his Apostles appear very small. Especially severe are the images of Mary against the Picards¹ or Waldenses, the Lutherans, and Calvinists, who, on account of despising them, are struck with madness or other painful diseases, and sometimes lose their property and their life. One of the most wondrous, however, of all the images, is perhaps that which the Druids at Carnotum in France made, *one hundred and fifty years before Christ*, to the Virgin and the Child which should be born.

A church was built at the same time for preserving it, and thereby many a wonder was performed, but especially once, when the son of the king had been drowned and was laid out before this image, he immediately recovered. The monks in Transylvania made considerable profits by carrying such images through the country.

In addition to all this, the sermons were filled with the most nonsensical fables and stories of saints, and of the wonders which they had wrought. Such a thick cloud rested on the hearts and minds of the people, and superstition was so universal, that escape from danger, victory gained, or any signal favor whatever, was not ascribed to God or Christ, but to Mary, or Martin, or George, or Ladislaus.

Indeed, they went so far as to set up public monuments to the saints for their imaginary help; as, among others, Prince Báthory did, in the year 1489.

That the ignorance of the monks was become proverbial, was a well-known fact. With few exceptions, they knew nothing more than their "Miserere" and Breviary. The numbers of those who seemed born for nothing else than to eat, were, with their begging habits, a terrible plague to the oppressed country people, and, by their ignorance, their superstition, and immorality, tended, in no small degree, still further to degrade those with whom they came in contact.

In bringing such sweeping charges, we are bound to sustain them with facts and dates. Let us look, then, at the Synodal Statutes of Stuhlweissenburg, in the preface to which Bishop Ladislaus Gereb complains so bitterly of the priests. Let us hear even the Jesuit Peterfy, who, in speaking of the year 1460, in the 33d Canon, refers to matters which show how deeply the clergy were sunk. Single voices, which were raised against the prevailing immorality, fell a sacrifice to calumny and persecution. Among these, some reckon John Vitez, Archbishop of Grán. This man, being accused of supporting the rebels against Matthew Corvinus, was deposed from office, and shortly after died of grief.

The ambition and covetousness of the clergy seemed beyond remedy. The sums of money which they demanded at funerals were so enormous, that Matthew was obliged to restrain them by a severe edict.* For the sake of levying money, they often put single individuals, or whole districts, under the ban; and in collecting tithes, they took such liberties as required laws to be passed, at the general national council, to restrain them.†

The immorality in the monasteries was incredible. In the year 1477, Matthew handed over a neighboring abbey, "in consequence of the impure lives of the abbots," to the care

* Article 63 of the year 1486, and Article 2 of the year 1513.

† Article 45 of the year 1495, and Act 1 of the year 1504.

of the monks of Hermannstadt. Other monasteries were, for the same reason, completely closed. It is, then, not true, what Cardinal Pazman asserts, that the monks fled away simply to avoid persecution, and that, without any crime chargeable against them, others came in and took their place.

Matters were made still worse by Thomas Bakayius, Archbishop of Grán, in the year 1514. After the death of Pope Julius II., he went to Rome, in the hope of himself being made Pope, and having wasted all his property in vain, he begged the newly elected Pope, Leo X., to give him assistance against the Turks. As Leo had little money to spare, he supplied the Hungarian archbishop with an immense number of indulgences, promising forgiveness of sin and eternal life to all who went to battle against the common foe.*

There appears something very terrible in this presumption, when compared with the Word of God. God alone can forgive sin; and the keys, which were given, not to Peter alone, but to all the disciples, were never inherited by any one, in the Papal sense. The ignorance of the people, however, served best the purposes of the clergy; for when Archbishop Thomas Bákács published the Papal bull, on the 16th of April, at Ofen, there soon appeared an immense number, prepared to engage in this holy war. In one month, forty thousand were brought together, and shortly after, the number increased to one hundred thousand. They were, however, chiefly such as could be very well spared in their native villages, and who, from want of discipline and want of leaders, were not likely to do any great injury to the Turk. Some dissatisfaction was felt by the nobles on losing so many of their serfs and laborers; but the archbishop cared for none of these things. He appointed a leader, named George Dorsa, who soon distinguished himself at Zemendria, by kill-

* Timon in *Purpura Pannon.*, p. 30.

ing, in single combat, the leader of a Turkish band. For this deed he received from the king double pay, a gold chain, a scarlet coat worked with gold lace, spurs and sword, an estate, and, out of the king's own hand, a coat of arms.* The archbishop made him a present of a white flag, with a red cross.

The worst fears of the nobility respecting this crusade were soon realized. Some of the nobles had followed their runaway servants, and, with much severity, had brought them back. Besides, as there had been no provision made beforehand for the support of this band, they were soon under the necessity of stealing, to obtain a living; and it was not long till Dorsa led them on regularly to plunder the nobles and the clergy. As a stone rolling down a hill, these bands went on with accelerating impetuosity in crime, till the name "crusader" became, as it continues to this day, a word of terror. The education of the people had been neglected, and it was seen with how much truth Luther said, "Take away the schools and the churches, and the mass of the people will soon become like bears and wolves."

And, really, like bears and wolves did these crusaders act. In this peasant war, which was only with great difficulty brought to an end, it was reckoned that seventy thousand men must have perished. Among these were four hundred of the nobility, and about fourteen bishops, whom the wild rabble either impaled or murdered in some other cruel way.

That was the terrible result of Papal indulgences bestowed on a people devoid of the fear of God and of true repentance. Supposed pardon of sin, without corresponding sanctification, made them like wild beasts. Means must be taken to prevent such excesses for the future. The proper means—educating and elevating the masses—was contrary to the spirit of the times; no one thought of it. A decree was

* Istvanfy, Lib. V. p. 41.

passed degrading all the peasants and tributary landholders. They and their children should for ever be excluded from all higher civil offices and places of confidence.* But by such a proceeding the state of the nation was in no respect improved. In this miserable condition was the civil, political, and religious state of the country when the report of Luther's work, and the ninety-five theses which he had nailed on the church door in Wittenberg, passed from one to another. Thousands, in a state of bodily and spiritual oppression, paused to hear, and many hundreds asked, when they heard these new doctrines, with an earnestness equal to that which pervaded the crowd on the great Pentecostal day, "What meaneth this?"

* Act 24, in the year 1514.

CHAPTER V.

FIRST APPEARANCE OF THE REFORMATION IN HUNGARY — TILL
THE BATTLE OF MOHÁCS, 1526.

Simon Grynäus and Vitus Viezheim, Professors in Ofen. — Queen Mary and her Chaplain, John Henkel, as Friends of Luther. — Contemporary Movements in Hermannstadt. — First Reformers of Transylvania. — Ambrosius and George summoned to Grán. — Marcus Pempflinger, Count of Saxony. — The Pope attempts to crush the Reformation. — Ludwig II. — Cardinal Cajétan. — Royal Decree against the Lutherans. — Hungarian Students at Wittenberg. — Burning of Luther's Books at Eödenberg. — General Council in 1525. — Louis II. writes to Eödenberg. — Battle at Mohács.

THERE was perhaps scarcely any other land in which so many, in so short a time, openly forsook the old Church and declared in favor of the Reformation. The Reformation appears at once before us like a powerful stream; and when we search carefully after its source, we find it losing itself amid wars and misery, — much like the rivers of Africa, whose sources lie hidden in the shifting sands. The immense success of the Lutheran doctrines in Hungary is in every respect an object of deep interest to the historian. It appears like a well-organized and disciplined army under able leaders, driven out of the field by a few bandits in a guerilla warfare.

To explain this extraordinary appearance, we must not forget how the doctrines of the Hussites brought over from Bohemia had, with more or less success, for more than a century, been spread over Upper Hungary, Transylvania, Moldavia, and Wallachia. In vain had been all attempts of the Pope and the clergy to banish these so-called heretics.

Notwithstanding the fanatical zeal of Rome, the free Hungarian constitution prevented the priests from completing their designs. When a decree was obtained against the Hussites — by fair means or foul — the next step was to read this decree in the different parishes. Each parish must then attend to the carrying out of the decree within its own bounds ; and when the punishment would have fallen on the nobility or their immediate dependents, as a matter of course, there was no punishment inflicted. Another reason why the Hussites had not been banished lay in the deep hatred and contempt which the higher and lower nobility, as well as the mass of the people, entertained towards the clergy, so that they were not peculiarly inclined to carry out the wish of their priests. The very credible and respectable Thurnschwamm, who lived in Ofen contemporary with Louis II., has preserved, in his chronicles, a description of the clergy of his time.

“For many years,” writes Thurnschwamm, “have the bishops and clergy ruined Hungary. They have ever anxiously sought all high offices at court, and have striven to become councillors, chancellors, treasurers, and governors. In my own time I have seen Peter, Bishop of Wessprin, acting as Banus, that is, governor-general, over Dalmatia, Croatia, and Bosnia, &c. See the Bishop Falkanus!” cries this writer ; “under his dictatorial sway there is no money left in the treasury. He will not only govern the land, but also the king, who is compelled to submit to the bishop and depend upon him.”*

This position of affairs, equally injurious to the state and church, favored the progress of the Reformation. Another impulse which it received was from the German troops which came to help Hungary against the Turks. For, though these soldiers generally did as little for the cause of Christ as for

* John Ribinyi, *Memor. Aug. Conf. Part.*, p. 17.

the cause of the Pope, yet there were many just now among them who had caught up the spirit of the Reformation, and carried the word of life, as the wind carries the seed, far away to other lands.

The prose works and the hymns of Luther, which had awakened so much interest in other lands, came readily into Hungary; and the more so, as no such strict examination of books took place then on the frontiers as now, while the great numbers of Germans residing in the free cities and in Transylvania kept up a close connection with their native land. Hungary and Germany were bound closely together by the links of commerce, and while the merchants brought with them to Hungary the tracts which at home excited so much attention, they were eagerly bought up and read by an inquiring people. At that time each one had liberty to speak and write as he chose, and the Hungarian constitution favored this freedom. It is, then, not strange that the Hungarians now demand so earnestly the same privilege as their natural right, without which they have no security for their most sacred claims as Christians and as men.

The first attacks on this liberty were made by the Popes and their emissaries. So soon as any one ventured, either in civil or religious matters, to broach doctrines calculated to limit the power of these false apostles of Christ, there was immediately a bull issued condemning him and his works as heretical, and every effort was then made to compel him to recant, or, if he refused, to taste the tender mercies of Rome, in the dungeon, or at the hands of the executioner.

Like Galileo, Savonarola, and Huss, Luther was also doomed to feel the spirit-crushing power of Rome. As he not only refused to withdraw and recant his theses, but, on the contrary, continued ably to defend them, Leo X., in 1520, hurled also at him the fiery bull of excommunication, hoping that he too would be destroyed by its power. Luther was not the man to tremble. He wrote a commentary on

the Pope's bull ; showed how it had been issued without hearing him in self-defence ; and then wrote another fly-sheet, entitled *The Babylonian Captivity*, in which he did not spare the bloodthirsty Leo.

At this time Luther appears to have had many adherents in Hungary, as may be easily seen from the steps which were taken by the enemies of the Reformation. In the following year (1521), George Szákmáry, Archbishop of Grán, had a condemnation of Luther and his writings read from the pulpits of the principal churches in Hungary.*

By this step, however, the friends of the Gospel were only encouraged and increased. Many clergy and teachers, who, with a desire for truth, had sighed under the oppression of the hierarchy, now stepped forward in different parts of the land at the same time, as if by previous arrangement, and declared Luther's doctrines to be founded on the Word of God, and his aim to be just. The living Word, coming from hearts warmed by conviction, produced a wondrous effect ; and in a short time, whole parishes, villages, and towns — yes, perhaps the half of Hungary — declared for the Reformation.

The Jesuit, Samuel Timon, tells us that a certain Simon Grynaeus, Professor in the Academy in Ofen, began to teach the doctrines of Luther ; and the apostolic notary, Sigismund Podlussani, complains of this Grynaeus, that he, in the year 1523, had, with great pretensions of piety, recommended the writings of Luther, and having for this crime been cast into prison, he was again immediately set free. Contemporary with Grynaeus was Vitus Viezheim, laboring in the same school, and in the year 1525, we find both of these men in exile, the latter as Professor of Greek in Wittenberg, and the former as Professor of Philosophy in Basle.

* Archbp. Strigon, Comp. dat. Zyrnavia 1762, fol. p. 96.

The same spirit animated the pastor John Cordatus,* and the chaplain of Queen Mary, John Henkel. This latter was the friend of Erasmus; and having explained to the queen the true nature and aim of Luther's work, he gained her over to the side of the Reformation. The chaplain was so highly esteemed by the queen, that she would on no account part with him. In 1530, she and her chaplain went to the Diet at Augsburg, and when all others were, by the order of Charles, prevented from preaching, Henkel still continued to proclaim the Word of God at the court of Mary.

Her love to the truth may be seen from the fact that she always carried about with her a Latin Testament, which was afterwards found to be full of annotations in her own handwriting. At the Diet of Augsburg she is said to have warned her brother Charles to see that he should not be deceived by the priests as her husband Louis II. had been.†

It is well known that when Luther wrote to Queen Mary, sending her four psalms which he had translated for her comfort, and one of his own hymns,‡ he remarks that "he has with great pleasure seen that she is a friend of the Gospel."

It is therefore in vain that the Jesuit Gabriel Zerdahélyi

* After the death of the king and removal of the queen, Cordatus could remain no longer in Ofen. He is probably the pastor of Zwickau, to whom Luther wrote in 1530; and who, therefore, never returned to Hungary. We are confirmed in this opinion partly by the complete silence of Church history, partly by a singular passage in a commentary on the 65th Psalm by Celsus, — In loc. Theol. Hist. M. Casp. Titii, 1664, 4 to Loc. 83, Cap. V. § 8, p. 1361; Conrad Cordatus, a very learned man, the first superintendent in *Standal*, used to say in his sermons, — "As I used to tell my congregation," he said, "in Ofen, in Hungary, where I was for some time pastor, that on account of their sins God would send the Turks to punish them, — they found it ridiculous. It took place, however, on account of their impenitence, which is the greatest possible ingratitude, and the same can happen to you while you are despisers of the Word of God."

† Spalatin relatio de comitiis, August, 1530.

‡ "Mag auf Unglück nicht widerstehn."

denies that she favored Protestantism ; for, even if all the proofs which have already been given were not sufficient to convince a Jesuit, still he should not close his ears to the complaint of the Pope's legate, Jerome Alexander, who, in the year 1539, when she was regent of Belgium, accuses her to her brother Charles V., " that she did not cease on all occasions to show favor to the Lutheran religion." The ground of this complaint was, that she had attempted to draw away the Elector of Treves from the League of Nuremberg, and had detained the French embassy sent to consult with the emperor about the best means for crushing the Protestants.* We afterwards find her accompanying her brother to Spain, where she died in the year 1558.

In the town of Bartfield in Upper Hungary, a certain D. Isaiah had struggled hard against Popery till the year 1539, when Leonard Stöckel, returning from Germany, persuaded the whole parish to become Protestant. The miners, who had been brought out of Germany many years before, and who still retained their German language and customs, had at once declared in favor of Luther, and from the beginning of the Reformation had partaken of the communion in both kinds, as even the reprobate physician Paul Bácsmégy acknowledges.†

In the free cities Presburg, Güns, and Œdenberg, and still more among the Saxons in Transylvania, a most decided adherence to Luther's writings was exhibited. Rome saw the thundercloud gathering over her head, and made every effort to escape the impending danger.

King Louis, who had only reached his sixteenth year, and was therefore not in a state to form an independent judgment, was made the blind tool of the priests. On his way home from Prague, where his wife was crowned in 1522, he had

* Seckendorff, Lib. III. Sect. 18, § 80, p. 206.

† Leisure Hours, p. 623.

directed the citizens of Iglau in Moravia to meet him at Olmutz, and having warned and threatened them, he threw their faithful pastor John Speratus into prison.

In the same spirit, immediately on his return to Ofen, he wrote to the authorities at Hermannstadt; and, as a faithful son of the Church, he had good reason to send a warning to that city, for Count Mark Pempfinger, under whose special protection the city stood, had at that time a quarrel with the Archbishop of Grán, and it afforded him some satisfaction to be able to vex the Archbishop by favoring the Protestants. God maketh even the wrath of man to praise him. When, therefore, Luther's writings were brought in thick succession by the merchants, and when the citizens read with astonishment what was written respecting "Christian Liberty," "Confession," "Repentance," "Baptism," "The Sufferings of Christ," "The Communion," "The Epistle to the Galatians," and similar works, they demanded that the Popish abuses should be removed.*

Just at this time there came two monks out of Silesia, by name Ambrose and George, who had known Luther personally, and had heard him explain his own views. These men soon succeeded in clearing away any doubts which still remained on their minds, and very soon, by the power of the truth, many were brought to taste the glorious liberty of the children of God.†

A third monk, John Surdaster, soon joined them. His zeal was so burning, that he, at first in the open air, and afterwards in the Elizabethan Church under the protection of Mark Pempfinger, delivered a series of lectures on Luther's theses. The people, and even the members of the town council, heard him so gladly, that, notwithstanding the opposition of the clergy and the threats of the court, catechiza-

* Haner, *Hist. Eccl.* p. 147.

† Smeizel de Statu Luth. in *Transyl.* p. 23.

tions were held in the public squares and market-places. And though the Archbishop succeeded in bringing the two Silesian monks to Grán, and though, notwithstanding their "safe-conduct," from the king, they never returned to Transylvania, yet the fire which was kindled in the hearts of the Saxons in Hermannstadt was never extinguished. It was little wonder if those whom Rome had trained to the bitterest intolerance against all views of religion but their own, should all at once forget what had been so deeply imprinted on them. And, however the historian may deplore some things which took place, yet it certainly ill becomes Rome to complain that the Protestants sometimes mocked and annoyed the priests in their religious services; turned some of them out of office, and filled their place with preachers of the Gospel; and that the curates who came to gather in the tithes were often met with mockery, and sent away without their ducks and geese.

During the magnificent processions of Corpus Christi day, many of the citizens might have been heard saying, "Our priests suppose God to be blind while they light him so many candles"; and others replied, "They think God to be a child whom they must carry about." * They refused to give Mary the prescribed honor, and declared the chanting of the "hours" in the cathedral to be folly, for the Lord had taught us to pray, "Our Father who art in heaven." †

Rome hoped to crush all these movements by force. At the instigation of Cajetan, the Pope's legate, Louis issued the terrible edict of 1523, according to which, "All Lutherans, and those *who favor them*, as well as all adherents to the sect, shall have their property confiscated, and themselves be punished with death, as heretics and foes of the most holy Virgin Mary."

* In the original, "Die priester denken Gott sei ein Kind, dass man ihn führen und in den armen der alten Weiber in der Stadt herumtragen müsse."

† Querelae seu scriptum dom. capit. super Luther, Anno 1526.

The priests had now obtained their wish. The Archbishop of Grán, Cardinal Ladislaus Szalkay, on his return from Rome, had a royal commission sent down to Transylvania, and especially to Hermannstadt, to purge it of its heresy. On their arrival, all the writings of Luther were sought for and taken by force out of the hands of the citizens, to be publicly burned in the market-place. The same took place in other towns in Hungary, and especially in Eödenberg, where we find the following entry, in the accounts of the treasurer of the city, anno 1525:—"Monday after New-year's-day, to the hangman for burning the Lutheran books, 1 d, d."*

When the burning of the books, and the excommunication of Luther and his followers, which was renewed on the 15th of August, 1524, did not produce the desired effect, the legate and the Archbishop brought the king and their party so far, that at the Diet of Bakosch, a decree was passed, that "All Lutherans shall be rooted out of the land; and wherever they are found, either by clergy or laymen, they may be seized and burned."†

Although the drawn sword seemed thus to hang over all who were not good Roman Catholics, yet the preachers of the Gospel, as well as the friends of Luther, increased. The young men began to go to Germany, and especially to Wittenberg, to study; and the terrible decrees of 1523 and 1525 appeared, as in Apostolic times, only to give more courage to profess the truth. A Hungarian, of the name of Martin Cyriacus, went to Wittenberg in 1520. Dionisius Linzius Pannonius followed in 1524, as also Balthasar Gleba, a native of Ofen, as the records of the University attest. Shortly afterwards, John Uttmann from Ofen, Christian Lany, John Sigler from Leutschan, Michael Szaly, Matthew Biro de

* Eödenberg City Records, Acct. of Father Vipser, 1525.

† Cæsar Baronius, *Annal.* 1525. Artic. 4, Anni 1525.

Vay, and George Débrécsin, are found studying under Luther and Melancthon, at least previous to the year 1530. All of these returned to Hungary, as powerful agents for spreading the Reformation.*

The Pope Clement VII. had written Louis a friendly letter, under date of 22d January, 1524, sending him 60,000 ducats (£ 28,000) for the war against the Turks ; and was, no doubt, gratified with the terrible law of 1525. Indeed he had no reason to be displeased, either with his legate, or with his Archbishop Szalkay, for both of them were sufficiently zealous, and the king was generally very submissive. But now, when the law was passed for the extirpation of the Protestants, Louis appeared to have no courage to execute it. Or did Queen Mary here act the part of the wife of Pontius Pilate, and warn her husband against the bloody work ? History furnishes us with no evidence on this point, but leaves abundant room for reasonable conjecture.

All that the king could be persuaded to do, was to write once more to the authorities of different towns, reminding them of their duty. The Archbishop had demanded the death of the Count of Saxony at Hermannstadt, but the king simply wrote him, reminding him of his office as executor of the laws, and promising royal favor if he were diligent in banishing the heretics.†

Count Pempflinger, however, who was really in earnest in advancing the Protestant cause, found occasion of delay, as he was about to present to the king a petition on behalf of the priests, monks, and students. The king had commanded them, under pain of death and confiscation of their property, to join immediately in the war, leaving only one priest behind for every two parishes. As Pempflinger was on his

* Petrus Monedulanus Lase. Hung.

† Smeizel de Stat. Luth. p. 34. Timon. Epitom. Chron. Rerum Hung. 1526.

way to the king, he received news of the terrible defeat at Mohács, on the 29th of August, 1526. He now hastened back to quiet the disturbances which the monks had made in his absence, and with great prudence he succeeded in this attempt.

CHAPTER VI.

BATTLE OF MOHÄCS, AND ITS IMMEDIATE EFFECTS ON THE
REFORMATION IN HUNGARY.

Death of Louis II. — Death of the Archbishop. — The Cardinal Legate flies and is overtaken. — John Zapolya remains inactive. — The Turks take Ofen, and burn the Carvinian Library. — Consequences of the Battle in the Spread of the Gospel.

As the Turkish Emperor Sôliman came nearer and nearer, like the wasting lavine, little hope could be entertained for the safety of the country. Belgrade was taken; the emperor was already in Peterwardein, the Hungarian Gibraltar, and still nothing done to defend the country.

In a letter of the 20th of February, he demanded tribute of Louis, threatening him at the same time with the destruction of Ofen, the extinction of the Christian religion, and the complete subjugation of himself and his princes, whom Soliman designated "fat oxen." *

The misery of Hungary was almost incredible. The priests thought only of pursuing the heretics; the nobility were divided into factions, and devoid of public spirit; the divisions and jealousies were increased by the influence of the crafty lawyer Verböesy, who was now become palatine. With the exception of the Pope's 60,000 ducats, which were but as a drop in the ocean, the king had no money for the exigency. What was worse, he had no proper advisers. The rich and influential John Zapolya, who had hopes of one day becoming king, did not even assist him, so that he was com-

* Fessler, Hist. Hung., Vol. VI. p. 274.

pelled to force his nobles into the field, under threat of punishing for treason those who did not appear.

No one would exert himself to do his duty, and very few did anything. The bishops, whose united income would have supported an army, preferred giving up the silver coffin of their saint Gerhard and the treasures of the Church, rather than their own treasures.

The country people who, since the time of the disturbances under Dorsa, had been much neglected, were rendered still more indifferent to their native land, on account of being deprived of their most valuable right, religious liberty.

On the 23d of July, 1526, Louis II. took leave of his young wife on the Island Csépel, near Ofen, and set out with a small army to meet the vast forces of Soliman.

As he proceeded, his army gradually increased by the influx of such hired servants and dependants as the bishops and nobles were bound to send; yet, when he reached Mohács in the county of Barany, he had only twenty-seven thousand men. In the absence of an experienced general, this army was intrusted to Archbishop Tomory, who had at one time been a Franciscan monk, at another time had gained a splendid victory over Terkat-Beg, and who now had the task of leading them on to be slaughtered by an army fifteen times their own number.

The blinded aristocracy, who had more valor than wisdom, in conjunction with the palatine, would not wait for the troops which were expected from King Ferdinand, but forced the king, against his will, to fight. The king, from all sides sorely pressed, must take the lead. On the 29th of August he put on his armor, but his friends observed that he was deadly pale. Archbishop Tomory, and the more cautious officers, already saw the issue.

Bishop Perényi remarked, "Here go twenty-six thousand Hungarians under the guidance of the Franciscan Tomory into the kingdom of heaven as martyrs for the faith; and it

would be highly desirable if at least the chancellor — who is acquainted with the Pope — should be spared to go to Rome and have them all made saints."

The worst fears were realized. Before evening the plain of Mohács was covered thick with the slain: Seven bishops, twenty-eight princes, five hundred nobles, and twenty thousand warriors lay on the field. Very few escaped. The king and the legate made an attempt to fly. King Louis was about to cross the marshy lake Csele, and thus escape, but his horse, having reached the further bank, fell backwards and crushed him in the mud. The cardinal legate was overtaken in his flight, and killed. Such was the battle of Mohács!

As the Turkish Emperor Soliman came on the morrow to see the slain, at the sight of Szalkay, the Archbishop of Grán, he is reported to have said, "He was a despicable miser, who, with all his wealth, refused to help his king in the time of need."

Plundering and wasting without opposition, Soliman reached Ofen on the 9th of September. The town was set on fire, and the library, with its forty thousand volumes, and the precious manuscripts which Matthew had collected with so much care, were all burned. After many years, single volumes were rescued from the ruins, and, as doubly valuable monuments of a melancholy epoch in the history of Hungary, they were bought up and preserved, partly by monasteries, partly by private individuals.

Let us now look at the consequences of the battle of Mohács in the spread of the Gospel. The Lord advances his cause on earth generally in a way which we least expect. As a gardener prepares the ground, and lays in the seed, so He prepares the heart of man by a process which is often bitter to the flesh, and in astonishment we see the trees growing up and bearing luxuriant fruit.

Such was the case in the battle of Mohács, which was a

first considered not only as a great national, but even European, calamity. God knew how to change the curse into a blessing. For, as the terrible defeat of the Hungarians in Bavaria in 955 broke down their pride, cured them of their lust for plunder, and prepared the way for receiving Christianity, so did the bloody battle of Mohács remove so many powerful and bitter foes of the Gospel, and took away at the same time means and agents for carrying out the bloody law of the last Diet.

To have a clear perception, however, of this comforting truth, we must review the political state and the internal confusion of the country at that time.

The utter incapacity of Uladislaus, father of Louis II., to govern the country, had induced the assembled Hungarians, in the field of Rakosh, in 1505, to pass the decree, "That in future no foreigner can be chosen king. A native Hungarian must wear the crown." Though the powerful and ambitious John Zapolya had exerted himself to the utmost, for private reasons, to obtain this decree, which was not very complimentary to Uladislaus, yet there were many who voted with him in consequence of the remembrance of the bright period when Matthew reigned. Besides, for two hundred years past, — ever since Arphad's line had ceased, — the Hungarians had allowed neither Pope nor any other power to interfere with them in the free election of their king.

On the death of Louis II., they were then, notwithstanding all that Fessler says, perfectly free to chose whom they wished. The family contracts between Ferdinand of Austria and Uladislaus, which had been made without their sanction, could not be binding on the nation. So soon, then, as Soliman left the country, after having plundered and burned nearly all that lay between the rivers Teiss and Raab, and having reduced the population by two hundred thousand, the remainder proceeded to elect a king, and the choice fell on John Zapolya, who was then voyvod of Transylvania, and

he was crowned at Stuhlweissenburg, on the 12th of November, 1526.

Ferdinand of Austria opposed the election, on the ground of a contract made between him and Louis II., and was supported partly by the adherents of his sister, the widowed Queen Mary, and partly by the deadly foe of the new king, Stephen Báthory, the powerful and ambitious palatine.

At a Diet held at Presburg, where many distinguished Hungarians were present, the Archduke Ferdinand was proclaimed king, and invited to come and take possession of the crown of Hungary. After being first crowned King of Bohemia, he, on the 1st of August, 1527, proceeded with his army to Hungary, where he subdued all the country as far as the Danube. Zapolya fled from Ofen, and the same Archbishop of Grán, who had crowned him twelve months before, now crowned Ferdinand as King of Hungary at Stuhlweissenburg on the 3d of November.

Hungary had now two kings, and the miserable country was peeled and torn by a civil war, and by the persecutions of the Church against those who had left her communion.

John was anxious to confirm his throne by securing the bishops, and especially the Archbishop of Grán, Paul Varda, on his side. He accordingly issued a strict edict against the Lutherans, threatening them with confiscation of their goods if they did not return to the Roman Catholic Church. The priests availed themselves of this edict to crush the pastor and schoolmaster of the mining town Bibethen. The circumstances were these : — The laborers in the royal mines not having received their wages, became riotous, and refused to submit either to the royal commissioners or the soldiers ; the priests accused the pastor and the schoolmaster as the originators of the disturbance, and having arrested the latter, with six of the town councillors, brought them to be tried at Neusohl.

They were required to abjure their heresies, and to declare

where the pastor was concealed. The schoolmaster remained firm, though threatened to be led to the stake, but the others were weak enough to yield and return to the Roman Catholic Church. The pastor, being now betrayed, was soon discovered in his retreat in the mines. Pastor Nicolai was delivered up to the priests, with directions to be handed over to John. These men of tender conscience, however, being afraid that king John might be remiss in his duty to the heretics, took the responsibility on themselves, and had the schoolmaster burned in the neighborhood of Altsol, on the 22d of August, 1527, and on the 24th Pastor Nicolai met the same fate, near the Castle of Dobrony. With the latter they tried every possible means, by promises and threats, to make him yield; and, remaining firm, he was first cruelly stabbed and then burned, as a heretic "*who had refused the VIRGIN MARY her due honor.*"*

When Ferdinand took possession of Ofen he was not less severe. He issued an edict which had previously been published in Austria, — this time, however, was "given at Ofen, the 20th August," — and complains that, despite of all that had been done against them, still in some places the strange doctrines are gaining ground, and that even Anabaptists and Sacramentarians — that is, Zwinglians — have ventured to show themselves. The specific punishments for heresy are then recounted, according to which, "whoever mischievously and perseveringly holds and believes anything contrary to the twelve articles of our holy Christian faith, contrary to the seven sacraments, &c. by which he can be recognized as a heretic, shall, in proportion to time and circumstances, be punished in his body and life. *Item*, He shall

* Mica Bury MSS. Leonhard Stöckel, preacher at Bartfeld, a contemporary, as well as the Church books of Vallens, put this account beyond doubt. See Pete, Peschié Malheurs Papist. Cap. I. p. 9. See also *Matricula Plebanorum*, xxiv. regal. in Scepus; where two are said to have been burned with the pastor.

lose all the privileges of Christians. *Item*, He shall lose his honor, and can never again be admitted to a place of trust. *Item*, No one is bound to keep any contract with him or pay any debt." The "*Items*" go on to say, "He has no right to buy or sell; no right to trade or work at a profession; he can make no will; a father who is a Roman Catholic may justly withhold all property from an heretical son, and in like manner, a son may disinherit an heretical father.* Whoever shall despise or dishonor the eternal, pure, elect queen, the Virgin Mary, by saying, *holding*, writing, or preaching, that she was only a woman like other women on earth; that she ever committed mortal sin; that she did not continue after the birth of Christ a pure virgin; that she is not the Mother of God; that she did not ascend to heaven;—for these and such like heresies and errors they shall be punished, according to time and circumstances, and according to the aggravation of the crime, in their body and life. Whoever shall unite together heretically to partake of what they call the Lord's Supper, and demand that both bread and wine shall be given them, they shall be punished in their body, life, and estate; the houses in which such deeds take place shall be confiscated, or, according to the royal pleasure, be torn down for an eternal testimony against them. Lastly, Whoever mischievously holds that the Mass has no merits for souls in purgatory shall be banished from the kingdom."

It was also enacted that all who harbor or receive heretics into their house are, "*ipso facto infames*," deprived of the rights of citizens, and rendered incapable of ever holding office. If the magistrates and judges neglect to carry out this decree, the town in which such neglect takes place shall be deprived of all privileges. To take away the fuel from this fire, it was decreed that in the *hereditary lands* and *those not hereditary*, no one should print, write, copy, sell, buy, read,

* Compare Matthew xv. 4-7. — Tr.

have or hold any book, writing, picture, product or remembrance of Luther, Zwingle, Œcolampadius, or any of their adherents or successors.

The *informer* should have the third of the fine or the third part of the confiscated property. The edict, of which the foregoing are a few extracts, was directed to be publicly read from every pulpit at the solemn festivals of Easter and Christmas.*

We can here easily see Ferdinand's bitter hatred of Luther and of his work; and if we find no martyrdoms under his reign, it is chiefly because the civil war left little opportunity for executing the decree. It must, then, be remembered that many of the magnates and a vast number of the nobility, as well as some of the free cities, had either openly declared in favor of Luther or were much inclined to favor his system; the nobles, too, were proud and jealous of their freedom, boasting that they paid their king no tribute, and feeling an independence which in no other country was known; Ferdinand's throne was not sufficiently stable to allow him to provoke such men. The nobles having observed that the priests had drawn to themselves such properties as had been confiscated, resolved at the Diet that the posts of the deceased prelates need not be filled up, but the emoluments given to such men as deserved well of their country. Thus was the circle of Eger, with all its emoluments, given to Peter Perényi, the keeper of the crown; the circle of Neutrau to Valentine Török of Ennig; Wardein to the distinguished general Emerich Eibak; Transylvania to Frances Bodo; Esanader to Caspar Petusith; Fünfkirchen to John Szérecsén; and Raab to Paul Bákih, nearly all of whom separated from the Church of Rome, and became steady supporters of the Reformation.†

It was necessary to refer to these matters, that we might

* See Erläutertes Evangelisches Oesterreich. Raupach, Hamburg, 1736, pp. 60-68, Supplement No. 17.

† Papai in Rud. red. 1526, Parman Kalanyi, Lib. III. p. 194.

not be led astray by Ferdinand's apparent tolerance towards the Reformers at a later period. We may see how much he favored the Pope and the Church of Rome by the order which he issued through the royal councillor, Dr. John Faber, to the professors at Vienna, that they should draw up a register of every article which contains a heresy, in as far as they knew, and hand it to his majesty the king.*

In the following year he sent a visitation and inquisition through the other crown lands, to inquire in how far the edicts against the Lutherans had been carried out. Under the direction of Faber, several *experienced theologians*, assisted by laymen, proceeded for this purpose through Austria, Styria, and Carinthia, and received everywhere *proper assistance from the civil authorities*.

At court, also, there was no relaxation in favor of the Lutherans, for, on the 20th of July, a new edict was published, requiring that they should be punished with the greatest severity.† On the 24th the printers and booksellers were threatened even with death if they distributed sectarian books. Thus, in as far as edicts could help them, the priests had all they desired. And yet Ernestus, Bishop of Passau, shortly afterwards discovered in the other crown lands, what could no longer be concealed in Hungary, that the doctrines of the Reformation were fast gaining ground. The wealthy and the powerful were even there also very remiss in carrying out the royal decrees; ‡ and when the Pope fancied he had gained nearly all his desire, he had most reason to tremble for his dominion.

At this time the powerful Hungarian magnate, Peter Pe-rényi, with his sons Francis, George, and Gabriel, had openly declared themselves on the side of Luther. He was the son of that Emerich who had been palatine under the reign of

* Raupach, Erl. Evang. Oest. Hamb. 1736, p. 46.

† Code. Auth. Tom. I. p. 646, "Hochmalefizisch zu bestrafen."

‡ Raupach, Erl. Evang. Oest. p. 50.

Uladislaus ; from the year 1527 he was voyvod in Transylvania, and possessed immense property in Upper Hungary, in the estates of Eger and Saros, Patak with several bordering castles. It was probably at the court of Queen Mary, during the reign of Louis II., that he had first become acquainted with the principles of the Reformation, and through the Evangelical preachers Kopacsi and Michael Szeray, he was afterwards gained completely over. On his estates he used his utmost exertions to have pious and learned preachers appointed in the different parishes, and we shall have frequent opportunity of seeing how much service he rendered to the great work of reformation.

The Evangelical clergy were not laboring in vain. Emeric Osstorai had gained the two princes, Ladany and Masály, and Demeter Derezki had won over the great Caspar Dragfij openly to confess the truth. Dragfij's father had been voyvod of Transylvania, and his marriage had been honored with the presence of Uladislaus ; and now, when this young prince had reached his twenty-second year, he not only himself joined the Reformation, but having gathered the clergy and influential men on his estates, he persuaded them also to follow his example. The threats of King John and the bishops did not much annoy him, and he continued steady till his death in 1545. Many fled to him to escape persecution, and nobly and generously did he protect them.

The reformation of that immense district between the rivers Maros and Koros is universally attributed to a woman, whose name deserves here to be honorably mentioned. It was the widow of Peter Jaxit, whose name is in this district gratefully remembered, for having not only herself loved the Gospel, but for the exertions which she made over all her estates to bring Evangelical preachers and teachers into contact with the people.

With no less decision did D. Isaiah at Bartfeld labor against Popery. Martin Cyriacus and Bartholomew Bogner having

returned from Wittenberg, preached the doctrine of free grace in Christ Jesus in Leutshaw, and the Roman Catholic churches were nearly empty. And in Hermannstadt, not only did they disregard the edicts against the so-called heretics; but it seemed as if the town was making preparation for breaking completely free from Roman jurisdiction.

Under such circumstances, Clement VII. was not idle. By means of Dr. Faber in Vienna, he could do what he chose in the hereditary lands of Ferdinand. In Bavaria, the duke was very obliging, and had Leonard Cohar, a man distinguished by his piety, burned in the year 1527. In Vienna, the priests brought Caspar Tauber to the stake; * and, in Poland, the dukes of Masovien had, in the year 1527, issued stringent decrees against the Lutherans.†

There remained, then, only Hungary and Transylvania to be watched over. Accordingly, the Pope wrote to the distinguished general, Francis Frangepan, to try and prevent the decay of the Roman Catholic religion. The Pope had some claims on the general, for he had been once a Franciscan monk, King John had gratified him with the Archbishopric of Kalotsha, and, as a member of the order of St. Francis of Assisi, he was peculiarly bound to obey his spiritual father.‡

Ferdinand and Zapolya had now fought desperately at Erlau and Tokay; at the invitation of the latter, the Turks were approaching. Ferdinand left Ofen on the 3d of February, 1528, and, early in October, King John Zapolya, having gained a victory at Saros, sat down at the fortress of Lippha, in Temes, to await the arrival of Soliman.§

* "A True History of Caspar Tauber, citizen of Vienna, declared a heretic, and burned, 1522." This rare document I have seen in the possession of Dionisius von Dobschall, pastor in Modena.

† Stanislaw Lublinski, *Episcopi Plocensis*, op. posth., p. 370. Antwerp, 1643, fol.

‡ Timon, epit. 1528.

§ Fessler, *Gesch. der Ungarn*, Vol. VI. p. 422.

John's supporters increased. Many of the princes and clergy, who had sworn allegiance to Ferdinand, broke their oath. At the Diet of Presburg, 27th of November, 1528, he was not in an enviable position, and very gladly did he avail himself of the opportunity of coming away to attend the Diet at Spires, in March, 1529.

Soliman crossed the Drave with a hundred and fifty thousand men, and, in the field of Mohács, was met by John and his attendant nobles and princes. Peter Perényi, who still adhered to Ferdinand, was brought thither as a prisoner, and with him the crown and the national treasures. On the 24th of August, Soliman stood before Ofen; and the German troops which had charge of the fortress, binding their general, Nádasdy, in chains, threw him into a cellar, and delivered the fort up to the sultan. The sultan knew both how to treat courage and what to do with traitors, for he set the general free, and delivered seven hundred of the soldiers to the tender mercies of his janisaries, who hewed them down.* Grán soon yielded, and the Archbishop, Paul Warday, with three hundred nobles mounted, and as many on foot, going over to John, kissed his hand, and commended themselves to his mercy. On the 25th of September, Soliman had reached Vienna, and, despite the weakness of the garrison, he was so vigorously opposed by citizens and students, that he was obliged to retire, on the 12th of October.

The 18th of October he returned to Ofen, where he held a divan, to which John Zapolya and the princes were invited. He here confirmed John as King of Hungary, and swore under no circumstances to forsake him, "even should it cost him his own kingdom." The sultan returned home, taking with him sixty thousand prisoners, chiefly Hungarians, and leaving the ill-famed Lewis Gritti as his representative at John's court; he also left Kazum Pasha, with three thousand cavalry and the Danube fleet, at John's disposal.

* Fessler, p. 428.

The state of Hungary was now sufficiently lamentable, but not less so was the condition of Transylvania. After John's flight to Poland, in the previous year, Peter Perényi and Valentine Török had gone to bring the country to join Ferdinand; but, being attacked by the voyvod of Moldavia, their troops were nearly all cut off. A few months afterwards, the voyvod of Wallachia went through the same district, burning and plundering, and taking away prisoners. It was then no hard task for John's new voyvod of Transylvania to subdue the remainder of the Saxons.

While the adherents of Ferdinand were now suffering in Transylvania, and especially in Hermannstadt, the monks increased the misery by doing all in their power against the Protestants. These servants of Rome could not bear that the decrees against the heretics should not be carried out. Matters went so far, that the authorities of Hermannstadt issued an order, dated the 8th of February, 1529, that "the monks and their adherents should, under pain of death, either leave Hermannstadt within eight days, and take with them all they had, or else they should give up their mummeries, and live according to the Gospel." Immediately the monks and nuns either left the town or laid aside their peculiar dress, so that in eight days not a single individual was to be seen wearing Rome's livery.*

In the mean time, Ferdinand had been crowned King of Rome, and was waiting quietly in Germany, receiving the messengers, who told him of the desperately oppressed state of his adherents in Hungary, but doing nothing for their relief. Thus came the decisive year 1530. Even then, however, instead of coming himself, he sent one of the most unworthy of his generals, Rogendorf, to Ofen, to expel the Turks, and subdue King John.

Arrived at Ofen, this general was soon driven back by the

* Haner, Hist. Eccl. p. 199; Timon, Epit. Chronol. 118.

Pasha of Belgrade to Komorn, and having showed himself completely inadequate to his post, he died of his wounds on the island Schutt, whither he had fled. With this unceasing clash of arms, the time passed on, and the 25th of June, 1530, dawned, and with it came a bright day for Gospel truth and freedom of conscience. The Augsburg Confession was read. So simple, so clear, so concise, it was listened to with breathless attention in that august assembly, and removed many prejudices of the foes of the Gospel. It softened many who had been enemies, and gained many to become decided friends to the truth. Even the emperor seemed somewhat milder. He took the Confession in German and Latin, and promised to examine the whole matter with great care.

In an incredibly short time, this Confession was translated into Spanish, Italian, French, English, and Portuguese.* There is no mention made, however, of a Hungarian translation, and unfortunately we can find in Hungary no traces of such. As, however, so many Hungarians were present at the time in Augsburg, at the court of Ferdinand and his sister, the widowed Queen Mary, we might almost presume that a translation was made at the time; or was it not considered necessary, while every Hungarian who had received even a moderate education understood Latin? Samuel Homarius remarks, that the Augsburg Confession was translated into the Bohemian and Hungarian languages, and sent to many distinguished men in both countries;† but the libraries, which suffered so much from the Turks shortly after, contain no copy.‡ We find, however, many stepping out of the dark background of the misery caused by war, and manifesting in their lives the same spirit which dictated that Con-

* Cœlestinus, Tom. II. fol. 191.

† In Disput. 25 de Veritate Relig.

‡ Ribinyi remarks that this translation was only written, and not printed. The first printed edition in Hungarian appears to have been published in 1633, by Stephen Letenyey, and the first Bohemian in 1576.

fession. In Kashaw and some other towns the Reformation may have been considered as complete. Antonius Transylvanus was laboring here with great success, and was so well known to Luther, that he received a letter from the great Reformer to use his influence with a preacher in Hermannstadt who had joined the Sabbatarians,* and to try to bring him back. Antonius wrote a circular to the neighboring clergy in Eperjes, encouraging them to faithfulness; and it is believed that John of Hermannstadt was, by their combined efforts, prevented from dividing the Protestant cause.†

About this time appeared a man in Hungary on whom the spirit of Luther seemed to have descended. Matthew Devay, who had been for years on most intimate terms with Luther, even living in his house and eating at his table, was now returned from Wittenberg, and, with unwearying diligence, preached in his native land the word which he had received from the mouth of Luther and Melancthon.

The nobles who resided in Neustadt, in the vicinity of Caspar Dragfij, heard the truth from him, and embraced it; and many of the surrounding villages followed the example, and publicly separated from Rome. Devay was accused before King John of being the cause of this commotion, and was thrown into prison in Ofen. It happened that in the same prison was a blacksmith who, in the shoeing, had lamed the king's favorite horse, and the passionate John had sworn that he should die for it. The blacksmith heard Devay converse as never man spoke; the words were to him as the words of Paul to the jailer at Philippi, and the consequence was, that when the blacksmith was shortly after to be set free, he declared he would share Devay's fate as a martyr, for he also partook of the same faith. The king, moved by this declaration, pardoned both and set them free.‡

* A sect which kept the Sabbath on the seventh day of the week. — TR.

† Hypomnena Severini Sculteti, for. xvii. fasc. 6.

‡ Matth. Scaricans Panonius in Vita D. Steph. Sreg.

Devay had not been long free when he received a call to be pastor of Kashaw, in Upper Hungary, which was then in the possession of Ferdinand. Soon, however, must he again experience similar trial. The monks, being exasperated at the power of his eloquence against the abuses of Rome, and knowing that they had nothing to expect if they brought their charge before the local authorities, laid their accusation directly before the king. To show his zeal in the cause, and to stop the evil at once, Ferdinand had him brought immediately to Vienna, and delivered over for examination to Dr. Faber, the bitterest foe of the Reformation. For nearly two years he lay in prison, and his case seemed hopeless, but at last the king interfered and set him free. Perhaps it was in consequence of hearing the Confession read at Augsburg that Ferdinand was now more favorably disposed toward Luther's doctrines, and that the favorable impression either soon wore off, or he did not consider it prudent that it should afterwards be much observed.

Once more set free, Devay betook himself to the lands which owned John's sceptre, and being supported by the nobles and the princes, he spread the Gospel by itinerating as an apostle. His labors, however, were not confined to preaching, for he seems to have taken part in the translation of the Epistles of Paul, which were printed in the Hungarian language by Benedict Komjath, at Cracow, in the year 1533, and dedicated to Catharine Frangepan, the mother of Perényi. He wrote a book entitled *The Sleep of the Saints*, and it was replied to by Gregory Szegedy, a Franciscan, and Doctor of the Sorbonne, in a work entitled *The Pillar of Salvation*. Devay's book had attached to it a treatise on the principal articles of Christian faith, and was dedicated to Emerich Bebeck, *Probst* of Stuhlweissenburg, who, as the dedication informs us, had got married, and thus lost all his property.*

* Valete in Christo Jesu cum uxore vestrá, ob quam, juxta informationem

It is therefore a mistake of Lampe, or an error of the press, when he says that Devay came to Hungary only in 1541.* Besides the evidence already given, we find in an old chronicle in Oedenberg a passage which explains some difficulties in Devay's history, and says, under date of 1536, "Devay goes a second time to Wittenberg."† The object of this journey seems to have been, to inform his friends of the progress of the Gospel in Hungary, and renew his own strength to carry on the battle of the Lord. And there is nothing which tends more to strengthen our faith, than personal intercourse and communion with those whose hearts are devoted to the cause of God. On the way to Wittenberg, he fell sick at Nuremberg, and turned in to stop with Vitus Theodor, a preacher in that town. Having been kindly received by this pious and learned man, he soon recovered, and proceeded on his journey. Arrived at his destination, he wrote an account of his imprisonment and his examination under Dr. Faber, and this was printed by Vitus Theodor, at Nuremberg, in June, 1537. It was dedicated to Francis Batzi, and gives clear evidence of Devay's adherence at that time to the Augsburg Confession. The Chronicle of Leutshaw gives Devay the third place among those who supported the Augsburg Confession in Hungary, and calls him, at the same time, pastor of Débrécsin.

At Wittenberg, he resided again with Luther, and was able to tell him how not only the Epistles of Paul had been given to the Hungarians in their native language, but also how the four Gospels had been published by Gabriel of Pesth, on the 13th of July, 1536. Entire parishes had declared in favor of the Reformation, as also free cities and villages; and many even of the higher clergy had made great sacrifices,

Verbi Dei, maluistis hereditatem amittere paternam, et non uti nonnulli assalient in carnalibus nequitiis vivere. Ascension Day, 1535.

* Lampe, p. 60.

† Ribinyi, Memorabilia, p. 34.

by openly professing the truth. He could also tell how great the danger was to which they were still exposed. The penal laws were still in force. The Bishop of Eger, Thomas Szalakazi, had thrown Antony, a preacher of Eperjes, and Bartholemy, a chaplain, into prison. People did not know what to expect from John and Ferdinand. The latter had sent a decree to Bartfeld, which was now entirely reformed, ordering them, "under pain of death and confiscation,"—he must have meant the death of every man, woman, and child in the town,— "under pain of death and confiscation, to abolish all innovations in the mode of worship; to renounce all the heresies which a certain D. Isaiah had taught them; not to recall him, but to be reconciled with their former clergy." * This order was issued in 1535, and how much attention was paid to it we shall soon see. That faith on the Son of God which overcometh the world had taken root here, and it knows of no fear. Strong in this faith, Devay returned from Wittenberg in the end of the year 1537. He brought with him a letter of introduction to Thomas Nádasdy, who, in the circuit beyond the Danube, had thoroughly reformed the old schools, and established a new one probably at Papa. The letter is dated from Leipzig on the nones of October, 1537, and recommends, besides Devay, a certain John Sylvester, who was destined soon to distinguish himself by signally advancing the Reformation in Hungary.

Under the protection of this powerful count, Devay now labored indefatigably in the district between the river Raab and the Balaton lake. His former district in Upper Hungary was, however, not neglected, for the learned and courageous Stephen Szantai filled that post well, and shared Devay's fate, in so far that the bishops George Frater, Statilius, and Franjepan demanded of Ferdinand that he should be arrested and treated as a heretic. The king, just rejoicing in the

* Ribinyi, *Memorabilia*, p. 38.

treaty of peace which had been concluded with John, resolved, to the great dismay of the priests, to hold a public discussion on the great disputed points of religion. This discussion actually took place in 1538. In that rare book called *The Spanish Hunt*, we find a full account of the transactions.

When the bishops could not succeed in having Stephen Szantai condemned without a hearing, they were at a great loss to find a worthy representative of Rome to meet him in discussion. At last they chose the monk Gregory of Grosswardein, and sent him with the other monks to Schaasburg to convince Szantai of his errors. The king chose two umpires, Dr. Adrian, vicar of Stuhlweissenburg, and Martin Kalmantshi, rector of the school. After the king had warned them to guide the matter so that truth should not suffer, the discussion began in the presence of a vast number of Protestants and Roman Catholics, some of whom had come from a great distance.

The monks soon made such a noise and confusion by screaming all at once, that a pious physician, John Rehens, came to aid Szantai, and showed that this noise arose simply from inability to answer the arguments. Szantai continued the discussion for several days, and after the umpires had noted all down, they came to present their decision to the king. They reported that all which Szantai had said was founded on the Scriptures, and what the monks had brought forward was mere fables and idle tales. But they added, "Should we state this publicly, we are lost, for we should be represented as enemies to our religion; if we condemn Szantai, we act contrary to truth and justice, and would not escape Divine retribution." They begged, therefore, that the king would protect them from the danger on both sides. Ferdinand promised to do his utmost, and let them go.

That same afternoon, at three o'clock, the bishops, prelates, and monks appeared before the king, and in their name

George Frater, Bishop of Grosswardein, spoke as follows : —
“ May it please your majesty, we, as the shepherds of the Church, are bound to protect her from all ill. We therefore demand that this heretic shall be brought here and burned, for the sake of warning others of the danger of speaking and writing against our most holy religion. Your majesty has acted contrary to our wish. Your majesty has been pleased to grant this despicable heretic a public hearing, that others might suck in the poison. For this we are certainly under little obligation to your majesty. Besides, our most holy father, the Pope, will take this ill. There is no need of discussion while the Church has long since condemned these miserable heretics. Their condemnation is written on their forehead. One should not even remain in their presence.”

The king replied with dignity and firmness: “ I will put no man to death until he has been proved guilty of a capital crime. Bring forward your charge, and he shall be judged according to law.”

“ Is it not enough,” cried Statilius, Bishop of Stuhlweissenburg, “ is it not enough that he declares the Mass to be an invention of the Devil ; and that he demands the Lord’s Supper to be administered to all in both kinds, — while Christ appointed this sacrament only for the priests ? Any one may judge whether such expressions do not deserve death.”

“ Tell me, my lord bishop,” said the king, “ is the Greek Church a true Church ? ” The bishop answered in the affirmative, and Ferdinand proceeded : “ The Greeks never had, and have not even now, the Mass. Could not we also do without it ? The Greeks take the communion in both kinds, for the holy bishops Chrysostom, Cyril, and others, taught them so. If the Greeks can act thus without sin, why not we ? ” The bishops were silent. “ In the mean time, however,” added the king, “ I will not protect Szantai, nor defend his cause. The truth of the case shall be investigated, so

that God may not avenge himself on me if this man die guiltless; and besides, it does not become my royal dignity to punish innocence."

"If your majesty do not grant our wish," cried Bishop Frater, "we shall find other remedies to free us from this vulture"; and in bitter rage they left the royal presence.

It was nine o'clock at night when the king, in the presence of the princes Francis Barfy and John Kassa, admitted Stephen Szantai to an audience. "What is then really the doctrine which you teach?" demanded the king. "Most gracious prince," answered the preacher, "it is no new doctrine which I have invented, but a revealed doctrine which, by Divine grace, I have discovered; it is the doctrine of the prophets and apostles, and every one who really seeks his soul's salvation must obey this truth."

The king now opened his whole heart. "O, my dear brother Stephen, if we adhere to these doctrines, you and I are both undone; meantime we commit the case to God, who knows what to do. You must leave my land, however, or the princes will imprison and condemn you to death, and I could only endanger myself without delivering you. Yes, go, dear friend, sell what you have and place yourself under the protection of the prince of Transylvania, where you have liberty freely to profess the truth."

Having given him some costly presents, the king ordered Christopher Osmos and the mayor of Kashaw to take him away by night and bring him in safety to his own people.

This little circumstance, which bears all the marks of truth, gives us a view of the state of Ferdinand's mind at that time. In proportion as he had obtained a more favorable opinion of Luther and his doctrines, just in the same proportion must he despise the priests and their whole system. He remembered also how his own private chaplain, a Spaniard, had on his deathbed acknowledged to the king that he had not led him in the right path, and that Luther had most

certainly taught the truth. But yet this perception of the truth had not become a living principle in the heart of the king; his fear of Rome's power and influence was too great to allow him to venture to confess Christ, and join with other princes of Germany openly on the side of the Reformation.

His faith had not taken root in the Rock which is Christ. He had not seen his own sin. He had not trembled before Divine justice. He had not searched the Scriptures for himself, to find there a Saviour of sinners on whom he himself could rely. He had not found the Lord Jesus as all his salvation and all his desire, — as the chiefest among ten thousand, and altogether lovely. Of a naturally good disposition, without very fixed principles, he allowed himself to be carried away by impressions, and had neither the wish nor the power to form a decided judgment on some of the most important points. A double-minded man, saith the Word of God, is unstable in all his ways. And such was Ferdinand, as the history shows. Some represent him as a friend of the Reformation; others as its bitterest foe, who spared the Protestants merely from political motives. We don't believe either, but consider that the proper description is what we have given.

We return, however, to our Hungarian Luther, Devay, and his zealous fellow-laborers, whose happy work we must now see so sadly marred by the disputes which arose concerning the Lord's Supper. The disputes which had been so unfortunately begun in Germany between Luther and Zwingle, had been transplanted to the Hungarian soil, and exactly such spirits as sought most earnestly after truth were agitated and alarmed. Among these was Count Francis Reva, who, having read Zwingle's works, was much shaken, and wrote a long letter to Luther, asking him to clear up his doubts. Luther, who had at that time so much to do, answered only briefly, advising him to remain firm, and, above all things, to beware of mixing up reason and faith in such a way that

reason should be made the judge of what is revealed to faith. The letter is dated Wittenberg, 4th of August, 1539.

With the end of the civil war these struggles seemed to increase. The true friends of their country had long grieved that the land should be torn by civil strife. They had attempted to hold several meetings, but as these appeared dangerous to the kings, ways and means were found to make them comparatively useless. Not quite fruitless, however, were these attempts at pacification, for the two parties became milder, and the two kings, Ferdinand and John Zapolya, found it prudent to enter into a treaty in the year 1538, by which it was agreed, "That each should bear the title King of Hungary, and retain what he had in possession; after Zapolya's death, however, even in case of leaving male issue, Hungary and Transylvania should fall to Ferdinand."

The day of peace for the land appeared to be come. John, who had possession of the greater part of Hungary, and the whole of Transylvania, appeared even more pleased than Ferdinand. He laid his sword aside, and, in 1530, married Isabella, daughter of the King of Poland. The news that she had born him a son in the following year reached him on his deathbed. He died on the 22d of July, after having named George Martinuzzi, Bishop of Grosswardein, Peter Petrovitsh, and the distinguished Török of Enged, guardians to his son, and giving them a charge, "on no account to deliver the land up to Ferdinand." A terrible legacy for that ambitious man to leave his son and his country!

CHAPTER VII.

FERDINAND I. RULES ALONE. 1540—1564.

NEITHER the widow nor the guardians of John's son, nor the Turk, seemed at all disposed to yield the land to Ferdinand, according to contract. The Turk felt himself quite comfortable, and was indeed sovereign ruler, and if anything could reconcile us to the miserable state of the country at that time, it is the wonderful religious freedom enjoyed there during the Turkish rule; so that one sees good ground for the statement of an English bishop some years ago in Parliament, when he said, if one should give him, as a Protestant, his choice between a residence in Turkey and the Austrian states, he would decidedly choose the first. In consequence of the greater fairness shown by the Turks in the religious quarrels of the Christians, whom they despised, the Gospel had already been spread from the Theiss to Transylvania and Wallachia, as is credibly reported to Melancthon.* At that time there was a close correspondence kept up between the Reformers at Wittenberg and their scholars in Hungary, and very many who were already ordained travelled to Wittenberg for the sake of making the personal acquaintance of these great men. From the year 1541 and later, we find Benedict Abadius, Emizich Osorius, Gregory Wisselmann, Martin Santa or Kalmautshy, afterwards a Zwinglian, Stephen Kopacsy, Caspar Heltus, and others, going in succession to Wittenberg, according to the testimony of Matthew Scarizäus, who was personally acquainted with the last, as being at the time a man advanced in life.

* Philip Melancthon, Lib. XI. Epist. p. 339.

The Lord had awakened in this land men who were driven by the spirit of God, and who therefore did the works of God. Sylvester, who had been recommended to Count Nádasdy by Melancthon, received from this nobleman so much assistance as enabled him to publish an edition of the New Testament in the Hungarian language in 1541 at Sarvar, with a dedication in Latin to the two sons of Ferdinand I., Maximilian and Ferdinand. In Raab, where the struggle between the old and new doctrines had been severe, the evangelical party succeeded in obtaining a preacher to their mind. In Stuhlweissenburg the Roman party had demanded from the recorder of the city that he should put a stop to the preaching, and to the distribution of the Lord's Supper in both kinds, as well as cast all who were guilty of such conduct into prison; to which the magistrate replied, that in this case he must obey God rather than men, but in all other cases he would know how to discharge the duty of his office.*

The cause of Rome was sinking. In Bartfeld, Michael Radashinus had gained almost a complete victory for the cause of truth. The consequences of the Schaasburg discussion were beginning to be felt; for many who had been prejudiced against the Reformation, and who had looked upon inquiry even as a crime, had now obtained other views on that subject. Some turned from Rome in consequence of conviction, others simply from the example which had been set them. Mediash, Kronstadt, and the whole of Burzenland, joined the Reformation. In the last mentioned, John Honteris, who was now returned from Cracow and Basle, where he had studied, established a printing-press so early as 1535, and in 1547 the whole district was leavened with the truth which had thus been disseminated.†

The Protestants, however, were not without deep concern.

* Johannes Manlius Collect. Tom. I. de Calamitate Afflict. p. 139.

† Honteris, "Reform of Transylvania."

Alexius Thurzo, a man of noble mind, who, although represented by Timon to have been a zealous Roman Catholic, always urged Ferdinand to moderation towards the Protestants, was now dead. He left the Protestants, it is true, the comfort of knowing that he had trained his sons to be pillars of the Reformation. And now, in the year 1543, the Roman Catholic clergy unite in sending a petition to Ferdinand, complaining of the Protestants. Ferdinand's well-known regard for the Roman Catholic Church makes this complaint so much more likely to be heard. In this complaint they state that his majesty's subjects are inclined to all evil; that, though complainants are doing all in their power, yet they request the king's assistance to prevent the appointment of any one in any parish as pastor without the approbation of the Church; and that no one be permitted to *force the people to receive the Gospel*, for from this fountain proceed heresies, troubles, wrath, strife, contention, murders, drunkenness, and all lusts of the flesh! The Lord Jesus had taught that all these come out of the naturally corrupt heart, but it seems as if the Romanist clergy knew better. In consequence of this appeal, King Ferdinand issued an edict from Nuremberg such as the clergy wished, and placed at their disposal all the temporal and spiritual power, to enable them to protect the Romish religion with its praiseworthy customs and ceremonies.*

In addition to troubles from without, the Protestants had also internal annoyance. For Devay, who had hitherto adhered to Luther's doctrine respecting the Lord's Supper, now adopted Zwingle's views, and thereby caused no small excitement. Luther was informed of this defection, and he replied, expressing his astonishment, and at the same time urging the other clergy to remain firm by the doctrine which they had received from him.† The Jesuit Timon mentions

* Analect. Scepus, P. XI. p. 234.

† "Ceterum quod de Matthia Devay scribitis, vehementer sum admiratus, cum et apud nos sit ipse adeo boni odoris." Wittenberg, 1544.

this letter, but in such a way as to show his evil design against Luther and his doctrine.*

The excitement, in consequence of Devay's change of views, was increased by a new order of Ferdinand, addressed to the vice-palatine, Francis von Reva, expressing astonishment that he had hitherto been so remiss in his duty towards the heretics, and threatening him with the loss of the royal favor, if he did not chastise every one, of whatever rank, who left the true Church, in such a way as to bring him back. This letter bears the date of July 1st, and is written from Prague.

Disregarding all these commands, the citizens of Leutshaw elected Bartholomew Bogner in this year to be their pastor. It was the courageous recorder of the city, Ladislaus Poleiner, who had strictly been the founder of the Reformation there, who placed himself at the head of the movement. This election soon bore happy fruits. Bogner, a native of Transylvania, had been a pupil of the distinguished Reformer, John Honter, and he labored with such success, that within twelve years all the Roman ceremonies were abolished. He was equally successful in subduing the seditious Anabaptists, and died in Iglau, on the 25th of June, 1557, leaving behind him five orphans.

With equal success was the Gospel preached also in Tasnyad, where the Protestants erected a school, and placed it under the direction of Stephen Kis of Szegedin, usually called Szegedinus, who was just returned from Wittenberg, and who also acted as preacher. By the great animation of his discourses, and the peculiar expressions which he made use of, he excited the anger of the Popish party to such an extent, that Bishop George Martinuzzi sent the captain of his bodyguard to box his ears. The valiant captain, Caspar Peruzitti, exceeded his commission, however, and after abusing him with the spurs, and depriving him of his most valua-

* Epitom. Chronol. 1544.

ble library of two hundred volumes, he drove him out of the city.*

This was no reason, however, why he should cease to labor, for in the following year he was appointed to the academy in Gyula, and shortly after was called as pastor and schoolmaster to Czegled, in the district of Pesth, where he labored for two years with much success.

Ferdinand's edicts had, then, instead of injuring the cause of the Gospel, only increased the zeal of its adherents. Under the protection of the powerful Caspar Dragfij, there was a synod held in Erdod, a village in Száthmar county, at which twenty-nine preachers were present. The twelve articles of faith, which were then drawn up, are concluded with the following words:—"In other articles of faith we agree with the true Church, as she has declared her belief in the Augsburg Confession, as presented to the Emperor Charles V." The adherents of the Augsburg Confession and Ribinyi represent this as a meeting of Lutheran clergy, but the closing sentence is sufficient evidence that the adherents of the Swiss Confession were also represented; for these words take for granted that the twelve previous articles differed in some respect from the Augsburg Confession, otherwise the expressions have no meaning. Of the articles themselves we know nothing but the titles and the names of those who drew them up. The subjects were,—of God; the Redeemer; Justification of the Sinner before God; Faith; Good Works; the Sacraments; Confession of Sin; Christian Liberty; the Head of the Church; Church Government; the necessity of separating from Rome.†

In the same year, 1548, we find another synod held at Medias, in Transylvania, which was, however, attended only by Lutherans, according to Honter's account, but the results are unknown.

* Scaricaus, in vita Szegedini.

† Lampe, Lib. XI. anno 1545, p. 93. Ribinyi, Memorabilia, p. 67.

The piety of the time was not only much advanced by these meetings of the clergy, but also by the letters of the Reformers, written to many of the princes and clergy of Hungary, who were known to be friendly to the new movement.

There is a letter of Melancthon's still preserved, which was addressed to that most distinguished friend of the Reformation, Peter Perényi, who, under the false accusation of the enemies of the Gospel, was, from the year 1542, lying in prison at Wienerisch, Neustadt. In vain had Alexius Thurzo appealed on his behalf; in vain whole countries; even the Diet had interceded with Ferdinand for him, but without success. His foes had persuaded Ferdinand that he was aiming, as John Zapolya had once done, at the throne of Hungary, and his zeal in defence of the Gospel was sufficient reason to exasperate them against him. Melancthon's letter affords evidence how, he, even while in prison, was able still to advance the cause dear to his heart. All that his bitterest foes, the Jesuit Timon and the Archbishop Peter Pazman, can say of him is, that divine punishment rested on him, because of leaving the Roman Church.* In the year 1548, he was brought to Vienna, where death released him from all ills.

The deeper the chasm became which separated the Protestants from Rome, the more anxious was Ferdinand to persuade the Pope to summon a general council; for, with many others, he hoped still that the wound could be healed. By indulging this hope, however, he only showed how little he knew of the terrible alienation of the Church of Rome from the Word of God, and that, to reconcile the contending parties on evangelical grounds, was equivalent to bidding the Pope lay aside his assumed power, cast his glory in the dust, and allow the sources of his immense revenue to be at once

* Artic. Diet XIII.

and for ever stopped. Yet, full of hope respecting the issue, Ferdinand looked forward to the Council of Trent, which was appointed to meet on the 13th of December, 1545, and thither he sent two distinguished bishops, Andrew Dudith and George Draskowitsh.

The instructions which Ferdinand gave his deputies are in so far worthy of notice as they throw a favorable light over the king's views at that time. The deputies were directed to use their influence to bring on the discussion respecting a reformation of morals first, and of faith afterwards ; to have a reformation in the court at Rome ; to have the number of cardinals reduced to twelve or twenty-four ; to have the number of indulgences diminished ; to have simony completely abolished, as well as all payments in spiritual matters ; to have the clergy brought back to their original purity in dress, morals, and doctrine ; to have the eating of flesh permitted, and the Lord's Supper administered in both kinds.

During the sittings of the Council, which lasted eighteen years, many additional instructions were sent, such as, "That the Council should not be prorogued or dissolved against its own consent, or without the approbation of the Roman Catholic princes ; that national deputations should be received ; that single bishops, and also princes, should have the right to make proposals ; that they should discuss freely, and resolve independently of Rome ; that the reformation should extend to the head and the members ; that the Pope should imitate the humility of Jesus ; that large bishoprics should be divided ; the ban should be the highest punishment which the Church inflicts, and yet it should not be pronounced for every crime, nor until after a regular trial of the case." The instructions continued to say, "That the state of the monks should be reformed ; public schools should be established ; the number of the traditions diminished ; that the Council should see that those who minister in holy things should themselves lead a chaste life ; in divine service, Ger-

man and Latin hymns should be sung alternately " ; and these proposals were well supported by the Hungarian bishops.*

The two points, respecting the lives of the clergy, and dispensing the communion in both kinds, were of so much importance in Ferdinand's opinion, that he sent a bishop to Venice to observe the practices of the clergy of the Greek Church and their mode of administering the Lord's Supper.† We shall soon see how little Ferdinand obtained from the court of Rome, and how much labor it cost him to obtain that little from a council which was the willing slave of the Pope.

* Lorandus Samuel Hald, Ann. 1743. Timon, Purp. Pann. p. 50.

† In Oratione Davidis Chytraei super maxim. p. 94.

CHAPTER VIII.

Confession of Faith of the Five Towns of Upper Hungary on this Side the Theiss. — Activity of the Gospel Preachers. — Temesvar. — Stephen Kis of Szegedin. — Peter Petrovitsh, Count of Temesvar. — Stephen Losontzy. — Szegedin banished. — Temesvar conquered by the Turks. — Death of Losontzy.

FROM the Council of Trent we look away to Hungary, where, in the towns which were inhabited chiefly by Germans, we see the Reformation making rapid progress. In Ofen, in 1547, the Gospel was preached, and many pressed to hear it.* In Temesvar, the Protestants had opened a school and appointed Szegedinus from Czegled to be the teacher, under the patronage of Peter Petrovitsh, Count of Temes. Szegedinus did not confine himself, however, to the school, but, with his assistant, Christopher Lipensis, scattered the truth unsparingly among adults. His sphere of labor seemed the more secure, as the count was a relative of Prince John, and a declared friend of the Reformation; but it continued prosperous only for about three years, when the count was obliged to make way for Stephen Losontzy, who, as a mere warrior, was heartily devoted to Rome. Szegedin, with Gregory, formerly of Fünf kirchen, and other Protestant teachers, was now banished, no doubt under Divine guidance, that they might not perish in the terrible slaughter which took place when the Turks very shortly after took the fortress.†

About this time the Gospel was preached with much suc-

* A letter of Melancthon's, dated the 8d of September, 1547.

† Scaricaus, Vita Szegedini.

cess in the county and city of Tolnau, at that time under the Turkish government, by Emerich Czigerius, who had at one time studied at Wittenberg, and who in August, 1549, gives an interesting account of his labors to his friend Matthew Flaccius Illyricus. He mentions that he had found the city so given to idolatry, that in two weeks he had not found among so many thousands more than three or four individuals prepared to receive the Gospel. He mentions how, on travelling farther, he had gained some priests and schoolmasters, and how, after a discussion with the priest Michael Sztary, he had with his assistance preached the Gospel in Lower Hungary and Upper and Lower Moesia, and, though they had met with much opposition and were often in danger, yet the Lord had protected them in the time of need.

This preaching in Tolnau had been much blessed, for in less than three years some pious men called him back to preach in the new church which they had erected. One part of the town was still Popish, and its inhabitants defended their own cause in that way which Rome best understands. The Turks, however, favored the Protestants; for, when the recorder of the city brought the Pasha a large present, requesting him at the same time to banish the Protestants, the Turkish ruler inquired closely into the matter, and, while the recorder narrowly escaped with his life, he gave orders "that the doctrines which Luther had discovered" — so he calls the Gospel — "should be everywhere freely preached."

Thus were the labors of the Protestants to a considerable extent protected and favored by the Turks. Czigerius reports this to his friend, — tells him of the opening of a new school with sixty pupils in opposition to the Popish school, — that his church numbers five hundred souls, — begs for books and help out of Germany, — salutes Philip, and begs his countryman, Motzar, to hasten back to help him in his great work.

In the towns under Ferdinand's sceptre the Gospel was

making equal progress. In Komorn we find the preachers, Michael Sztary and Anthony Plattner, laboring diligently in the Lord's vineyard, and laying the foundation of what was afterwards the great and flourishing Church of the Helvetic Confession.

In the free city, Tyrnau, we find Simon Grynaeus and Devay scattering the good seed ; the works of the Reformers are extensively circulated to water it, and the majority of those who embrace the faith adhere to the Augsburg Confession.

The synod which had been held by the evangelical clergy in the mining districts was now of signal benefit to themselves. For scarcely had the queen-dowager Mary given this district, which was her own private property, to her brother Ferdinand to manage for her, when the bishops, supposing him to be more accessible than Mary had been, got up their accusations against the Protestants. They represented these towns as hotbeds of Anabaptists, dangerous Sacramentarians (under which name they meant Zwinglians), and other sects. The struggle at that time between the Lutherans and the Reformed respecting the Sacrament gave them sufficient coloring for their charge, and the numbers of distinguished men who were leaving the Church of Rome to join the Protestants gave them just cause of anxiety for the stability of their party, and at the same time excited their rage. It was no small loss which they sustained in the conversion of that learned bishop, Peter Paul Vergerius, whom the cardinal Alexander had accused of heresy, and who, about the year 1546, having openly declared himself on Luther's side, was called to Tübingen, and supported there by Christopher, Duke of Wurtemberg. He injured the cause of Rome very considerably, by publishing her secrets.

His brother, Baptist, Bishop of Polu, died very shortly after his public profession of Protestantism, and not without

strong suspicion of having been poisoned.* Besides, Martin, Bishop of Wassgrun, declared himself also on Luther's side, by publicly and honorably getting married; and it was not long till Bishop Thurzo also joined the evangelical party.

Provoked by such losses, the Roman Catholics pressed Ferdinand, to the utmost of their power, that he should, especially in the mining districts, where the Protestants were becoming numerous and consolidated, use his power to have them scattered; and it seemed for a time as if they had succeeded, for it was with no small consternation that the Protestants saw Stephen Berdala, Bishop of Waizen, and Schibrick, as royal commissioners, sent on the 14th of August, 1549, to examine into the state of religion in Upper Hungary. The innate power of truth, however, soon gave them courage to draw up a confession of faith, in twenty articles, and present it to the royal commissioners, at Eperjes, in the same year. This confession, known as the Pentapolitan, or Confession of the Five Cities, became famous in Hungary. It was nothing else than an extract from the Augsburg Confession, drawn up in Melancthon's soothing style; and so soon as Ferdinand had discovered that the charges brought against these cities were groundless, he permitted them to enjoy their privileges; so much the more, also, as he had hoped that, at the Council of Trent, and the Diet of Oedenberg, which was soon to be held, all the differences between the contending parties should be removed.

This circumstance gave the evangelical party much encouragement; for, in 1550, we find an ecclesiastical conference in the village Forna, limiting and defining the duties of the bishop or superintendent at ecclesiastical visitations. In 1552, we find another conference trying to reconcile the differences in reference to the Lord's Supper, abolishing the confessional, arranging respecting the support of the clergy

* Seckendorff in Hist. Luth., Lib. III. Sec. 30.

in poor parishes, resolving that where the altars have been already removed they should not be renewed; where they are still remaining, however, it is not necessary to have them taken away;—sufficient evidence that the Lutherans and Reformed were at that time conciliatory towards each other. In the same year, a synod was summoned at Hermannstadt, where Paul Viener was chosen first superintendent, and where the first evangelical ministers were ordained. Up till this time, the clergy had been ordained by the Roman Catholic bishop, or by the professors at the German universities.

Important political changes were then taking place in Transylvania; for, as the wily Bishop of Wardein, George Martinuzzi, had succeeded in freeing himself from the restraint of his two colleagues, in the guardianship of Prince John, in such a way that Valentine Török, a distinguished supporter of the evangelical party, was lying in prison at Constantinople, and Peter Petrovitsh was living as an exile in Hungary, having been driven from Transylvania, he availed himself of the opportunity to abuse his power. He entered into a secret compact with Ferdinand, by which Austrian troops were admitted into Transylvania, and, with the basest ingratitude towards the queen-dowager Isabella and her son, who had been committed to his care, he compelled both to flee to Poland. He soon received the reward of his treachery; for, in the same year, he was, as some report, taken out of the way by assassins in the employ of Castaldo, Ferdinand's general; or, according to other accounts, hewn in pieces by the soldiers.*

This occupation of Transylvania brought the Roman Catholic party little advantage. Ferdinand seemed still inclined to persevere in attempting a reconciliation of the two parties. He interfered very little with their contentions, and it was for the sake of peace that he summoned the Diet of Eödenberg,

* Wolfgang de Bethl. Hist., Lib. IV. pp. 173, 174.

in 1553. At this meeting the majority of votes was in favor of the Reformation, and the proposal to forbid the printing and distributing of heretical books was negatived. This circumstance had such influence with the inhabitants of the neighboring free city, Guns, which was at that time a fortress of some importance, that they declared in a body in favor of the Reformation. The Hungarians, who in that city adhered to the Swiss Reformers, took possession of the church of St. James, and kept it for six years, when it was taken from them by the Lutherans, who were then become more numerous; * and, in the year 1554, the last Roman Catholic priest left the city, as a shepherd who had no flock.

The removal of the Diet from Eedenberg to Presburg tended in no respect to lessen the enthusiasm for the Reformation. On the contrary, new accessions were gained, in the persons of the palatine, Thomas Nadasdy, the master of ceremonies, Stephen de Lindva, and, shortly after, the colonel of the bodyguards, Ladislaus Banfy.

Melancthon's letters may have had much influence with the palatine in inducing him to take this step; for we find that a regular correspondence was kept up, and a deep interest taken, by the Reformers, in the state of Hungary. An instance of this we find in the case of the Church of Eperjes, where the pastor, Matthew Lauterwaldt, had preached the doctrine of the justification of a sinner before God partly by works and partly by grace. A dispute having arisen between him and the neighboring clergy on this subject, an appeal was forwarded to Melancthon, who decided, that if Lauterwaldt did not yield, he ought to be deposed.†

In the mean time, the mining towns had cause of rejoicing, for the king sanctioned their confession of faith, which they had handed him in 1549, and which in twenty articles con-

* Eedenberger Chronik. MS.

† Phil. Melancthon to the Senators of Eperjes, 6th of October, 1554.

tained merely the substance of the Augsburg Confession. This may be regarded as a fruit of the peace of 1555, by which toleration was secured to all who adhered to this confession.

While the Reformation was thus progressing so favorably at home and abroad, several zealous followers of Zwingle were laboring indefatigably to spread their views. Among these were John of Hermannstadt, Francis Staukarus, surnamed the *Lame*, Matthew Devay, and Peter Melius. The Swiss Confession was printed at Torgau, in 1556, was laid before a convention of the clergy in 1557, at Débrécsin, and ultimately signed at Ezenger, in 1558. Thus was a breach made in the Protestant Church which centuries have not been able to heal. The Confession, as signed at Ezenger, was published in 1570, by Andrew Lupinus, and is to be found in Lampe.

The conversion of the great and learned Bishop Francis Thurzo from the Church of Rome, and his marriage, accelerated the progress of the Reformation; but still more powerful was the influence of Soliman's approaching troops in bringing out the power of vital godliness. Ferdinand's troops had been obliged to surrender Temesvar to the Turks; his army, consisting of Italians, Spaniards, and Germans, was oppressing the people; and, driven to desperation, the nobles recalling Peter Petrovitsh from banishment, delivered him the necessary authority to conquer and regulate the country for Isabella and her son. The Turkish emperor was satisfied with this arrangement, and promised aid in case of need.

So soon as Peter Petrovitsh had assumed the government of Transylvania under the title of lieutenant, he took decided steps for confirming and finishing the work of reformation. As he had adopted the Swiss Confession, he removed all images out of the churches, drove the Roman Catholic priests out of their parishes, changed the monasteries into useful

schools, converted the gold and silver vessels and images into money and distributed among the poor ; and all this with the design that when Isabella, who was a Roman Catholic, should return, there might be the less opportunity for again introducing the Romish ceremonies.

Thus, with the full consent and approbation of the people, was the whole of Transylvania freed from the power of the Popish clergy, and the Church property considered as belonging to the state, so that the titular Bishop of Weissenburg, Paul Bornemisze, left the country in 1556, at which time only two monasteries remained.

As Isabella on her return demanded three fourths of the tithes for herself, there was such opposition on the part of the Saxon clergy, that she at last declared herself satisfied with one fourth, while the remaining three fourths were secured to the Protestant clergy, who remained in possession till the year 1848. This favor, however, was conferred only on the Saxons, for, as no voice was raised on behalf of the native Hungarian clergy, their tithes were taken by the queen, and never restored. The queen's income, which was thus very considerable, was much increased on the death of Petrovitsh, in 1557, as he made her sole heir of his vast property.*

* Walf. Bethlehem.

CHAPTER IX.

An Evangelical High School in Eödenberg.— The Town Bela reformed.— Letter of the Archbishop Nicolas Olah.— Threats.— Firmness of the Protestants.— The Magnates of Hungary, with the Exception of three Families, all Protestants.— Introduction of the Jesuits.

WE have already seen the effect produced on Guns and the neighboring towns by the Diet of Eödenberg; and we must not omit to keep an eye fixed on Eödenberg, as this free city was so prominent in the movements of the time. That the Reformation had early taken root here may be seen from the *auto-da-fè* of heretical books under Louis II.* The young men who had studied at Wittenberg, such as George Faber (in 1534), John Schreiner (1545), James Both, Charles Rosenberg, and others, were not idle after their return to their native town, as may be seen from the regular correspondence between this city and the Reformers. In 1557 such progress had been made that an Evangelical High School was established; and the burgomaster supported the undertaking with so much spirit, that he gave his garden for the purpose of erecting the necessary buildings. Several young men from this city went to study in Wittenberg in this year, and one of them, by name Michael Vieth, returned, bringing with him a letter of recommendation from Philip Melancthon, written in beautiful Latin, and addressed to the town council of Eödenberg. If this letter throws some light on the state of mind of the magistrates at that time, we have still clearer evidence in the year 1565; for in that year, the whole town council, being evangelical, called the famous

* Annales Eccl. Dav. Hermann, MS.

Simon Gerengel, formerly Roman Catholic priest in Lower Austria, to be pastor in Eedenberg. This priest had found a book of sermons by Spangenberg, the Augsburg Confessor, and Melancthon's *Commonplaces*, by means of which he was led to the Bible, out of which he learned, as he says, "the horribly soul-destroying errors of Popery." His faith was tried by an imprisonment of three years and a half at Salzburg; and so closely was he kept, that his mother, who had come on foot above two hundred English miles to visit him, was not admitted into the prison. Neither the severity of the confinement, nor the falsehoods heaped upon him, could shake his faith. "Here we lie," he said,—he was imprisoned with four other witnesses for the truth,—“here we lie day after day, week after week, month after month, year after year, till it please the Lord Jesus to set us free, for we have committed our whole case to him.”

In 1562 this faithful servant of God had taken up his residence in Rotenburg, where, with his mother, his wife, and child, he had a miserable subsistence, so that Raupach says, "Nobody knows what has become of him"; and suddenly, to our great joy, we find him preaching his first sermon and catechizing in Eedenberg in May, 1565. He came in the spirit and power of Elias, and within three years we find him welcoming the Roman Catholic pastor of the town, Aliatsch, into the bosom of the evangelical church, and shortly after uniting him in marriage to Eve Mitshka, a Protestant maiden.*

While Gerengel was laboring with so much success in Eedenberg, the town Bela had an equally faithful pastor in the person of Lawrence Serpilius. He, too, had laid aside his monk's dress and taken up the Bible, and so early as 1558, he had persuaded the majority of the inhabitants to de-

* Raupach, Evang. Austria. Gerengel published several books into especially for the young.

clare in favor of the Augsburg Confession. Such numerous desertions from the ranks justly awakened the deepest concern of the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Grán, Nicolas Olah, and compelled him to take some steps to bring back his erring sheep. Accordingly, in a letter dated Viehna, 10th of April, 1558, and addressed to the clergy whom he suspected to be of evangelical sentiments, in the Gespannschaft of Houth and the town of Schemnitz, he laid down eighteen points which he required them to sign. The clergy met together, resolved that these points were Popish, and contrary to the Word of God; declared their firm adherence to the doctrines contained in the Augsburg Confession; and neither threats, nor flatteries, nor repeated letters were able to make them flinch. Even when the archbishop summoned them to meet him at Kirchdorf, as they knew tolerably well the design of the meeting, they did not attend.*

The archbishop, on his arrival at Kirchdorf, finding no one to meet him, set about preparing a letter for the magistrates of the seven mining towns, but before sending it, he opened the way by a letter from Ferdinand of similar import. In the archbishop's letter there was no want of threatenings, but the effect produced was not quite according to his wish; for the most influential men of these cities coming together at Kremnitz, in conjunction with the clergy prepared a refutation of the archbishop's eighteen articles, and sent it to him with the intimation that they were resolved to continue Protestants.

This refutation was published at Schemnitz in December, 1559, and a copy was sent to Ferdinand. It treated of the following points:—1. Of the Triune God; 2. Creation; 3. Original Sin; 4. The Incarnation of Jesus Christ the Son of God; 5. Of Justification, wherein is stated, that the sinner, in turning to God, is justified by faith alone, and not by

* Ribinyi.

good works, *of which he has none before conversion* ; 6. Faith ; 7. Good Works ; 8. The Church ; 9. Baptism ; 10. The Lord's Supper ; 11. Confession ; 12. Repentance ; 13. Number of Sacraments ; 14. Church Office-bearers ; 15. Ceremonies ; 16. Civil Magistrates ; 17. Marriage ; 18. Resurrection ; 19. Prayers to Saints, in which many keen expressions of Epiphanius and Ambrosius are introduced ; 20. Priests' Dress. The whole is concluded with a summary view of the Roman errors and traditions, with extracts from the Scripture and from the Fathers.

The king and the Archbishop saw that Rome's influence was lost. Only three families of the magnates adhered still to the Pope. The nobility were nearly all reformed, and the people were, thirty to one, attached to the new doctrine.* For an extraordinary evil, extraordinary remedies must be applied. Nothing else seemed likely to meet the case, and it was therefore resolved to send the Jesuits into Hungary.

The disciples of Ignatius Loyola had been already brought to Vienna. The writings of the Reformers were spreading fast in Austria, Carinthia, and even Tyrol ; the royal chaplain and Bishop Urban had considered these men most likely to counteract the Reformation ; and, being once invited, they did not refuse to come. The primary aim of this order was to restore the fallen dignity of the Pope ; a second object was to root out evangelical religion ; and a third was to spread Popery in foreign lands. To accomplish these purposes, any means whatever might be employed. The Jesuit Bobadilla had been in Vienna with little success from 1542, and nine years afterwards, Ferdinand, by the advice of his chaplain sent for ten more. Among these was Peter Canisius, who, from his violence and the keenness of his scent in discovering heretics, is called in Hungary to this day, by a play on his name, "the Austrian Hound," — *Canis Austriacus*.†

* Peter Wolff, *History of the Jesuits*, B. XI., p. 103. Raupach, *Evang. Austria*.

† Sacchini, *Comment. de vita P. Canisii*.

Within a year they had gained fifty adherents. Their principal effort, however, was to obtain influence over Maximilian, the heir to the throne. He received them politely, and heard them without being much swayed, if he was even anything moved. On his wife, however, their influence was more fully felt; for when Christopher Rodriguez was returning to Rome in 1560, he was able to bring from the queen a declaration of her firm resolution even to die for the religion of her fathers, if by so doing she could advance the cause of Popery in the Austrian territory.*

Not content with having sown the seeds of discord between the royal partners, the Jesuits contrived to banish Maximilian's chaplain, who was a Protestant,† and afterwards brought Pius IV. to the resolution to threaten Maximilian II. with the ban if he did not enter fully into the Pope's plans. They even proposed a new election, and the Pope entered into a suspicious connection with the bigoted Albert of Bavaria, for the sake of carrying out his purposes.‡

The gentle Maximilian, instead of banishing them immediately out of the kingdom, contented himself with removing them from court, "that he might have no one who bore the name of Jesuit, or was any way connected with them, in his councils." It was such men that the Archbishop of Grán, Nicolas Olah, sent to Hungary.

Two priests, Peter Victoria and John Seidel, with a lay brother, Anton Schrader, — the latter to attend to the kitchen and cellar, while the former preached, — were sent to Hungary in 1561. The emperor's and the archbishop's generosity made their position very agreeable, and they labored diligently for some time; but their house in Tyrnau having been burned down, they left Hungary, to the great joy of the heretics and the grief of all true Roman Catholic citizens.§

* Raupach, *Erl. Ev. Aust.* Part I., p. 132.

† Schelhorn's *Letters*.

‡ Laderchii *Annales*, Tom. XXIII., p. 56.

§ Franz Kazy, *Hist. Univ. Tyrnau*.

CHAPTER X.

Death of Leonard Stöckel and Thomas Nadasdy. — Printing of the New Testament in Croatian. — Bishop Dudith's Report from the Council of Trent. — Covenanting Soldiers at Erlau.

THE efforts of the Roman Catholic clergy were met by the Protestants in so far that the latter called men of still more distinguished faith and zeal to take charge of their churches and schools. Many who had already given evidence of evangelical faithfulness in Germany were called to Hungary, and many of their own young men were sent to Jena or Wittenberg to be there examined and ordained. Of this latter class were, besides others, Paul Nemesvath in 1553, and Erasmus Crossensky, who was ordained in Wittenberg, December, 1559, to the pastoral charge of the church in Kasmark, his native town. This was one of the last public acts of Melancthon, for, on the 19th of the following April, he fell asleep in the Lord. His death was keenly felt and much lamented by all the friends of the Reformation in Hungary. His learning, his modesty, and mildness of character, had won the hearts of many of the princes and nobles of Hungary, who had become much attached to him.

Leonard Stöckel, the rector of the Bartfeld High School, who had been a pupil of Melancthon's, was lying sick as he received a letter from him, and at the same time the news of his death. "I shall soon follow my beloved teacher," he cried, "and in another world give him the information he wanted"; and shortly after expired.

Another heavy loss soon befell the Protestant Church of Hungary. The palatine, Thomas Nadasdy, alike distinguished by education, power, wealth, zeal, and generosity in

supporting the cause of the Gospel, sank into his grave. He had been a strong pillar of the Church in a day when every man was with one hand building the walls of Zion and with the other holding a weapon.

Still one consolation remained. The heir to the throne was well disposed toward the Protestants. His chaplain, Pfauser, a man of evangelical sentiments, had been removed from court, but everybody knew that it was not in consequence of any change in Maximilian's sentiments. What his views and aims really were could easily be seen from the fact of his establishing a printing-press in Croatia, where scarcely a book, not even a catechism, was to be found. Here the New Testament was printed in the Croatian language by Tauber, at the expense of John Ungnad, and dedicated by permission to Maximilian.* The first part, containing the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles, left the press in 1562, and in the following year it was completed. By the generosity of John Ungnad, four thousand spelling-books were printed and circulated among the Croatsians.†

This noble-minded man, who had been appointed by Ferdinand to some of the most important offices in Styria and Carinthia, was in consequence of his evangelical sentiments, on some pretence got up by the Jesuits, banished from the country. He found an asylum with Duke Christopher of Wurtemberg, and, with burning zeal for the spread of the truth, he had Bibles and theological works printed in the Turkish and Croatian languages, and sent over for circulation.‡

If Ferdinand was still, by the advice of the Jesuits, issuing severe edicts and adopting stringent measures against the Protestants, Maximilian had, on the other hand, received the evangelical preachers Martin Mosador and Christopher Reuter,

* Cyriacum-Spaugenberger Chron.

† Mica Bury MS.

‡ Thuanus, Tom. I. Lib. 38. Mica Bury MS.

and had approved of the printing of the Augsburg Confession for the use of the Austrian evangelical churches.* But this comfort was much required, for every day made it more evident that, according to the Council of Trent, "The spirit of Popery admits of no reform, and the interests of the whole Church must be sacrificed to gratify Rome's peculiar views."†

It might be well to give an extract from Bishop Dudith's report to his master Ferdinand, of the doings of that famous Council.

He writes: "As the votes are numbered and not weighed here, the better-disposed party can do little good, the Pope can send hundreds, or even thousands, to vote against them. We see every day hangers-on at the court of Rome, and poor beardless bishops — young men who have lost their property and character — coming to Trent to vote in a way agreeable to the Pope. What these men want in learning and intelligence is fully compensated by their impudence, and the affairs of the Church are not regulated here by bishops, but by puppets who are moved, like the fabled images of Dædalus, by foreign hand. With this meeting," continues the bishop, "the Holy Spirit has nothing to do. Here are simply human schemes to aggrandize Rome. From Rome we obtain the oracles as from Delphi or Dodona in other days. The spirit which is represented as guiding the meetings, comes in the postman's bag from Rome, and must wait at every swollen river by the way till the waters abate. O, monstrous folly!" So writes Dudith home to Vienna from that Council in which he and Bishop Draskowitsh sit as Ferdinand's deputies.‡

* Raupach, *Evang. Oester.* Tom. I., p. 142. † Fessler, *Band IV.*, p. 466.

‡ This intelligent and learned man was afterwards made by Maximilian a royal councillor and Bishop of Fünfkirchen, and frequently employed on important embassies. In 1667, he resigned his office, went to Poland, married a lady of noble family, wrote a book against the celibacy of the clergy, and

Where so little good was to be expected from Rome, it was very natural that the friends of truth and freedom of conscience should unite closely together. In the fortress and town of Erlau, which belonged to the family of Perényi, we find, accordingly, an interesting covenanting scene in 1561. All the troops, both horse and foot, stationed in Erlau, with the nobles and citizens, bound themselves solemnly, by oath, not to forsake the truth, and, as a testimony of their earnestness, they prepared a confession of faith corresponding with the Swiss Confession, and a covenant which they publicly signed. This document was sent to Débrécsin and the neighboring parishes, where it was also signed.*

The Roman clergy took the opportunity of representing to Ferdinand that this league was merely a conspiracy against the throne, and, accordingly, on the 6th of February, 1562, the leaders stood before a court of justice, charged with high treason. They here declared that they were prepared to obey the king in all civil matters, and that they had entered into this league simply for the glory of God, and for preserving the truth uncontaminated, as Joshua, Ezra, and Nehemiah had done. The explanation was accepted, and they had no further trouble.

died in Breslau, after ten years spent happily in wedlock, as the monument erected by his wife in the Elizabeth Church in Breslau testifies.

* This paper is preserved in Presburg, in the library of George Adonys. See also Ribinyi, *Mem. Aug. Conf.*, p. 162.

CHAPTER XL

Diet of Presburg. — Synod of the Evangelical Church at Tarczal. — Gabriel Perényi. — Close of the Council of Trent. — The Cup granted to the Laity. — Ferdinand's Medal. — Provincial Synod of Tyrnau. — Ferdinand's Decease. — Review.

THAT Ferdinand and the Archbishop of Grán were not idle in their attempts to restore Popery, was felt at the Diet of Presburg, in 1563, for here some of the old laws, unfavorable to the Protestants, were renewed, and thus a door was opened to the persecuting party to begin their work anew.

All these persecutions, however, from without could not injure the cause of truth so much as the internal dissensions which arose respecting predestination and the Lord's Supper. The party spirit rose so high, that, at the Synod of Tarczal, in 1563, a formal resolution was passed by a majority to discontinue the consecrated wafer, and to teach diligently to the people the doctrine of predestination.

This resolution was particularly disagreeable to Gabriel Perényi, especially as the clergy on his estates had not told him beforehand. Accordingly he summoned these to meet him at Ujhely, and after an earnest remonstrance, directed them in future to preach and dispense the Lord's Supper in accordance with the Augsburg Confession. Paul Thurius, pastor of St. Peter's Church, explained that their new declaration was only an attempt to make the Augsburg Confession more intelligible, and declared, at the same time, that neither he nor his colleagues could give up their conviction respecting these two articles.

To heal the matter, Perényi sent a deputation, at his own expense, to Saxony, to inquire of the theologians there what

was to be done. Both from Leipzig and from Wittenberg the answer was returned, very naturally, condemning the step which the majority of the synod had taken, and urging them to remain firm to the Augsburg Confession. As Thurius and the party adhering to him did not submit to this decision, the separation continued, and the evangelical church was now divided into two parties, — Lutheran and Reformed.

The Council of Trent had now been closed by the Pope. The decisions, breathing execrations against all who refused to submit to them, had extinguished the last hopes of the most sanguine princes, and cast fresh oil on the fire of religious controversy. It is well known how much Ferdinand, Maximilian, and the King of France, were disappointed and displeased. The emperor gave Pope Pius IV. to understand how much he was dissatisfied; and this remonstrance, together with the advice of some of the bishops, who hoped that the granting the cup to the laity might heal the breach in Austria, induced him to issue the bull of the 16th of April, 1564, addressed to Nicolas Olah, Archbishop of Grán, directing him to administer the communion in both kinds. At the same time, however, he protests against the supposition of papal fallibility, and asserts that the Mass is no error, while he gives directions respecting the best way to bring heretics back into the bosom of the Church.

The emperor was so much delighted with this concession, hoping it would have the desired effect, that he had a medal struck to commemorate the transaction. On the one side is his own image, with the motto, "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's";* and the letters below, "Fer.," for Ferdinand. On the reverse, a cup, with the motto, "Unto God the things that are God's";† and below the cup the word "Oratio," — prayer. ‡

* "Giebt dem Kaiser was des Kaisers ist."

† "Giebt Gott was Gottes ist." 2 2

‡ Luckius in Syllog. Numism., p. 811. Raupach raises some doubt whether

The emperor partook of the communion himself in both kinds, and had the Pope's bull published in three churches in Vienna, namely, in St. Stephen's, in St. Michael's, and by the Jesuits. The Jesuits at first refused, because their general at Rome, Jacob Lainez, had at the Council of Trent protested against giving the cup to the laity; but on receiving orders from Rome they obeyed the emperor.* On this, the dissatisfaction of the emperor, as well as of the citizens of Vienna, which was beginning to be expressed against them, ceased.

The free city of Tyrnau, in the county of Presburg, had been at one time called by the Protestants, "Little Rome," in consequence of the activity of the Jesuits there; but it had afterwards adopted the principles of the Reformation, in so far that, when the Jesuits returned in 1563, after a temporary absence, the two parties agreed that the Hungarians should keep the cathedral, and a new church should be built for the Jesuits. It was to this city that the archbishop summoned a provincial synod in 1564, inviting all the clergy without exception. As several of the clergy, and among these the pastor of the mining districts, did not appear, the Dean Timmerius and the Jesuit John Seidel were sent to Schemnitz to win the people over to adopt the decrees of the Council of Trent, and so return into the bosom of the Church.† On presenting their commission to the civil authorities, they were informed that there were so many excellent preachers in the town, their services were not required. The magistrates declared at the same time, that their Confession of Faith, as the archbishop himself knew, agreed with the Augsburg Confession, and by this they were resolved to abide.

the coin was designed for this time, but he acknowledges that he has no proof, and remarks, "*Ita videtur, ita ego conjicio.*"

* Raupach, *Ev. Aust.*, Part I. p. 156.

† Ribinyi, *Mem. Aug. Conf.*, Part I. p. 167. Godofry Schwartz, *Life and Writings of Dudith*, § XXI. p. 56. The Jesuit Peterfy.

The archbishop complained to the emperor, and on the 16th of April an order was sent to the civil authorities of Schemnitz warning them to obey the archbishop, and threatening them with severe punishment for what they had done. This order was signed, among others, by Dudith, who had returned from the Council of Trent, but it did not produce much effect, for, on the 25th of July following, the angel of death knocked at Ferdinand's door and called him away. His death freed the magistrates of Schemnitz from their perilous position, and took a great weight from the hearts of the friends of the Reformation in Hungary and Germany.

For thirty-eight years had Ferdinand I. been King of Hungary. He had, besides, worn the Roman imperial crown and that of Bohemia. The political historian must describe him as a wise prince and lover of justice. We have had opportunity of showing that he was aware of the errors of the Church of Rome, and earnestly longed for a reform; and yet in the decisive moment he avoided publicly declaring against Rome, and, like other princes, joining the Reformation, although the great majority of his subjects in Austria, Bohemia, Styria, and Hungary would have stood firmly by him in taking such a step.

If we inquire into the reason of this conduct, we must mention in the first place his Spanish education, the first impressions of which were carefully nourished by the priests; the example of his brother, the Emperor Charles; the constant friendly relation between him and the court of Rome; the moral and physical assistance which Rome gave him against the Turks, and which in his circumstances was indispensable; the falsehoods which were told of Luther; * the ignorance of the Word of God which alone can make fallen man free, — all these wrought together in making Ferdinand what he was.

* No one doubts any more that the letter of Ferdinand to Luther of 1st of February, 1537, is a forgery.

We are firmly of opinion that Ferdinand I. may justly be ranked among the warmest and most devoted friends of the Pope. He did all for Popery which any man could do in those stormy times and under his circumstances, without the greatest folly and danger. He did not understand that moving of the Holy Spirit on the troubled waters of the Christian Church in his day. And it is with regret that we must decline joining with such Protestant writers as Spondanus, who declare him to have been a friend of the Reformation. Should we give any other reasons for our decision, we would simply point to his conduct in Austria, where he was much less fettered than in Hungary, and yet this freedom was only used to oppress and hinder the Reformaton.*

* Raupach, Ev. Aust. Part II.

CHAPTER XII.

Maximilian I. is made King. — Communion in both Kinds in Hungary. — The Celibacy of the Clergy. — Organization of the Reformed Church, and Separation from the Lutherans. — Unitarians in Transylvania. — Pastor Lucas. — Lazarus Schwend. — Confession of Czenger.

It was with their whole heart that the Protestants joined in the cry, "Long live the king!" as Maximilian I. was crowned in his father's stead.

Their hopes were also realized. As yet there was no formal separation from the Church of Rome further than that the sentiments of the evangelical preachers were known. When Archbishop Olah therefore wrote to Presburg demanding that all heretical books should be sought out, and threatening excommunication in case of disobedience, the citizens were much alarmed. They knew what he had done in the case of Peter Simeghi, the evangelical pastor of Selyr, throwing him into prison and subjecting him to all possible trial. And now the demand came to Presburg, not only to give up the books, but also to banish all the preachers who were known to be of sentiments different from what Rome calls orthodox. In their distress they sent a deputation to the king to appeal against the archbishop.

About the same time a similar complaint was brought by the Protestant clergy of the seven mining towns, and they had a better case made out; for, by handing in their confession of faith, they had virtually separated from Rome's jurisdiction. They showed how they were appointed by law "to preach the Gospel diligently, and administer the sacraments according to the Augsburg Confession." Maximilian immediately directed the archbishop "to cease disturbing the evan-

gelical clergy; to consider the times, and to take heed that he did not destroy more than he built up."*

By a letter dated 2d of September, 1564, the king directed that the permission to use the cup in the communion should also be extended to Hungary. The edict was published by the archbishop himself in Presburg and Tyrnau, and by the bishops in Raab, Erlau, and Agram. Indeed, it was also published in the camp of Lazarus Schwend, the imperial commander-in-chief, who labored very successfully in advancing the Reformation in the neighborhood of the Theiss, by bringing forward such preachers as were of evangelical sentiments.

Maximilian went even farther, and entertained high hopes of being able to abolish the celibacy of the clergy, asserting that, were this evil removed, all would soon proceed smoothly.† He was of opinion that the Protestant and Roman Catholic Churches might very well exist together, and was therefore from his heart opposed to persecution in religious matters. At the Diet of 1566, which was held to make preparation against the Turks, who, to the number of one hundred and fifty thousand men, were approaching towards Hungary, no resolution was passed in any way molesting the Reformers. Encouraged, therefore, by the outward peace which they enjoyed, that distinguished light of the Reformed Church, the senior and pastor Caspar Karolyi, summoned a synod, at which the majority signed the Swiss Confession of Faith. They wrote to their brethren in Transylvania, recommending this confession, and sent the letter by Paul Thurius, who was now completely devoted to the Reformed or Swiss party.

In like manner was a synod called at Débrécsin by Peter Melius, in which the Swiss Confession of Faith, as distin-

* Ribinyi, Mem. Mica Bury MS.

† Ribinyi, Mem. Aug. Conf., Part I., p. 199.

guished from the Augsburg Confession, was adopted and printed, so that the separation of the Reformed and Lutheran Churches was now complete.

This organization of the Protestant churches was not very acceptable to the Roman Catholics, and they succeeded in blackening the character of the Reformed Church — whom they always denominated Sacramentarians — in the eyes of Maximilian, to such an extent, that when a similar synod was about being held in Oedenberg, Maximilian wrote to the magistrates, not only prohibiting the meeting, but also forbidding them to have any connection with such preachers, requiring, at the same time, that if any such were among them, they should be banished, and their books destroyed.*

Following the king's example, the commander-in-chief of the forces, Lazarus Schwend, who appears to have known very little about the Helvetic Confession, took a very decided stand against the Reformed, and in favor of the Lutheran, Church. This general had soon an opportunity of trying his skill in ecclesiastical matters, in the case of Lucas, the pastor of Erlau, who had adopted Socinian views, and whose case was tried before the synod of Kashaw, in January, 1568. It having been proved that Lucas denied the eternity of the Son of God, and so rejected the doctrine of the Trinity, the general adopted a military solution of the theological quarrel, for he cast the accused into prison, and gave him his liberty again, after a long confinement, only on condition of recanting. It is true, the manner of conducting the trials of those who were suspected of Socinianism was very far from being an impartial inquiry after truth; but it was at that time necessary for the evangelical church to show that she had no sympathy with those who denied the divinity of the Lord Jesus Christ; otherwise the Roman Catholics were very ready to make this charge against individuals an opportunity of persecuting the whole Church.

* Ribinyi, Mem. Aug. Conf., Part I., p. 208.

The Unitarians had, indeed, at this time, become very numerous; and as John, Prince of Transylvania, seemed to favor them, they allowed themselves to be led very far in provoking the other party. In vain did the professors in Wittenberg write to the chancellor, Michael Csaky, urging the brethren not to suffer such heresies, in direct opposition to the Word of God, to spring up among them. In vain did they beg and entreat them to send their young men to foreign universities and support them there. The Italian doctor and preacher, Blandvater, with Francis David, drove matters so far that, at the Synod of Wardein, in Transylvania, the doctrine of the Trinity was openly denied, and the pastor of Klausenburg was appointed superintendent of the Unitarians.

Many Hungarians were present at this Transylvanian synod, who did not adhere to the false doctrines. The Prince of Transylvania, however, with many of the nobility, and the great mass of the citizens of Wardein, openly joined the Unitarians. This was perhaps a reason why the Hungarians, though they had already signed the Confession of Torgau, in 1567, prepared and printed at Débrécsin a new confession, entitled the "Confession of Czenger." The great historian Bossuet is quite mistaken when he calls this a Polish confession. It was drawn up by Hungarians, and is to this day the common confession of the Reformed Church in Hungary.

CHAPTER XIII.

Jehoiachim Brandenburg. — Death of Gabriel Perényi, Bishop of Csanad. — Synod of Kremnitz. — The twenty-four Zips Towns and their Confession — David Chytraus.

SOLOMON says, "To everything there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the heaven"; and we may safely say that the reign of Maximilian was "the time for Confessions of Faith." From single cities, and from individual pastors, we find confessions of faith appearing, agreeing in so far with the Augsburg Confession that they give the Lord all glory. They were in general written as public replies to the disagreeable attacks made on these parties by such as, either through blindness or obduracy, could see no salvation out of the Church of Rome, and whose chief aim was, at any price, to bring all back again under the Roman slavery. It was for this reason that Jehoiachim Brandenburg, chaplain of the German cavalry at Raab, in the year 1567, published the confession of his faith at Ratisbon. In the preface, he informs us how, in consequence of his respect for Flacius and adherence to the doctrines which he taught, he was driven from place to place, till at last he had obtained leave to preach and dispense the sacraments at Raab. Even here he had little rest, for, as he held divine service in a private house, he was represented as one who hated the light. Being, however, accustomed to preach in the open air,* he would not be prevented from continuing to do so, and, that every one might know what he taught, he hereby published the principal articles of his creed.

* He had eight different places where he preached. Mica Bury MS.

Such decided witnesses were much required in Hungary at this time, for, during the sitting of the Presburg Diet, in 1567, Gabriel Perényi was laid in the grave of his fathers, and the funeral oration was pronounced over this devoted supporter of the Lutheran Church by Fabricius Szikzovianus, in the presence of an august assembly of mourners. It was not long till the second pillar of the Lutheran Church in Upper Hungary, Lazarus Schwend, was also laid in the narrow house. These losses were the more felt as Gregory Bornemissa, the Bishop of Csanad, had written to the twenty-four towns of Zips, informing them that he would soon visit "his towns," armed with the necessary powers to restore the disobedient wanderers from the fold. He informed them, also, that he would hold a synod, in which it would be shown what every one is bound to teach and believe. In a second letter, in 1570, he renews the summons to the clergy to attend at his court, and adds, that he will leave no means untried to purge his diocese.* In the mean time, the influence of Rome was so far felt at Vienna that the evangelical professors at the university were excluded from the office of rector.

Under such circumstances, the representatives of the five mining towns met at Kremnitz in the year 1569, — renewed the confession of faith which they had presented to Ferdinand in 1559, — resolved to instruct the children carefully in the Catechism, and to hold a clerical meeting conference twice a year.

The representatives of the twenty-four Zips towns held a conference in the same year, and deputed two of their number, Valentine Meyander and Cyriacus Opsopaus, to draw up their confession. Their work was finished in 1573, and the several points agreed very fully with the Augsburg Confession; this, therefore, obtained much more of the royal approbation than did the confession of the Calvinistic Church,

* Ribinyi, Mem., Part I. p. 221.

as is evident from the fact of Maximilian shortly after inviting Chytraus from Rostock, to bring all the evangelical churches of Austria to the Lutheran model.

When Chytraus had finished his work in Austria, he travelled through Hungary and Transylvania, and in the account given of his journey, he mentions how the Arian heresy had spread ; but, at the same time, that he had found the true Church of Christ scattered through all Hungary. He saw in Ofen a Lutheran and a Roman Catholic occupying the same church alternately, and in Eedenberg he found pastor, and magistrates, and citizens, firmly attached to the principles of the Reformation. He remarks, further, that in the neighborhood of the Neusiedel lake, by the banks of the Danube and the Raab, the Church was flourishing ; in Zips, and among the Saxons in Transylvania, he found most learned men in the churches and schools, who remained unmoved by all the exertions of Blandvater and the other Socinian teachers.

This visit of the zealous Chytraus did far more for the benefit of the Church in Hungary than the letter of the Wittenberg theologians, warning so earnestly against the Socinian errors, had accomplished. The spoken word, and the personal influence of enlightened friends of truth, produce a far more permanent effect than it is possible for writings to do. It was thus that the travels of the Apostles in the early times, and the travelling of missionaries in our own days, have had an influence far beyond anything which the dead letter of the written Word could ever claim in gathering and strengthening the churches.

CHAPTER XIV.

Diet at Presburg. — John Kurber. — Tyrnau. — James Wolf. — Death of Sarpilius and Szegedinus. — Formal Separation from Rome.

THE war with the Turks was ended by a truce for eight years, and the quarrel with John, Prince of Transylvania, was brought to a close in 1570, in such a way that John should hold, during life, a certain portion of the country. As he died in the following year, Maximilian was freed from much anxiety, and now the great aim must be to try and heal the wounds which half a century of war had inflicted. Accordingly, in 1572, two diets were held at Presburg, in neither of which any resolution unfavorable to the Protestants was adopted, and in the latter meeting, Rudolph, the son of Maximilian, was crowned King of Hungary.

In the place of Schwend, another zealous Protestant, John Kurber, was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces in Hungary.* Under his protection, the Germans in Tyrnau called an evangelical preacher, who labored very acceptably among them. In their baptisms, funerals, and schools, they laid aside all the Popish customs and ceremonies, and set about building for themselves a new church, which was finished during the reign of Maximilian.

About the same time the town of Moderu, which had just been raised to the title and privileges of a city, elected its first evangelical pastor in the person of James Wolf, a disciple of Luther, who fully carried out the principles of his renowned master.

* As governor of the city Raab, he had introduced the first evangelical preacher into that city.

In all these prosperous times, the great Head of the Church was reminding his people that the cause of truth does not depend on man, whose breath is in his nostrils. He therefore called away by death Laurence Serpilius, the Reformer of Bela, and shortly after, the great Stephen Szegedinus. The latter died in 1572, in the sixty-seventh year of his age.

He had been eighteen years superintendent in the diocese lying between the Border Lake and the Save; and at his death had one hundred and twenty Protestant churches under his superintendence. Through evil report and good report, in stripes and imprisonments, dangers by water and dangers by land, he had labored on unweariedly in his Master's cause.* In his sixtieth year he had a public discussion in Pesth with a monk of the name of Seraphim Pantheus, and with the sword of the Spirit he carried off a brilliant victory. The Reformed Church claims him as one of her superintendents. There is, however, no evidence that he separated himself from the Lutheran party; all that can be said is, that in the later years of his life he had a strong leaning to the Calvinistic doctrines, and lived on very intimate terms with the leaders of that Church.

Although the evangelical churches, both Lutheran and Reformed, had at this time a complete organization, yet the Roman Catholic bishops did not cease to assert their claims, demanding from the Protestant clergy a constant recognition of their authority, and from the churches regular payments of Church dues. The Archbishop of Grán, in passing through Leutshaw in 1573, took high offence at Anton Plattner, the evangelical pastor of the place, for not waiting on him with accustomed honor; and when Plattner, reminded of his duty by the magistrates, hastened after the archbishop so far as

* He had many narrow escapes for his life. At one time his horses ran away and threw him into the Danube, where he was in great danger; and at another time, while bathing, he came too near a whirlpool, and was with difficulty rescued.

Eberjes, in company with some of the neighboring clergy, the archbishop complained grievously of their having left Rome. "The honor of being very learned men he would not deny them, and even to their marriage he had no objection, if they had only waited till permission had been obtained from Rome." Plattner returned safe and sound to his own dear Leutshaw.*

In the same year the Bishop of Csanad wrote to the evangelical churches, demanding his dues. They answered by sending him their Confession of Faith, with some few words of explanation respecting the constitution of their churches. It is there said, "The Church is the visible body of those who hear and believe the Gospel, and among whom the sacraments are administered according to Christ's appointment. The spirit of God works among these to renew their minds by his appointed means; there are, however, in this life, many in the visible Church whose minds are not yet renewed. Those, however, who falsify the Word, administer the sacraments contrary to Christ's intention, and kill the saints,—such are not the Church of God, but, as the Lord says, 'of their father the Devil.' 'He that is not with us is against us.'"

By this document they declared themselves completely separated from Rome; and it was not convenient for the bishop just at that time to take any further notice of the proceedings.

Other churches, wishing also to be free, sent their theological students to Wittenberg, where they were ordained, and then returned to labor in their native land. Some went for the same purpose to Transylvania, others to Gratz, and others still to Silesia.†

* Ribinyi, Mem. Aug. Conf., Part I. Here is the great Roman principle asserted. The Pope has the power to pronounce any course of conduct to be right or wrong. Right and wrong mean, then, what is conformable to his will or otherwise. This is really setting himself in God's stead.

† Memorabilia Edenbergs MS.; Ribinyi, Mem., Part I., p. 246, where the diploma of Paul Hermelius is copied.

CHAPTER XV.

Peter Bornemissa. — Stephen Beytha. — Michael Starinus. — The Pastors of Edenberg. — Caspar Zeitvogel. — Nicolas Telegdy appeals to the Pope. — Maximilian's Death. — His Character.

AT the head of this chapter stand the names of three of the most distinguished Reformers in Hungary. Perhaps it is on this account that the Lutheran and Reformed writers strive to claim each for their own party. The following facts may perhaps help to clear up the darkness which rests on this point, and contribute towards settling the question, if it is one of so much importance.

Peter Bornemissa was born of noble family, at Pesth, and received his education at Kashaw and Vienna. In his eighteenth year, he permitted the public to visit him at his lodgings in Vienna, where he read and expounded the Scriptures to them. Being accused by Nicolas Olah, at that time archbishop, he was thrown into prison. On being set free, he travelled in Italy, France, and Germany, for eight years, pursuing his studies. On his return, he was, by the patronage of Count Julius Salin, and his worthy countess, Elizabeth Thurzo, appointed preacher, first in Galgatz, and then in Shintaw. Here he labored with much success, and published an incredible number of books. Especially valuable were his Hungarian sermons, which he printed between 1574 and 1584, partly in quarto, partly in folio, dedicated to Count Salm and prince Stephen Török. Other works, which produced a great sensation at the time, were his *Sum of Saving Knowledge* and *Comfort in the Vicissitudes of Life*, published in 1577, and dedicated to Anna Maria Losontcy, the wife of Christopher Unguad. Several liberal princes and

pious ladies bore the cost of printing, and among these were Barbara Somi, wife of Ladislaus Banfy, Count Salm Bathyani, Thomas Nádasdy, and Francis Esterházy.

From the year 1584, we hear no more of this great man; probably about that time he died. His writings bear the character of the time, and give evidence that the Turkish dominion had very much injured the state of religion and morals. Lampe and others claim him as a Calvinist; but we have evidence that, on a preacher being appointed at Eödenberg, the magistrates and citizens would not make the appointment till after Superintendent Bornemissa had examined and approved of him. From the quarrels and bitter feelings between the two Confessions, and from the high stand which the citizens of Eödenberg took on the side of the Augsburg Confession, we infer that they would not send their pastor to be examined by a Calvinistic superintendent.

This Eödenberg pastor was afterwards a very distinguished laborer in the Lord's vineyard. His name was Stephen Beytha. Born about 1528, he labored first in the schools, and afterwards as preacher, for a period of forty-five years. Bornemissa recommends him to the Church in Eödenberg, in 1574, as a very worthy man, whom they should respect and support, and expresses the hope that he may be a blessing to the town. Here he remained only two years, as Hungarian preacher, and then removed to Gussing, in Eisenberg, as pastor to the Church there, and chaplain to Count Balthasar Bathyani. As an influential superintendent, we shall frequently hear further of him.

Another of the great leaders of the Reformation was Michael Starinus. One benefit which he conferred on Hungary was the translation of the Psalms into Hungarian verse, and, indeed, the greater number of the Psalms in use among the Reformed churches to this day are said to be his translation. He was a most laborious minister of the Gospel, but very little is known respecting the very peculiar s,

his labors, beyond the facts, that he lived at Tolnau, in 1557; that he was settled at Papa, as pastor, previous to 1574; and that, while he and Stephen Beytha were candidates for the vacant post of Hungarian preacher in Eedenberg, in the last-mentioned year, Beytha was preferred.*

There were at that time five preachers in Eedenberg, namely, three in the German church, one in the Hospital, and Beytha in the Hungarian church. The names were, Jonas Peter Nusaus, a native of Nuremburg, James Ritschendel, Hans Hofer, and Andrew Pfendtner. In the Hungarian church, a service in Croatian was occasionally held, a custom which exists to this day, though the Croatians in the neighboring village, Culmhof, are now all Roman Catholics. Beytha was succeeded by Caspar Dragonus, in 1576.†

The schools in Eedenberg were as prosperous as the churches. The gymnasium, which had been established in 1566, had Francis Hartwann as professor till the year 1577, and, as the school was prospering, Caspar Zeitvogel was called from Austria, as rector. Up to this time it had been customary for the youth in the Latin school to hear mass each morning, from eight till nine o'clock, and vespers each evening, from three till four. The new rector discontinued this custom, to the great annoyance of the priest. He introduced the custom of singing German hymns, instead of Latin, at funerals, and dispensed with the attendance of priests, with their wax candles, on such occasions.‡

* There was a Hungarian preacher in Eedenberg previous to 1568; for in that year we find the record of a presbyter of Guns applying for the vacant place. In 1568-69, Francis Novanus was placed there; in 1570-71, Lucas of Blasteniz; the name of the preacher in 1572-73 is not given. In 1574, there is an entry to the effect, that, by order of the burgomaster, there was paid to the Hungarian preacher of Papa, Michael Starinus, two dollars, for preaching on trial at the Eedenberg Hungarian Church.

† Caspar Dragonus signs himself pastor of the United Hungarian and Croatian Church.

‡ Z. E. Russeus, Burgomaster of Eedenberg. Transactions during his Life. MS.

As the priests were thus deprived of some of their fees, they were so enraged that, on one occasion, at a funeral, "a priest, in the public street, boxed the ears of Master Caspar Zeitvogel." Shortly after, Zeitvogel was dismissed, by the influence of the Bishop of Raab and some of his creatures, and the next place we find him is in Basle, where he officiates as doctor of medicine. His place, as rector of the gymnasium, was filled by Michael Rusler, in 1574, who continued to labor successfully for four years.

Up till this time, the St. Michael's church had been used alternately by Protestants and Roman Catholics, but now a complete separation took place, and that chiefly by the influence of the sensual Romish priest, Walff Spillinger.

The friends of the Reformation had struggled hard to gain a footing, and now they must not relax their efforts in attempting to maintain their ground against those who had no qualms of conscience respecting the means they adopted to gain their end. "And they who kill you," said the Lord Jesus, with such truth and power, "will think they do God service"; "and all this they will do, because they neither know me nor my Father."

Some looked on the incredible spread of evangelical sentiments as a great evil. Among these was Nicolas Telegdy, Provost of Grán, about the end of Maximilian's reign. As he found the emperor's lukewarmness in persecuting the Protestants intolerable, he wrote to Pope Gregory, in May, 1576, complaining especially of the people of Tyrnau, that they had appointed a most talented preacher, to whom crowds were listening in the hospital church. In vain had the legate demanded of the emperor to send this plague out of the town. In vain had the bishops of Erlau and Raab united to plead for the same purpose; they had only succeeded in obtaining a promise that royal commissioners would inquire into the case. He therefore begged the Pope to urge the emperor on to do his duty, while many in Tyrnau were

trembling for the consequences of allowing this madman his full liberty. And, lastly, remarks the provost, if the heretics once gain a victory in Tyrnau, their teachers will then come like flies, and cover the land, so that the Roman Catholic faith would be overturned, — yes, overturned by the preaching of the Gospel !

Rome's power was thus waning fast in Hungary, when Maximilian died at Ratisbon, on the 12th of October, 1576.

The Jesuit Mitterdorfer numbers him among the faithful sons of the Church, and says he yielded to the Protestants simply from dire necessity. Others think that Maximilian suffered the Church of Rome designedly to sink, and that he was a warm friend of the Reformation.*

Let us remember that, as crown prince and king of Bohemia, he was decidedly in favor of the Reformation. At that time he wrote to the Duke of Wurtemberg, that it was of the utmost importance that the contending parties in the Protestant Church should be reconciled ; for, by so doing, the Pope would be the more hampered in his proceedings, which Maximilian confessed would not vex him very much. In another letter, he calls the Papists "the other party," and the enemies both of himself and the duke.† As emperor, however, he is less open ; the circumstances require more moderation. As emperor, he attended mass, remained in communion with the Church of Rome, took as his chaplain that same Cithardus whom he had formerly so much despised ; but, as Thuanus observes, "always at heart well inclined towards the Protestants."

A singular proof of this he gave in his last years ; for as on the death of Cithardus they gave him one Martin Eisengrün, a Protestant apostate, to be his chaplain, and as he, in his first sermon, made a bitter attack on the Protestants, the

* Martin Gratianus in vita Card. Commendonii.

† Raupach, Evang. Aust. 1st Part, Supplement, pp. 21, 22.

emperor immediately found another situation for him in the Bavarian monastery of Dettingen.

If we, then, consider further, in addition to what has been said, that the greater number of office-bearers at court were Protestants, that Protestants were sent as ambassadors to foreign courts, even to Rome, we may well doubt whether to receive with implicit confidence or not, what the Jesuit Mitterdorfer says of him on his deathbed, "He gave full evidence of being a Roman Catholic prince."* This doubt will be further increased by the fact, that the Paris University refused him the customary honors after death, as they had doubts respecting his orthodoxy. We may also remember the memorable words with which he dismissed his evangelical chaplain, Pfauser, when compelled to do so by the influence of Ferdinand's court,— "Be of good courage, dear Pfauser, the service of God must not yield to the commandments of men."

* See Gerbach's Turkish Day-Book, p. 498.

CHAPTER XVI.

RUDOLPH II., FROM 1576 TO 1608, IN HUNGARY; DIED 1612.

His Education and Manner of Life.— Archduke Ernest, Governor of Austria.
— Opitz and Scherer.— The Concordia in Hungary.— Roman Tactics.

WITH the Emperor Rudolph begins a period of thirty-two years, which, for the Church in Hungary, abounded in suffering and trials. The wonder, how it was possible for such an enlightened and gentle father as Maximilian to leave behind him such a son and heir as Rudolph, will be explained by a glance at his early education.

Rudolph was born at Vienna in 1552, and while the father was occupied with the cares of government, the Spanish mother, by the aid of the Jesuits, formed the young mind after her own wish. While he was scarcely yet twelve years old, he was sent to be near the suspicious, tyrannical, cruel Philip, King of Spain. At the side of this dark monarch and his ghostly executioner, the Grand Inquisitor Torquemada, did Rudolph, while yet a youth, acquire that implicit submission to the Church of Rome, which made him respect every error, consider every change even of the most absurd customs as a heresy, and fitted him for being the blind tool of the priests of an infallible Church. They had only one difficulty in his character, and that was the pride of being a ruler, and of being considered such. Yet they knew well how to turn this to account, by directing this failing in such a channel as served their purpose.

Such a mixture of dark suspicion and tyrannical pride as

made up the character of Philip, just such was also Rudolph's character. Like Philip, it became always more and more difficult for his subjects to have access to him. Indeed, at one time, the citizens of Prague, where he generally resided, considered him to be dead; and the only way to quell a riot, which was breaking out in consequence, was, that he came and showed himself at a window.

Devoted to astrology, alchymy, and painting, and with a decided aversion to affairs of state, his extensive dominions soon fell, like his own household, into desperate disorder. Like Louis II., he was always at a loss for money; and though niggardly in matters of importance, yet he could waste his property on flowers, and pearls, and trifles. He was always surrounded with alchymists, astrologers, artists, and mistresses, who carried away with a full hand, while his troops were generally obliged to subsist on forced loans and friendly plunder. Of course no attention was paid to the education of the people. The king set the example of adulterating the silver in dollars, and the brokers and usurers in his dominions knew how to imitate him in this respect.

Under such a ruler, who, as Fessler remarks, "for the gratification of his own covetousness, transgressed all law and all morality, that he might bury his treasures by the million," it would have been indeed a wonder if credit, justice, and morality had not disappeared, and cheaterly taken their place.

With that faithfulness and good-natured resignation which constitutes a principal trait of their character, the Hungarians accepted of this king, who was crowned 25th of September, 1572, in the twentieth year of his age. They hoped to find the just and virtuous father in the son; and even what very soon after the coronation took place against the Protestants in Austria did not quite remove the scales from their eyes.

In 1577, Rudolph had appointed his brother Ernest deputy-governor of Austria, who immediately, no doubt by the ad-

vice of the Jesuits, set about attempting a counter reformation. It was the learned and zealous, but at the same time headstrong and imprudent, evangelical preacher in Vienna, Joshua Opitz, who gave occasion to this step. Picturing, in his sermon, the consequences of monastic life, he mentioned that, in the time of Pope Gregory, in a certain pool or lake, six thousand skulls of children had been found, which had all been thrown in by the women of the neighboring convent, and that the Bishop of Augsburg had written to Pope Nicolas I. on the subject. Eight days after, the Jesuit Scherer preached against him, and soon raised such a storm, that, by express command of the emperor, the preachers Opitz, Tattelbach, and Hugo received orders, on the 21st of June, 1578, "on the same day, before sunset, to leave Vienna, and within fourteen days to be beyond the boundaries of the empire, never to return." *

In the same year was the evangelical preacher at Krems, John Matthews, of Smalkalden, banished; and many of the citizens, who were suspected of Protestantism, were called up, and strictly examined respecting their views. While the cardinal Hosius was rejoicing over the banishment of the preachers and the suppression of the Protestant congregations, and while men of evangelical sentiments, who refused to take part in the processions, were excluded from the rectorship of the University, the Bishop of Vienna was making preparations for an inquisition of the books, in which work he was faithfully assisted by the University.

With equal zeal were the Jesuits laboring in Styria, where they succeeded in banishing Jeremiah Homberger, the pastor and rector of Grätz.

Though the prospects of the Protestants were thus very gloomy, yet the Hungarians, depending on the oath of the king, and on their own constitution, seemed to have no fear

* Raupach, *Ev. Austria*, Part. I., p. 272.

that the fire of persecution might soon reach themselves. Was it the consciousness of the justice of their cause, or was it the number of members of their own party filling influential positions, or the success which had hitherto attended their struggles against Rome, that lulled asleep all suspicion, and prevented them taking energetic steps to meet the tricks of the Jesuits and their helpers?

Instead of combating the great foe from without, the internal quarrels were increasing, and synod after synod was held to discuss such questions among themselves as only tended to stir up strife. In the hope of settling the disputes, an attempt was made to have the Concordia signed; and though, at the Synod of Kremnitz, in 1580, the commander-in-chief of the Hungarian army, as well as lay deputies from some of the sister towns, used their utmost efforts to have the signature accomplished, yet the attempt only increased the evil which it was designed to heal. Indeed, Gregory Bornemissa, of Great Wardein, took the opportunity of warning the clergy under his superintendence, that as there were in this formula sentiments reflecting dishonor on the person of Christ, they should refuse signing it, and *threatened, if they did so, he would proceed against him as if they denied the humanity of Christ.*

The bishop having had heavy expenses at the Diet of Presburg, wrote to the evangelical clergy of Zips, in 1583, requesting them to send him, as usual, their share of his expenses, and expressing a wish that the usual sum of sixty ducats should this time be increased to a hundred. In the letter, he calls them his reverend brethren in Christ. Now, though the evangelical clergy had, in general, paid the dues to the Popish bishops, still it happened that the cler-

* This formula was drawn up by Andreas Chemnitz and Solnecker, and afterwards examined and approved by Chyträus Musculus and Körnir, and was published in 1577. In this formula, the ubiquity of Christ's human nature is asserted.

gy of Zips had not paid the last oil account for extreme unctions, and even all the bishop's flattery did not now succeed in extracting even a part of the hundred ducats. The bishop's death in the following year prevented, for the present, any final settlement of the question.

While the Protestant Church was torn with internal dissensions, the Roman Catholics, on the contrary, fully organized and strengthened by the Jesuits, as well as supported by the court, were prepared to take advantage of every change. They knew well that for the present nothing could be undertaken on a large scale, and that the Diet would not assist them; they therefore chose prudent and courageous leaders, and began a guerilla warfare against individual pastors and single congregations.

CHAPTER XVII.

Roman Catholic Synod at Steinamanger. — Bishop Telegdy. — Gregorian Calendar. — Banishment of the Protestant Clergy of Eödenberg. — Draskowitsh is made Cardinal. — Adoption of the New Calendar out of Respect to the King. — Banishment of the Jesuits from Transylvania. — Death of Draskowitsh.

THE zeal of the Roman Catholics to bring back the Protestants to the Church of Rome was manifested in various ways. George Draskowitsh, Archbishop of Kolotscha, and imperial chancellor, summoned a general synod of the clergy of his diocese to Steinamanger, in Eisenberg, to meet in August, 1579, to which he also invited the Protestant clergy. Count Francis Nádasdy, however, on whose estates many Protestants resided, took up the case warmly, and wrote to the archbishop in July, 1579, sending a copy of his letter to the magistrates of Eödenberg, in which he states, that the evangelical clergy need not appear before the archbishop to give an account of their faith, for this they have already done by signing the Augsburg Confession; should it, however, be intended to hold a public discussion on matters of faith, the time appeared to be badly chosen, for it would only cause new excitement, and expose to further devastations from the Turks. The evangelical clergy did not appear at the synod.

What the archbishop with all his power could not accomplish, was attempted by others in a different way. It is a singular trait of the Roman Catholic Church that she is very unwilling to try the power of the two-edged sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God, against her enemies, while she much prefers the more expeditious sword of the civil power. Yet here we find one exception to the general rule in the person

of Nicolas Telegdy, Bishop of Fünfkirchen, who attacked the superintendent and strove to defend Rome with the pen, — very probably because, as his diocese lay under the rule of the Turks, he could use no other weapon. Still, from whatever cause, from the time of the Albigenses, down to the wondrous conversion of Tahiti in modern times, we find, on the part of Rome's adherents, a singular dislike to this kind of warfare, and fondness to employ fleshly weapons.

It was, therefore, very acceptable to the Roman bishops and Jesuits, when the new Gregorian Calendar appeared. From the state of feeling in the country, it was easy to foresee that the Protestants would not readily consent to adopt it; and it turned out according to expectation; but in no place was the opposition so bitter as in Eödenberg. When the command came to this royal free city from George Draskowitsh, in 1583, to introduce the new calendar, even the improvement was looked on with suspicion because it came from Rome, and in the spirit of the times such an attack was made from the pulpit, not only on the measure, but also on the bishop who introduced it, that he had a good opportunity for demanding the removal of the preachers.

Though the magistrates did not obey this mandate, yet Draskowitsh, who was not only bishop, but also deputy-governor, found ways and means in the following year to have the pastors, together with the rector and conrector of the school, removed. The pastors Musaus and Ritshandel, however, were no more exposed to these indignities; the great Master had two years before called them away from the evil to come.

The citizens, deeply concerned for their own freedom and the well-being of their preachers and teachers, sent a deputation to Vienna to Archduke Ernest; but he, instead of granting their petition, threw them into prison, and sentenced the city to a heavy fine for its audacity. After these innocent citizens had lain some time in prison in Vienna, they

were set free, — besides paying the fine, — under the following conditions : — *First*, That the banished preachers should never be admitted, either publicly or privately, into the city or surrounding villages ; but that the citizens would open hearts and ears to the Popish priests already there, or who should in the course of time be sent to the city. *Secondly*, That they should never admit into the city any preacher or teacher without the express consent of the bishop, his vicar, or, at least, the archdeacon. *Thirdly*, They must appoint a Roman Catholic schoolmaster, who was always to be ready to help the priests. *Fourthly*, That in their private houses no one should be allowed to preach, and no one allowed to administer the sacraments, but a priest enjoying the full confidence of the bishop.

These resolutions the Archduke Ernest sent to Wolfgang Spillinger, the Popish priest, and Archdeacon of Cedenberg, on the 18th of June, 1584, with directions to watch whether any one and who administered baptism, performed the ceremony of marriage, and such like, and to send the name, place, and circumstances to the archduke, that he might, in the name of his Majesty, administer the proper punishment.

As this letter was read in the council of the magistrates at Cedenberg, it cast the town into indescribable sorrow and consternation. Thousands should live without the comforts of the Gospel ; children should be unbaptized ; the sick should die without the voice of a spiritual comforter, and the dead should be buried according to the rites of the Roman Church. Yet one thing remained. At a distance of about five English miles were two villages, German-Cross and Neckermarkt, where the Gospel was preached still, and these villages did not belong to Cedenberg. Faith gave the citizens strength, and they streamed out to these villages to hear the Word of God. And though many of them were taken prisoners, and carried off to the bishop's residence, and though the German evangelical normal schoolmaster

must be dismissed, still they did not succeed in annihilating the Protestant Church in that city.

For his great zeal in advancing the cause of Rome, Draskowitsh was rewarded by Pope Sixtus V. with a cardinal's hat, in return for which he managed to introduce the Jesuits into Transylvania, and afterwards into Hungary. Contrary to law, and contrary to the Constitution, they soon received the prebendary (probstei) of Thurzo from Rudolph, and in vain did the Diet afterwards try to remove them. Here they endeavored — ever true to their principles — to annoy as much as possible those who differed from them in sentiment; but, by so doing, they did not much advance the credit of the Roman See. For when, at the Diet, the king and the cardinal were striving to introduce the new calendar, the states distinctly declared that they would adopt it only out of respect to their king, and not as an acknowledgment of the Roman supremacy.

The Jesuits were less successful in Transylvania than in Hungary. They had stirred up strife to such an extent, that Prince Sigismund, at the unanimous earnest request of the states at the Diet, gave his sanction to a decree, of the 16th of December, 1588, banishing them out of the kingdom. The Diet declared their academy at Klausenberg to be a fortress erected against the liberties of the country, for they had taken up arms, and given occasion to rebellion. They sent their fanatical students into the houses of Calvinists, searching for books, which they brought out and burned; and these scenes gave occasion to bloodshed and pillage.*

Cardinal Draskowitsh did not live to see the black day when his favorites were driven legally out of Transylvania, for in February, 1587, he had gone to render his account to his God.

* Hist. Diplom. Fred. Schmidt Chron. Thur. Germ. 1599, 4to.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Caspar Dragonus. — Protestant Synod. — Peter Berger. — Hungarian Students banished from Wittenberg. — The Formula Concordiæ. — Roman Troops sent to Hungary. — Basta in Transylvania. — Destruction of the Evangelical Church in Styria and Carinthia. — The Roman General Barbiano in Kashaw and Leutshaw. — The Magistrates of Leutshaw and the Bishop of Raab.

THE efforts of the Roman Catholics to annihilate the Protestant name in Hungary tended only to develop a new life and zeal among the friends of the truth. The banished clergy of Eödenberg found a hearty welcome in other congregations and among the princes. Caspar Dragonus, for example, found an asylum first in Steinamanger, and afterwards in Castle Hezzo, till such time as he was appointed Professor of Theology in the flourishing academy at Hormend, and pastor of the church, where he continued for a considerable time, till he was afterwards appointed pastor of Rechnitz.

The misfortunes at Eödenberg induced the Protestants for some time to hold their meetings chiefly where the Turks had dominion, for here they were not disturbed. The disciples of Abdallah's son understood toleration better than those who professed the faith of the Nazarene; and with wondrous tact the Moslems knew how to afford each confession the same liberties.

There was the Synod of Murány, where many useful resolutions were passed respecting Church discipline; the Synod of Surány, and the discussion of Csepreg in 1591, where Count Francis Nádasdy sought in vain to bring the Calvinistic superintendent Stephen Beytha and the Lutheran Severin Skulteti of Bartfeld to a mutual good understanding

respecting the Lord's Supper. Innumerable other meetings for discussing the same doctrine manifested considerable life in the Church. Still it was pity that the dogmatic side preponderated so much ; and while the two contending parties were deepening the gulf which separated them, the ground was also laid for the great defection in spiritual life so soon to be manifested in the Reformed Church.

There were at this time on the right side of the Danube three hundred ; on the left side, as far as Neográd, above four hundred ; and in Zips, Saras, Abanjvar, and Gömör, about two hundred fully organized churches of the Augsburg Confession with their own pastors, without reckoning the Reformed churches and those which were not fully organized. The Reformed churches were chiefly to be found in the provinces governed by the Turks, and among the Magyar population. So early as 1580, the Protestant Slavish churches in the circle of Trentshin amounted to seventy, and had their own separate constitution, government, and discipline, under the protection of the obergespan of the county.*

Although in this constitution much was done to remove the superstitious excrescences of the Church of Rome out of the Divine service, still there were some who were not yet satisfied, and among these Peter Berger, who, in the year 1592, commenced a furious exterminating warfare against altars, pictures, wax candles, incense, and pulpit gown, and carried matters so far that he was suspended from his office by decision of the ecclesiastical court.†

The struggle between Lutheranism and Reform had reached its highest pitch about this time, and the antagonists knew no bounds in the bitterness of their expressions. And it is but poor consolation only to be able to say that Hungary was not alone in this disgraceful struggle. In Saxony the intolerance had also reached a high pitch ; for, towards the

* Ribinyi, Mem., Part I., p. 262.

† Fessler, Vol. VIII., p. 418.

close of this century, twenty-five Hungarian students were turned out of the University of Wittenberg simply because they denied the ubiquity of the human nature of Christ, and could not, therefore, sign the "Formula Concordiæ."

This formula promoted anything but concord in Hungary. From end to end of the land the churches were torn with the controversy. As that distinguished man Severin Skulteti was elected Senior, the rector of Eperjes, John Mylius, protested against the election, charging him with having fallen from the evangelical faith. From the year 1591, when the discussion of Csepreg took place, other points were for many years neglected, and the clergy ranged themselves, in two parties, around this one question. Each party appointed a visitation of the churches in order to purify them in its own way.

The superintendent, Stephen Beytha, and the Senior of Csepreg, Samuel Reczes, the former on the part of Geneva, the latter as champion of Wittenberg, were the leaders of this unseemly quarrel, and there was no rest till the two parties separated from each other completely. While engaged with such matters, little did they think of the approach of Mahomet III. with a hundred and fifty thousand men wasting the country. But, indeed, after all, as a Church they had little reason to be concerned, for under Turkish rule they had far more liberty than under Popish *régime*. When the Turks had taken possession of Eödenberg, one of the banished preachers returned and continued for some time, but was again obliged to leave. Even the imperial general, on entering the city and seeing the oppression of the Protestants, brought an evangelical preacher, Gabriel Grünberg, and placed him there. But what could a general do against a bishop walking faithfully in the steps of Draskowitsh? In three quarters of a year he was again expelled, and the deputation which was sent to Vienna to represent their distressed case was not only thrown into prison, but the town

was fined in six thousand florins for transgressing the orders of Archduke Ernest, and venturing to admit once more an evangelical preacher.*

The persecution, which had hitherto fallen on isolated towns and single preachers, began now to become general. The rumors of an agreement between the Pope, the Jesuits, and the Court of Vienna, to root out the Protestant name, seemed about to be realized in Hungary and Transylvania. With much jealousy and fear did the Protestants look on the ten thousand Roman troops under Aldobrand, Duke of Belgioyosa, formerly a Carthusian abbot, which came to help the emperor against the Turks; for these auxiliary troops were nothing less oppressive and exorbitant in their demands than the Turks had been.

With equal severity were the inhabitants of Transylvania treated by George Basta, the imperial general. So soon as he had taken possession of the land in the king's name, he began to plunder, he enrolled the young men in his army, decimated the property of the rich, and kept the money to himself. He took away the churches and schools of the Protestants, and treated them so hardly that his name was mentioned with terror by children's children. Both he and the Popish general, knowing that there was nothing to fear from head-quarters, even if they should be severe on the Protestants, followed but too faithfully the example which was set by other servants of the emperor in the other crown lands. The Bishop of Secca was burning and wasting all that belonged to Protestants in Styria and Carinthia. The evangelical preachers were ordered to leave Grätz on eight days' notice, and give up their prosperous gymnasium to the Papists, while an oath was demanded from the civic authorities that they would immediately banish all who did not staunchly adhere to Rome.

* Gamauf's Remembrances of Edenberg.

The states presented a petition to Archduke Ferdinand, in which they depicted the plots of the Jesuits, reminded him of his father's promise to the Protestants of Styria and Carinthia, and also how they had voluntarily lent considerable sums to the court in the time of need, — but it was all in vain.* The bishop went on with his cruelty. The Protestants at Eisengrub not having yielded implicit obedience to the stern commands, had their houses filled with soldiers, and many were carried away prisoners to Grätz. The castle of the knight John Hoffman was seized ; the Protestant church close by was blown up with powder, and the bones of the nobility resting in the vaults below the church were also blown to the winds. The altar of the evangelical church in Grätz was overturned, and the bones of the deceased pastor, Zimmermann, were taken up and thrown into the neighboring river.

Under such circumstances, the citizens of the capital of Carinthia, who were chiefly Protestants, considered themselves justified in taking to arms. They closed their gates and made earnest preparations to protect their holiest rights, and to regain liberty of faith and conscience, without which man is the mere tool of tyranny, degraded to the level of the inferior creation. But repeated decrees of the archduke, sometimes cajoling, sometimes threatening, gained over the one part and terrified the other part of the citizens. The Jesuits had gained their object. Their victory was soon so complete that, in all Styria and Carinthia, only a very few Protestant congregations remained.

It was, no doubt, the intention in high places to do the same in Hungary and Bohemia, for the same spirit and principles animated and directed the government in all departments.

* August Jacob Thuanus, Tom. II., Lib. 124, p. m. 1522 in 4to, anno 1601; David Rungius Wittenberg de persecutione in Styria; Anander, and many others.

But in spite of the league between the Pope and the Emperor to root out the Protestant name, what had been so easily accomplished in other lands could not here be carried out. The higher and lower Hungarian nobility, as well as the free cities, had certain privileges secured to them by the Constitution, by means of which they were not so much exposed to arbitrary treatment, while at the same time their love of liberty increased. Not accustomed to bear arms, having lain long under the oppression of a foreign power, being now as bitterly oppressed by their own troops, they gave evidence of being prepared to take into their own hands the punishment of those offences on the part of the military which the government seemed inclined to leave unpunished.

In January, 1603, the Roman general Barbiano, assisted by three bishops, deprived the Protestants in Kashaw of their church, and handed it over to the Bishop of Erlau. The Protestant pastors were banished, the people were prohibited, under heavy fines, from going to other towns to partake of the communion or to enjoy any ecclesiastical privilege; and it was hoped by this example to terrify the five mining towns.

In the following October, the neighboring free cities held a meeting to deliberate on the proper steps to be adopted in self-defence when their turn came. When the Bishop of Raab, therefore, who was at the same time deputy-governor of Hungary, attempted in Leutshaw what had succeeded so well in Kashaw, he met with very decided opposition. He demanded of the magistrates, that the churches, schools, monasteries, hospitals, and all the church property, with the manses, should be handed over to him. As this was a matter which concerned the entire body of the citizens — so thought the burgomaster — it was necessary to hold a town meeting to consult together. At seven o'clock on the morning of the 9th of October, 1604, all the citizens, with pastor Peter Gabler and his colleague, met to hear the bishop's letter read.

"Whereupon," says the record, "the pastor did give a beautiful warning to hold fast by the Word of God. He would risk his body, honor, property, and life, and abide with us. Upon which the judges and the council, together with the citizens and the reverend ministers, did bind themselves with an oath to risk their liberty, honor, property, and life, for the Word of God and the Augsburg Confession, and never to perjure themselves ; so help them God and his holy Word."

From this time forward the warnings of the bishop as well as his threatenings were in vain. At one time he drove matters so far as to raise a tumult, and he must save his life by flight. He soon came back again, threatening to billet the military on them, and promising favors in case of yielding. The judges and council, with the tribunes of the people, gave the reply in the name of the whole city, in rather laconic style, for they bade the ambassador tell his master, "They would rather have God for a friend than the Devil and all his followers." This answer might perhaps scarcely have helped them, if the Lord had not ordered that the bishop and his helpers must soon escape with all speed and leave the land. The enemies of the Gospel must be the means of delivering them from their persecutor.

CHAPTER XIX.

Diet of Presourg, 1604. — The Famous 22d Article. — Persecution of the Protestants. — Stephen Botskay's Rebellion. — The Peace of Vienna.

WHILE the kings of Hungary, who always lived out of the country, in their public decrees praised the loyalty, faithfulness, and generosity of the nation, they manifested at the same time a certain want of confidence, by appointing foreigners to the command of the troops, and by their influence carrying out political and religious measures contrary to the constitution. The fruits of this want of confidence were felt at other times under the house of Hapsburg, but very especially under Rudolph's reign. This suspicious prince brought himself often into a labyrinth out of which there was no escape. Thus, after the Diet of Presburg, held in 1604, under the presidency of Archduke Matthew, he permitted himself to be persuaded to add the 22d article by his own sovereign will, and without the sanction of the states. He thus violated his oath to the constitution, and exposed the life and liberty of the Protestants completely to the arbitrary treatment of the Roman clergy.

The inducement to add this article was, that two petitions had been presented to him by the Protestants requiring toleration, and at the Diet there had been manifested a decided dissatisfaction with the oppressions which had hitherto taken place.

This 22d article decreed, that, under severe penalties, no complaint should be brought before the Diet in religious matters; it described the Protestant religion as an innovation, and spoke of it in terms of contempt. It required all the

laws formerly enacted against dissent from the Church of Rome — consequently also the burning — to be strictly observed ; and it prescribed to the king the solemn and responsible duty of spreading the Roman Catholic religion, and rooting out all sects and heresies.

Against this article the states had protested, and their protest was supported by the seal of the palatine. But neither the imperial general, Basta, nor the Roman commander, Barbiano, the former in Transylvania and the latter in Upper Hungary, nor yet the Bishop of Kalotsch, Matthew Pete, allowed this protest to terrify them. What they had fully obtained in Kashaw, and hoped shortly to accomplish in Leutshaw, was also attempted in Zips ; and here the obergespan, Count Christopher Thurzo, who nine years before had joined the Protestants, and who now had returned to the Church of Rome, gave zealous assistance.

Equipped with a decree of the Emperor Rudolph and Sigmund, king of Holland, under whose protection the towns of Zips stood, and resting on the 22d article of the Diet of Presburg, they began to expel the Protestant clergy, and appoint Popish priests in their place.* That no one might question Thurzo's orthodoxy, he handed over the Protestant church on his own estate in Galgatz to the Papists. In the village Lisska, the general, Pete, brother to the bishop, drove away the Reformed pastor, Paul Stantai, and placed two Jesuits, George Vá Sarahély and Paul Besseredy, in his room ; but it was not long till the general and the Jesuits must escape for their lives. For as Barbiano in his march against the Turks had oppressed the Protestants on the estates of Stephen Botskay, and had demanded from the proprietor a loan of several thousand dollars for the emperor, he proceeded to attack and plunder two of Botskay's castles.†

* See Cardinal Wagner in *Annal. Scepus*, Part III., p. 96.

† Thuanus, *Tom. II. l. 131*. Dr. Y. Stickfusius in *Nev. Lil. Chron. Lib. I.*

It had also not been very long since Botskay had made a journey to Prague to see the emperor, and he had, with every mark of disrespect, been refused admittance. Being thus stirred up, he only waited for an opportunity of revenge; and having induced a part of Barbiano's army to desert, he attacked the general on the 15th of October at the castle of Diasrey, and obliged him to fly. When Barbiano had reached Kashaw in his flight, he begged in vain to be admitted. The citizens remembered what they had suffered, and refused him an entrance, because "he was a persecutor of those who believed on God"; but so soon as Botskay's troops appeared, the gates were immediately thrown open.*

After Barbiano's flight, Basta could no longer maintain his position. He had crushed an insurrection under Moses Székely and Gabriel Béthlén; but when Botskay's troops joined the insurgents, they completely routed Basta in an engagement at Herrgrund in 1596. After this battle, Barbiano is reported to have said, that if they had succeeded in their plan they would have cut off with the sword every grown person in Hungary and Transylvania who refused to join the Roman Catholic Church. And if we consider what had already taken place in Styria and Carinthia, as well as the St. Bartholomew's Day in France, this statement, as reported by Prince Kemény, does not appear at all improbable. Besides, what had the brutal Basta not done in his rage? He had invariably plundered the princes of the Reformed Church; • he had burned Protestant clergy on a pile constructed of their own books; he had even in the height of his barbarity flayed some of them alive.†

Cap. 42, p. 256. Istvanfy, Lib. XXXIV. p. 837. Petrus de Reva, in Coron Hung., Frankfort, Cent. VI. p. 109.

* This account is confirmed by the Jesuit Istvanfy, who adds, that when Mahomet III. sent Botskay a crown, he handed it to George Szécky, remarking that he could not use it while another duly crowned king of Hungary was alive.

† Mica Bury.

The Lutherans and Unitarians escaped for a time, but they shortly after met the same fate. From Kronstadt he demanded eighty thousand ducats, and from Klausenburg twenty thousand. To please the Jesuits, he hanged some of the senators, and completely prohibited the exercise of the Protestant worship.

As the blind slave of the Jesuits, he carried out all their plans. But in the year 1601, the states took courage, and proclaimed Demetrius Napraghi, the Bishop of Gyula and head of the Jesuits, a traitor to his country, took away the bishopric, and banished him; so that, till 1716, or for a period of above a hundred years, no Roman Catholic bishop dared reside in the land.*

In consequence of this fearful plundering of the land by Basta, it was very natural that a terrible famine soon followed. In ten villages there was often scarcely a single cow to be found. The oxen had disappeared, and the men themselves drew the loaded wagons, as in the days of Ladislaus; while a kubel of wheat rose to twenty-five ducats.

Near Enyed, a Wallachian killed a woman, boiled and devoured the flesh, and a Wallachian mother killed her six children in succession. It is true that both were executed, yet so terrible was the famine, that even human corpses were not safe before the gnawing hunger. To such a pitch had a cruel general and a fanatical priesthood brought Transylvania. Rudolph might consider this land as lost; shortly after, he lost also Hungary, with the exception of a few towns in the borders, among which was Œdenberg. Hither came Botskay, and setting fire to the suburbs, the inhabitants fled into the body of the town to protect themselves in the fortress. The crowd in the town, however, was now so great, that the commander, Colonel Trantmansdorf, threatened to throw the children into the Foss, if the women and children did not immediately leave the fortress.

* Hist. Diplom. in Append., p. 13, Act XI.

This terrible condition of the citizens of Eödenberg was relieved sooner than had been expected.

The cry of the mothers and their children came before God, and a short truce was agreed on between the leaders. The bishop and deputy-governor, Pete, took advantage of the truce, and gathering the treasures of the church, he carried them away and fled. The whole body of the clergy of Eödenberg followed his example. The burgomaster had warned the bishop in vain of his danger, but in a short time he was plundered by the Turks at Steinanger, and with great difficulty saved his life by flight.

Besides Eödenberg, some other towns of Upper Hungary, as Eperjes, Leutshaw, Zeben, and Bartfeld,* remained faithful to Rudolph. But the insurgents were not much restrained in their excesses by their weak fortresses.

When, therefore, through the union of the insurgents with Mahomet, the danger became even greater, the Government at Prague began to listen to more reasonable counsel. The mediator of peace was the evangelical Count Stephen Illyesházy, who had been deprived of his property and banished to Holland. He used his influence with the Archduke Matthew, the representative of the emperor, and also with the representative of Botskay, with such good effect, that the Peace of Vienna was concluded on the 23d of June, 1606, approved by the emperor on the 6th of August, and with all due solemnity published on the 26th of September.

* See Mem. Aug. Conf. of Ribinyi, Part I., p. 332.

CHAPTER XX.

The Peace of Austria. — Botskay's Objection to the Terms. — Peace ratified. — Botskay dies of Poison. — Conditions of the Peace violated. — Matthew summons a Diet. — Matthew becomes King of Hungary.

THE Peace of Vienna was of great importance to the Protestants of Hungary, for it declared the 22d article of 1604 to have been illegally introduced ; it set aside all decrees which had been enacted against the Protestants ; it declared that every Hungarian, as well as those who resided in the military boundary, should have complete liberty of conscience, and that his Majesty would never in any way disturb or limit his subjects in the exercise of this privilege. A clause was added, explaining that this should not be interpreted as in any way detrimental to the Roman Catholic religion ; the churches, the clergy, and the rights of the Roman Catholics, should be respected ; but such churches as had during the late commotions been taken possession of by either party should be mutually restored.

It was further decreed, that peace should be made with the Turks ; that a palatine should be elected ; and that, instead of Rudolph, Matthew should govern Hungary, under the advice of the palatine, and an imperial parliament. The prelates Synkai and Mikatzi, who had been so inimical to the Protestants, should not return to the country till such time as the charges brought against them should have been legally settled. The abuses of the ecclesiastical courts, and especially with reference to tithes, should be settled at the Diet. The Jesuits should never be allowed to possess immovable property, the king reserving, however, his right to make

them presents. The public, civil, and military offices should be open to all, without distinction on account of religion. Botskay obtained Transylvania as his hereditary right, and Hungary as far as the Theiss. Should he, however, die without male issue, all devolves to the crown.

For a long time Botskay refused to accept some of the expressions in the treaty, and especially the clause, "without detriment to the Roman Catholic religion." As, however, the instrument was already signed by Rudolph, and the Archduke Matthew gave an explanation, to the effect that the approaching Diet would settle the difficulty, that the whole agreement was made in good faith, that the objectionable passage was not intended as a threat, but simply and solely that each confession should be entirely free from all injury, detriment, or limit, on the part of the other, — Prince Botskay was satisfied, and the contract was signed by the most distinguished Hungarian magnates. It was, besides, guaranteed by the states of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia.*

The hero of this great achievement for the Protestant Church was destined to see little of the fruits. It was but a few months till the prince, in the full vigor of manhood, sunk into his grave. He died of poison, at Kashaw, on the 7th of January, 1607. His friends said that the poison was administered by the chancellor, Michael Kathay, who had been bribed for the purpose. Kathay was thrown into prison, and the Haiduken, or Botskay's bodyguards, shortly after dragged him out, and hewed him in pieces in the public streets. The loss of this generous and noble prince was very severely felt by the Protestants.†

With the death of Botskay the Roman party acquired new courage. As the Pope had already done at Munster on the

* Hist. Diplom., p. 21.

† He had made a present of 30,000 Hungarian florins to the church of Tyrnau, which, it is true, was lost when the church and schools were seized by the Papists.

part of Germany, so he now also protested against the peace in Hungary. A body of prelates and bishops met together, and soon found ways and means of removing the advantages of the contract of Vienna.

Once more began the oppressions, — once more was it forbidden to the Protestants to bring their accusations and complaints before the Diet, — once more was the attempt made, and not without success, to take away the churches, — and the Protestants, driven to rebellion, placed the Roman Catholics sometimes in danger. The Emperor Rudolph gave posts of honor to those who had advised him against ratifying the Peace of Vienna; he appointed the much hated prelate Synkai, Archbishop of Kalotsha, and Francis Forgács, Archbishop of Grán.

It was in Transylvania where the Jesuits, in consequence of Stephen Bathorly's letter, remained quiet, that the conditions of the peace were observed. Not only the Protestants, but also the Archduke Matthew, was placed in a very critical position by this conduct. Accordingly, when the discontent was rapidly increasing, and the nobility found the Diet of 1607, which Rudolph had summoned to Presburg, always postponed, and not likely to be opened, Matthew availed himself of the opportunity which the circumstances gave for gratifying his ambition, and summoned the advisers of the Hungarian crown to Vienna, to consult about the welfare of the state. It would appear that at this meeting the resolution was first adopted that Matthew should take Rudolph's place in the government of Hungary, and by the assistance of Prince Esterházy the plan ripened towards execution. It was not strange that Esterházy and the other princes of Hungary had little love to Rudolph, for they saw their land divided between him and the Turks, and the former doing very little to its advantage; and it was equally natural that, where hearty and devoted love to the sovereign did not exist, nothing else could supply the place, so soon as the crown began

to tremble on the ruler's head. The Hungarians knew right well how little Rudolph cared for them ; and when Matthew summoned a Diet in Presburg, on the 23d of January, 1608, they not only gladly appeared, but also, when Rudolph, under date of 29th of January, dissolved the Diet, they continued still to sit and deliberate.

When the first article of the Peace of Vienna, in which religious liberty was guaranteed to the Protestants in the entire kingdom, was laid before the Diet, the Bishop of Vespri, Demetrius Napraghi, in the name of the whole Popish clergy, protested against it. The higher morality of the lay nobility, however, and the firmness of Matthew, succeeded in carrying the point, so that this article, with a single dissentient voice, was made law. When, however, on the 23d of February, Rudolph declared all the decisions of the Diet null and void, Matthew immediately, with an army of 20,000, broke into Bohemia, and the suspicious, silly Rudolph submitted to have the whole affair between himself and his brother left to arbitration. The end of the matter was, that Hungary and Austria were given to Matthew as an independent kingdom. On the 22d of October, 1608, Matthew appeared at the Diet of Presburg. He readily complied with the wishes of the Diet ; but the nobility, having learned to distrust kings, refused to crown him till he had signed certain articles which were laid before him. Matthew had, in the mean time, discovered that his imperial brother was trying to stir the nation up against him by making secret promises to them, and therefore readily signed the article.

Thus was the Jesuitical clause of the Peace of Vienna, against which Botskay had protested, removed, and in clear and plain language was it permitted to the Protestants to have their own superintendents, while full and complete liberty of conscience, and of public worship, was guaranteed.

The attempts of the Jesuits, under Cardinal Forgács, to overturn this arrangement, were unsuccessful. The archduke

remained faithful to his promise, carrying out the resolutions of the Diet, and was crowned with great splendor on the 19th of November. Esterházy had, by a great majority, two years before, been elected palatine. The Popish nobility handed in a protest against the coronation, signed by them all, at the bidding of the Roman legate, with the one noble exception of Valentine Lepes ; but it was for the present disregarded.

As the seaman feels on entering the quiet harbor after escaping all the perils of the stormy sea, just such was the feeling of the Hungarian Protestants as they found that their lawfully crowned king had, in a legal way, by means of the assembled states, set them completely free from the intrigues of a persecuting Roman hierarchy. It was not the Protestants alone who separated from Rudolph without a tear, but all the Hungarians ; for during twenty-three years they had not seen his face, and had been at all times delivered over by him to the most unlimited oppression. During twenty-four years the Hungarians had paid from thirty-five wasted and impoverished *gespanschaften* (counties) the sum of 1,067,124 ducats to a foreign king, and in return had received nothing but the bitter necessity of constantly contending with more or less severity to maintain their civil independence from Austria, and their religious liberty.

The angel of mercy turns away with a tear from such monarchs, who call themselves princes "by the grace of God," but who can neither understand nor fulfil the duties which such a title demands of them ; and poor humanity, trodden in the dust, looks up in tears after the retiring angel, who, as he flees away, turns one look more back on the oppressed, and, raising his arm to Heaven, comforts them by pointing to Him who sits as King of kings and Lord of lords, ruling the earth in righteousness, at whose command the kingdoms fall and the fruitful palaces become a desert ; who sits upon the circle of the earth, and the inhabitants thereof are as

grasshoppers ; that stretcheth out the heavens as a curtain, and spreadeth them out as a tent to dwell in ; that bringeth the princes to nothing ; he maketh the judges of the earth as vanity. Yea, they shall not be planted ; yea, they shall not be sown ; yea, their stock shall not take root in the earth ; and he shall also blow upon them, and they shall wither, and the whirlwind shall take them away as stubble.

SECOND PERIOD.

FROM THE PEACE OF VIENNA TILL THE CONVENTION OF SZÁTHMAR, 1608-1711.

CHAPTER I.

Presburg Church. — Stephen Esterházy. — His Death. — The Jesuits. — George Thurzo, Palatine. — Synod of Silles.

WE now see the Evangelical Church of Presburg as a gradually ripening fruit of the Peace of Vienna. Although many had long resided here who were favorably disposed to the Gospel, yet till now they had not taken courage to break loose from the fetters of Rome. They applied to the town-councillor, Siegfried Kolonitsh, to obtain for them the Protestant pastor of the village Ratshdorf, which is now a filial church of Presburg; and, as there was no church, he opened his services in a private house. They chose Master David Kilgar as rector of their school, and Master Adam Tattelbach as deacon, and these men were introduced to their new office by the town-councillors.

The Protestants seemed now able to look into the future without concern. King Matthew had sworn to protect their rights; the States had entered the decrees among the laws of the land; Moravia, Bohemia, and Silesia had guaranteed their execution; and Stephen Esterházy, as elected palatine, stood like a protecting angel firm at his post. He had now once more been put in possession of his property, and was become the object of veneration on the part of all true Hun-

garians, especially, however, of the Protestants. Far removed from bigotry, he had advanced the cause of Protestantism by liberally supporting the schools. He called Jeremiah Sutorius, who had studied at Wittenberg, to be rector of the school at Trentshin, and a Meissner professor, Elijah Wisinus, to the gymnasium of Banowitz. The latter was supported at the expense of the palatine.* Esterházy founded a bursary for the poor students, which was increased by his widow in 1609. Yet, not only for his own Hungarian countrymen, but also for the oppressed Protestants in Austria, do we find him carefully making provision, by interceding with the Elector of Saxony and other princes. His labors of love were very much hampered by the Jesuits, and his time of working was not long; for on the 6th of May, 1609, he died at Vienna, of cramp in the stomach.† No heavier loss could have befallen the country and the Church. Hungary's political and ecclesiastical state was very unsatisfactory.

The land was still bleeding from the wounds inflicted under Botskay's war, and the Peace of Vienna gave occasion to all manner of dispute. The Jesuits, whose head-quarters were at Grätz, represented this peace as being simply the Presburg conspiracy, and provided favors and honors for those who labor most diligently to oppose its operations.

Under such circumstances, then, much depended on the choice of a proper person to become palatine. The king, being a Roman Catholic, would have inclined towards appointing a member of his own Church; and the Jesuits, ever fertile in inventions, proposed that the mode of election should be changed. These men proposed that the states should merely nominate a certain number of candi-

* Ribinyi, Mem. Aug. Conf., Tom. I., p. 427.

† He was buried in the church at Dosing, in Hungary; and his white marble monument was, two hundred years later, removed by a zealous Popish priest.

dates, out of which the king should himself select. This plan was, however, too transparent to permit the nobles of Hungary to mistake its design, and they abode determinedly by their former custom. When the king, then, on the 7th of December, 1609, proposed two Roman Catholic and two Protestant candidates, one of the latter, George Thurzo, was elected, by one hundred and fifty votes against fifty-three, to fill the post.

George Thurzo, now in the forty-second year of his age, a man of learning, activity, and political talent, distinguished as a diplomatist in the peace with Botskay, and raised to fill several important offices under Rudolph and Matthew, is made palatine. While distinguished by moderation towards the Roman Catholics, as he had shown himself on the recall of Michael Mikatzi, the Bishop of Wardein, from exile, still the prosperity of the Protestant Church lay near his heart, and he strove to advance its interests in a natural and reasonable way, by summoning a general synod.

As yet, the Protestants were not quite freed from the jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic Church.

They were still obliged to pay the "priests' dues," and were not safe from the interference of Popish visitations, on which occasions the doctrines and the ordination of their own clergy were attacked in an abusive manner; the marriage of the clergy was declared illegal, and their children illegitimate; demands were made, not only contrary to conscience, but also contrary to all justice; and it was often only with golden or silver tears that the zeal of the visitors could be quieted.*

By means of a general synod, held in the village Sillein, in Trentshin county, George Thurzo resolved to bring these abuses to a close. In conjunction with several nobles and princes, and in accordance with the letter and spirit of the Peace of Vienna, which secured to the elders, ministers, and

* Petsekus in Mall. Penicul. Ja. Ap., C. V. p. 96.

superintendents of each confession the full authority over the members of their own church, he summoned this synod, and opened it in person on the 28th of March, 1610.

It is true that, owing to the quarrels between the sister churches, and owing to the political state of the country, he was not able to include the whole land, and he therefore summoned only ten counties, indulging the hope that he would thus bring the discussion sooner to a satisfactory conclusion. The palatine sent a special invitation to each county, to the most distinguished landed proprietors, and to the royal free cities, to elect representatives, who were men of peace, and clothed with power, not only to deliberate, but also to decide on ecclesiastical matters.* The summons was gladly attended to; † and in three days had the Synod of Sillein decreed the following weighty matters: —

The ten counties were divided into three circles, and a superintendent was elected for each. For Liptau, Arva, and Trentshin, Elijah Lanyi, pastor of Thurutz; for Thurutz, Neográd, Sol, and Honther, Samuel Melick; for Barsha, Neutran, and Presburg, Isaac Abrahamides of Baimotz. The superintendents had each two inspectors under them, the one for German, the other for the Hungarian churches. There were, besides, seniors and deacons elected, who were men of sound faith, and whose place should be supplied by election, on their resignation or death. On the decease of a superintendent, two of the neighboring superintendents had a right to collect the votes and preside at the election of one to supply his place.‡

* Ribinyi, Mem., Tom. I., p. 372.

† The most distinguished lay members of this synod were Count George Thurzo, the imperial palatine; Peter Reváy, Count of Thurocy; Moses Szunyogh, of Jessenitz; Andrew Jakuhith; Benedict Pogrányi; Martin Benitsky; Theodosius Shirmiensi; Jeroslav Ymeskal; Otskay; Majthenji; Gymgy, and others. See the "Acts and Decrees of the Synod of Sillein, 1708. William Kander." 4to (in possession of the family of Tihány).

‡ Here the great principle of the Protestant Church in her independence and self-government is kept prominently forward.

For the support of the superintendents was reckoned the usual annual allowance from the inferior clergy as in Popish times, the registry fees, and a voluntary contribution from the churches.

Respecting duties and labors was decreed : —

That the inspectors, seniors, and superintendents, should lead an upright, unblamable life, that the enemy might find no occasion to speak evil of them.

That the superintendents should, either in person or by the senior, visit the churches once a year; that they should always attend the synods to be held in January or February, and take special notice of the business of the churches under their care; should decide on the questions brought before them at these meetings, should preserve strict church discipline, and collect their fees.

They should inquire into the matter and manner of the preaching, whether the people are encouraged to prayer, — whether the ordinances of religion generally are attended to by the people, — whether the clergy lead a pious, sober, and chaste life, — whether the people are grateful and submissive to authority, — whether the dues are properly paid, — whether the buildings are in a good state, — and whether the schoolmasters discharge their duty properly, and lead a proper life. In all these matters the senior should assist.

The superintendent should have a correct list of all ecclesiastical properties and revenues, and be in a state to apply to the civil authorities for protection in case of injury.

He should protect the minister and schoolmaster from all injustice; and the civil power is bound to assist, after having first made strict inquiry into all the circumstances of each case.

In the German churches there should be a pulpit gown and a form of prayer introduced.

The superintendent should, with the assistance of the inspector, the senior, and some of the neighboring clergy,

examine candidates for the ministry, require from them the subscription of the Formula Concordiæ, and ordain after the plan usually adopted at Wittenberg. The names should be entered in a registry, and a certificate of ordination be given.

The students had permission to visit foreign universities, and also to be ordained abroad, only this dared not take place as a mark of disrespect to the home universities, and to the regularly constituted superintendents.

In case of need, the superintendent might ask legal advice from such lawyers as are not related by ties of blood or friendship with either of the contending parties.

Every minister, on receiving a call to a congregation, must appear before the senior or inspector, and bring evidence of his having regularly received the call, and also that his life and doctrines are consistent with the office which he seeks.

Weightier matters respecting heresy, uncleanness, or other grave charges against clergy or deacons, were to be laid before the superintendent. Where the charge was fully proved, the guilty party might be degraded from his office, declared unfit ever again to hold office, and, in case of need, might be handed over to the civil authorities to be further dealt with. Less important matters might be given to the inspectors and seniors, and be settled at the annual meetings.

From the senior there was always an appeal to the superintendent, who either confirmed the sentence or sent it back to be again considered, and, in peculiar cases, brought experienced men to assist with their counsel. No further appeal was admitted, and the guilty party paid all costs.

The superintendent should not judge according to his own opinion, but according to the law. Those who refused to submit after a second warning might be deposed and excommunicated, notice of the same having previously been given to the civil authorities.

The clergy who were accused of any crime, must be summoned by the superintendent, after a formula in which the

charge was duly entered ; and the summons was forwarded, not direct, but through the inspector or senior.

The office-bearers of the Church, when hindered in the discharge of their duty, might appeal to the civil power, who dared not refuse to support them.

The superintendents were bound at all times, on entering on their office, to take the following

OATH.

"I, A. B., the superintendent in county ———, swear before the living God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and promise, during my life, neither publicly nor privately to teach or advance any other doctrines besides such as are contained in the writings of the Prophets and Apostles, as explained in the Augsburg Confession, as presented to the Emperor Charles in the year 1530, and also in the Formula Concordiæ. I promise to watch over the seniors and clergy of the church under my care with diligence and earnestness, that they shall also teach and hold no other doctrines. Through the grace of the Holy Spirit will I endeavor to lead such a life, and set such an example, as is worthy of my profession. I will myself respect the laws of the land, as well as take care that those under my charge do the same. That I earnestly seek to fulfil all these duties, so help me God the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Amen."

CHAPTER II.

The Archbishops protest against the Synod of Sillein. — Answer. — Peter Pazmány. — Protestant Princes turn to Popery. — Synod of Tyrnau. — John Moschovinus. — The Women of Hricsow. — King Matthew gives an unfavorable Decision respecting the Peace of Vienna.

THE palatine, George Thurzo, had the decisions of this synod printed and distributed, that others might to some extent be guided by them. Among others, the churches of the mining towns of Eperjes, of Leutshaw, Kashaw, and Bartfeld, received copies, but they were so deeply involved in controversy respecting the Formula Concordiæ, that little united action could be expected.

It was, however, not to be thought that the Popish clergy would look so lightly on the decrees of the Synod of Sillein. Within eighteen days the Cardinal and Archbishop Forgács protested against the decrees with a bitterness very unbecoming in him who had crowned as King of Hungary the man who had signed the Peace of Vienna.

Under the threat of excommunication he demanded the repeal of these resolutions, he called the persons who had there assembled wolves who had broken into the fold of Christ, declared the election of superintendents and their ordination of clergy an unheard-of audacity, contrary to the laws of the land (*sic*), and contrary to religious liberty! He charged them with perjury in reference to the 24th article of the Augsburg Confession, and in genuine Popish style pronounced his curse against the decrees, and against those who should observe them. This precious document is dated at "Our Archiepiscopal Court in Presburg, 17th of April, 1610,"

and was published first by means of a nail on the church door of St. Martin's.*

The Protestants did not long remain silent. The palatine was at that time from home. He soon heard, however, of the doings through Elijah Lanyi, and on the 25th of May he wrote a reply from Száthmar, calling the documents a shabby invention, filled with all manner of paltry ribaldry. He begged the Protestants immediately to reply.

In a paper which appeared in Kashaw, printed by John Fisher, with the motto, "Stand fast therefore in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage" (Gal. v. 1), the princes and nobles who had met at Sillein, published through Elijah Lanyi an apology, in which they opposed the assumption of the archbishop by arguments drawn from the laws of the land, from history, and from the Holy Scriptures. Placing their trust in God, adducing the 110th Psalm, 46th chapter of Isaiah, 5th chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, and other Scripture passages, they appealed to his Majesty and to the States for protection against the audacity of the archbishop.

This apology was answered by a man who at this time became more than any other the object of the love and hatred of friends and enemies, Cardinal Peter Pazmány.†

The style of his reply was of the lowest kind, and it made its appearance under the title *Peniculus Papporum*, bearing the name of John Jenitzy. The superintendent published a

* Hist. Diplom., pp. 27 - 29. 7 3 35 3 5 3

† He was born at Gt. Wardein, in 1570, of a reduced noble family of the Reformed Church, and in his thirteenth year became Roman Catholic. In his seventeenth year he joined the Jesuits. His noviciate was completed at Cracow; his philosophical studies at Vienna, and theological, at Rome. He became professor of theology at Gratz, and gladly accepted the post of missionary to Hungary. In 1608 he was the representative of the Jesuits at the Diet of Presburg. When turned out of the Diet he asserted his right to sit, and with much power contested the points of the Jesuits. He published a powerful pamphlet in their favor. See "Majlath, History of the Magyars," Vol. IV., p. 249.

rejoinder under the title *Malleus Penniculi Papistici*, printed in 1612, and left no part of his adversary's argument untouched.*

The controversy was continued with bitterness by Peter Pazmány; and as the palatine was too lenient towards these violent attacks on the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty, as guaranteed by the constitution of the country, the Evangelical Church rather suffered by the quarrel. Men of considerable importance and wealth, such as Francis and Nicolas Esterházy, Melchior Allaghy, and George Daugesh of Hommona, fell off from the Protestant ranks.

Forgács had protested against the resolutions of the Synod of Sillein, but finding it necessary to take other steps, he summoned a provincial synod at Tyrnau, in 1611, which was attended by Placidus Maria, the Papal nuncio, eight bishops, six abbots, and twenty prebends, archdeacons, and canons, as well as also Peter Pazmány. The resolutions of this synod were known only to the initiated; the consequences, however, were soon felt in the renewed persecutions of the Protestant Church.

It is of historical importance to note, that, from what is known of the proceedings of this synod, it is evident that at this time there were in the midst of the Roman Catholic Church priests who were regularly married, and who lived openly with wife and children. The communion was also by some administered in both kinds. The facts are proved by the resolution of this Roman Catholic synod, in direct opposition to the Word of God, forbidding absolutely that either of these practices should be tolerated in time to come.

That they might not, through the intrigues of the Papists, lose the advantages already secured to them, the three super-

* This paper was also ascribed, but without proper reason, to Peter Petshius.

intendents met, in 1612, to consult respecting the general affairs of the Protestant Church. Hitherto there had been a striking dissimilarity in the outward customs, in the forms of public worship, and also in the doctrines taught among the Protestants. It was therefore resolved that the Wittenberg ceremonial should be introduced, and that Luther's Shorter Catechism should be translated, and used in instructing the children. When the Catechism appeared, it was dedicated to Elizabeth Zober, the spouse of the palatine,

An example of the zeal of the superintendents in preserving purity of doctrine, may be seen in the case of John Moschovinus, who is also sometimes called Poloni. He was accused of reviving the heresy of Photinus, a heretic of the fourth century, and having been cast into prison by the palatine, his case was thoroughly considered by the superintendents. His heresy having been proved, he was handed over to the palatine, who banished him from the country.

The Protestants of this period, much distinguished by purity of life, laid especial stress on the influence of prayer; and with good reason, for the Lord had set the example, and had given the command, and the Apostles and early Christians had been very diligent in waiting on the means of grace. Who does not know how zealous the Reformers were in the discharge of this duty? How wondrous was the power which Luther and Zwingli obtained from heaven by means of prayer! And what an astonishing moral strength was that which Knox obtained by wrestling with God, so that he stood unflinching in the face of Mary with all her influence, and having learned to tremble before God in the closet, he, at the same time, obtained power to tremble nowhere else. "I am more afraid of his prayers," Mary used to say, "than of an army of ten thousand men."

In this light we must view those clergy who, on the 19th of August, 1614, in Hricsow, in the Trentshin county visited a woman who was said to be possessed of a devil, on purpose

to heal her by the influence of united prayer.* At the invitation of the aged Stephen Krusspier, five other ministers of the Gospel united with him to try and help this woman. When their efforts remained fruitless, they applied to the superintendent, Elijah Lanyi, who advised the entire seniorial division of clergy to meet together for prayer. This was done, and on the 12th of September they came together, to the number of eighteen, at their own expense, and continued three days in prayer. They had the satisfaction of seeing, at the end of this time, that their prayer was heard, and she who had been pronounced incurable was again fully restored.†

Such experience is made by mortals in a time of need. Outward trials drive to Him who has the fulness of life and comfort, and they experience what to others is unintelligible and incredible. Only he who knows by experience the power of prayer will be able to comprehend and properly estimate the above-mentioned fact. Times of trial gave David those glorious Psalms which had been the comfort of the Church in every age; and the sweet songs of the martyrs, which were wrung from them in hours of darkness and trial, have still a power and sweetness for the weary soul.

For the Church in Hungary days were fast approaching in which they should learn, under heavy trials, the meaning of this filial duty, or rather, childlike privilege. A commencement was already made openly to break the conditions of the Peace of Vienna.

In Raab and Skalitz the Roman Catholics refused to admit Protestant clergy, and the king gave the decision that the Roman Catholics could not be compelled to admit clergy of other confessions within their walls; for, while it had been only stipulated that every church should have its own supe-

* Mica Bury.

† Mark xi. 24; John xvi. 23, 24; James i. 6, 7; v. 16; 1 Timothy ii. 1-4.

riors or superintendents, but nothing was added respecting a new ecclesiastical jurisdiction, he could not at all permit a new jurisdiction to the prejudice of the Roman Catholics, and would not allow in future that the money which had formerly been paid to the Roman Catholic archdeacons should be given to the Protestant superintendents.* This declaration of the king, and the royal letter requiring the officials in each county to take part in the visitation of the Protestant churches, gave a clear insight into the king's views respecting the peace, and also respecting the Silles Synod.

* Fessler, l. c. Vol. VII., p. 729.

CHAPTER III.

Peter Pazmány's Work. — Christopher Thurzo returns to the Protestants. — Oppression. — Gabriel Bathyáni and the Treaty of Tyrnau. — Writings of the Protestants. — Quarrels of the Reformed and Lutheran Clergy. — Jubilee of the Reformation. — Ferdinand made King. — Siegmund Forgács. — Death of Matthew.

No attack made on the Protestants did them so much harm as Pazmány's work, entitled *The Guide to Truth*,* which was published at Presburg, in folio, in 1613. In a popular style, filled with sophisms, he defended the doctrines of Rome, and represented Luther and Calvin as servants of Antichrist; while he sought to free his Church from the charge that she teaches one should keep no faith with heretics, and turned attention specially to the advantages of celibacy.

This work soon appeared in the third edition, the first having been printed in 1613, the second in 1623, and the third in 1637, and was read with great avidity. Many who did not stand fast in the faith were, by this book, drawn back into the Roman Catholic Church. Some, it is true, soon repented of what they had done, and turning back again to the Evangelical Church, remained there steadily till death. Among these we may mention George Christopher Thurzo, who, nine years before, had, through the influence of Pazmány, joined the Papists, and had begun to persecute the Protestants. This distinguished relative of the palatine turned, on the 20th of February, 1613, once more back to

* Hodegus igussagra vezerlo Kalany.

the Protestant Church, and, after publicly confessing his sin, received the Lord's Supper in the Protestant Church at Kirchdorf, from the pastor and senior, Xylander.

The return of the count soon showed itself to be no inconsiderable gain to the Protestant cause. On the advice and after the example of his relative, the palatine, he summoned a synod on the 22d of January, 1614, in Kirchdorf, at which the pastors of Zips and Saras, the five towns Kashaw, Leutshaw, Eperjes, Bartfeld, and Szeben, assembled. Here were chosen two superintendents. The decrees of the synod were recognized by the palatine, in virtue of his office, and are known under the title, "Diploma minus Thurzoianus." Scarcely was this ended when Christopher Thurzo died, and on the 26th of May was laid in the grave of his fathers.

By means of this synod, the chains which bound the Protestants under the influence of the higher clergy were broken, and no means were left untried to rivet them again. Some, among whom was the probst of Zips, tried in a friendly manner; and others, depending on their power and influence, assumed a very different tone. Many, without troubling themselves about the Peace of Vienna, made direct attacks on the Protestants. In Vaswar, Shutz, Fakno, and Eisenstadt, the churches were taken away.* The appeals of the Protestants received little attention from Matthew; for, though he had sworn to protect their Church in Hungary, yet in Austria he directly prohibited the Protestants from the exercise of public worship.†

In addition to the spiritual trials, there was now added material and social oppression, and the land was made to bleed at every pore. In 1616, the representatives of the Presburg Diet, consisting, among others, of one archbishop,

* Hodegus igussagra vezerlo Kalany.

† Pamauf. Gottlieb. MS.

two bishops, and six princes, complained to Matthew that the bitterest foe could not crush the land worse than at that moment the king's own army did; all the higher offices and fortresses were intrusted to strangers, and the hireling foreigners were only wasting and plundering, but not protecting the land.*

When there appeared no hope that a legitimate deliverance from their oppression was likely soon to appear, the Hungarians took once more to arms, declaring, however, first, through ambassadors, that they were not proclaiming war against the king, but only against those who were depriving them of their civil and religious liberty.

As, however, the Elector of Saxony and Prince Gabriel Bathyáni undertook to mediate, the outbreak was prevented by the so-called "*Transactio Tyrnaviensis*," or Contract of Tyrnau.

The Prince of Transylvania, Gabriel Béthlén, who was just returned from exile, pressed especially that the Peace of Vienna, which secured the Protestants their full rights, should be once more renewed. This was granted; and the contract was signed on the part of the king by Peter Pazmány, Count Aponyi, and Molard; on the part of Hungary, by Senior Pecsí and Stephen Frater de Belmezo, in 1617.†

In the following Diet the agreement was approved.

This must have been so much more desirable to the Protestants, as their friend and patron, George Thurzo, the palatine, was already dead,‡ and there were no prospects of another to fill his place. Doubly watchful, however, must they now be to avoid being overmatched by their diligent adversaries. Many single individuals distinguished themselves considerably on the field of controversy. Pastor Albert Molnar published a new edition of the Bible at the ex-

* Coroli Memorab. Vol. I., p. 368. Katoni, Tom. XXIX., p. 572.

† Kazy Reb. Hung. B. I., p. 229.

‡ Died in 1616, shortly after Cardinal Forgács.

pense of the Langrave of Hesse, the edition of Caspar Karalyi having been all used, and it was not long till a third edition was published at Oppenheim.* Count Thomas Esterházy wrote a dialogue, exposing the errors of the Roman Church, and showing their remedy. The superintendent, Nicolas Gratz, wrote a treatise on the Lord's Supper, and a directory for public worship; and the pastor of Kashaw, Peter Alvinzi, wrote a description of a journey, showing how the errors of the Roman Church had gradually crept in during a period of fifteen hundred years. Emeric Zwonarics, pastor of Csepreg, translated the book of a Tübingen professor into Bohemian, and afterwards protected it against the attacks of Pazmány. But it was strange that no reply had yet been given to Pazmány's great work, *The Guide to Truth*, and it was thirteen years later that Baldwin of Wittenberg wrote a reply in Latin, which, partly from the language, partly from the time of its appearance, produced little effect.†

There was no want of men capable of answering this work in the Hungarian language; but while the enemy was attacking them on all sides, the representatives of the two sister churches were wasting their time in unseemly quarrels with each other.

The letters of the superintendents of the two churches, the Reformed and Lutheran, give us a sad picture of bitterness in the minds of men who should have acted as shepherds to the fold of Christ. It is not possible here to repeat the titles which they gave each other; but we find the Lutheran superintendent referring to a member of the Reformed Church who had translated a play into the Hungarian language, for the sake of turning the Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper into ridicule, and how this man was for the

* Mica Bury.

† Literæ ex MS. Bibl. Schechemianac Panaufs's Denkw. Eedenberg MS.

crime condemned to death, though he afterwards obtained a reprieve.*

These quarrels were very acceptable to the Romish clergy, and especially to Pazmány, who had been set free from his vow to the Jesuits, and was become Bishop of Grán. Many left the Protestants altogether, but the loss was to the Protestant Church only like the stucco falling from a building, while the structure remained still secure. And there was no want of enthusiasm when the jubilee of the Reformation was to be celebrated.

In Leutshaw the celebration of this festival was conducted with great pomp. The Protestant Church had been established here for seventy-three years, and just at this time Peter Zabler was pastor. The sermon was attended on that day by the whole town council and all the civil officers. Taking for their pattern the 150th Psalm, and interpreting it literally, they celebrated the day by festive music in the church; and Count Stanislaus Thurzo invited the whole council to dine at his castle. An agreeable fruit of this festival was the resolution to build a new church as a suitable commemoration.

With equal splendor was the festival celebrated in the castle of the Thurzos at Bitshe, where the magnates, Francis, George, and Gabriel Perényi, George and Sigismund Rákotzy, Nicolas and George Zwinyi, Paul Nádasdy, Peter Révay, Caspar Illyesházy, Nicolas Botskay, Francis Banfy, and many others of the nobility were present. The well-known hospitality of the country gave occasion to the enemies to charge the Protestants with excess at these banquets, yet it was chiefly as the envy of the elder son who grieved that the father had shown so much favor to the younger brother returned to the father's house.†

* Mica Bury MS.

† Ribinyi, Memor. Tom. I., p. 410.

In the year 1618, the Hungarian crown fell to the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria. The Jesuits had persuaded Matthew, who had no heirs, to transfer the inheritance to him. In Austria and the dependencies the nomination found no difficulty. In Bohemia, also, although the religious war was slumbering under the ashes, and the strong bias of Ferdinand in favor of the Roman Catholics was well known, yet, notwithstanding a few dissentient voices, even there he was accepted by the great majority. In Hungary, however, the work was not so light. The succession was not yet secured by the states. Jealous of their rights and privileges, the Hungarians remained, it is true, firm to the princes of the house of Austria, asserted their right, however, to elect, and it was only after this had taken place that they proceeded to crown Ferdinand king.

It was at the Diet of Presburg, summoned for this purpose by Matthew, that this proceeding took place; and the presidency at the meeting, as well as the crowning, was committed to the Papal nuncios, Melchior Klesel, John of Molard, and the vice-chancellor, John Lewis Ulm.

Eight days later, the archduke himself arrived, as representative of Matthew.

The states wished first to choose a palatine, but afterwards yielded so far that king and palatine were chosen on the same day. The struggle reached its greatest height at the Diet, when a series of articles were read previous to their being presented to Ferdinand. There were seventeen articles contained in the document, and the 6th should bind him "to grant a universal, unlimited, and unrestrained liberty of public worship in every place, and in every way, as had been guaranteed by the Peace of Vienna, and at the crowning of Matthew." The Roman Catholics did not refuse this privilege; intimated, however, that the public worship of the Protestants could be conducted without churches, and would not bind themselves on their estates to grant ground for building Protestant churches.

This Jesuitical sophistry, supported by Pazmány and Klesel, was adopted, and the expression "*una cum templis*" was erased. The Protestants had nothing left but to enter a legal protest, which only called forth a counter protest, — did not, however, take away the evil.

Tired of quarrelling, Ferdinand accepted of the conditions on the 16th of March, 1618, and among the rest the 6th article, promising full protection to the Protestant Church, with the remark, "He would sooner lose his life than break his word." *

On the 1st of June Ferdinand was crowned, and Sigismund Forgács elected as palatine.† Both elections furnished the Protestants with little cause for joy. For, though Forgács had been educated at the court of Bathányi, Prince of Transylvania, and had been such a zealous Protestant that all his brother's (the deceased archbishop) attempts to convert him were in vain, yet Peter Pazmány was able in three weeks to gain him over to Rome, and thus secure a mighty and zealous assistant.

Under the burden of a weakly frame was the childless Matthew approaching near his end. In Bohemia the fire of revolution threatened to break out, and the new prince of Transylvania, Gabriel Béthlén, prepared himself to take the part of the malcontents who fled to him from thence; he seemed also prepared to defend with the sword the Protestant cause, which, in his own country, had begun to suffer considerable encroachments. On the 23d of May, 1618, the signal was given for one of the bloodiest and most tedious of wars. At the royal palace of Prague, where the royal deputy-governors, who had torn down many Protestant churches, were assembled, appeared deputies of the Protestants in

* Engel, Vol. IV. p. 392.

† The other Roman Catholic candidate was Thomas Endödy, imperial chancellor; the Protestant candidates, Francis Bathányi and Stephen Torök.

arms, and cast the detested Martinitz, and Slavata, as also the secretary Fabricius, eighty feet down into the ditch of the castle.* This transaction, together with the removal of his friend Melchior Klesel, Bishop of Vienna, gave Matthew's health a severe shock. Shortly after followed the death of his brother Maximilian, and also of his dear and tender spouse Anna, who, in her thirty-third year, died in the royal castle at Prague, in the year 1618. Dead to the joys of the world, sorely lowered down by sorrows as well as by gout, Matthew had a paralytic attack on the 20th of March, 1619, in the beginning of his sixty-second year. His brain was found to be one half dried up. As a private person he had been very amiable, but as king he had not given any reason to justify him in removing his brother Rudolph from the throne. In his old age he sorely repented the ills he had done his brother; with the same measure he had meted, it was measured to him again. Sick and childless, he saw the world's gaze turned on his proud successor, who, impatient of delay, seized the government before his predecessor was removed, and hastened to dye his imperial mantle in the blood of heretics, thinking he did God a service by his fierce cruelty.

* Schiller's "Thirty Years' War."

CHAPTER IV.

FERDINAND II., FROM 1619 TILL 1637.

Ferdinand's critical Position. — His fanatical Vow. — War with Béthlén. — Béthlén conquers Presburg, and takes the Crown. — Diet at Neusohl. — Béthlén refuses to accept the Title of King.

ON the death of Matthew, matters stood so ill for Ferdinand, that the words of Fénelon might have been in his case very appropriate, "None but a fool desires a crown." All Europe was in such a state of religious excitement as had not been the case since the time of Luther; and this was the work of the Jesuits and Pope Clement VIII., who had entered into a contract with the princes and kings of Europe since the beginning of the century, to annihilate the Protestant name.* As the storm raises the water, and drives the mud and scum to the top of the waves, so did they by their immoral principles goad the nations to madness. They had, within the memory of that generation, made France a great churchyard, and in the St. Bartholomew's Day — the height of their glory — they showed what they could do when aided by debased women and a fanatical king. By the gunpowder plot they would have destroyed England's liberty, had not Providence interfered and prevented. In Carinthia, Styria, and Austria, they had, in the name of the one true Church, "out of which is no salvation," practised deeds which cried to high heaven for a speedy vengeance. In Hungary, Bo-

* Andreas Adver. MS. de Tauta Evang. div Franciscus Brocardus in Classico Suo, § 2.

hemia, and Transylvania, they deserved the credit of having done only all the evil they could. In these lands, where a recognized constitution existed, and where considerable civil and political liberty prevailed, their influence was limited, and the people took to arms rather than bow themselves under the yoke of tyranny and unjust persecution.

In this state was Bohemia. The Bohemian Count Matthew Turn had, with his adherents, nearly approached the walls of Vienna, and had drawn Silesia also with him in the revolt. Moravia was prepared to follow. In Austria the states refused to submit. The Prince of Transylvania, Gabriel Béthlén, threatened to invade Hungary, and the Turk was in secret making great preparations. Germany was looking quietly on; Spain's hirelings were far away, and all that adhered to Ferdinand trembled for the result. The Bohemian cannon were pouring the shot into the royal castle, and sixteen Austrian barons were standing before Ferdinand to compel him to make a league with Bohemia. As one of the deputies, seizing him by the button of his coat, cried, "Ferdinand, will you sign?" the faithful councillors advised to yield, and the Jesuits thought of better times coming; but Ferdinand stood like a rock in the surge.

It was religious fanaticism, the idea that he was called of God to protect and advance the Church of Rome, that raised his spirit, so that amidst all the storm he developed a character which made him subject of the highest admiration on the part of the Roman Catholic Church, but in the eyes of Protestants, and of all friends of humanity, degraded him to the lowest pitch of detestation.

Born on the 9th of July, 1578, he came, after the death of his father, Archduke Charles, the son of Ferdinand I., in the year 1590, to Ingolstadt, into the hands of the Jesuits, and returned to his paternal property in Styria and Carinthia, with the firm resolution that, whatever it might cost, no heretics should be tolerated under any condition on his estates.

With cunning had the Jesuits taught him that the prosperity of Bavaria was owing alone to its connection with the Church of Rome. He undertook a pilgrimage to Loretto, to the wondrous and wonder-working image of Mary, to beg the continued protection of this "queen of heaven." Accompanied by the Jesuits, he visited Rome on the way, to receive the blessing of the Pope, to strengthen him to keep his horrid vow, "that he would banish the Protestants out of all his estates, if it should cost him his life."

On another pilgrimage to a similar image of Mary, which he undertook in his fortieth year, and as he lay praying before a crucifix in the midst of a violent storm, he conceived that he heard the voice, "Ferdinand, I will not leave thee." It must have been Mary. From that time forward he was her devoted servant.

It was on the 29th of March, 1619, that he summoned the Hungarian Diet for the 26th of May, at Presburg, to sit under the guidance of the Palatine Forgács, while he himself hastened away to Frankfort, to have the imperial crown placed on his head. At the Diet, the proposal to raise a standing army for the protection of the king should have been discussed, but all the meetings were filled up with religious quarrels. The states complained bitterly of Cardinal Klesel, of Archbishop Pazmány, and of the Jesuits, who, in consequence of their intolerant spirit, had been banished for ever from Transylvania by the princes of that land, but who had once more, under George Hommona, the rival of Béthlén, clandestinely returned. Bitter words were spoken respecting the limitation of evangelical freedom in Presburg, and it was asserted that a species of Spanish inquisition had been introduced by the Papists into Tyrnau. All relief for these and similar complaints was obstinately refused by the Archbishop Pazmány and his followers, and the archbishop was not ashamed to say "he would rather see his villages forsaken of all their inhabitants and lying waste, than that on

his estates a single church should exist for the benefit of Protestant subjects.*

These sentiments prevailed very generally among the Roman Catholic magnates, and we find Count Stephen Pallfy, protector of Schutt-Somerain, erecting a gallows on which all the Protestant clergy who were called to churches in Schutt without his leave should be hanged ! Alas ! on the Protestant side, the principles of the Gospel were, under such temptations, often forgotten, and Protestant proprietors frequently retaliated by dispensing to Rome the same treatment which she gave her antagonists. The complaints of both parties resounded through the whole land.

While, under such circumstances, every peaceful arrangement of the difficulties was impossible, the Prince of Transylvania, Gabriel Béthlén, who was very well informed respecting all their proceedings, was approaching still nearer. In the beginning of September, he conquered Kashaw, where the Jesuits Stephen Pougracy and Melchior Grodétzky, as well as a canon of Grán, Marcus Crisinius, who had not been able to make their escape, were executed ; the commander of the fortress, however, Andrew Doczy, as an oppressor of the Protestants, was bound in chains and handed over to the victorious troops.

On the 20th of October, Béthlén conquered Presburg with the castle, took possession of the crown of Hungary with the state jewels, gained the palatine, Fogács, over to his side, and on the same day had divine service conducted in gratitude for his success.

In many places now the Protestants began to breathe somewhat more freely. In Trentshin they held a synod, where, in the place of the deceased superintendents Lanyi and Mellick, were elected respectively John Hodikius and Melchiar Robacs ; the latter continued in office till 1622, when he was succeeded by Peter Sextius.

* Engel Geschichte, Vol. IV. p. 398.

Passing on in his victorious career towards the southeast, Béthlén received the submission of the town and fortress of Edenberg, where he left a garrison of fifteen hundred men. With his general, Paul Nádasdy, he proceeded to Grätz, whence he wrote to the superintendent for a chaplain to assist the court preacher during the approaching holidays.

A truce was shortly after agreed on, and a Diet was to be summoned by both parties to Neusohl, to meet in 1620. At this Diet a solemn mutual compact was entered into between Béthlén, Prince of Transylvania, and the evangelical party in Bohemia; and it was resolved that the religious freedom which had been guaranteed to Hungary should be extended to Bohemia also, and placed on a sure basis. As the royal commissioners, however, declared that they could not on any account take up this matter; and as the prince refused to make any treaty from which the Bohemian Protestants were excluded, the former withdrew on the 17th of August, and the Hungarians continued their deliberations alone. When Count Rombald Collato and the other imperial commissioners had retired, Emerich Thurzo proposed and carried that Béthlén should be proclaimed King of Hungary.

Béthlén obstinately refused to accept the title, and neither the entreaties of the Diet nor the representations of his chaplain could induce him to change his resolution. Four days afterwards he dissolved the assembly, after having confirmed the fifty-two articles, of which the chief points referring to the Church were as follows: — *

“ The Presburg articles of the previous year were removed, and parties chosen from all three confessions — the Lutheran, Reformed, and Arian — in the three districts, to watch over the fulfilment of the contract. Attacks on each other in writings and sermons were forbidden. The resolutions of the Synods of Silles and Kirchdrauf were con-

* Engel, Vol. IV. pp. 416, 417.

firmed ; and it was resolved that *the ecclesiastical organization of other districts should be immediately completed after this plan*. The tithes and church fruits should fall to the clergy of all confessions alike. Three Roman Catholic bishops are sufficient for the country, — namely, in Erlau, for Upper Hungary ; Neutra, for Hungary on this side ; and Raab, for Hungary beyond the Danube ; — and for these a salary of 2,000 florins, equal to £ 200 per annum, should be sufficient. The Jesuits were once more banished ; and it was decreed that the regular clergy, with the exception of Pazmány and Balassfy, on condition of returning within a limited time, should have all their property restored. Only matters relating to marriages belonged to an ecclesiastical court, and mixed marriages were to be arranged before a court composed of members of both confessions.

“ Such church property as had hitherto tended to encourage luxury among the clergy, and such as had been abused so as to cause persecution of members of other confessions, and thus disturb the peace, should be confiscated to the crown. Archbishop Pazmány, and Balassfy, Bishop of Bosnia, were, as seditious men and foes of the country, to be banished for life.

“ These were the principal decrees of the Diet at Neusohl, but they shortly after ceased to be in force, and were erased from the statute-book. It must not be supposed, however, that there were only Protestants at this meeting ; for some of the most distinguished are Catholics, adhered to Béthlén, and among them were such names as Sigismund Forgács, Sigismund Erdödy, Christopher Erdödy, Melchior Allaghy, and Michael Karalyi.”

CHAPTER V.

Reformed Synod at Hedervan. — Death of Emerich Thurzo the Palatine. — Béthlén again takes the Sword. — Peace of Nikolsburg. — Synod of Shintaw. — Numbers of exiled Protestants. — Margrave George of Brandenburg. — Diet of Eödenberg. — The Legate. — Tumult at the Diet. — Coronation of Ferdinand III.

WHILE the Diet was thus providing for the peace of the country, and at the same for the benefit of the Protestant Church, the brethren of the Reformed Church were holding a synod at Hedervan, in the neighborhood of Raab. Evil disposed parties spread reports of such a nature respecting the resolutions passed at this synod, that the Reformed superintendent, Nicholas Grütz, found it necessary to write to the Lutheran superintendent, Stephen Klassekowitz, denying that any resolutions inimical to the Lutherans had been passed.*

Such approaches of the two confessions towards each other were the more necessary, as, by the death of the palatine Emerich Thurzo, both parties had sustained an equally great loss. He died suddenly at Nikolsburg, on the 5th of January, 1621, and the general impression was, that his death proceeded from poison rubbed on the inside of his helmet, which he usually kept very tight on his head while riding.†

But though the foes of the Protestants considered no means too bad to gain their ends, yet for this time their hopes were vain; for, as injustice began again to raise her head, and as especially in Bohemia many unjust executions of Protestants

* Eödenberg Denkw. MS.

† Mica Bury MS.; Merken. Pall. Belg. Tom. XIV. 1, 47; Ortel. Rediow. Tom. p. 84.

were reported, Béthlén returned once more, sword in hand, to take vengeance on the oppressors. A peace was made at Nikolsburg in 1621, and on that occasion the zealous Popish convert, Nicolas Esterházy, received as a reward for his zeal, the valuable town Eisenstadt and its dependencies. In Rome's eyes he deserved some mark of distinction, for, in addition to his other feats for the benefit of Mother Church, he had compelled his wife, against her wish, to join the Roman Catholic communion.* To ratify the peace, a Diet was summoned at Eedenberg, where Béthlén delivered up the crown. Ferdinand's spouse was crowned as Queen of Hungary, and Stanislaus Thurzo was made palatine. In the St. Michael's Church, which at the time belonged to the Protestants, divine service was held to return thanks for the peace.

The Lutherans availed themselves of the opportunity of holding a synod, since known as the Synod of Shintaw, and passed a series of resolutions respecting the lives and doctrines of the clergy, all of which were confirmed by the palatine in virtue of his office.

Scarcely had the joy-bells ceased to play in consequence of the peace of Nickolsburg, when crowds of oppressed and persecuted Protestants from Bohemia and Moravia came crying for protection. It was impossible to see these spectacles of the inhumanity of the fanatic priests, and to recognize in them brothers in the faith, without being deeply concerned. Béthlén took the case warmly up, and reproached the king bitterly for this glaring breach of the Nikolsburg contract, and for allowing himself to be made the blind tool of the Jesuits in their deeds of darkness. He demanded immediate recognition of civil and religious liberty for the Protestants in Bohemia, Moravia, and Hungary, and promised in such case immediately to retire. When he found, however, that no attention was paid to his remonstrance, he crossed Hun-

* Eedenberg Denkwürdigkeiten MS.

gary with a powerful army, and only then stopped when, by the mediation of the palatine, a satisfactory arrangement was made at Vienna.*

The cruelties of the Jesuits had already been terrible. All the Protestant clergy had been banished from Bohemia, and the churches handed over to their own creatures. In Moravia and Austria they had done the same. The evangelical preacher David Stäudlin had been banished by the Jesuit father Keller out of his church in Hernals, near Vienna, simply because he had visited the sick servant of Captain Köbel, in Vienna, who was a Protestant, and had administered the Lord's Supper to him. Twelve thousand exiles lived in England, Belgium, Hungary, and Transylvania, and among these were one hundred and eight-five magnates, and one hundred clergy, who sometimes wrote in the bitterest distress to evangelical towns and churches, asking for aid.†

Such oppressions raised many warm sympathizing friends to the Protestants ; and here we will mention only one, namely, George of Brandenburg, who generously came in 1624 to Béthlén's aid. He died of the prevalent epidemic at Leutshaw, and was buried at Whisburg in Transylvania.‡

In these troublous times, the bright spot towards which the eyes of the Protestants were turned in hope was the Diet of Œdenberg, in 1625. It was, however, unfortunate at the very commencement, that the apostate from the Protestant faith, Nicholas Esterházy, was chosen palatine. Besides, the Popish legate Karaffa was there, and he, in conjunction with Pazmány and the bishop, did the utmost to stir up the king against the Protestants. Indeed, the Bishop of Erlau made use of such expressions, that the Protestant members,

* About this time Béthlén endowed an evangelical school in Tyrnau, at which twenty-four scholars had a free table. Many of the magnates followed his example.

† Pamauf MS., Vol. VI. Misc. p. 358.

‡ Leutshaw Chronicle, MS.

in the excitement, had nearly thrown him out of the window. As it was, they dragged him by the hair and the beard to the door, and threw him out. As the palatine was about to institute an investigation, and bring some of them to trial, he found it impossible, for the Protestants stood firmly together, and Karaffa found it most convenient not to press the matter further.*

The palatine gave the king the worst advise, and even, as Karaffa acknowledges, showed him the plans which he should adopt, in spite of his oath, to limit the privileges of the Protestants.†

The Roman Catholics thought they had satisfied every just claim of the Protestants when they renewed the 1st article of 1608, and the 6th article of the treaty signed by Ferdinand on assuming the throne, and not without much fear and anxiety were the Protestants at last glad to have even so much. For at this time Pazmány stood higher than he had ever done in the royal favor and the esteem of his own party. It was but lately he had established the school at Tyrnau for the sons of the nobility, and so soon as Ferdinand III. was crowned, he hastened to have his sanction to the constitution of the seminary.

The synods, which about this time were held at Leutshaw, Csepreg, and other places, for maintaining discipline in the churches and schools, were of too little importance to be particularly noticed. But we must with pain acknowledge, that so soon as Ferdinand II. saw the crown tolerably firm on the head of his son, he considered himself at liberty to break through all bounds in his persecutions.

Not contented with the feats he had accomplished in persecuting and banishing the Protestants of Styria, Bohemia, Moravia, and Austria, where the sister churches were more

* Eödenberg Denkwürdigkeiten MS.; Theatr. Europ. Daniel Crudy, MS.

† Ribinyi, Mem. Aug. Conf., Tom. I. p. 437.

kindly disposed towards each other, he now broke out on a large scale against the Calvinists in Hungary. For the sake of giving his acts the appearance of laws, he created in the one year, 1626, twenty-two princes, sixty counts and barons, of whom, it is true, many had only the title, but by means of their votes much might be done.* He demanded of the palatine not to allow the Protestants, who were flying from oppression in the other crowned lands, to settle in Hungary; and with much zeal Karaffa sought to prevent one family obtaining residence there, the head of the family having been a printer in the neighborhood of Linz, and now obliged to escape with his printing-press out of the country. The palatine was exceedingly complaisant and obliging in granting all such demands as were unfavorable to Protestantism.† On the estates in Hungary, the Protestants were now often compelled to join the Church of Rome; and so effectually was the work accomplished in Laudser and Lackenbach, that to this day not a Protestant family is there to be found.‡

In Bitshe the Protestant church was taken from them; the superintendent, Hodickius, who had presumed to gain the victory over Matthew Heinal, a Jesuit, in a discussion on the worshipping of the saints, was immediately banished; the flourishing gymnasium was destroyed, and the building turned, a few years later, into a cow-stall.§

* Karalyi, II. 670.

† Comment. de Germ. Saira rest. p. 372; Waldau, Hist. of Prot. Aus., II. p. 299.

‡ Eödenberg Denkwürdigkeiten.

§ Chladuay, C. I. Sect. 2; Zeiller, Nov. Hung. Desa, p. 46.

CHAPTER VI.

Ferdinand II. nominates the Virgin Mary Generalissimo of his Army. — Béthlén declares War again. — Is joined by the Germans. — Peace of Presburg. — The Widow of Palatine Forgács raging against the Protestants. — George Rákotzy. — Gustavus Adolphus. — Conversion of several Magnates to Popery. — Persecutions. — Jesuits in Edenberg. — Death of Ferdinand II.

FROM a king who had nominated Mary commander-in-chief of his forces,* and who was merely a puppet in the hands of Karaffa, Pazmány, Nicolas Esterházy, and the Jesuits, the Protestants of Hungary had little good to expect. The more just were their fears when they reflected how systematically he had despised and trampled on all the former resolutions of the Diet, how the Jesuits were every day gaining ground; how, by the aid of Pazmány, they had, first in Raab, and afterwards in Presburg, erected a college.

By such faithlessness, there was nothing left but an appeal to the sword. Béthlén stirred up on all sides, and, receiving promises of aid from the Turks, prepared once more for battle. In Germany the religious war was raging so violently, that Denmark and Norway had taken part in it, and thence also came promise of aid. The great General Count Ernest of Mansfeld, and Bernhard, Duke of Weimar, offered to join him, and coming with their troops through Silesia and Moravia, so far as Neutra, they had some engagements with Wallenstein; but the prospects of Austria were so doubtful, that, in 1628, Ferdinand gladly made a peace with Béthlén at Presburg, in which the latter bound himself to abstain, in

* Karalyi, II. p. 914.

all time coming, from war against the house of Hapsburg, on condition of religious liberty being guaranteed.

Whether Béthlén would have kept his word, is hard to decide. He remained, however, perfectly quiet till the following year, when, on the 16th of December, 1629, he yielded up his spirit; very shortly after, the Cardinal Klesel died also, as if the loss of a protector was to be counter-balanced by having also one foe less.

Scarcely had Béthlén closed his eyes when the Papists began their oppressions once more; for the slave is moral only so long as he fears the arm of justice,—and this arm was now still in the grave. The Bishop of Waizen, Paul Almásy, compelled the Protestants in his neighborhood at an enormous price to purchase passports and safe-conducts from the pasha for his begging monks, that they might the more readily gather in the fowls, the eggs, and the butter, from the country, into their cloisters.

In spite of the last Diet, the Protestants could not succeed in establishing their most just demands. The churches were not restored; the king, to whom they appealed, excused himself with the disturbed state of the country, and promised redress “on a future day.” Neither could they succeed in obtaining a clear statement of the law, by which they might be protected from the caprice of the priests. The magnates had, in this case, the chief blame, for they insisted on the right to do what they chose with the church on their own property.*

In consequence of this principle, the widow of the deceased Forgács, Catherine Pallfy, in county Sharosh, annoyed the Protestants very much on her property. She broke the doors and windows of the Protestant church, and shortly after took the church itself completely away. When the removing of the roof of the manse, and breaking down

* “Cujus regio illius religio.” Peter Bad, Hist. Eccl. Hung. MS.

the walls, did not serve the purpose of banishing the Protestant preacher from his numerous congregation, she ordered him with all his family to be put on a cart and carted out of her territory. When they had reached the bounds of her estate, they were set down on the open field. By continued annoyances and fines, she brought her tenants so far that they consented to accept of a Roman Catholic priest.*

In addition to these persecutions came the excommunication of the preachers of the twenty-four Zips towns, which was published by Pazmány on the 22d of December, 1632. The occasion of this was found in a case of divorce, where the synod gave permission to one of the parties again to get married. The superintendent, Peter Zabler, the senior, John Serpilius, and John Pillemann, were summoned before the archbishop to give an account of what they had done. As they received a written warning from Stanislaus Lupomirski, the civil governor of these towns, which were at that time pawned to Poland, not to appear, they did not present themselves to the archbishop. Their excommunication was published in the church in Zips, by which proceeding the Roman Catholics of the day were certainly more edified, and the clergy more annoyed, than we can at all comprehend. The clergy put themselves to no little trouble and expense to appease the wrath of the offended parties.

Under such difficulties, the Protestants placed their chief confidence in the Prince of Dacia, St. Báthory, and George Rákotzy, the elected Prince of Transylvania. Gustavus Adolphus had already made a contract with the latter, in virtue of which he had already broken into Hungary; when, however, Gustavus fell by the hands of an assassin, at the battle of Lutzen, he drew back again, not having confidence in the probable success of the Swedes, and thinking all the

* Acts of the Diet, 1635; Daniel Crudy, Superintendent Prot. Church Law, MS.

while only of himself. It was with pain that the Protestants observed this selfishness of the artful Rákotzy.

A steady supporter was just now so much the more requisite, as the number of the Protestant magnates was constantly being diminished by desertion. After the superintendent Tobiah Brunswick, whom a pitiful fear for his life and liberty drove into the Romish Church,* Adam Thurzo, the son of the late palatine, to whom Brunswick was chaplain, as also his younger brother and mother, were induced to join the ranks of Popery. After these the general, Adam Bathyáni, passed over to the Popish Church, and he became so zealous, that he gave the Protestant churches beyond the Danube no small annoyance, and banished the preachers, "to the greater glory of Mary." †

The citizens of Œdenberg were obliged to pay heavy fines, though they remained true to the king, and their church was shortly after taken from them under the pretext that it had been built by Roman Catholics. ‡

In the circle on this side the Danube had the imperial general, John Hommona, whose ancestors had been Protestants, given the Protestants in Kashaw much annoyance; and when the evangelical party in Presburg began to build a church at their own expense, they were ordered, under penalty of the royal displeasure and its consequences, to desist. The citizens of Presburg appealing, however, to the laws which gave them a right to build if they chose, went on with their work, and in 1637, their new church was consecrated.

As the Protestants were hampered, just in the same proportion were the Jesuits favored. By a royal decree, dated

* He had persecuted a Protestant preacher who had joined the Papists, to such an extent, that he was about to lay him in chains. Being on this account summoned as a disturber of the peace, Brunswick fled, and fell into the nets of the Jesuits to such an extent, that he openly left the Protestant Church and received an office among the Papists. Mica Bury.

† Hist. Reform., p. 378.

‡ Karalyi, Mem., p. 853.

Vienna, May, 1636, the town of Œdenberg must undertake to build a Roman Catholic gymnasium, and, through fear of what might eventually occur, steps were taken by the citizens to prevent Jesuits becoming teachers. Another royal decree, dated Ratisbon, August, 1636, required a dwelling to be furnished for the Jesuits, and the guidance of the school to be delivered up to them.*

Under such a state of anxiety in Hungary, came the year 1637 ; and on the 17th of February, Ferdinand II. expired.

Great was the kingdom and numerous the subjects over which Providence had called him to reign, and he had no want of talent to make his people happy. But his Jesuitical education and his advisers had chained his spirit, and, to the great misfortune of his country, he could not set himself free ; and scarce can the eye find a single point in his whole reign of eighteen years on which to rest with satisfaction.

In Germany his fanaticism had driven the religious war to the highest pitch, and, as a sorrowful legacy, he could hand that war, unfinished still, over to his son. In Magdeburg were twenty-six thousand corpses of men, women, and children lying, who had perished under the hand of his general, Tilly, with his hordes of Croatian military. Bohemia, Moravia, and a great part of Hungary were miserably oppressed, and morality itself almost banished by the manner in which the war had been conducted. And what had he gained ? A few stone churches and schools stolen from the Lutherans and Calvinists ; a hundred thousand converts brought over to the Church of Rome by the unapostolical means of sword, prison, fine, or bribery ; and a depopulation of his monarchy amounting to more than a million of human beings.

Ferdinand II. had gained what he wished ; for the conversion of a heretic to his Church was to him always the great-

* The original decrees lie in the Œdenberg town archives. They are countersigned by George Lippay, Bishop of Vesprim, and Lawrence Frëntzfy.

est joy. Wherefore, as the Cardinal Klessel once thought that a little more moderation and consideration of circumstances might be advisable, he replied, "I will rather have a wasted than an accursed kingdom." *

His conscience was always quieted with the Jesuitical reserve ; for, when he was once reminded of his royal oath, he gave the edifying answer, "With his mouth he had sworn to the Protestants, but with his heart to the Roman Catholics." †

For all these benefits rendered to the Popish cause, the Cardinal Pazmány, and Bishop Matthew of Neustadt, asserted that Ferdinand passed immediately into heaven, without experiencing the pains of purgatory. ‡ The Word of God had, however, said, "The Lord hateth the bloody and deceitful man."

* *Malo regnum desolatum quam damnatum.*

† Peter Bad, *Hist. Eccles. Ref.*, Tom. II. MS.

‡ Kazyi, II. p. 326.

CHAPTER VII.

FERDINAND III. 1637 — 1657.

Death of Pazmány. — Emerich Lasy, Archbishop of Grán. — Diet of Presburg. — New Persecutions. — Deliberations at Kashaw. — Deputation to the King. — Torstenson in Moravia. — Death of the Archbishop. — George Lippay his Successor. — George Rákotzy of Transylvania. — Banishment of the Protestant Clergy from the Island Schutt. — Robert Douglas. — Death of the Palatine Nicolas Esterházy.

SHORTLY after the death of his friend and patron, Ferdinand II., the cardinal and archbishop, Pazmány, was also called away by death on the 19th of March, 1637. The Protestants now hoped, that under the new king, a man of wisdom and learning, the wounds which had been inflicted by the father would all be healed. They began, however, to have some fears when they saw that Ferdinand III. nominated Emerich Lásy, the Bishop of Erlau, as successor to Pazmány. This man was born of Protestant parents; but while a student, he was led by Ferdinand's confessor to embrace the Popish faith, and he studied theology in Rome. As an especial friend of the Jesuits, he ascended, from being Canon of Grán, in a very few years, to be archbishop, and persuaded the king to give the Jesuits a large landed property in Thurutz; a measure which even Pazmány had not ventured to propose.

Under such circumstances, the Protestants could only hope for the Diet in the following harvest in Presburg. When now the king appeared, demanding money for the war in Germany, and demanding of the Hungarians to protect their

own borders against the Turks, the states appeared very ready to comply,—demanded, however, that the religious dispute should, in the first place, be completely settled. The magnates did not give much support to this demand of the states; for above thirty families of the magnates had, by Pazmány's influence, left the Protestant Church; others were become indifferent, and thus the Jesuits and the Popish clergy had easy work. The demands of the latter went so far as to require that the Protestant exiles who had fled from persecution in Austria and Bohemia should be banished from Hungary, and especially from Presburg; a request which caused the greatest excitement at the Diet.

Between the Protestant Count Caspar Illyesházy and the Roman Catholic Count Adam Forgács, it came so far, that when one had called the other *rebel*, and a name even still worse had been retorted, they rushed on each other with drawn swords, and the king was obliged to set both for some time in arrest.*

By such quarrels, and the artful charges brought against the Protestants before the king, the evangelical party was often placed in great difficulty. As they, however, remained firm in their demand, and did not yield even to the royal threats, the circumstances of the times obliged Ferdinand III. to grant their request of toleration, and to accept of a form of contract, in which he pledged himself to guarantee liberty of conscience.

That the evangelical party had good reason to demand adherence to the letter of the law in matters of toleration, will be readily seen from the difficulties encountered in the building of the church at Presburg; for it was only by the greatest exertion, and after obtaining written permission from Ferdinand to that effect, that the church could be opened. The Protestants of the Reformed Church at Tyrnau had been

* Theatr. Europ. et Artel. redviv. Tom. II. p. 129.

prevented, by arms, from building their church; and those of the Augsburg Confession at Lewenz had their church violently closed, and their pastor banished. The Protestant Church of Szakoly must bring a complaint before the Diet, that they were not allowed to bury their dead in the common burying-ground, and requested another to be given them.*

On the contrary, the Jesuits had obtained permission, contrary to law, to purchase houses in Tyrnau, and expected, in spite of the protest of the magistrates in Eidenberg, shortly to have a church and landed property in that city also.†

The incredible power of the Bishop of Grán can be seen from the fact, that the royal decree was set aside when it pleased him, and the Protestants had no respect whatever shown to their rights. That part of the royal contract, preparatory to assuming the crown of Hungary, by which the king pledged himself to grant toleration to his Protestant subjects, was, by the influence of this prelate, not entered among the laws of the land.

When the Diet had been completed according to their wish, the clergy and Popish magnates soon stepped boldly out to accomplish their desires. Immediately after the Diet, Count John Dagesh Hommono took possession of the prebend of Neustadt on Waag, which the Protestants had long legally held. The old superintendent was carried out on a chair by the soldiers; and being too infirm to walk, he was again set into his dwelling, and shortly after died in consequence of this excitement and rough treatment. The church, and its property and fruits, were never restored. There were several villages and mills attached; a tenth and a sixteenth of the grain belonged to it, and a tenth of all fowls. Forgács, and the renegade Adam Thurzo, acted with equal

* Engel, l. c. 490.

† Eidenberg Denkwürdigkeiten, Band XII. 4to. MS.

severity, and took away church and school, banishing pastor and schoolmaster out of Pasteny, Udvarnock, St. Peter, Bajna, Ujlak, and many villages in the county of Neutra.

The palatine, Count Nicolas Esterházy, followed their example. On the estates which he had bought from Thurzo in Neutra and Trentshin, where nearly all the inhabitants were Protestants, he took possession of the churches, schools, and manses, and banished the Protestant pastors and schoolmasters.

Under such circumstances, several Protestant magnates and nobles assembled at Kashaw, in the beginning of the year 1640, to consult what was to be done. The result of their deliberation was that a deputation was sent to the king laying before him the facts, and begging for a Diet to be summoned to obtain relief.

The time was not favorable for holding a Diet, for Frenchmen, Swedes, Hessians, had penetrated into the midst of Austria, and the successful general, Torstenson, though laboring under gout, was giving Ferdinand serious alarm. The king consented to summon a Diet, and issued the necessary summonses, but the meeting was not held. With so much the more ease did the Roman Catholics continue their persecutions; for, finding themselves supported by the Roman Catholic magnates, and tolerated, if not encouraged, by the king, it was not strange that the position of the Protestants ceased to be enviable. The death of the archbishop Emerich Losy, in 1642, did not give them much relief, for, though one foe was removed, still the principles of Rome's adherents remained the same, and into the place of the deceased came George Lippay, if not a more bitter, at least a more persevering foe.

To annoy the Protestants in every possible way, seemed to be a necessity in the nature of the new archbishop; and, instead of following the principles of the Saviour in collecting disciples, he seemed to be guided in his treatment of the

Protestants by the most literal interpretation of the passage, "Compel them to come in, that my house may be filled."

They therefore turned the eye often towards Transylvania, out of which the Lord had often sent delivery for their fathers, and still the prince George Rákotzy seemed to slumber unmindful of their ills. A time came, however, when, by the consent of the Turks, he nominated his son to be his successor. The complaints of the Protestants were becoming louder and louder. France and Sweden promised him money to support him in a war against Ferdinand; and the jests which were made at his expense, at the court of Vienna, filled the cup of his indignation, so that, on the 26th of April, 1643, he entered into a league offensive and defensive with Torstenson, against Frederick, and that engagement was signed by Torstenson at his camp in Dobitshaw, on the 10th of July.

On the 13th of February, 1644, Prince Rákotzy issued at Kallo his declaration of war, stating the reasons why he drew the sword against Ferdinand. The latter lost no time, it is true, in issuing a counter proclamation, promising religious toleration, and warning against joining Rákotzy; but the Protestants had now learned, by bitter experience, what faith was to be placed in such promises. At the very time that the Swedish army was pressing forward to join Rákotzy, the persecutions were raging as fiercely as ever. Count Francis Revay, the obergespan, had just shortly before, in violation of his oath of office, and of all the contracts and laws to the contrary, deprived the Protestants of their churches in St. Martin, Mosotz, Turan, Bela, and Blastnitz, and had compelled some to become Papists. He had erected gallows on which he threatened to hang all who visited the Protestant churches; those who sung Protestant hymns on carrying their dead to the grave were cast into prison; the Protestants who had their dead buried by the priest must pay extra fees.

The archbishop Lippay had just banished all the Protestant pastors of both confessions out of the large island Schutt,

which reaches from Presburg to Komorn, and had sent twelve Jesuits to discharge ministerial duties;* but their first care was to introduce the worship of Mary, which had been taught by the Greek heretic Guappou in the year 470, and had been condemned by the Fifth Œcumenical Council.† The Jesuits did not remain long in the island, for when Count Robert Douglas, a general under Torstenson, had conquered Presburg and received the capitulation of Tyrnau, he removed the priests and all their appendages to Presburg.

By the approach and the conquests of these troops the hardly oppressed Protestants of Skalitz obtained relief. The Popish clergy had just brought matters so far, that the Moravian exiles, who had lived here in peace for twenty years, were, with their preachers, banished from the city, and had their churches closed. So soon as Douglas heard of this, being already united with Rákotzy, they hastened to Skalitz, and gave the authorities a few hours to restore the church, and take away the Popish mummeries, or else be hanged. The Protestants of Skalitz thus obtained their church, and in a very short time the much denied religious toleration was also granted in Raab.‡

The difficulties of the Roman Catholic Church were now increased by the death of the palatine Nicolas Esterházy, which took place the 11th of September, 1645. This man, who had been born of Protestant parents, his father having been vice-gespan (deputy-lieutenant) of Presburg, owed his position and his influence chiefly to the fact of his having been unfaithful to his profession; for Rome has held fast the principle of paying her proselytes well, by giving them high posts of honor.

* Hist. Diplom.

† The words for which this priest was proclaimed a heretic are the very same as those which Rome universally employs: "Holy Mary, mother of God, pray for us, now and at the hour of death."

‡ Ortel, Rediviv. Tom. II.; Zeillems Coll., Part I. p. 264. It appears that so early as 1567, Raab had already three Protestant preachers.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Peace of Linz. — Protest of the Popish Clergy. — The King's Firmness.
— The Diet of 1647. — The Protestants obtain Ninety Churches restored.
— Penal Laws against the Religious Persecutors. — Bishop Szelepesényi.
— Bishop Draskowitsh. — The King's Liberality:

THE short but bloody war between Rákotzy and Ferdinand ended with the famous Peace of Linz, which was the second pillar of the rights and freedoms of the Protestant Church in Hungary. Rákotzy was soothed with the promise of several counties for himself, and was thus induced to give up his alliance with Sweden. On the 16th of December, 1645, when the monarchy was on the very brink of destruction, the peace was concluded at Linz in Upper Austria.

This time, it must be confessed, both parties were equally earnest in the resolution to prevent the clergy from once more breaking the peace. Even the archbishop Lippay found himself unable any longer to oppose the laws favorable to the Protestants. By this peace, the Protestants obtained complete religious liberty, so that the exiled preachers might return to their congregations, or new preachers be called. All churches and church property which had been taken away should be restored, and every transgression of the condition of this peace should be punished; the banishing of the Jesuits was reserved for the next Diet. It was on the 20th of October, 1646, that Rákotzy ratified this peace at Weissenburg in Transylvania.

The danger was, however, scarcely past, and the reproaches of Rome had only just reached the Popish clergy of Hungary, for having paid so little attention to the interests of the

Church, when Lippay once more brought back the Jesuits, who soon found ways and means to deprive the country of all the blessings of the peace. Yes, the Hungarian clergy showed themselves so servile to Rome, and so forgetful of all their duties to their king and country, that, contrary to the king's engagement to summon a Diet within three months, they delayed it ten months, and then at the Diet entered a protest against that treaty which they had before approved, and for many months prevented its being received among the laws of the land.*

One of the most zealous opponents of the Protestants in this case, was the newly elected palatine, John Draskowitsh, who was also Banus of Slavonia, and had been elected to the palatinate by a majority of only twelve votes. The king, however, who knew from what dangers he had just escaped, showed the noblest traits of his character in exercising his authority over the contending parties.

He proposed, on the 28th of October, that the opposition of the clergy to the conditions of peace, now and in all time coming, should be declared irrelevant; and, on the 8th of November, when the Protestants brought forward their complaints, with evidence of the truth of the same, he proposed a resolution to be laid before the assembly, to the effect that, immediately, while the Diet is still sitting, there should be eighteen churches in the circle on this side the Danube, and eight in the circle beyond the Danube, restored to the Protestants; wherever they have no churches, they should have full permission to build, and the landed proprietors are bound to give them building ground. No one should in future dare to take away a church contrary to the wish of the residents in the place. If the landlord did so, he should, for the first offence, be fined one thousand florins, and be obliged to give back the church; for the next offence,

* Fessler, Vol. IX. p. 24.

his entire property in the village or district should be confiscated. If any of the clergy did so, they should be fined, for the first offence, one thousand florins ; for the second, two thousand florins. The patron's right, in so far as in accordance with the Peace of Vienna, should be preserved, and the states being satisfied with this, should proceed to discuss other matters.

The evangelical party, taught by sore experience, could not possibly be satisfied with this arrangement, and proposed that impartial parties should be appointed to investigate each case, and to examine the reasons why the churches were taken away, and whether they ought to be restored.

The palatine and the archbishop made every attempt to prevent a resolution favorable to the Protestants. The former, in his zeal to defend the Jesuits, drew his sword in the hall, and made himself ridiculous ; the latter, however, went so far, that it was found necessary to threaten him with deprivation of office. The clergy held out so long, that they succeeded in keeping three hundred and ten out of the four hundred churches which they had taken by force. On the 10th of February, 1647, the court consented to restore ninety of the churches, but with the remark that, in time to come, not one single church more would be given up.

The Protestants, tired, after a struggle of seven months, gave way, and the states proceeded to arrange some of the articles. In the 6th article, the names of the ninety churches were entered.* In the 7th article, it was declared, " That no other church would be restored ; the Protestants should have permission to occupy the chapels of ease, or to go if they chose to other parishes to hear the Gospel." The 8th article declared freedom of religious exercise in the town of Skalitz, both for the Lutheran and the Reformed churches. In Tyrnau, the property belonging to the evangelical church should

* Hist. Diplom. Appendix, p. 44.

be restored, and no tradesman should be compelled to attend the ceremonies of which he disapproved. In Raab, permission was given to build a new church, and a piece of ground was granted for the purpose. The pastor should have permission to preach in the church or in his own house. In Lorény a church was given to the Lutherans; but in Tihány, while the place was small, and it might be inconvenient to have a second church, the pastor's dwelling was restored.

The 10th article directed, that in places where the Papists retained the churches, the Protestants should have a right to build church, manse, school-house, &c.; and the landed proprietor must, within three months from that date, grant a plot of ground suitable for the purpose, entirely free from all taxes. The Protestants and Catholics should, in all cases, pay the same fee for the ringing of the church bells.

The 11th article decreed, that while the Roman Catholics pay nothing to the Protestant clergy, in like manner should the Protestants pay nothing to the Popish clergy. In particular cases, however, where the Popish priest had no lands and no government endowment, but was dependent on the sessional taxes, if the number of Roman Catholics was small, then the sessional taxes should be collected by the city collector and equally divided. The stola dues, however, should only be claimed from members of their own confession.

The 13th article directed the ninety churches which were to be restored to the Protestants to be handed over immediately, while the Diet was still sitting, to a mixed commission, containing an equal number of members of each confession.

The 14th article declared the penalty for hindering the Protestants in obtaining their just claims. The guilty party should first be warned by the vice-gespan (deputy-lieutenant) of the county, and if he then submitted, there was no fine. If he disobeyed, he should be fined each time in six hundred florins. In affairs connected with marriage, the Protestants

abide by their own customs, entirely independent of the Popish priests and Popish judicature.

Finally, it was settled that, in the free town Kashaw, where the Lutherans were preventing both the Calvinists and the Roman Catholics from building churches, both parties should have a right to build churches and schools, as also should obtain suitable ground for the purpose, should enjoy full religious liberty, with the use of the church bells and burying-ground in common.

These were the benefits which the Peace of Linz and the Diet of Presburg — which ratified and defined the terms of the peace — conferred on the Protestants of Hungary. If we overlook the three hundred churches which were lost, and also the double meaning of many of the enactments, still we shall see much gained. Much that had been only briefly mentioned before, was now entered in detail in the articles of peace, and a commencement was made to have these articles carried out.

At this Diet the eldest son of Ferdinand III. was, on the 16th of June, crowned King of Hungary, under the title of Ferdinand IV., and on the 17th of July, 1647, the Diet was closed.

As it was presumed or feared that the Popish clergy would not cease to persecute, there was a paragraph entered in the transactions of the assembly, *that at every Diet his Majesty should inquire into the complaints of the Protestants, and have them redressed.* A very little while showed how necessary the law was, and how much trouble was taken to have it changed.

Immediately on the close of the Diet, the Bishop of Wesprin, George Szelepcsényi, as imperial chancellor, refused to sign the articles, and the Bishop of Raab, George Draskowitsh, brother of the palatine, refused to give up the church to the Protestants, till the king compelled him to it by military force.

It certainly was no easy matter for the prelates to support

the ninety priests who were now turned out of office, but the king came to their aid by making the *poor* prelates a present of 5,000 florins, that they might not drive the land once more to rebellion before the past wounds were healed. It was a terrific sight for the king to look over his empire, and over the whole of Germany, and see what the Thirty Years' War had done ; and still that war was not yet ended. Well might he rejoice when, by the unwearied exertions and great prudence of Count Maximilian of Trantmansdorf, this war was brought to a close by the Peace of Westphalia. But, alas ! while the Protestants in Germany were now able to enjoy complete civil and religious liberty, with the exception of Silesia, the Austrian empire was little effected by the peace.

CHAPTER IX.

New Persecutions of the Protestants in Hungary. — Diet of Presburg in 1649. — Paul Pallfy, Palatine. — Fruits of the Diet. — The Jesuits in Transylvania. — Death of the young King of Rome. — Leopold crowned King of Hungary in 1655. — Troubles. — Death of Ferdinand.

THE incredible struggles, the bloodshed, and the councils held for establishing, on a firm basis, the rights and liberties of the Protestant Church, were, contrary to all expectation, not yet sufficient to obtain the desired peace and toleration. The Diet had scarcely been dissolved when the Jesuits and the magnates, whom they had gained over to their cause, began the work of persecution afresh. The death of Rákotzy, on the 23d of October, 1648, gave them new courage; and, contrary to all laws and treaties, and despite all watchfulness, the treacherous disciples of Loyola found ways and means of creeping once more into Transylvania. It was the plan of the Popish clergy to introduce these men into all parts of the kingdom, and, by means of these sworn foes of the Gospel and of Protestants, gradually to obliterate all traces of the truth. In August, 1648, the palatine, John Draskowitsh, was taken away by death, but Lippay remained and labored till he had the Jesuits introduced into Skalka, Neusohl, Skalitz, Schemnitz, Trentshin, and Rosenau, where they soon succeeded in raising sufficient strife and confusion.

The prelates and landed proprietors banished the Protestant pastor out of Sellyi by an armed force.* Francis Nádasdy, who had become Papist for the sake of obtaining

* Fessler, Vol. IX. p. 83.

in marriage the daughter of the palatine Nicolas Esterházy, took away from the Protestant pastor the corn which was by the law secured to him. The miller was bound to give a proportion of all the corn ground on Saturday afternoon and the whole of Sunday to the Protestant pastor; and this custom was discontinued, while the schoolmaster was also deprived of his grain. Francis Nádasdy and the widow of Klasius Apponyi compelled all their dependants to attend to the ceremonies of the Popish Church, and those who refused were fined and imprisoned.

In several counties, as, for example, Eisenberg, Presburg, Neutra, and Trentshin, no ground was given to the Protestants for building churches and schools, and several of the ninety churches, which had been restored, were again taken away. In Donnerskirchen, near Eisenstadt, in Eedenberg county, the Protestants were positively forbidden by Count Ladislaus Esterházy to recall their pastor.* The inhabitants of the town of Neusiedel, who had called an evangelical pastor without asking leave from the landlord, were sentenced to pay a fine of several hundred butts of wine, and were so much oppressed, that scarcely a trace of a church is now there to be seen.

It was after such transactions that the king summoned a Diet at Presburg on the 25th of January, 1649. There was little prospect of calm deliberation at this meeting, for the exasperation was very considerable. Even the king was so much afraid of the results, that he did not open the assembly till the 15th of March. The first business was the election of a palatine. The king proposed two Roman Catholics and two Protestants, and the choice fell on the Roman Catholic Count Paul Pallfy, a man of great integrity and high honor.

Immediately on entering on his office he had a considerable struggle with the Archbishop Lippay, in which his char-

* At this day there does not reside a single Protestant there.

acter was favorably exhibited. The Diet was assembled ; the palatine was in his place ; the archbishop alone was absent paying a morning visit to the king ; they had waited long, and at length the palatine rose to assure the assembled nobles how it was the king's wish and desire that all the quarrels on religious matters should be amicably arranged. The archbishop had now arrived, and rose to declare that he had just heard wishes of the very opposite nature expressed by the king. The palatine was astonished ; and, after a short deliberation, it was agreed to send a mixed deputation, containing an equal number of Protestants and Roman Catholics, to speak with his Majesty. A reply was immediately returned, through the minister Trantmansdorf, that the palatine had correctly stated the royal wish. Having been thus attacked in his honor, the palatine turned in indignation towards the archbishop, inquiring why he had entered on such barefaced falsehood, attempting thus to misrepresent the king, and to disturb the peace of the Diet and of the country ; and he at the same time informed him that, were it not for his cloth, he would know how to treat him as he deserved.*

So long as this palatine lived, the Protestants on his estate enjoyed all the protection they could wish. Entirely free from all fanaticism, he erected schools for the Protestants as well as for the Roman Catholics, and combined justice with moderation to such an extent, that he was justly beloved as a father of his country.

At the Diet, where the passions of the contending parties made his position so difficult, he guided the proceedings with much tact, leaving the legal time open to hear all the mutual complaints which the two parties wished to bring. The com-

* Mica Bury, *Theat. Europ.* Vol. VI. p. 877. *Artel Rediviv.* Mayer ad hoc Annum, Tom. II. p. 161. Daniel Crudy, Tom. I. p. 169. It is true the Jesuit Szegedi represents the archbishop as suffering these reproaches unjustly from his zeal for religion.

plaints of the Roman Catholics were far more numerous, but he had them entered in a list by themselves, in such a way that the evidence in each individual case could be easily seen by the king; and it was soon evident that much was quite unfounded, and still more of the charges of the Papists were overcolored. The palatine laid all before the king, with a request that each case should be carefully and impartially investigated.*

Ferdinand, knowing well the nature of the case, was resolved to carry out all the proceedings in the spirit of the Peace of Linz. The determined opposition, however, on the part of the Roman Catholics, prevented him from benefiting the Protestants to any great extent. Besides the ninety churches which were granted in 1647, there were only three chapels of ease bestowed on the Protestants; and a law was passed which eventually wrought great mischief, deciding that all quarrels on matters of religion in future should be decided after the example set in 1647, by being referred back to the respective counties.

One benefit was gained by this Diet; for, as the priests observed the desire of the king to do justice to the Protestants, they relaxed somewhat in their persecutions. The time of quiet was then employed in improving, as much as possible, the ecclesiastical discipline, in building and repairing churches and school-houses, and in placing worthy men in the office of pastor. This was especially the case in the royal free cities, where the number of educated and wealthy members of the evangelical church was considerable. In

* The archbishop declared to the king that his conscience did not allow him to give land which belonged to Roman Catholics, for the purpose of building a Protestant church, and the king informed him that his conscience was much too scrupulous. Fessler, Vol. IX. p. 39. It was the same archbishop who declared, on a former occasion, that the king dared to tolerate Protestants just as little as thieves and robbers, and both should be borne with only so long as he could not eradicate them. Such is the tender mercy of Popish priests.

Œdenberg we find at this time Matthew Lany was ordained, and in a neighboring village called Horkaw, Christopher Sobitsh, who was afterwards a distinguished superintendent. He preached his first sermon in the church of St. Michaels, which at that time belonged to the Lutherans, and had been just embellished with a new altar and organ. At this time also lived the superintendent, George Lany, who presided at a synod held on the 10th of June, 1652, at which it was resolved that not only the superintendents should have a right to propose a new superintendent, but also the nobles, and even the citizens.

The evangelical church at Presburg manifested at this time considerable activity and zeal. They built a new church for the Hungarians and Slovaken, where Daniel Abrahamides preached to a crowded house ;* but within twenty years, this church, which lies behind the Franciscan garden, became the property of the nuns of St. Ursula.

A few years after, they built a magnificent gymnasium of four stories high, where the rector, Böhm, who was afterwards pastor, labored with great success among the youth. Andrew Segner, at that time inspector of the Protestant church, had a medal struck commemorative of the opening of the institution ; on the one side was the Trojan horse, and on the other, St. Andrew's day, 1656. In Neusohl, Schemnitz, Modena, and Eperjes, where Samuel Dirner was laboring with much acceptance, from the year 1650, — in all these places were very prosperous schools, chiefly under the guidance of foreigners, or of those who had studied at foreign universities.

While the Protestants in Hungary were thus enjoying a little ease, the Jesuits had, with great cunning, transplanted themselves into Transylvania. In this land, where the Protestant Church had now stood for a considerable time under

* Ribinyi, Memorab. Tom. I. p. 493.

the protection of Protestant princes, it had gained some degree of stability; the arrogance of the Popish Church was considerably restrained, and the Jesuits were strictly forbidden to reside there. These men, however, found ways and means to obtain an entrance. To appear in their own dress would have been the sure way to have themselves banished; they therefore assumed the ordinary clerical habit, and lived apart in the houses of Popish nobles who were friendly to them. Unobserved, they thus carried on their old work.*

To their sorrow they discovered that prince George Rákotzy II. was quite too decided in his adherence to the Reformed Church to look quietly on and leave them to themselves. He had just discovered that they had gained an unbounded influence over his mother-in-law, a zealous Roman Catholic from Poland, as also over his wife Sophie Bathory, and that they were beginning to influence his son, a youth of seven years. He, therefore, in the first place, got a list of all the Jesuits in the country, and in the year 1651, made short work of having them removed. Ferdinand III. and the King of Poland wrote to Rákotzy to induce him to allow them to remain; but the states, assembled in June, declared that it was contrary to the law of the land, and they must remove.

Ferdinand had something of more importance to annoy him. Pope Innocent X. had declared his peace with the Swedes at Asnabruck on the 10th of January, 1651, to be a godless transaction, and refused to sanction the bishops whom Ferdinand had appointed.

His second wife, Leopoldina, to whom he had been married only thirteen months, was removed by death; and still more, his hopeful son, whom he had just had crowned at Ratisbon on the 30th of May, 1653, as the King of Rome, under the title of Ferdinand IV., was unexpectedly taken

* Majlath, Vol. IV. p. 270.

from him. On the 9th of July, 1654, the young king died of small-pox in the twenty-first year of his age, to the great distress of the royal family.

With this son many of the father's plans and hopes were also laid in the grave. One scheme, which seemed for a long time to have been arranged, must now be given up. He had intended to abolish the office of palatine, and to govern Hungary by means of a deputy. To this office the archbishop Lippay would have been appointed, who knew much better how to accommodate himself to the court than did the unflinching palatine Paul Pallfy, who, to the great distress of the country, was so soon removed by death. When the king found, however, that his scheme met with such violent opposition at the Diet of Presburg in 1654, he withdrew it, and, after the old custom, proposed two Roman Catholics and two Protestants for the office of palatine. The valiant, prudent, wealthy, and amiable Roman Catholic nobleman, Francis Vesselényi Hadad, was elected.*

Before the Diet proceeded to crown Ferdinand's second son, Leopold, the Protestants attempted once more to bring their complaints forward for consideration, but they were informed that such matters did not now belong to the Diet, but must be settled by commissioners in each county. The miseries of this law they were now doomed to feel, for when the commissioners gave an unjust decision there was no appeal. Only one remedy was open, — they might appeal to the king. Accordingly, on the 16th of March, they laid their case before the king, with a specified register of their complaints and charges, together with the evidence and proofs,

* In his youth he was a Protestant of the Reformed Church, but was induced by Pazmány to turn to the Papists. He distinguished himself in the war against Rákotzy. He took the invincible castle of Murány by falling in love with the beautiful Mary Szecsy, the proprietress, and, having gained her heart, he soon gained the castle too; it was handed over to him after the marriage. From this time forward he made great progress in amassing wealth and obtaining posts of honor, till at last he became palatine.

and begged relief. Churches, it seemed, had been once more taken from them, pastors and schoolmasters had been banished and their incomes confiscated, in spite of the laws of the land; the proprietors had obstinately refused building-ground for new churches and schools. After several weeks they received a reply, stating, that when the Diet should be closed, he would then examine into the matters mentioned. Another petition to the king met with as little attention, and, in the mean time, the Diet decided that all confessional quarrels and complaints should be settled immediately after the Diet.

The Jesuits had as yet no permission to acquire landed property, but the king promised to use his influence that they might obtain the same privileges as other clergy. Accordingly, in the following year, under the advice and with the aid of Archbishop Losy, they built themselves an institution in Eödenberg.*

Shortly after the coronation of his third wife, and also of his second son Leopold to be King of Hungary, on the 27th of June, 1655, the Diet came to a close. There was, however, just now very little calculated to comfort the king. The Turks, under the guidance of their wild borderers, burned the villages and carried away prisoners before the treaty had come to an end, and it was with great difficulty that they could be quieted. There was also a very serious war breaking out between Casimir of Poland and Charles Gustavus of Sweden, who had been Duke of Zweibrücken, and Rákotzy II. of Transylvania was just about to join the latter. Being on his way to join the Swedes, Ferdinand could only raise a weak detachment to prevent him. Such circumstances, in the very bloom of life of the king, might well tend to embitter his lot.

Besides all this came another circumstance which was to him fatal. Close to the room which he occupied on the 2d

* Eödenberg Denkwürdigkeiten MS.

of April, 1657, there broke out a fire, and the king, who was at the time sick, would not suffer himself to be carried out till he saw the young prince Ferdinand, then three months old, first made safe. A servant seized the cradle, but in the haste ran against the wall and broke it, while he and the child tumbled together on the ground. The king survived the shock only a few hours.

If it cannot be denied that Ferdinand III. was decidedly opposed to the Protestants, and very strictly attached to his own Church and to the Jesuits who had instructed him, still we have had abundant evidence that he knew how to distinguish between the pretensions of the priests and the substance of religion, and in intellectual and moral powers very far surpassed his father. His love of justice was so great, that he often caused the judicial decisions which were favorable to his chamber to be again examined, and he often sat in the court of justice trying to do his utmost to favor the accused party. It was with much hesitation and after long delay that he usually signed the sentence of death, and in his whole reign he remained true to his motto, "The fear of God, and Justice."

Had he not been educated by the Jesuits, had he been able to withdraw himself from the all-powerful influence of the clergy, or had he lived in more peaceful times, the respect which even the enemies were obliged to show him, would have risen to admiration, and have grown to such a love that he might justly have been regarded as father of his country. This name was afterwards given to his successor Leopold, who for half a century ruled over Hungary for weal and woe. In how far he deserved this title history will show, when we consider how he treated the Protestants, to whom he had sworn to show the same regard as to the Papists.

LEOPOLD I., 1657 - 1705.

CHAPTER X.

1657 - 1670.

Leopold's Education. — He favors the Jesuits. — The Synod at Tyrnau. — Hungarian Diets, and Grievances of the Protestants. — The Diet of 1662. — The Protestant Deputies demand back the Churches and Schools. — Petitions to the King. — Specification of the Persecutors. — Persecution in Transylvania. — More Petitions. — The Protestant Deputies leave the Diet. — Its Close.

WITH Leopold's reign begins the golden age of the Jesuits on the one side, and the gradual progressive decay of the Protestant Church on the other. Intended by his father, Ferdinand III., to be Bishop of Passau, and till the death of his brother Ferdinand receiving an education suitable to such expectations, he ascended the throne in his seventeenth year. His uncle, Leopold William, Bishop of Passau, guided the affairs of the kingdom for some time, till they went into the hands of John Ferdinand Portia and Wenzel Lobkowitz, both of whom stood as much under the influence of the Jesuits as did their monarch.

The king had received such an education, and was endowed with such dispositions, as might have been an honor to a bishop, but were very prejudicial to a king. His attention to trifles; his indolence in comprehending and resolving, and his delay in carrying out his resolves; his cold and heartless disposition, and his blind adherence to the forms of the Romish Church, which he could not distinguish from the

religion of Jesus, promised him little happiness in the government of such a land as Hungary, and such a people as the Hungarians.

The Jesuits now became arrogant, and, uniting with the nobles of their own party, despised the laws of the land, and trampled on the constitution whenever the benefits of their religion demanded it. Thus, Archbishop Lippay held a synod at Tyrnau, on the 2d of June, 1658, which was numerously attended. The resolutions were at first kept secret, and afterwards an attempt was made to deny them, but their tendency was to annihilate the conditions of the Peace of Vienna and Linz.*

As the king summoned a Diet to Presburg in June, 1659, and the Protestants came forward with all the complaints which had been heaped up during four years, he felt himself in great difficulty, for the grand vizier, Kiuprili, was approaching with great force, and had devoted nearly a hundred thousand Transylvanians to death and imprisonment. But the Protestants ceased to urge their complaints so soon as the king and the Archbishop of Grán pointed to the imminent danger, and promised immediately after the Diet to hold a full and impartial investigation. The palatine informed the heads of counties of the king's wish, and the people were satisfied with seeing the contract which the king had signed on his coronation entered among the laws of the land, although the first article of the Peace of Vienna, of 1608, contrary to the usual practice on such occasions, was not included.

The Protestants must soon bitterly repent this generosity, for the period up till the next Diet was three years, and these were memorable as days of bitter persecution and wrong. Thrice had they been publicly deceived, openly before the whole country, in the years 1649, 1655, and now in 1659.

* Engel, L. II. Vol. V. p. 5.

The fourth time, however, should not be a repetition of the same. The representatives of the counties, therefore, received, on their election to the next Diet, the strictest orders not to enter into any other matters till the religious complaints were completely settled, and the Protestants had obtained all their wish. As they then could not immediately succeed at the Diet, they approached the king, on the 5th of June, with a petition which one cannot even now read without sorrow and shame.* The deputies of thirteen counties brought the bitterest charges against those "who had by violence now for many years habitually transgressed the laws of the land, and prevented the exercise of that toleration which the law granted." They demanded that the churches and the property which had been forcibly taken away during the last thirteen years, within the bounds of seventeen counties, by fifty-three magnates, prelates, and landholders, should be given back, and especially *the forty churches which during the last three years had been taken away.*† They give the names of their persecutors, and history is bound to transmit them and their deeds to posterity.

The petition to the king, having set forth how the deputy-lieutenants of counties (vice-gespan), being Roman Catholics, had contrived to terrify or to weary the Protestants who came seeking for aid, states further, how, in particular, Prince Paul Esterházy, after obtaining permission from the Pope to marry his brother's daughter, had, during the sitting of the Diet in 1659, endeavored to persuade his people in the county of Edenberg, at Frakno and Eisenstadt, and in the neighborhood of the Neusiedel lake, to become Roman Catholics; and when he did not succeed, how he, immediately after the Diet, sent the dragoons to compel them. By the aid of the dragoons he took away the church of Shattendorf, though it was one

* Hist. Diplom. in Append., p. 106.

† David Lany in Epierisi, 1663; Mica Bury; Hist. Diplom., App. 104.

of the ninety which had been restored in 1647.* Equally illegal was the conduct of Francis Nádasdy, who filled the office of superior judge. He sent Hungarian and Austrian soldiers to abuse the Protestants. As the soldiery came once into the village Babath, the Protestant inhabitants had already escaped. There was now a chase made after them, and every one who could be found was made a Romanist. At St. Nicolas and Great Zinkendorff, the Protestant pastors were banished by the servant of Nádasdy, and the household furniture broken in pieces. The Jesuits compelled the country people in crowds to join the Popish communion. As the wife of Stephen Kovacs positively refused, two oxen were taken from her husband as a punishment for her obstinacy, and they did not cease to annoy till she also entered the Roman Catholic Church. In the village of Szill, the same count sent a servant, Peter Landor, with an armed force, to demand the keys of the church. Having, after some time, obtained them, he had the bells rung to summon all into the church, as if for worship, and then, in spite of all the weeping and mourning, directed a Roman Catholic priest to administer the Lord's Supper to all present.

In 1651 the same Count Nádasdy directed the keeper of the forests to watch for the Protestants who went from Borgois to the neighboring Protestant church in Nemesker, and when they were returning they were robbed of their clothes, and sent home naked. In his property in Eedenberg, Eisenberg, and Neutra, he had more or less annoyed about two hundred Protestant churches, for which feats he became the darling of the Jesuits at the court of Vienna. But they either could not, or would not, shortly after, save him from the scaffold. When he had mounted the scaffold, he is reported to have said, "The Lord is just in all his ways,"

* At present there is not a single Protestant in the village. Eisenstadt, the residence of the prince, and Forstenau, are also completely Popish.

which the Protestants understood as an expression of repentance for his desertion of the faith of his youth ; the Papists, however, understood it as a consent to the justice of the punishment he was about to receive for his rebellion.*

In Eisenberg county, and in the village of Wippendorf, Count George Erdödy not only turned the Protestant pastor out of his house in the dead of winter, and threw his household furniture on the streets, but he also made up a list of the Protestants on the estate, and informed them that unless they turned to the Popish Church, they should be all banished, and none should take with him more than four florins for his journey. As this threatening did not produce the desired effect, he billeted on them the soldiers of Wallachia, — the European Indians ; and in cases where that was not sufficient, he imprisoned them in his castle, till, worn and weary, they could resist no longer, and fell a prey to the Church. It is so much easier, in an hour of enthusiasm, to make great sacrifices and endure much suffering, than to resist the long-continued vexations which weary the spirit and drive to the performance of actions which the heart abhors ; we therefore have need of the daily prayer, “O Lord, strengthen our faith.” If the Lord do not keep the fire burning within us, it must soon expire.

With cunning calculation the Jesuits carried on their work. In the village Neusiedel, in the county of the Wieselburg, the landlords John and George Lippay ordered all the Protestants to attend the Church of Rome, and fined them in forty florins for every neglect. Protestant widows were not suffered to marry again. At funerals no hymn or psalm dared to be sung. The Protestants could hold no public office, and those who were already in office were dismissed. The pastor of a neighboring village, Gols, was threatened with death if he should venture to show himself at Neusiedel.

* Joann. Béthlén con. ejus ætatis 1670.

In Raab the corporate trades admitted no more Protestants, so that, without forsaking their religion, they could not become carpenters, or shoemakers, or tailors, or cloth-workers, or enter any guild. Archbishop Lippay, very shortly before his death, ejected all the Protestants from the village Balvány-Szakalos, and filled up their place with Romanists. In Apáczu-Szakalos, the Presburg nuns, as proprietresses, forbade the exercise of Protestant worship, and threatened heavy punishments on those who attended the preaching of the Gospel.

In the county of Trentshin, Count Francis Revay adopted similar measures in Irnowv, Vissnyowo, and Bissitz. In the same county, the Jesuits took possession of the chapels of ease at Liborza and Szamarosz, which belonged to the Protestant congregation at Nemsowa and Trentshin, and compelled them to join the Romanists. In like manner, in the village Piecho, they threw the principal inhabitants for five weeks into prison in the Abbey of Skalka. The Bishop of Neutra, who was also imperial chancellor, George Szelepcsényi, imprisoned the Protestants in Telso-Drietowa, in Dobrastow, and Isselnik, till they abjured their faith. In like manner did the widow of Paul Serenyi oblige the Protestants of Zablatz and Riba to separate from the church at Trentshin. The brothers, George and Gabriel Illesházy, whose evangelical father died in 1648, had their day of persecution; but it did not continue long, for George died in poverty in Moravia, and Gabriel, after tasting of the sweets of persecution for nearly a year, and regaling himself with the tears and sighing of the afflicted, could resist the entreaties of his wife and the powerful representations of her chaplain, Stephen Pilarick, no longer, but turned back to the evangelical church, and remained faithful till death.

It was this same Stephen Pilarick who had been turned out of Beczko by a military escort sent from Count Francis Nádasdy, and all his books had been brought to the castle of

Cseithe; the count here ordered a fire to be made in the castle, and all the property and books of the pastor, with the exception of his official gown, to be thrown into the fire; the Bible was put on a spit and turned round before the fire, while he and some of his court stood by enjoying the spectacle. By some sudden blast several leaves of the Bible were blown about in the hall, and one was driven directly towards the count's breast; Baron Ladislaus Revay caught at it, but it was seized out of his hand by the count, who began to read. It happened to be a portion of the fortieth chapter of Isaiah, and the first words he read were these, "The grass withereth, the flower fadeth, but the word of our God shall stand for ever." The Count Nádasdy, turning pale, rose immediately and retired, and, when he was leaving the hall, the court fool cried after him, "How shall you feel, Sir Count, when the Devils are roasting you on a spit in hell?" *

In Wartberg, Felső-Szeli, Nagyszegh, Vesekeny, and Mishdorf, the churches were taken away about the same time. In the last mentioned the soldiers broke into the church, with drawn swords, during the time of divine service; they barricaded the doors till the mass was celebrated, and thus was the congregation "made Catholic," — mass had been read in their presence, and, therefore, the church and the congregation belonged to the Papists. Such was the reasoning, and it followed, as a matter of course, that the Protestant pastor was no more required. What matter did it make if he was sick? The best treatment was to throw him out on the streets!

In Neustadt, on the Waag, the church which the Protestants had built was destroyed to the very foundation; the organ and the bells were carried away to the prior; the monuments on the graves were shattered. In the county of

* Mica Bury MS.

Neutra, the churches of Great Kosstolan, Portole, Csáthe, Verbo, Brezova, Mijawah, Vagyoes, Kraine, Botfalu, Krusso, and Bari, were handed over to the Papists, who compelled the worshippers to take the wafer, while the evangelical preachers were all banished. On this occasion, in Mijawah, it occurred that a peasant cried out in the church, "I swear by the living God, that if you thrust the wafer into my mouth, I will bite off your fingers." *

In Baimocs, Francisca Kayn, the widow of Palatine Pallfy, drove the superintendent, Martin Tarnoczy, out of Privigy; George Graff and his assistant, Philipp Köberling, from Nemet Proua; the rector, Andrew Zaskalik, from Koss; Martin Novak and Andrew Reichel, from Gaydel; and took away, besides, the churches in which these men labored, and many others.

In Szerdahely, on the Waag, the Jesuits took the church, school-house, and manse, for their own use; turned the pastor and his family out of doors; and though the pastor's wife was sick, yet they were not allowed to remain a single night in their own house, nor in the village.

In Deaki, the Arch-abbot of St. Martensbrag, Andrew Placidus, ordered the Protestant preacher to be whipped and turned out of his dwelling, and then oppressed the people till they showed no more resistance.

In Sellye, a company of Papists with flags and drums appeared before the dwelling of George Rassotis, the pastor; dragged him, with all that he had, over the borders of the county; destroyed the church which the Protestants had built for themselves; billeted a hundred soldiers on the evangelical inhabitants, to prepare them for receiving the Romish ceremonies; and stole the three hundred dollars which the wife of Rákotzy the elder had given them, and which was at that time in the hands of the pastor. The church at Ho-

* Mica Bury MS.

lith was, by order of the Bishop of Vespriin and Count Adam Czobor, levelled to the very ground.

We proceed to extract from this petition to the king. It goes on to say: "In the county of Gömör, Nicolas Andrassy and George Lippay were the most furious persecutors. The former banished the preachers from Olah, Patak, and Bethler, and put Popish priests in their places; the latter did the same in Pelsocs, Czetnek, and Rossnobanya, and in the villages Berzetin, Also-Sajo, Gatzalfalva, and Ochтина; he allowed the emoluments of the preachers to be taken away; the tithes were taken from them, and any grain which they had in store the archbishop applied to his own use."*

Similar scenes of cruelty occurred also in Transylvania, and in that part of Hungary which was chiefly connected with the Reformed Church, and which under Rákotzy had enjoyed such days of glorious peace. So soon as Rákotzy died of his wounds, in 1660, his widow, Sophie Bathory, declared that she had joined the Reformed Church only in outward appearance, and had remained ever faithful to Rome. In spite of the father's care, she had trained her son Francis to be a Papist, and now all the Protestant subjects were placed at the mercy of the priests.†

She took away the churches of the Reformed congregations by force, drew the schools and their revenues to herself, and availing herself of her feudal rights, she converted her subjects to the Popish communion by the powerful *argumentum ad baculum*.‡ A terrible storm was gathering, and was for the present averted by Rákotzy's brother-in-law restoring much of what had been taken violently away, putting a stop to further injustice, paying a thousand ducats for damage already done, and promising redress at the approaching Diet.

* Acts of the Diet, 1662. Hist. Diplom. C. in Appendix, p. 104.

† Karalyi, Munor. Eccl. Tom. II. p. 261.

‡ Verbis et Verberibus, Hist. Diplom. App., pp. 120 - 123; Instancia ad Leopold, 1662.

This Diet had now assembled, and the cry of the Protestants was sufficiently loud. Their complaints were specific, and supported by evidence, so that they had the firmest confidence that Leopold would afford assistance. Not till the 11th of June did the king give any reply, and then, through the minister, Prince Portia, informed the petitioners that "they should not annoy the king with such complaints at the Diet, there was something more important to be done; and for all these complaints in matters of religion, the law had already made full provision, and appointed the proper punishment for each transgression."

The astonished and distressed Protestants did not think that they ought to allow the matter to rest. Accordingly, on the following day they presented, through Ezekiel Görgey, a petition, couched in strong language, but breathing loyalty and submission. They beg that the matter may not be regarded as a private affair. They quote the Treaty of Linz, and refer to the fact that not a single legal sentence has been pronounced against any of their persecutors, even when notoriously guilty; and still more, if a sentence were pronounced, no one could be found to execute it. The Bishop of Neutra had carried his rage for making proselytes so far, that if any one joined the Popish Church, he should be entirely free from taxes for ten full years. He had threatened the magnates, who were less severe against the Protestants, with punishment, and, only a few days before, had again arrested a preacher, who had been set free from prison, and had thrown him into chains. When some parties applied in his favor, the bishop informed them they were pleading in favor of a robber! Count George Illyesházy had thrown John Vitzran-switz, a Gospel minister, into a prison in Moravia in another county, and, notwithstanding the command of the palatine, had refused to let him go free.

On the 4th of July, consequently, after three full weeks, there came a sealed paper out of the king's cabinet with the

following address: "To the faithful members of the evangelical confession assembled at the Diet."

As the palatine, Vesselényi, handed over the paper to the Protestants, he made the manly and noble confession, "I had rather that the funeral-knell had tolled over me, than live to see this day; may the day and the hour be covered with eternal darkness." *

When the Protestants saw that they were about to be deprived of their political rights, they handed back the paper to the chancellor without opening it, till such time as the address should be corrected. When the paper was opened, it was discovered that they had gained nothing. They begged an audience of the king, and on the 8th of July, appearing at the foot of the throne, George Berenyi handed in their third appeal for redress.

Here they recount all the ills borne since 1659, and accuse the supreme judge of the land, Francis Nádasdy, and Bishop George Szelepcsényi of injustice and cruelty. It did not occur to them to suppose that the king had ordered all these acts, still they were done in the king's name and the Diet was no court of appeal, for the Protestants were deprived of all legal means of entering the court. The king should also bear in mind, that, though the Diet consists of four factors, still, in religious matters, only of two,—the Protestants and Roman Catholics. All was of no avail. And not only so, but even while the Diet was still sitting, Nicolas Mailath, the director of the royal domains, ventured to prohibit the Protestants of Presburg from building a church-spire, and attempted to exclude them from the use of the bells.

On the 14th of July, Portia gave a verbal reply to the deputies, informing them "it was not in the power of his Majesty to arrange this disputed point, and to settle these misunderstandings, otherwise than had been already done; and his

* Fessler, Vol. IX. p. 110.

Majesty advises them to give over these private matters, and turn their attention to the public affairs of the state."

Their patience was not yet exhausted, and on the 24th of July they presented, through George Berenyi, their fourth memorial, renewing their former requests. As an attempt was now made to divide the Protestant interests, the Protestant deputies held a meeting, resolving, in the spirit of the instructions given at the election, to enter on no other business till this was settled. They therefore resolved to approach the king for the last time.

On the 31st of July the memorial was read over in a full meeting, and on the 2d of August they had an audience with his Majesty. Among those who appeared before the king, were Andrew Székely, John Osslik, Balik, Féja, and Splényi. Leopold read the petition, and replied immediately, "Your good wishes for our prosperity we gratefully accept. While we have already given our reply to your alleged grievances through our minister Portia, we had hoped you would have been satisfied, and have turned your attention to public business; and even now we expect still from you, that you immediately proceed to consider the affairs of the state, and you shall always find us prepared to pay every due attention to your wishes."

Eight days after, the Protestant deputies received a written reply of the very same import, and, still unwearied, they approached the heartless Leopold once more, being now the sixth time. Through his Jesuitical principles, he remained, however, perfectly unmoved: they received the same answer.

In sorrow they now met together to consult over the state of the Church, the result of which was, that they sent a deputation to the palatine, to request that he might intercede for them with the king, and they then waited in patience till the 24th of August. When it appeared that the palatine was doing nothing, another meeting was summoned, at which many Roman Catholics attended, and the resolution was

adopted to leave the Diet. A large deputation, including the Roman Catholics, John Ebesky, Francis Czesery, and Nicolas Michalek, and the Protestant deputies of the towns of Cedenberg, Eperjes, and Trentshin, communicated this resolution to the astonished palatine, Vesselényi, who begged them not to take this step, and he would do his utmost in their favor. They waited patiently till the 29th. The palatine now brought them the information that the king would not alter his decision; he was, however, ready to give them every assistance in obtaining justice, but he must refuse them permission to leave the Diet. Such a mockery of their rights was not to be borne, and on the 1st of September they communicated to the palatine their firm resolution to leave on the following day.

Vesselényi begged them by all the *seven sacraments* to change their resolution; but they replied that they had begged, *for the sake of the mercy of God, and for the sake of the blood of Jesus shed on the cross*, that their Church should be protected from injustice, and yet all in vain; and now the *seven sacraments* were not likely to alter their decision.

In vain were now the threatenings of Nicolas Mailath; in vain did he follow single deputies to their homes. Early on the morning of the 2d of September, the Protestant deputies left Presburg. It was a decisive step, but their patience had been sorely tried, and there remained nothing else to do. The palatine sent his attorney-general, Dukovitz, to call them back, — but it was too late.

The deputies who remained continued their deliberations, and on the 19th of September the Diet was closed. The Fifty-five Articles received the royal sanction, but the committee of the thirteen counties of Upper Hungary, assembled at Zemplin, sent them back again to the king with the remark, "that these resolutions were of no avail while the Protestant States had not consented to them." The priests

replied that, in this case, all the treaties which had been made with the Protestants, and all the statutes by which the Protestants had obtained exemption from the original penal decrees, were equally powerless, for the Popish clergy had protested against them all. The force of this argument disappears, when it is considered that these latter decrees were all made in the ordinary course of debate in a full assembly; that the priests generally gave in their protest when they knew there was no danger; and between the priests, as a caste, and the Protestant States, as such, there was a very marked difference.

CHAPTER XI.

Effect of the Departure of the Protestant Deputies on the Patriots. — Their Dissatisfaction. — Diet of Neusohl. — Leopold and the Divan. — Attempt to poison the King. — The Procurator of the Jesuits disappears. — Paris von Spantkaw. — Imprisonments. — The Malcontents in Kashaw. — Assembly at Neusohl. — Trial and Punishment of the Insurgents. — Nicolas Drabicius. — Renewed Persecutions. — Presburg. — Its banished Clergy. — A New Insurrection crushed. — Persecution still continues. — The Archbishop resigns his Viceroyalty.

THE step which the Protestant deputies had taken was one to which they were compelled ; as conscientious men, having received instructions at their election, they could not act otherwise. And perhaps the patriots saw with pleasure the breach which was taking place between the country and the court, for the oppression of the German soldiers who were billeted on the country was so heavy, that the Hungarians gladly sought opportunity of being freed from them.

On the 24th of August there had been a deputation sent to the palatine, to demand from the king the removal of the German troops. No request could have been less welcome to Leopold. By promises and by the arts of the privy council he managed to decline granting the request, and the threatening position which the Turks had taken up furnished him with sufficient pretext.

It was, therefore, not only the Protestants, but also the patriotic Hungarians who had left the Diet with discontent ; and their dissatisfaction soon rose to wrath when they saw Leopold supported by John Kemény in the war with the Turkish *protégé*, Apaffy, — reducing the country to the very brink of destruction ; but their indignation knew no bounds, when,

after the defeat of the Turks at St. Gothard, in 1664, a peace was concluded by Portia, without the knowledge or coöperation of the Hungarians, in such terms as to bring disgrace and misfortune on the country.

Many formed the resolution to shake off the Austrian yoke. In the mean time came the Diet of Neusohl in 1667, and here, instead of seeking a legitimate pacification of the country, Leopold was closely occupied with the councillors, and especially with Leslie, a Roman Catholic nobleman who had been banished out of Scotland, in persuading the Divan to withdraw its protection from Apaffy, the Calvinistic Prince of Transylvania, and to put in his place Francis Rákotzy, who was now become Roman Catholic.*

The courtiers at Vienna had said that the Hungarians must have the heron's feathers plucked off, their gold and silver buttons changed to lead, be dressed in the Bohemian coat,† and have their pride humbled; and, as usual, this was repeated again in the hearing of those whom it concerned.

When, therefore, contrary to all constitutional rights and customs, at the Diet of Neusohl, two foreign counts, Rothsals and Heister, holding a commission in the imperial army, presumed to take the precedence, the palatine and the Hungarian magnates were so much offended, that the foundation was laid for a conspiracy to rebellion, which shortly broke out.

The leaders in this conspiracy, were the palatine, Vesselényi, who, however, soon died; Count Francis Nádasdy, Nicolas and Peter Zwinyi, Francis Rákotzy, and Botskay, who were well known as the bitterest persecutors of the Protestants; and yet many of the latter joined the plot too. When now that attempt was made to poison Leopold, and it was only Francis Barri, a knight of Milan, who informed the king and saved him from certain death, though the whole

* John Béthlén, C. C., p. 259.

† A coarse homespun dress.

transaction is enveloped in mystery, yet the Jesuits took the opportunity of turning it to account for the sake of persecuting the Protestants. After casting the deliverer of the king into prison for life, because he was supposed to entertain heretical opinions, and after causing the procurator of the Jesuits — who was deeply involved in the poisoning affair — to *disappear so as never to be again heard of*, they sent Paris Spantkaw to Leutshaw, as commander-in-chief or military governor of the thirteen counties of Upper Hungary. He threw many of the Hungarians into prison, especially Protestant pastors, but the leaders of the conspiracy had fled, partly with Botskay to Marmaros, and partly to Apaffy in Transylvania.

The bitterest persecution now began. The evidence which proved any one to be a Protestant, was reckoned sufficient to prove him also to be a rebel.* As the design was to root out the Protestant religion, it was found particularly desirable to make attacks on the churches and school-houses. The pretence under which these sworn foes of Protestantism took possession of the church of Schemnitz, throws some light on their proceedings. The daughter of Julius Lansee, a member of the Protestant Church, had formed an attachment to a clerk in the mines, of the name of Glantshick, a Roman Catholic, but her parents, friends, and pastor, opposed the match. The Jesuits laid an accusation against the friends of the bride before the Senate of Schemnitz; and the evangelical pastors, John Nindish, Godfrey Titius, Christopher Hofstetter, and Isaiah Pilarik, were summoned before the archbishop, Szelepcsényi, to Tyrnau, to answer the charges. As the court was incompetent to summon or to deal with Protestant pastors, who were completely independent of the bishop, they did not appear, and were accordingly heavily fined.† As they showed no inclination to pay the fine, the

* Fessler, Vol. IX.

† Mica Bury MS.

archbishop seized the church, with all that belonged to it, and, surrounding it with cannon, he handed it over to the Roman Catholics.*

The excitement still continued in Hungary, but the prospects were becoming gradually darker. Count Francis Vesselényi, who had remained faithful to his king till 1665, and who then, by the persuasions of his ambitious wife, had become the leader of the conspiracy against Leopold, died in 1667; and Lippay had died in January, 1666. Notwithstanding the great hatred which the latter bore to Protestantism, he had sufficient patriotism to protest against Leopold's measures with such earnestness as to lose the royal favor. Another great loss to Hungary, was the death of Nicolas Zwinyi, who met with his death from a wounded boar while hunting.

Count Peter Zwinyi now took the place of the palatine, as leader of the malcontents. He was a man of unbounded ambition, but without talent or firmness sufficient to fill that dangerous post, and little confidence could be placed in his wisdom. Still less worthy of confidence was Prince Francis Rákotzy, a man who regarded every religion with equal indifference. And if he, by his imprudence and fickleness, injured the cause which he joined, still more did his brother-in-law, Francis Frangepani, by his inordinate passions. Count Francis Nádasdy, the Hungarian Cræsus, was also on the side of the malcontents, but his position was not very well understood, as he still showed himself such a friend of half measures. Count Erasmus Tattenbach, governor of Styria, was gained over to the Murány League by his wife, the Countess Forgács, and having received promises of lands, he advanced the cause in secret.

* This transaction occurred on the 15th of February, 1669, consequently before the capture of the Castle of Murány. As they had then no plea on account of the conspiracy, they adopted this plea of marriage to take away the church.

The malcontents had been treating with the Prince of Transylvania, with the grand vizier, who was then busy in Candia, and directly with the Divan, long before Leopold dreamt of any danger, and while he was still reckoning Zwinyi and Nádasdy among his faithful adherents. At length Panajot, the interpreter of the grand vizier, on the 12th of June, 1667, informed the Cabinet of Vienna of the plot, without, however, being able to name the conspirators.

Leopold was terrified, and resolved to try milder measures. He promised to summon a Diet; he entered into treaty with the Prince of Transylvania; he summoned a meeting in March, 1670, at Neusohl, of such as possessed his confidence, to examine the state of the country, and relieve it, if possible, from political and religious oppression. Among his deputies were the Archbishop of Grán, Tzelep-csényi, Nádasdy, Zichy, and Count Adam Forgács. Partly because their instructions were insufficient, partly because they had no mutual confidence, little progress was made.

Just at this time the Court obtained unexpectedly the desired information respecting the whole plot. In the year 1670, Charles of Lotringia surrounded the Castle of Murány, which he regarded as the centre of the conspiracy, and the widow of Vesselényi, who now lost all courage, surrendered herself and her papers into his hands, to be dealt with according to the mercy of the sovereign. The countess was brought to Vienna under arrest, but treated as became her rank, while Peter Zwinyi and Frangepani broke out immediately into open hostilities in Croatia, and Francis Rákotzy in Upper Hungary.*

Now came the misfortunes. Count Tattenbach was betrayed by a servant whom he had delivered over to be punished for theft. Zwinyi and Frangepani, who had been surrounded by General Spantkaw, escaped, and being betrayed

* John of Hormaye, Hist. of Vienna, Vol. IV., Part III. p. 125.

by John Kery, at whose house they stopped, they were imprisoned in the new town of Vienna. Francis Nádasdy was taken out of his castle Pottendorf, on the borders of Hungary, in the night of the 3d of September, and conveyed to the Landhaus of Vienna. Tokolyi was besieged by General Heister, in his castle of Arva, and died during the siege, so that, on the surrender, only his three daughters were found, who were taken to Vienna, and made Papists. The son, dressed as a peasant girl, escaped to Transylvania. Count Francis Csáky died a natural death towards the close of the year.

The trial of the prisoners then began. Contrary to the coronation oath, the king chose exclusively foreigners to be judges, and not a single Hungarian, in this very weighty cause.* On the 30th day of March, 1671, the trial was ended, and on the 30th of April Nádasdy was executed. His body was preserved in Lockenhaus, in Eisenberg county, where it lies to this day, with the beard and hair of the head in full preservation. Four millions of florins were found in his castle, in hard coin. Zwinyi and Frangepani died at the same time, on another scaffold, but not till after the rope had broken twice. Tattenbach was not executed till December. All the property was confiscated, and the king ordered two thousand masses to be read for their souls, *out of the proceeds of the confiscated property.*

None but the young Rákotzy escaped. He had fled to Transylvania, and his mother paid well for the mercy which she obtained. She sent to the cabinet forty-five thousand florins, and large sums to private parties about court; the Jesuits obtained a splendid gymnasium in Kashaw, and many of Rákotzy's best castles were handed over to German troops.

Many of the nobility were involved in this conspiracy, and

* Engel, Vol. V. p. 63 ; Fessler, l. c. Vol. IX. p. 197.

there was a special court of assize held at Presburg to have them tried. In this court, the archbishop as governor, Count Rottel as president, General Heister, and other noblemen who were completely submissive to the king, acted as judges. It was here resolved to confiscate the property of Vesselényi, Csáky, Tokolyi, Michael Bori, Stephen Vittnyédi, and Andrew Dobay. Some of these escaped to Transylvania or Poland.* Still, about three hundred, chiefly Protestant nobles, were brought to trial, and condemned to different punishments, some to death.† In Presburg alone there were thirty-five distinguished men brought to trial, and some of them died on the scaffold. Among these were Nagy of Fuged, and Francis Bonis of Toleswa, who, in the hope of obtaining favor through the Jesuits, sold their faith, and were then left by these promise-breakers to meet their fate.

One of the most painful scenes was the execution of an old man of eighty-four years, whose case we must here notice more minutely. On the 4th of July, 1671, in the 878th sitting of the court, the case of Nicolas Drabik or Drabicius was called. He was a native of Moravia, and in consequence of the persecutions in 1629, he had fled to Hungary. He belonged to the Moravian Brethren, and had with difficulty supported himself by dealing, in a small way, in woollen wares: he still cherished the hope of returning to close his days in his native land. *Entirely destitute of learning*, and knowing no other than the Bohemian language, he fancied himself enlightened by the Spirit of God to see into futurity, and he wrote a book full of prophecies of ill against the house of Austria.‡ He called the two Ferdinands and Leopold covenant-breakers; the house of Austria the house

* Engel, l. c. Vol. V. p. 67.

† Wreisburg Kirch ü. Vihül. snwl. p. 219, MS.

‡ The book was translated by John Amos Comenius, out of the original Bohemian into Latin, and was printed at Amsterdam in 1665, in folio, under the title, "*Lux e Tenebris novis radiis aucta.*"

of Ahab, a cruel, perjured house, which ought to be rooted out; he prophesied to the Catholics a speedy and utter desolation.

This man was brought on a cart to be tried before the court at Presburg. In consequence of age he was very weak, but, not at all daunted, he took a seat near the Count Rottel, who understood Bohemian. After a little he had no other place to sit on than the ground.

When the archbishop asked him whether he were the false prophet, he replied that he could not properly be called such. He acknowledged the book *Light out of Darkness* to be his; and when the archbishop asked by whose orders and for what purpose he had written the book, he replied, "At the command of the Holy Spirit." "You lie," said the archbishop, "the book is from the Devil." "In this you lie," said Drabik, unmindful of consequences. The examiners inquired what his belief was, and he repeated the whole Athanasian Creed, asking the bishop at the close, "And what do you believe?" "I believe all that, and a great deal more which is also necessary." "You don't believe any such thing," said Drabicius; "you believe in your cows and horses and your estates."

On the 16th of July he was executed. His right hand was first to be cut off, then his head; the tongue was to be taken out and nailed to a post, and his writings burned in the market-place together with his body. Some say that the tongue was torn out while he was still alive.

The Jesuits boast that they succeeded in converting him before his death. The real state of the case, however, was this. After many attempts had been made in vain to shake the old man's faith, at length the Jesuit Peter Kubey or Kubmey succeeded in gaining his confidence so far, that in a moment of weakness he yielded, and on the 4th of July did actually join the Popish Church. What prevailed with him seems to have been the promise of liberty; *he should be set*

completely at liberty, said the Jesuit pater, and should have a conveyance to take him back to his native land to die there in peace. So soon as he discovered that he had been deceived, the vile deed that he had committed stood in all its horror before him, he was deeply ashamed of his cowardice, and exclaimed, that he would die in the faith in which he had lived, and which he had only for a few moments forsaken.

The foes of the Protestants — and after them Lampe and Fessler — represented him as a Protestant pastor. His name stands, however, on none of the lists. It was an invention to blacken the character of the Protestant clergy, and represent the rebellion as proceeding from them, that there might be some pretext for exhibiting the most disagreeable spectacle which the abuse of power, under the name of religion, ever manifested. Respectable and influential men wrote the charges without giving any evidence or having any proofs. Examples may be seen in Francis Wagner, the biographer of Leopold, in Damiani the canon of Waitzen, and lately in the bigoted bishop Alexius Jordansky, as well as the notorious Hohenegger, who sets all historical truth at defiance.

Many Roman Catholics assert that the rebellion arose from taking away the revenues of the Calvinistic College of Sarospatak and of other Protestant preachers. Had it been so, then only the members of that confession should have been punished, but five times as many of the members of the Lutheran Church suffered. And if it was an affair of the clergy, why then should the congregations and the churches be attacked also? Where the punishment is not adapted to the crime, it is tyranny. Where the transgression of civil laws is punished with the deprivation of religious liberty, the civil authorities become then rebels against God, while they usurp a power which the Most High has never delegated to man. Black is the crime and heavy the guilt of the Popish Church in Hungary in this respect. The plan of the Jesuits and their friends was quite clear; they wished to be faithful

to their oath, and accordingly, by any means whatever, utterly extinguish the Protestant Church.

To this end the Prior of Zips, George Barshony, wrote a book entitled *Truth laid before the whole World*, in which he taught that the king was under no obligation to tolerate the Protestant sects. His reasons were, that the Peace of Vienna was made under circumstances which take away all obligations ; that the Protestants had themselves broken the treaty ; that one of the constituent parts of the state, namely, the higher clergy, had not agreed to the terms ; and, lastly, the Lutherans and Calvinists did not hold firm by their original confession.

The Protestants soon answered this work in a satisfactory manner ; but the persecutions went on, and, as the Protestants enjoyed the most protection in the royal free cities, under magistrates chosen by themselves, it was against these cities that the principal efforts were directed.

In Upper Hungary, the Archbishops of Grán and Kalatsha, Szelepcsényi and Szechényi, as also the president of the chamber, Count Leopold Kollonitz, the titular bishops George Barshony and Francis Szegedy, accompanied by Jesuits and dragoons, passed over the land, and wherever they appeared the knell of religious freedom tolled. Thus, in 1671, by the help of General Spantkaw, the bishop took possession of the Protestant Church of Kashaw after breaking the doors, and, on a warrant signed by Count Volkru, the Popish president of the chamber at Zips, the six Protestant clergy, superintendent Michael Liefmann, Adam Kiss, Christian Ekkard, Adam Pitto, Stephen Koszeghy, and George Fisher, were thrown into prison. And this happened notwithstanding that the city Kashaw had, in 1670, readily opened the gates to the imperial troops, and had received the assurance that their liberty of faith and worship should be respected.

In Neusohl, the Scotch Papist and refugee Count Walter Leslie arrived at midnight, on the 18th of November, 1671,

and surrounded the castle, of which the Protestant church was a part, and where the three pastors resided. By the help of ladders he took possession of the church, and sent the German pastors away. On the 2d of February following, the Slavonian church was also seized.

The Archbishop of Grán, as proprietor of Bozok, summoned George Zabonyik, the pastor of the church, who was also superintendent of three counties, Sol, Honte, and Thurutz; and after bringing him to his table and calling him sometimes a heretic and a deceiver, sometimes a worthless person; then changing the tone, promising him great kindness, and calling him a brother, — when all this could not draw him over to Popery, he was handed to a secretary, who was ordered to drive him out of his parish.

Zabonyik died of grief, shortly after, at Karpfen, where Anna Ujfalusy had taken him into her house. A short time previously, had Jeremiah Lucius, pastor of Schemnitz, — whose son we shall soon meet in exile, and who had been twice banished from his parish, — gone to the Father, there to wait till all the brethren who should witness for the truth should also be brought to rest with him under the altar, and to cry, “How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?”

After the churches in Trentshin and those of both confessions in Skalitz had been taken away, the turn came to Tyrnau and Schutt-Somerain on the 16th of January, 1672, where, by orders from Count Pallfy, the clergy of both confessions must immediately leave.

At Bartfeld, on the 20th of April, the Abbot, Stephen Koloovari tried his fortune at this new game; and being successful, he continued his tour, under the pretence of church visitation, so far as Eperjes. Having met with no assistance from Melchior Hutter, the military commander, after two attempts in May and June, he desisted. In his place came the more experienced Szegedy, Bishop of Erlau, who, on

the 6th of July, broke open the door, under the pretext that the church had been built by Roman Catholics. Four Protestant pastors, the college with ten professors, and two churches, were lost to the Protestants, and four hundred students were turned out of the town.

In the counties Barsod, Gömör, Tarna, Saros, Abauivar, and Zemplin, the Archbishop of Kolotsha, supported by German dragoons, travelled round and took possession of the churches, Szanto, Tallya, Mada, Tokay, Keresztur, and Liska. In the two counties of Thurutz and Liptau, in the year 1672, *Captain Lamb* (!), accompanied by Popish priests and soldiers, took possession of above thirty Protestant churches in the course of one year.

Bishop George Barshony took possession of the Protestant churches, Sprendorf, Smegen, Eisdorf, Slagendorf, Mühlenbach, Hunsdorf, St. Andrew's, Great Lomnitz, and Botsdorf, lying in Zips, and he consecrated them to be Popish churches, sending pastors and teachers to beg their bread in the wide world, while he earned and received the highest praise from the Pope and from all his own party. Accompanied by his brother, and followed by some hundreds of wild Croats, thirsting for heretic's blood, he now set out for Neutra. They arrived in July, prepared to visit the strong Protestant congregations of Pritszod, Szenitz, Szobotistye, Turaluku, and Mijava. They did their utmost to obtain possession of the churches, to banish the pastors, and appoint in their place Popish priests, but the inhabitants insisted that the king had given no orders to this effect. As they then proceeded to use force, they met quite unexpectedly with resistance. On the 14th of July, in Mijava, it came to blows. The bishop and his followers began to force their way; the country people, a strong race of men, resisted. The Croats fired, and two peasants fell deadly wounded. The peasants were enraged, and after having shot the brother of the bishop, they attacked himself with flails, and should certainly have killed

him, had not the Protestant pastor, Daniel Kirmann, the father of the distinguished superintendent of that name, rushed in and saved him.

Matters went worse in Szenitz the next year, where Count Valentine Balassa, Count Leopold Kollonitz, and John Majtheni, had, in 1671, in vain attempted to take possession of the church. The pastor was obliged to leave his place, and he found a home and protection at the house of Count Christopher Kollonitz, the nephew of his persecutor, and also with Baron Matthew Ostrosith in St. John's.

In his absence, his library was taken and committed to the flames. After a procession in June, 1673, some Popish nobles and soldiers, encouraged by the revenue officer, Stephen Harváth, attempted to force their way into the Protestant church. The Protestants assembled round the church, and drove them back till they sought for shelter in the dwelling of the Roman Catholic priest. There happened to be a fair in the village that day, and the people, inflamed with drink, crowded closer and closer round the priest's house, out of which the soldiers now began to fire. After one Protestant had been killed, and another deadly wounded, the mob rushed madly on the house, killed Harváth and some of the soldiers, and injured the priest so much that he died in a few days.

The charge of riot was now brought against the Protestants, and two regiments were sent to the town, who, lighting a fire in the market-place, plundered and murdered to their very hearts' content. As the precentor, the organist, and the beadle, were proceeding to ring the alarm bells to summon the inhabitants of the neighboring villages, they were seized, cast into chains, and, by order of the commanding officer, on the following day, 15th of July, 1673, were all hanged. In Tura, Luka, and Miawa, these valorous men cooled their rage by putting some of the country people on the wheel, and impaling others; some they quartered, and

others they hung up by the ribs.* In Szenitz, religious liberty was now completely crushed.

The citizens of Presburg were waiting with anxiety for the fate which they saw awaiting them. On the 3d of February, 1672, the Protestant and Roman Catholic citizens were summoned to the town hall, to hear a paper read which was said to be an order from the king. This decree commanded the Protestants to surrender up their churches to the priests. The Roman Catholic citizens declared themselves ready to obey his Majesty's orders, and accept of the churches. The Protestants refused to surrender the keys, till by a deputation to the king they had learned whether this really were his wish.†

On that very day a deputation went to Vienna, and among them was John Vittnyédi, son of the deceased Stephen Vittnyédi, who had been suspected of taking part in the late conspiracy. As the deputation was crossing the Danube, they were fired on, and soldiers hastening down took them prisoners in Begebsbrunn to bring them back to Presburg. Vittnyédi was declared by Count Nicolas Pallfy to be a rebel, and was detained in prison.

On the 5th of February, four other citizens started for Vienna, and reached it in safety. On the 7th, they obtained an audience of the king and handed in their petition. On the 18th, twenty citizens arrived to complain of fresh injuries, and they presented a second petition. On the 22d, a third petition was presented, and in the mean time every thing was done to urge the delivery of the keys in Presburg. On the 18th of March, the Canon of Presburg, Benedict Szomolanyi, and the town councillor, Stephen Vattay, at-

* See the full account of these transactions by Stephen Pilarik in his *Curru Jehovah Mirabili*.

† The paper was a decree of Ferdinand II., of the year 1636, and the Jesuits were not ashamed to represent it as just now received from the royal chamber.

tempted to enter the school-house by force, but the wives of the citizens hastening to the place, succeeded, by a few hard words and some blows, in driving them away. The story was told in Vienna, that Protestant women had beaten a priest till there was little prospect of his recovery.

This affair of the women was made the ground of a heavy charge. On the 13th of May, the citizens were summoned before the archbishop, and in consequence of this, the twenty-three women, the three pastors, and the deacon, were summoned to Tyrnau on the 23d of May, to give an account before an extraordinary court, of the reasons why they had built the church, why they had taken Vittnyédi under their protection, and why the women had ventured to scold and drive away Szomolanyi and Vattay.

There were in all thirty-nine citizens before thirty-six judges and assessors, whose president was the bigoted Szelep-csényi, Archbishop of Grán. The other judges were either bishops or Popish magnates, with the exception of one Protestant, George Perényi. The sittings lasted till the 13th of June, when the women were dismissed with a sharp reproof. The citizens, who had been kept all this time as prisoners, must await their sentence in the court of the archbishop's palace. The decision was, "That all the Protestant inhabitants of Presburg had been proved and found guilty of treason against his Majesty; that their lives and property were therefore confiscated, and they must immediately deliver up churches and schools to the Papists."

All the citizens of Presburg at that time in Tyrnau were immediately arrested and imprisoned, and among the rest the venerable preacher and senior David Titius, who was obliged to climb on a ladder into a most uncomfortable room, where he was kept a prisoner, under hard treatment, till the 13th of September. After unwearied exertions, and by the intercession of the Elector of Saxony, freedom was at last granted to those citizens whose only offence consisted in not

looking tamely on while their holiest privileges were about to be wrested from them, that they had taken part with a fellow-citizen who *had not yet been proved guilty of crime*, and that they had not, like sheep, borne every injustice without so much as bleating.

A month after the close of the trial at Tyrnau, the persecutors proceeded to take possession of the churches and schools at Presburg. On the 18th of July, the bishop and president of the chamber, Count Leopold Kollonitz, with several clergy and laymen, appeared before the school-house. The Protestant pastors were brought thither, under an escort of fifty soldiers. As the citizens had been strictly commanded to remain in their houses, the pastors saw that all opposition here would be in vain; they accordingly, in obedience to orders, demanded the keys of the church and schools; the church officers, however, refused to give them up till they had received express permission from the citizens and from the congregation. Kollonitz then directed the doors of the school-house to be broken open by a pioneer, and he marched in with thirty-four Popish clergy and his other retinue. In like manner they acted with the German and with the Hungarian church, breaking the door with axe and hammer, and by nine o'clock in the morning they had their whole work and labor of love ended.

Kollonitz then ordered the clergy to be all thrown into prison. Anton Reiser, Valentine Sutorius, the Hungarian preacher Stephen Horetzky, were confined, and the German deacon Christian Piringer was laid in chains, as he had spoken with energy against the surrender of the church.

After administering an oath to them that they should never return, they were allowed to leave the city. But first they were plundered of their books, which were brought in five wagons to the court-house, and each one was permitted to choose only twelve.

Yet the Lord did not forsake these faithful servants in their

exile. Anthony Reiser, a native of Augsburg, well known as an author, became rector and librarian in his native town; he was afterwards made court chaplain by Prince Hohenlohe-Aehringen, and at last first pastor in St. James's Church in Hamburg, where he died in the year 1686, beloved and lamented by many dear friends. Valentine Sutorius, a native of Franconia, was a short time at Coburg, and in his last years was pastor and superintendent in his native country. Christian Piringer became pastor in Laufen, a town in Wurttemberg.

The senior David Titius fared the worst; for, after being set free in Tyrnau, he was not allowed to return, but must wander with his family through Moravia to Breslau. Here the Lord opened the heart of the Princess of Brieg, who provided for him, and he became pastor and superintendent in Wahlaw in Silesia, where he died after a tedious illness in 1679.

The Papists had now taken possession of the Protestant churches without even a shadow of right or of justice. Their own consciences appeared even to awake to the sense of wrong, for it was not till after seven weeks that they ventured to read mass there, and to give the building the appearance of a Popish church, by painting red crosses on the pillars.

In like manner were the Protestants of Karpfen deprived of their beautiful church. A first attempt had been made in a night in June, 1672, but the watchfulness of the citizens prevented the attack from being successful. By means of flails, pitchforks, and scythes, the Protestants drove Count de Souches and his soldiers away from the place, but without any bloodshed. The Croatian Colonel Count Colalto, with five hundred wild Croats, then came, and seizing the keys, by force took possession of the church.

While the cause of the Protestants in Hungary was so low, and while the constitution scarcely existed any more even in

name, the malcontents, who had fled to Turkey and Transylvania, did their utmost to raise troops and money. Apaffy was, however, a man of great indecision, and the Divan thought it necessary for a little longer to keep up the appearance of friendly relations with the Cabinet of Vienna.

Impatient, and in danger if they delayed much longer, a portion of the malcontents, secretly supported by Apaffy, and under the guidance of Stephen Petroczy, Gabriel Keude, Paul Szépeßy, and Matthew Szuhay, broke into Hungary over the stream Szöllös, about the end of August, 1672. They had only five hundred Turks from the Pasha of Grosswardein. The Haiduken soon joined them, and increased their numbers by a few thousands. General Spantkaw was obliged to yield, and the insurgents followed him as far as Kashaw. They were here joined by Michael Teleky of Transylvania, Paul Vesselényi, Nicolas Forgács, and others, to the amount of about twelve hundred cavalry and infantry.

Wherever they came, the Protestants had their churches and schools restored. The College of Eperjes was also received back. They injured their cause, however, very seriously by not resting satisfied with this restoration; they sought out those who had been the most active agents in plundering the churches and schools, and especially the Popish priests, whom they treated very ill.* At Nagy Szöllös, two Franciscans, who shortly before had taken possession of the Reformed church, were thrown naked on a bed of thorns and thistles, and after being sadly abused, they were left apparently dead. The Jesuits and Franciscans in Eperjes were treated as they had themselves treated the Protestant pastors shortly before; the cup of Divine retribution was poured on them in full measure by the hands of a soldiery driven to madness by the inhumanities which these men had inflicted. It was Benedict Seredi who prevented their being murdered.

* Fessler, l. c., Vol. IX. pp. 223, 228.

In Homona, in the county of Zemplin, the insurgents, on the 4th of October, seized and abused the Franciscans, plundered their churches and monasteries, cleaned their guns with the consecrated oil, gave the priests' dress to be worn by the women, and led away the monks in chains to Nagy Mihaly.

When, however, the field-marshal, Wolff Frederick Kopp, of Neuding, a second Alba in Hungary, with Count Paul Esterházy, and a considerable body of troops, arrived to free Spantkaw, who was shut up in Kashaw, the insurgents were completely beaten, and compelled for the present to give up their plans. The engagement took place on the 26th of October, 1672, at the village of Györke, not far from Eperjes.

This success made the king and his advisers only so much the more severe, and the archbishop's entreaties to preserve the political rights of the country were not regarded. The hardest measures were carried out. It was then not at all disagreeable to the cabinet, when in a fit of spleen the archbishop resigned his viceregal post in Hungary, and it was on the 27th of February, 1673, filled up by the appointment of John Ampringen, a hard-hearted man, who was capable of doing anything whatever which was considered necessary for confirming him in his post.*

The archbishop now travelled so much the more freely through his diocese, accompanied by the usual retinue of Jesuits and dragoons, plundering the Protestants of their few remaining churches and schools, and driving the preachers and teachers into exile if they refused to become proselytes. In the royal free cities they deposed all Protestant councillors, and appointed Papists in their stead; they disarmed the citizens, took away all ammunition and levelled the walls. The citizens of Eperjes were required, on the 8th of March, 1673, to give up their churches and college to the Papists

* John Hormayer, 1st Plutarch, Vol. IX. p. 85.

after five months' possession. The Protestant pastors were prohibited under pain of death from every official act.

In 1673, this sacrilegious archbishop with his attendants took forcible possession of the church in Sillein, in Trentshin county ; so Nikolas, Rosenberg, and Liptshe, in Liptau county ; Wartburg in Presburg ; Rackendorff, Hungarian Altenburg, Zorndorff, and Gols, in Wieselburg county.

Though the Protestant Church was thus bleeding from hundreds of wounds, still the progress in the conversion of the country was much too slow for the taste of the archbishop and his helpers. It was therefore resolved to banish all pastors and teachers completely out of the country, but, for the sake of security, it was considered best to begin on a small scale.

CHAPTER XII.

First Citation of Protestant Pastors to Presburg. — The Charge. — The Judges. — The Trial. — Archbishop's Declaration. — Count Illyesházy treats with the Pastors. — The Pastors are prepared to go into Exile. — The Conditions of Pardon. — Attempt to gain the Pastors to the Popish Church. — Suhajda. — Stephen Fekete.

It was on the 25th of September, 1673, that the Archbishop of Grán summoned before the viceregal court in Presburg thirty-three Protestant pastors from Lower Hungary and out of the counties Sol, Liptau, and Thurutz.

Only one of these, Caspar Geranczy of Karpfen, belonged to the Reformed Church. They were summoned to appear in person before the royal fiscus (attorney-general).

At the proper time they appeared in Presburg, strengthened by a consciousness of their innocence, though by the laws of the land, and by the resolutions of their synod, which had been confirmed by the palatine, they were not at all bound to present themselves before a spiritual court where prelates who were their deadly foes presided. Their judges were Szelepcsényi, Archbishop of Grán; Széchényi, Archbishop of Kalotza; Kollonitz, Bishop of Neustadt; Klobusitzky, Bishop of Fünfkirchen, and a large number of laymen, but among them not a single Protestant.

Nearly all appeared when called in the archbishop's court. The most distinguished among them were the two superintendents, Kalinka and Tarnocsy, — the superintendent beyond the Danube, Stephen Fekete, though summoned, did not appear, — Clement Brecht and Matthew Porshius, Germans from Neusohl, with Peter Sextius and Samuel Csernak, Sla-

vonian preachers, of whom the latter died during the trial ; Godfrey Titius and Christopher Hofstetter, Germans, and Isaiah Pilarik, Slavonian preacher at Schemnitz ; John Sextius, Slavonian, and John Burius, German pastor of Karpfen ; Daniel Sinapius, of Radwany. John Burius, as eye-witness and sufferer in the transaction, has left us abundant materials for writing the history of the trial. The charge appears at first sight so ridiculous, that one can scarcely know whether to despise or to abhor the judges.

We are bound to hand to the world a record of the manner in which titled men and bishops of the Popish Church did not blush to attempt to stamp men of honor and high character with disgrace, and to lower them to the level of common felons, that they might with more ease banish them from the country.

They were accused of having excited the people to rebellion ; of hindering royal officers and clergy in the discharge of their duty ; of deposing judges and town-councillors ; of rescuing rebels from imperial guards ; of giving Roman Catholic children horrible food ; * of having plotted the death of imperial ministers ; of having been in correspondence with the Turks ; of sending deputations to foreign powers ; of joining the rebels in arms ; of having betrayed Popish priests to the Turks and rebels ; of having cruelly murdered nine priests ; of having assisted the Turks in taking the fortress of Fulek ; of having instigated rebellion in Szenitz, Turaluka, and Miawa ; of having despised and trodden on the wafer of the communion ; of having stolen the consecrated vessels, and having made flags of the priests' vestments ; of having blasphemed the Virgin Mary and the saints ; of having called the Papists worshippers of false gods ; of having given the consecrated host to the Turks ; of having attempted

* Katholischen Kindern den Koth evangelischer Prediger zü fressen gegeben zu haben.

to destroy imperial troops ; and of having laid fire with the intent of burning a fortress.

These charges were only read, and not, as the law requires, communicated in writing to the accused parties. Not till the 2d of October did they receive legal advice, and then two advocates were appointed them by their judges. Mutual consultations among the accused were not permitted, and as the superintendent was at one time about to say something in self-defence, he was informed by the archbishop that this was not allowed. "Mr. Kalinka," he said, laying his finger on his mouth, "there is no leave to speak here ; the fiscus (attorney-general) is like a raging lion, seeking whom he may devour."

On the 3d of October the charges were extended. The attorney-general assured Kalinka of having approved of the book of Drabicius, and of having refused permission to the Popish archdeacon officially to *visit* the Protesant Church of Illawa in Trentshin. Two other preachers were charged with having ridiculed the figure of the cross, and with having thrown down and trampled on it. He showed a letter from Stephen Vittnyédi to Nicolas Béthlén, and another signed J. B., which announced that the Prince of Transylvania was approaching, and that the Protestants had everything to hope from him. He showed another letter, in which evangelical pastors were invited to a meeting, but that the subject of the conversation should not be divulged.

The advocate Roessler replied on the 4th of October, showing that the charges were unfounded, the evidence deficient, these anonymous letters of no importance in the case, and that the pastors were ready to clear themselves by oath from any of the charges which were really serious. It was of no avail. .

At the close of the sitting, the archbishop turned to the pastors, and said : "My friends, I find no pleasure in killing, for I love peace. I could not be even a cook, for when

I hear the fowls screaming, I pity them, and could not look even on the death of a hen. But here I sit as judge, and am compelled to do that which the king commands and this court decrees. Do the best, therefore, in your case, and obey; as for me, I shall leave nothing untried which I conceive to be for your advantage." The poor men gave no reply.

On the 5th of October they were summoned to hear their sentence. The advocates, who had done their duty well, left them with sorrow. Count George Illyesházy now appeared willing to undertake the office of friendly mediator. He came to the pastors in the waiting-room, and addressed them. "Venerable and reverend pastors," he said, "listen to me. I was also once a Lutheran, but I became convinced of the truth of the Roman Catholic religion, and I therefore sympathize deeply with you, some of whom were my fellow-students, and others my good friends. Certainly, certainly you will have a terrible sentence. Four of you shall certainly be put to the torture, then beheaded, and have your hands cut off. The rest shall have a terrible exile. I would therefore advise you to apply to the king for mercy, and to beg also for those four, that no other evil may arise out of their sufferings."

The pastors replied that they were conscious of innocence, and were prepared to obey the king in all things save and except in matters of conscience. The count, dissatisfied with this answer, went into the hall, and returning shortly after, told them that the four who should be put to the torture were the three superintendents and Daniel Sinopius; the rest should be partly beheaded and partly visited with other punishments. They replied they wished to obtain favor.

Returning after a little, the count informed them that, if they wished for favor, they must, with the exception of the four who were doomed to the torture, before the sentence, apply to his Majesty for gracious consideration. The favor would, however, be limited by the condition either to leave

the country for ever, or, if they remained, to resign all claim to be regarded as Gospel ministers, and to live as laymen. Scarcely two hours were given for reflection, when they declared that, if it be his Majesty's will, they were prepared to leave the country, and trust their fate to Divine Providence. At last Illyesházy returned to say that these four could also obtain mercy if they immediately departed, and never returned to any of his Majesty's dominions.

As they were, however, required to sign documents, stating that, "having been found guilty of rebellion, they of their own free will went into exile"; or if they wished to remain in the country, they were required to say, that "having abused their office, they would in future abstain from every ministerial act"; new difficulties arose, and it was only when wearied out by the unceasing annoyances of the court that they at last yielded, and all signed the *reverse* in one form or other.

Those who resolved to emigrate obtained thirty days to arrange their affairs, and those who remained in the country obtained a safe-conduct, by which they might reside as private individuals wherever they chose in Hungary.

When the matter was so far advanced according to the wish of the priests, all left the hall, with the exception of the Archbishop of Grán and Bishop Kollonitz. The former now addressed the pastors: "Respected brethren, what I have done was compulsory upon me as judge. If you now join the Church of Rome, you may remain in the country; I will advance your interests; and if I had but one shirt left, I would sell it and give you the proceeds. I am archbishop, and wish the salvation of all. Tell this to those who are absent.* Think over what I have said, and if you do not choose to communicate with me directly, you can do it through others, and I will hear and help you."

* Some of them were sick.

The Bishop Count Kollonitz added, "I also will assist you, and furnish you with money out of the royal treasury so soon as you form your resolution." None of them all accepted of the proposal except the pastor of Warin, in Trentshin county, out of whose name, *Suhajda*, was formed the anagram, "Ah, Judas!"

All who were distinguished by knowledge and zeal in their profession went into exile, — Kalinka, Tarnoczy, Fekete, Neckel, Brecht, Isaiah Pilarik, Sextius, Burius, Sinapius, and others, who, in Lausitz, in Saxony, and Silesia, found a place of rest. Those who were old, or over-cautious, or who expected a speedy change, remained at home, and led a miserable life, striving to earn a livelihood by a profession to which they were not accustomed.

Among the exiles we must take notice of Superintendent Fekete, who had been a distinguished and successful preacher at Güns, and who was now generously supported by Moritz, Prince of Saxony, and the noble citizens of Naumburg. In November, 1679, he ventured to return to Hungary, and lay some weeks strictly concealed in Güns. As his wife, however, died at this time, he then ventured to move about more publicly, and shortly after going to the Island Rabakos, where there was a castle of Stephen Ostffy, he began indeed, without formal permission, to discharge his pastoral duties, and to keep a school.

The Roman Catholic clergy hearing of it, sent a military detachment and overturned the castle to the very foundation. Fekete sought to escape to Germany, but was brought back in chains to Presburg. Afraid of losing his life, he went over and joined the Church of Rome; he received the sacrament at the hands of Kollonitz, accepted of large presents which were made him, and was soon made Judge of Güns, where he exhibited himself as one of the bitterest persecutors of the Protestants! (O Judas!)

The cowardliness of the pastors excited the indignation of

the country people, and did in every respect much injury. The congregation at Schemnitz was very angry with its pastors, who had decided to leave the country. In a manuscript of that time, which has been preserved, it is stated, "The clergy might have remained without signing that hateful document, had it not been for their ridiculous timidity. Limpach and Dr. Hellenbach had labored in favor of the mining towns, that they might retain their Protestant services, and had begged the clergy not to sign ; but these hirelings, as if glad to have the work accomplished, signed eight days before the term was expired, and before they were peremptorily called to do so."

There came a decree from Leopold, who was then residing at Grätz, dated 12th of October, 1673, directing that for the present all proceedings against the pastors of Schemnitz, Kremnitz, and Neusohl should be suspended, and if any proceedings had been already taken, they should be reversed, so that the pastors might remain. But it was now too late.

In the mining districts of Lower Hungary, the divine service was almost completely suspended, for if a church did remain in some places in the hands of the Protestants, there was no pastor, and no permission to call one. The congregations at Schemnitz and Neusohl labored hard to obtain their ecclesiastical liberty once more. They sent a petition to the king about the end of the year 1673, which his Majesty handed over to Archbishop Szelepcsényi, to whom he had committed everything having reference to religion in Hungary. The archbishop informed the deputies on the 16th of January that their request would be considered on the 5th of March ; he refused, however, to give the promise in writing.

Another petition was sent to the king, begging that each town might have one church and one pastor for the Protestant citizens, or at least a place appointed where they might meet ; but all this received no reply. In Kremnitz, where a con-

tract had been made, securing to the Protestants the hospital church instead of that which was taken from them, and giving them a right to keep a pastor, and to have public worship, it was only there that public worship was still conducted; and this privilege continued only till the middle of December, 1673, for, on the occasion of the pastor baptizing his own child, the priest found ground of accusation, and just at Christmas their meetings were dissolved and the church sealed.

The pastors, who heard of another citation of the Protestant clergy to Presburg, and who saw that no trouble would be spared to drive them out of the land or sink them into disgrace, took leave of their congregations in January, 1674, and prepared to leave the country. They were often stopped on the road, and obliged to pay very considerable sums for leave to proceed; but after much annoyance and many delays, they at length arrived at Brieg, in Silesia. The precentor, Matthew Demosh, the beadle, Philip Oertel, and the schoolmaster of Johannisberg, joined them in their exile. In spite of entreaties and regardless of the contract, the archbishop took possession of the hospital church in Kremnitz, and had it consecrated to become a Popish chapel on the 3d of January, 1674.

CHAPTER XIII.

The New Citation of the Evangelical Preachers. — Conduct of the Pasha. — The Trial. — The Sentence. — Separate Sentence on the Pastors of Bösing, Modern, and St. George. — Two hundred and thirty-six sign their Deed of Resignation. — The Rest refuse. — Treatment. — Separation of the Lutherans and Reformed. — Firmness of the Reformed Pastors. — Imprisonment. — Treatment in the Prisons. — The Jesuit Nicolas Kelio. — Petition to the Emperor. — Condemnation to the Gallies.

A SECOND more extensive summoning of the Protestant clergy was in course of preparation when the hospital church of Kremnitz was surrendered to the Roman Catholics. The first attempt had succeeded so well that the priests could not suffer a very long time to pass till they had made another attempt on a larger scale. Thirty-two evangelical preachers had been covered with disgrace and torn away from their congregations. The rest were terrified by the example. The king, the Popish magnates, and the army, all prepared to assist in this great work of eradicating Protestantism ; — what more could be desired ?

The Archbishop of Grán, who was now very old, strained every nerve to have the work soon accomplished. He acted as if the words of the Lord at the last passover had been directed to him, "What thou doest, do quickly." Accordingly, on the 16th of January, 1674, he summoned all the Protestant clergy, not only from the territory which belonged to Leopold, but also from that district which was under Turkish sway, and at the same time several teachers and some students, to appear at a special court of assize at Presburg. At the appointed time the parties appeared.

Some Popish writers, wishing to conceal the extent of this

affair, represent the numbers to have been only two hundred and fifty, while the Protestants speak of three or even four hundred. We have evidence that two hundred and fifty of the Lutheran Confession and fifty-seven of the Reformed Church, filling different offices in their respective churches, attended the meeting. That so few appeared from the counties of Gömör, Negoräd, and Pesth, is to be attributed to the fact that the pasha had forbidden them to attend; and, in consequence of Turkish protection, the proportional number of Protestant churches in the neighborhood was considerably greater than in other countries; and even after the Turks were expelled, the circumstances did not permit such severe persecution as had taken place before.

The court consisted either of the same individuals or of men of similar sentiments, and among them was not a single Protestant. The old archbishop presided, as on the former occasion; but this time legal advice was allowed to the accused, and the advocates, Francis Szedeky, Melchin Heissler, and Stephen Szalonty, undertook and carried the case through with great tact and zeal. The grounds of the accusation lay in the following two letters addressed to Nicolas Béthlén. The former was written in short-hand, and the original was never exhibited.

“Eperjes, May 10th.

“I have to-day received your grace's letter at Eperjes. It is at last resolved to assert our liberties with our blood, and to place ourselves under the protection of the Turkish emperor. With the Prince of Transylvania we will be of one heart and soul. The king will furnish the money, and has declared his readiness through a French ambassador. And if he should decline, we will do so ourselves so soon as all is ready. No attention must be paid to the idle tattle of Lobkovitz, or to the false Montekukulli. It would be well if the Prince of Transylvania wrote to all the pastors to use their

influence with the common people to persuade them to pay the tribute, and also to prepare them for taking up arms at the proper time. The Protestant party has done its duty. The region beyond the Danube we have intrusted to the pastors of Eödenberg and Güns. Presburg, Kashaw, Eperjes, and the other towns are organized by the superintendents and elders of those districts. We will all fight and die for God, for our Church, and for our liberty, and will teach the Papists, the dogs, a lesson which they have yet to learn. Your grace will please not to lose any time in treating with the Haiduken. Francis Rákotzy must be terrified and urged on to the work. If God be with us, who can be against us? — Your sincere and obedient servant,

“STEPHEN VITTONYEDI of Muzsay.”

The second letter was directed to Ambrose Ketzer, was written originally in Latin, and dated Presburg, December 30th, 1669. It announces that Stephen Vittonyédi, who, by the way, was already deceased, had been in correspondence with the chief pastors of Solna, Rayetz, and Thurna, and with the superintendents, who had everything prepared with the greatest secrecy. The elders of F. Z. were ready so soon as any one came from M. H. or S. The superintendents had done their duty. Bills of exchange to a large amount on Breslau and Danzig were ready. The cock (Gallus the Frenchman) was delaying, but would soon shake his feathers.

These letters served now as the foundation of the charge. The advocates did their duty so well in proving that the accused had been guilty of no crime, and that the evil had proceeded from the Roman Catholics, that two counts even in this court, Forgács and Szecsy, had the courage and the honor to declare that the crime of rebellion was not proved. As this declaration was, however, not agreeable to the rest of the judges, the archbishop ordered “that the justification of the Protestant clergy from the suspicion of rebellion

should be erased from the acts." After a month had been spent in superficial investigations, and in debating, these men, who were at the same time accusers, witnesses, and judges, without making any distinction among them, or so much as hearing what they as individuals had to say, on the 4th of April, pronounced sentence on the clergy, and on the following day the same sentence on the teachers. The sentence was, beheading, confiscation, infamy, and outlawry.

No one has ever pretended that this sentence had even the slightest appearance of justice. The design was to annihilate the heretics, and fanaticism considered every means allowable. This is sufficiently evident, not only from the manner in which the legal proceedings were conducted, but also from the fact that the pastors of Leutshaw were neither summoned nor annoyed in any way, because they had shortly before peacefully surrendered their church, with all its appurtenances, to the bishop.* This is still further evident from the efforts which were unceasingly made, till the Polish commissioners, under the influence and guidance of George Barskony, Bishop of Zips, consented to banish all the Protestant pastors and teachers from Zips, which at that time was under the sway of the King of Poland.

A singular corroboration of the assertion that this trial was only a mockery for the sake of gaining a certain object, may be seen in the treatment of the evangelical pastors of Modern, Bösing, and St. George, by the archbishop. These pastors were summoned to Presburg on the 5th of March, in accordance with the king's command, to surrender their churches and schools to the Roman Catholics. Having demanded a copy of the royal edict, they were informed by the archbishop, that "they were not of sufficient importance that a special command should be given on their account." Afraid of the consequences, they came to an agreement with the

* Engel, l. c. Vol. V. p. 81.

attorney-general, on the 28th of February, to surrender all their churches, schools, and church property to the archbishop; the attorney-general, on the other hand, declared the charges to be annihilated and buried; secured them their private property; directed them to appear previous to the meeting of the court at Presburg, and sign some kind of document, being a legal surrender of their church property; they should then have a right to meet privately for their own edification, and to use the church bells and the burying-ground in common with the Roman Catholics. Seven of the pastors, Christopher Shedius, Michael Höher, and Stephen Pilarik, the first two German, the last the Slavonian pastor of Modern, as also Michael Rissaler, rector of the high school in the same town, Christopher Böhmer and John Michael Weber of Bösing, Michael Huber and Paul Galli of St. George, resolved to go into exile; and the two Slavonian preachers of the latter towns resolved to remain in the country as laymen.

The sentence of death, which was pronounced indiscriminately on all who appeared at Presburg, was not carried into execution. Leopold's conscience appeared not to be capable of stretching so far. There was, however, so much gained by pronouncing the sentence, that the pastors now stood completely in the hands of their judges, and there was no choice left them besides voluntary exile or dishonor, and degradation from office in their native land. To the Protestant Church they were as good as dead, and this was all which the enemy wished.

There were many, however, who refused to choose either alternative, and preferred bearing whatever the Lord might lay on them. These were annoyed in every possible way, and at last treated with the most cold-blooded inhumanity. After means had been used which were not always very creditable,* yet so successful, that two hundred and thirty-

* Engel, l. c. Vol. V. p. 80.

six signed their resignation, the majority of these going into exile, — the rest remained, in spite of all ill usage and threatenings, perfectly unmoved.

Every intercession was in vain, and indeed even dangerous. The church of Rimasombath begged Count Adam Forgács to intercede for their pastor, but they received the reply, — “For God’s sake, let me rest in peace, for I solemnly protest I am myself not safe, and if I spoke a word in your favor, I should be immediately called a rebel and thrust into prison.” *

For some time these men had perfect liberty to move about in Presburg, with every opportunity for escaping.† Indeed, the Jesuits, meeting them on the streets, asked, in apparent astonishment, why they did not fly, — what they were waiting for, — did they not know what was being prepared for them?

When the archbishop saw their perseverance, and discovered that they were strengthening each other in their resolution, he had four pastors of the Reformed Church arrested, namely, Stephen Seley, superintendent of Pápa; Michael Miskolczy of Filek; Stephen Batorkessy of Wesprin, and Peter Czegled of Lewens, and chaining them two and two together, had them thrown into the dungeon. On the following day, George Lanyi, rector of Karpfen school, a Lutheran, was thrown into the same prison because he had refused to yield. On the 8th of May there remained still in Presburg one hundred and eighty of those who had been condemned. The rest had signed the required documents and were already gone, and this number was thinning fast.

While all this was going on in Presburg, Count Francis Hohenfeld wished also to have a little opportunity of showing his zeal for his Church. He sent orders to the chief magistrate of Hungarian Altenburg, about eighteen English miles from Presburg, informing him that it cannot be tolerated,

* Hist. Diplom., p. 74.

† George Lanyi, *Captivitas Papistica*.

that after the men have become Papists the women should venture obstinately to adhere to the Protestant Church. Accordingly, they should be proclaimed rebels, and at next Whitsuntide should be compelled to join that Church in which alone salvation is to be had. Every one who refuses should be fined for the first offence in forty florins, and for every succeeding offence, that is, every time they are required to partake of the communion in the Popish Church and refuse, the fine should be doubled. This noble warrior, who wished to earn his laurels in the glorious battle with women, concluded his edict with the modest request, that the judge would please begin at home, and place his own wife first at the bar!

Time was passing on in Presburg, and still the majority of the condemned seemed very slow in submitting to the wishes of their judges. Accordingly, the members of the two confessions were separated, and all the Lutherans were imprisoned in the archbishop's palace. This step was, however, of little use, for the Calvinists remained very obstinate. As they in general knew the German language but very imperfectly, they had little prospect of usefulness in a foreign land, and had too much honor to sign their own degradation from the ministerial office, as the condition of remaining in the country.* Only one pastor and one schoolmaster, the latter quite a youth, on the persuasion of the landlord, signed the document, and remained. Not one had gone into exile.

At the end of May there were still forty-one of them in Presburg. The other sixteen had either escaped before the sentence, or were gone back to their churches, where they were protected by the landed proprietors. Four were missing, either that the pasha had forbidden their return, or that they were lying in some unknown prison.

* Hist. Diplomatica.

When the efforts to persuade them to embrace the Popish faith or to resign their office seemed in vain, they were taken out of the prison and put into common country carts; seven were brought to Sarvar, as many to Kupuvar, and six to Eberhard, about three miles from Presburg, and thrust into dark and filthy cells. Eight days later, the rest of the Calvinistic preachers and teachers, after being, by order of Bishop Kollonitz, plundered of all their little property which had any value, were taken to Leopoldstadt; one, however, by name Basil Kopecsy, of Skaros, came to Komorn.

Of the Lutherans there were eighteen brought, on the 3d of June, to Leopoldstadt, of whom John Hodikim became a Papist. Five came to Berutsh, nineteen to Komorn, and eight to Sarvar. The amiable and gentle Bishop Kollonitz sent the hangman, as likely to be an agreeable companion to those who were going to Leopoldstadt, possibly that the pleasant associations connected with his office might suggest the prudence of joining the Roman Catholic Church. When this individual had taken his seat beside the pastors in the cart which was to convey them to Presburg, he immediately commenced to recommend his Church to them, and at the same time to exhibit his zeal in his own profession by beating them most unmercifully on the head with his stick.*

Not less cruel was the old Archbishop of Grán, Szelepczésényi, who on festive occasions, after his splendid dinners at the Castle of Eberhard, summoned the Reformed pastors into his presence, and, after the bitterest insults and mockery, he sometimes descended to personal violence, because they still steadily refused to sign the deed of demission. On one occasion he struck Stephen Nemethy with a hammer so violently that his arm was rendered almost completely useless.

* Andrew Small, and Lampe, Hist. rec., ref. ad annum, 1674.

No pen can describe the sufferings which these witnesses for the truth were now required to endure. With such perseverance and with such heartless calculations did the persecutors use their power, that many wished for death. The prisoners at Komorn declared at last that they could hold out no longer, they would sign their demission. But now the Jesuit who had charge of them was not satisfied even with this, and declared that nothing could set them free but their joining the Church of Rome. Here was the jailer inflicting another penalty than that which the court had pronounced; still there was no appeal.

At last, when completely wearied, seventeen Lutherans renounced their faith, and there remained only two, Nicolas Buganyi and Stephen Zedenyi, who, with their companion, the Calvinistic pastor, continued true to their profession. This latter must now experience the whole weight of Rome's fury, because it was through his influence that the other two refused to yield.*

The renegades received fifty florins each, with directions to assist in persuading the others to follow their example. In some cases the priests gained their ends. In Sarvar, one Lutheran and one Calvinist yielded; in Buccaria, seven Lutherans and three Calvinists.

Less successful were the efforts in Leopoldstadt to gain converts, though here the sufferings were most severe. A Jesuit, Nicolas Kellio, to whom a kind of general inspection was committed, and a Popish schoolmaster of the place, who was a poor cripple, strove to outdo each other in their invention of new methods to torment and annoy the poor sufferers. They were treated worse than criminals of the first class. They had no intercourse with friends. Their food was coarse bread and water. Without distinction of age or strength, all bore chains of the same weight; and when they

* Hist. Diplomatica; Andrew Small, Eccl. Luth. Adversaria.

protested against this treatment, they were told by the jailers, "You are guilty of double rebellion against the Church and the king; and even though some of you may have never thought of rebelling against the king, as I will readily suppose, still your disobedience to the Church deserves the heaviest punishment which can be inflicted."

In the fortress they were ordered to perform the meanest offices, in the middle of winter they were obliged with uncovered hands to carry away the ice and snow, and to clean the sewers.* If the consecrated wafer was carried past, they must fall on their knees. As Gregory Illes, a frail old man, once refused to kneel, he was struck so severely by Bene, that he bled. Even social singing and prayer were prohibited.

As they were once ordered to dig themselves a new prison, Stephen Harsanyi, a man of much learning, and highly respected by the others, cried out, "You treat us worse than the most cruel tyrants treated the apostles and martyrs; their prisons were at least prepared for them." "Very well," replied the overseers with a laugh, "you will work the more diligently till yours is ready."

By night they often suffered from thirst, and had no water; by day they were prohibited from receiving any assistance, either in money or food. A man who attempted to give them some food was severely beaten, and a woman who at another time was discovered attempting the same was put into a kind of pillory, and led about in disgrace through the streets,—a species of punishment in general reserved for harlots.

These men lay in narrow cells, partially exposed to rain and snow; among thieves and murderers, who mocked them when they prayed. Being driven by force once to church to hear mass, they strove to turn back at the church door,

* And a Hungarian winter is often 40° to 60° F. below the freezing point.

upon which Kellio fell into such a rage, that even during the mass he had two of them, Szilvasy and Thurutz, stretched on the ground and beaten in such a way, with the ramrods of the soldiers' guns, that they did not long survive.

Kellio seemed afraid that the story of his tyranny should spread through the country; he accordingly for some time alleviated their sufferings, and treated them with considerable gentleness. He then applied to them to sign a certificate acknowledging his attention to all their wants, and testifying that he had faithfully applied all the money and food which had been given him for them, as also certifying that he had allowed their friends free access to them. Entirely in his power, and having of late obtained better treatment than formerly, what was to be done? What ought to be done we can easily decide, but who can say what he himself, under such circumstances, would do? They signed the certificate. The Jesuit immediately published it as a justification of himself, and then treated them as cruelly as before.

Towards the close of the year they found an opportunity of presenting a petition to Leopold,* and it may be that this had some influence in ripening the resolution to set them free.†

After lying ten months in prison they had a change, but only for the worse. The three pastors who had remained faithful in Komorn, with thirty-three other companions in suffering, were, on the 18th of March, 1675, brought out of a secret gateway from the fortress, and committed to a company of about four hundred cavalry and as many infantry, to be taken to Italy.

* Ribinyi, Mem., Tom. II. p. 451.

† The author of the *Short Extracts* gives himself trouble to attempt to prove that such a petition was never sent or never received. That it was drawn up and sent, there is not the slightest doubt, and if it did not reach the king's hands, it must have been because it was the interest of the priests to keep it back.

It is said that the king's order was to set them free, but that Bishop Pallfy of Neutra found ways and means of falsifying the edict, and of sending these detested heretics to the galleys. The edict had stated that it pleased his Majesty to have mercy, and to suffer them to go out of the fortress, to which the bishop added, "that they might learn to pray in the galleys." Had this been the king's wish, it was, instead of favor, a much higher punishment.

Even Bishop Kollonitz could not have wished more than this. He had once told the prisoners to their face, "You set too much confidence in the king's mercy, but it will be of no use, for if he should ten times give the most favorable decision, I could find a hundred ways of preventing its taking effect."

The prisoners were brought by a circuitous route through Moravia to Leopoldstadt, where the brethren who had been there confined were brought out to join them. They embraced each other and wept, while they pledged themselves once more not to yield. As Stephen Selyi, the superintendent of the Reformed Church, saw the miserable state of the brethren in Leopoldstadt, he cried, "O God, for what wondrous times hast thou reserved us! Give thou strength that we may bear all the sufferings which thou hast appointed us!"

With the two feet chained together, under the mockery of the soldiers, they travelled on foot from Vienna to Trieste. Here the very buttons were cut off their coats, their beards shaved off, and even their heads shaved quite close, so that they could distinguish each other only by the voice.* They had lain at night packed together in stables, and had scarcely obtained sufficient food, so that many fell sick, and four of them died in prison at Trieste, while two others died shortly after on the road. Their daily provision was a quarter of a pound of biscuit and a glass of water, with occasionally a

* George Lanyi, *Captivitas Papistica*.

little cheese. After some time, they had about three half-pence English money given them each day to feed themselves.

On the journey to Naples, Gregory Hely, who was already quite exhausted, and had been set on an ass to bring him forward, fell on the road, and died on the spot. He was left unburied on the public road. Near the end of the journey, Michael Gotsh entered into his rest. Three of the prisoners succeeded in escaping, — George Lanyi at Capra-Cotta, on the 1st of May, and John Simonides and Tobias Illaver at the town Liscerna, and, after much suffering and toil, arrived at last in a place of safety.

Of the forty-one who had been taken away, only thirty entered the galleys at Naples on the 7th of May. They were here sold for fifty Spanish piasters apiece, and being divided among the boats, were chained to the benches like other galley-slaves.

CHAPTER XIV.

Treatment of the Prisoners in the other Fortresses. — Journey to Trieste. — Hopes of the Possibility of Ransom. — Ten join the Church of Rome. — George and Philip Weltz. — Appeals to Germany. — Charles II. of England. — The Vice-Admiral of the Dutch Fleet. — Hopes of Delivery, and Disappointment. — Admiral Ruyter. — The Galley-slaves set free.

WHILE this was going on, the fate of the brethren at Sarvar, Kupuvar, and Eberhard, was still uncertain. The enemy had hoped to break their spirit by a tedious imprisonment, but when this did not prevail, they also, to the number of twenty — being thirteen of the Reformed Church, and seven Lutherans — were ordered off to Naples, there to await their doom. On the 1st of July, 1675, they were led out under the direction of Gabriel Koever and an armed band; Stephen Kapossy and John Szent-Niklossi were, by the king's command, set free in Hungary; and the other eighteen, worn and weary, reached the seaport Trieste.

They were made to lodge in cow-houses, and when in Trieste one succeeded in escaping, the others were shaved and kept much stricter. The runaway was again taken; and they demanded that he should mention which of the others were aware of his escape. He did not mention any names.

Hopes were held out that they might be bought off if any were willing to make the attempt, and both in Vienna and in Venice considerable sums were raised for that purpose, — and actually paid; but the promise was soon forgotten, and the money was never returned. Only one was set at liberty, and that was Stephen Czusy, the Reformed pastor of Losoncz.

The rest of the prisoners were brought to Buccaria, a town on the Adriatic, and their patience having been sorely tried, ten of them renounced their profession of Protestantism, and joined the Church of Rome on the 19th of February, 1676. It was the seven Lutherans, Stephen Mensatoris, John Raphanides, John Czabanyi, John Glogovius, John Rohacs, Philip Johannides, and John Esutka ; three of the Reformed Church, John Goemaery, Stephen St. Peter, and John Szalay ; three others of the Reformed Church had died on the way, and had been buried by their brethren, who sang the 88th Psalm over the lonely grave.

Only a few now remained, and their lot was becoming still harder. Their teeth fell out ; while yet alive, their bodies were decaying. On complaining to the vice-prefect, Starko, of the treatment, they were told that all was done according to the strictest orders received from Kollonitz, that the heretical preachers should be very sorely tormented.

At last the hour of deliverance came for them as well as for their brethren in the galleys at Naples ; but the manner is such a striking manifestation of the Divine glory, that we must examine it a little more closely.

Powerful kings, princes, and people had interceded for these men, who had now been for many months chained to Turks, Moors, and Negroes ; and yet, notwithstanding the suffering, and notwithstanding the entreaty, the chains were not broken. The Lord then showed them mercy first, through that rich and universally respected citizen of Naples, George Wultz, who, with his brother Philip, visited twice a week these men who were the outcasts of society, and supplied them with food, clothing, and money. To have the opportunity of doing so, he made presents to the inspector, and invited the general, Nahremberg, often to his house, and he had nearly brought matters so far, that for a hundred ducats, a price which Wultz promised to pay, these men were to have their liberty.

Still their situation was very lamentable. They therefore resolved to draw up a statement of their case and present it to the brethren of the Reformed Church residing in Naples or visiting it, begging for aid. A similar letter was written to the Dutch ambassador at Basle. With great zeal did the medical doctor, Nicolas Zaffius, take up their case. He was a native of Nuremberg, and a genuine Christian, and at this time residing at Naples. He wrote most thrilling appeals to the Swiss universities, as also to Holland, Germany, and England, and thus awakened a deep interest in their sufferings. Comforting replies were received from Professor Heidegger on the 17th of September, 1675; from Dr. Wazer; from the Geneva Professor, Francis Turrentine, and others; and all these expressions of sympathy Zaffius hastened to communicate.

Charles II. of England (of whom Macaulay says, "His conscience did not much trouble him in reference to the question of dispute which separated his Protestant subjects") * also issued a royal letter to the chief towns, the universities, the archbishops, and the bishops asking for contributions for those who were oppressed for conscience' sake; and these collections were of great use to the prisoners after they were set free.

The Elector of Saxony wrote an earnest word to the emperor at Vienna, under date of the 10th of December, 1675, but all was too little to obtain freedom for the sufferers. The noble-minded Weltz continued his exertions, and through him a representation was made to the Prince Regent of Naples, Peter Alvarez, in which it was most satisfactorily shown, that it was not on account of rebellion, but for the sake of their religion, that, contrary to all Divine and human laws, they were thus condemned to such horrid slavery. "Had we been really guilty of rebellion or treason," they

* Macaulay, Vol. I. p. 168.

write, "there were scythes, and swords, and gallows, and executioners in Hungary; and it is not to be supposed that the King of Hungary would thus surrender over to the Spaniards and Italians his sovereign right of punishing his own rebels, or that he would ask their aid to inflict the penalty if the sentence had been just."

The prince regent replied that they were sold for life to the galleys, and he could do nothing for their deliverance. The same reply was given by the following regent; and when Weltz, supported by the English ambassador Littelton, offered one hundred ducats apiece to buy them off, begging at the same time for compassion to be shown to the aged and infirm, the regent replied, "They are not Roman Catholics."

But when all hope was at an end, it was then that the Lord remembered his promise, "I will redeem thee; I will never leave thee nor forsake thee, saith the Lord."

It was on the 12th of December, 1675, that the Dutch fleet under Vice-Admiral John de Stäen, sailed into the harbor of Naples. The chaplain, Argid Vireth, was sent to the prisoners, begging of them exact information on the ten following points, so that the vice-admiral might, by Divine assistance, and by the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, labor more efficiently on their behalf.

The ten questions were the following:—

1. Why were you first called together at Presburg previous to your imprisonment?

2. Were you summoned by order of the king or of any other person, and of whom?

3. When were you summoned?

4. What charge was brought against you, and why were you imprisoned?

5. How have you come out of your first imprisonment to be put into the galleys?

6. Is it by order of the king or of some other person that you are here?

7. Have you been sold into slavery, and for what price ?

8. Give your names, and the names of the villages or towns where you were placed as pastors ?

9. Are your brethren in Hungary doing nothing for your release, or do they not care for you ?

10. What means do you consider most likely to obtain your freedom and your former position ?

The prisoners gave such satisfactory replies, especially to the 2d, 4th, and 6th questions, that the vice-admiral, with some officers and the chaplain, immediately proceeded to the Regent of Naples, and begged their release. They were so kindly received, that the chaplain hastened to the ships to inform them that within three days they might expect to be free. As the fleet had immediately to leave the harbor in consequence of the war with France, the prisoners remained still in their chains.

But there is One who hears the sighing of the prisoners, and bottles up their tears, — the Lord of Hosts is his name, the Lord great in might ! The fleet was not far on its way towards Sicily till it met the admiral, Ruyter, who had been commanded by the States-General of Holland to take up the case of the prisoners. At the same time, the admiral received a petition from the martyrs themselves, and immediately writing to the King of Naples, he forwarded the opinion of the Austrian ambassador respecting the innocence of these men, and committed their case to the Dutch ambassador, Cornelius Wandelen, and to George Weltz. The papers were now handed over to the court of assize, and after a close examination, the judges came, on the 22d of January, 1676, to the following conclusion : " That the pastors and professors at present confined on the boats are not guilty of the charges laid against them, and should without delay be set free."

The Dutch ambassador hastened down himself with the joyous message to the prisoners. George and Philip Weltz,

with an Italian advocate, came soon after. Even the task-masters seemed moved, and wished the prisoners joy.

And yet their faith must once more be tried. The heavens were once more black above them, and the mockery, and the hard labor, and the sorrows were all renewed, for a report had come that the Dutch fleet was going home. The last hopes seemed to have died away, when, quite unexpectedly, Ruyter, with full sail, entered the harbor of Naples. He had received orders to postpone his expedition, and he accordingly ran into the bay.

On the 11th of February, 1676, the chaplain of the Dutch fleet, accompanied by several superior officers, went on board the boats, and, as in a dream, the prisoners forsook the place of their confinement, singing the 46th, the 114th, and 125th Psalms. Having reached the ship of the vice-admiral, he received and embraced them with unspeakable joy, and after the tears of gratitude had freely flown, they knelt down together to thank God for their deliverance, and sung once more the 116th Psalm. Refreshed and strengthened, with hearts overflowing with gratitude, and their lips with praise to God, they spent the night on the vice-admiral's ship.

The next morning they were brought before the admiral. The veteran hero received them with every possible kindness, and exclaimed that "of all his victories, none had given him so much joy as the delivering these servants of Christ from their intolerable yoke." He would not listen to their thanks, "For," said he, "we are only the instruments, — give all the glory to God." The noble admiral had clothes provided for them at his own expense, and took them with him. Of the thirty who entered the galleys, twenty-six were still remaining, and they went to Switzerland, Germany, England, and Holland, till such time as they were permitted to return to their native land.

As the story was now spread over all Europe, it was found necessary to give some explanation of the conduct of the

court. Accordingly the Jesuit Kellio, under an assumed name, published a book, stating that it was on account of rebellion, and not for their religion, that they had been punished.* George Lanyi, who had escaped on the road to Naples, and who was now living in Saxony, wrote a reply under the title *Funda Davidis, David's sling against Goliath*, in which he proves thirty falsehoods in the Jesuitical attempt to whitewash the court at Presburg.

In vain was it attempted to prove that the Protestant clergy were the originators or supporters of rebellion; in vain was the charge brought against them of having instigated the murder of Popish priests. It was after the pastors were in prison, that three priests and one civil officer in Neutra county were murdered. The same was the case with the Franciscan in Keiskemar, and with the Eremite, George Csapelányi, in Fuza, who was found dead not far from Erlau. In Neutra, three priests had been found cruelly murdered in a stormy night by common robbers.

Nineteen individuals were suspected of the awful crime, were put to the torture, and afterwards executed, but none of them ever charged any of the pastors with having any part in the matter.

We have the more reason to assert again that the whole affair was a mere Jesuitical trick, from the fact that, on the repeated applications of the Elector of Saxony, Leopold ordered, on the 22d of January, 1676, that the grounds of the sentence should be once more investigated. When it was now confessed that the sentence was unjust, the king, by a

* Extractus verus et brevis quo candidè demonstratur acatholicorum. predicantium ex regno Hungario proscriptionem et degradationem factam esse respectu rebellionis non autem religionis; easdem predicantes non in genere sed in specie, convictos ac legitime esse condemnatos. Tyrnau, 1675. How could three hundred prisoners be accused, examined, tried, and condemned separately, and all within four weeks? Why did they all deserve exactly the same punishment?

decree of the 24th of January, ordered it to be reversed, and the prisoners to be set free. The clergy were afraid of them if they returned, and *added the clause* that the liberated prisoners should not revenge themselves or demand compensation, nor return to their country.*

* See the admirable work of Heidegger, — Amsterdam, 1684, — a book written with great accuracy and judgment.

CHAPTER XV.

General View of the State of the Protestant Church in Hungary and Transylvania at the Time the Pastors were released. — The Pastors in the Woods and Caves. — Cunning of the Priests in attempting to find them. — Edenberg a favored City. — Princess Eggenberg. — Insurrection of the Hungarians. — Tokely. — Attempts to make Peace.

WHILE we have been confining our attention exclusively to the prisoners on the galleys and at the Adriatic Sea, the Popish priests at home were carrying out their great work of annihilating the Protestant Church here, as they had already done in Austria, Styria, Carinthia, and Bohemia. And they had certainly very nearly obtained their hearts' desire. For, except the provinces under the pasha, where the Protestants enjoyed their religious liberties, and a few districts on the Theiss, where, amid all dangers and difficulties, the Protestants, chiefly of the Reformed Church, had still been able to preserve a kind of liberty of worship, — but for these alone, that part of the kingdom which owned Leopold as its ruler had almost ceased to possess the Gospel.

Putting their lives in their hands, there were a few pastors who either had not been summoned to Presburg, or who had not gone, and in lonely glens, in woods and mountains wild, in ruined castles and morasses inaccessible except for the initiated, these men resided, and preached the Gospel to the faithful who were scattered over the land. From the dark cavern, scantily lighted, arose the Psalm of praise sung to those wild melodies which to this day thrill the heart of the worshipper. From lips pale and trembling with disease, arising from a life spent in constant fear and danger, the consolations of the Gospel were proclaimed to the dying.

The Lord's Supper was administered ; fathers held up their infants to be devoted in baptism to Him for whom they themselves were willing to lay down their lives ; and, amid the tears which oppression wrung from them, they joined their hands and looked up to Him who bottles up the tears, and looked forward to a better land beyond the grave.

This was especially the case in the mountainous countries of Neutra, Trentshin, Thurutz, Liptau, and Arva, where, despite the watchfulness of the foe, the Protestants continued in some way to enjoy the exercise of religion.*

Among those faithful servants of Christ who, in the days of danger, by the Divine blessing, and by the watchful care of their friends, escaped the nets laid for them, some of the best known were Daniel Kirmann, in Tura-Luka ; Martin Zener, in Belluds ; Daniel Reguli and Samuel Michalovitz, in Trentshin ; Nicolas Venitius, Michael Zaborsky, in Thurutz ; Zachariah Clementis, Balthasar Csip, and Thomas Coronides, in Liptau. But woe to him whose dwelling was discovered, or who was seized ! Heavy punishments and imprisonments were his lot, till he either renounced his profession, or died in misery in his lonely cell. It is said that priests, sometimes dressed in the simple garb of Protestant pastors, and assuming as much as possible their habits and forms of expression, went round and found out from the unsuspecting people where the pastors resided, and who they were. These wolves in sheep's clothing came offering their services as Protestant pastors, and professing to have endured much for the sake of their consciences, and easily gained the required information. A dark cloud rested on the servants of the Lamb. Only in the retirement of the closet, and in the family circle, where no stranger whatever joined, did many of them venture to engage in prayer. Out of the sacred Scriptures each sought for himself comfort and encouragement, waiting for better days.

* Mica Bury.

The shepherds were smitten, yet the sheep, though scattered, were not lost or forgotten by the Great Shepherd.

In Œdenberg the brethren enjoyed wondrous marks of the Divine care, for here the landed proprietor left still some traces of religious liberty. On the 5th of March, 1764, their pastors had been summoned with the rest to Presburg, but a clear view of the aim of the enemy, as well as of his power, induced the citizens to send a deputation to Vienna, to attempt to rescue as much as possible of their freedom in the great trial. They succeeded in their mission.* They voluntarily surrendered the greater part of what they held dear, that they might be sure to retain something. On the 28th of February they made a solemn treaty with the attorney-general, Nicolas Mailath, promising to surrender all churches, chapels, and schools, with all the emoluments attached, into the hands of the attorney-general, and within fifteen days to cause that all pastors, teachers, and church officers should either leave the town, or pledge themselves not to discharge the duties of their office any more, but reside quietly as laymen in the city.

The attorney-general promised in the name of the king that a place should soon be given them, where, under two pastors whom they themselves should select, they and the foreign ambassadors, and the members of the parliament who were Protestants, should enjoy the free exercise of their religion. These two pastors should have liberty to reside in town, and to discharge ministerial duties in private houses. Besides, the Princess Maria Eggenberg should have the privilege of retaining her own chaplain, whose services might also be enjoyed by the Protestants residing in the town. The Protestants should enjoy the use of the legacies which had been left them by members of their own confession, and should also have the use of the burying-grounds.

* Ribinyi, Memorab., Tom. II. p. 422; Mica Bury; Œdenberg.

They should have equal rights in the hospital, and instead of the Vittnyédi house, they should have that which the Princess Maria Eggenberg occupied. No one should be compelled to become Roman Catholic or to emigrate, and all processes at present pending should be quashed. On the 21st of September the king appointed the town of Eisenstadt as the place where the two pastors should proceed to hold the service for the present; it was about ten miles distant. Though this was not as they had expected, still they obeyed; and sent their two pastors, John Barth and Christopher Söbitsh, to conduct the services. While, however, at the following Easter so many people came, that the church could not contain them, a command came from the king that none but citizens of Ödenberg should be admitted. It was only at the end of the following year that they obtained the place which they should permanently occupy as a church. Not long after, the noble princess died, and she was soon followed by her worthy chaplain, Matthew Long, whose influence had been chiefly successful in obtaining these privileges for the Lutherans of Ödenberg which they did not elsewhere enjoy. Of the rest of Hungary it might well have been said, "Darkness covers the earth, and thick darkness the people."

It was quite natural that, under such circumstances, the numbers of the malcontents increased with every day. Bloody affrays between these and the royalists were quite common. The constitution was overturned, and those whose duty it was to watch over it looked quietly on. The soldiers passed through the land oppressing it as they chose, and making such exactions as they saw fit.

Many fled to Transylvania, where, under the Prince Michael Apaffy, they found protection; for, although he did not declare himself publicly on their side till Louis XIV. of France sent him aid and entered into a formal league, still he was at heart a steady friend of their cause. When, therefore, the ambitious Kara Mustapha became grand vizier, after

the death of Ahmed Kioprili, and when the hopes of assistance from the Divan seemed tolerably certain, the malcontents, strengthened by Poles and Transylvanians, and supported by French money, had many successful engagements with the imperial troops.* This war was, as might be expected, very cruel. The German soldiers acted as they chose, impressing men and horses, and giving no remuneration. The peasants were obliged to pay the same tax three or four times. The most expensive food was always demanded, and received with expressions of the bitterest scorn. The slightest resistance was visited with blows, and even with death. The military officers were the only judges, and they were at the same time in general the accusers. Children were threatened that if they did not keep quiet the Germans would come. When a complaint reached Leopold, he sent a warning to his generals, but they were in a situation completely to disregard it.

Up till the year 1678 a Transylvanian nobleman, Michael Teleky, led the rebels, and not without courage and prudence. In consequence of a quarrel, however, with the French officer, he resigned, and returned to his native land. Stephen Vesselényi had the command for a time, and was followed by Count Emerich Tokely, the son of Stephen, who had died in the castle Likava. He had scarcely attained his twentieth year, when he had collected above twenty thousand men, with whom he roved through Hungary, plundered the mining towns, and in 1680 conquered Kesmark and Leutshaw. Adorned with the qualities which become a general,—he spoke Latin, Hungarian, German, and Turkish with great fluency. His followers fought with bravery, but without reaching the desired end. The victories were alternate;—to-day a victory, to-morrow a defeat; here an advantage gained, on another spot a loss sustained. Wherever the in-

* Mailart, l. c. Vol. V. p. 28.

surgents gained the day they gave the Protestants their churches; in a few days, perhaps, the royalists entered and restored them to the Roman Catholics. It was natural that pent-up religious hatred here broke out, and that the party in power abused its position for the purposes of persecution. The insurgents wreaked vengeance on the priests, and especially on the Jesuits, whom they considered the originators of all the calamities; and the royalists in their turn treated the Protestants with similar cruelty.

The miserable state of the country, and the advice of several influential men, seemed to incline Leopold to milder measures in matters of religion. Perhaps, too, the birth of a prince was not without effect. This prince was born of Eleonora, princess of the palatinate, and his third wife, on the 26th of July, 1678.* After recalling General Kopp, who was distinguished by awful cruelty, and setting in his place Stephen Count of Würben, as commander-in-chief in Upper Hungary, he sent a circular letter to all the bishops and higher civil officers, to inquire what means they thought most likely to restore peace.†

The gentler counsel of the bishop of Waitzen was overcome by the fiery and furious Barskony, Bishop of Erlau. The opinions were so different, that the king could come to no conclusion. After the death of the Bishop of Erlau, he made another attempt to obtain peace, by summoning a commission to Presburg, carefully to inquire into the state of the country. The whole affair, however, was rendered useless by Leopold's imprudent step of appointing a German of the name of Hocker, who had lately become a nobleman, to be the president of the commission, and thus wounding the national prejudices of the Hungarian bishops and nobles. When, therefore, the president forgot himself so far as to call all the

* Szirmay, *Notit. Hist. Comitatus Zempl.*, p. 222.

† Engel, *l. c.* Vol. V. p. 87.

Hungarians rebels, a storm arose in the council, and in the heat Count Thomas Pallfy called the president a scoundrel, and naturally the discussions were soon brought to a close.

A third attempt was made by the old Archbishop of Grán, in the king's name, but equally in vain. He went, towards the close of 1678, to the leader of the rebels, Tokely, to persuade him to give over hostilities.* The archbishop was kindly received, and informed by Tokely that he would gladly cease on condition that complete and full pardon should be secured; that the constitution and the office of the palatine be again restored; that the Protestants should again obtain possession of their churches; that certain priests should be banished; and that sufficient security should be granted that all these conditions would be honestly and faithfully carried out.† As the archbishop would not grant so much, streams of blood must flow before there was peace. The work of peace was most hindered by the two princes who accompanied the archbishop, Swartzenberg and Nostitz, for they demanded that, before any proposals should be made, General Tokely should lay down arms.

Tokely once more drew the sword, and as the emperor had now made peace with France, he was so much the more inclined to try the chances of war. There was, therefore, no great earnest on either side in seeking peace. The scourge of civil war was equally terrible on both sides, and in 1679 a plague came to help on with the work of death. So fearful was the mortality, that from March till October even the war relaxed, and the deputy-governor of the land was chased away by the plague.

After another attempt to arrange the affairs of the country had failed, through the imprudent advice of Leopold's German counsellors, the primate at length succeeded in obtaining a Diet to be held at Edenberg on the 28th of April, 1681.

* Fessler, Vol. IX. p. 289.

† Engel, l. c. Vol. V. p. 90.

CHAPTER XVI.

Diet of Edenberg, 1681. — Election of the Palatine. — Petition to the King. — Memorial of the Roman Catholics. — The Petitions of the Protestants without Effect. — George Gerhard's Motion. — The Roman Catholic Deputy, Gabriel Kapy. — Struggle of the Clergy. — The Roman Catholic Magnates and Nobles assist the Protestants. — The Imperial Decree. — Further Attempts of the Protestants. — Close of the Diet.

THIS Diet, which the Germans had so much opposed, was of great importance for Hungary. By the fact of summoning the Diet, the king made the confession, that he did not expect, from the unconstitutional proceedings of the past years, that amount of prosperity for the land which was desirable, and that he was resolved to govern the country from this time forward in a different manner. And in fact we do find that from this time forward he was less imperious in his manner of treating political questions; and though there was still much bigotry in Church affairs, it was not carried to such an extent as before.

At this Diet, which was one of the most splendid which had long been held, there appeared two Hungarian archbishops, sixteen bishops, eighteen royal barons and magnates, one hundred and eight noblemen, and one hundred and thirty-four deputies of the counties and free towns.* Tokely was also invited. But though he had concluded an armistice with Leopold, still he and his friends thought it better to remain

* In the whole assembly of three hundred and fourteen, there were only forty-five Protestants, — of these, twenty-nine Lutherans and sixteen Calvinists.

away. On the 24th of May the king opened the deliberations with a Latin oration after ancient custom, and handed in the subjects of discussion.

In the very beginning of the Diet, dark clouds seemed to hover on the prospects of the Protestants. Contrary to ancient privilege, the Protestant members of Diet were forbidden to have their preacher, and it was only with much trouble that they at last obtained permission.* It was with trouble that the Hungarians succeeded in electing a palatine. When, however, from among the four Roman Catholic candidates, Paul Esterházy was elected, the court expressed itself highly pleased.† Immediately after this election, the Protestant deputies inquired whether the Diet were prepared to enter on the consideration of ecclesiastical affairs. Being referred to the magnates, they received the written reply, "that private affairs should be passed over, and only grand general questions be brought forward for discussion. The Protestants should receive no support from the magnates, yet they should still have liberty to complain and to petition." Having once more inquired whether the affairs of all the Protestants in the nation should be considered a private matter, the reply was sent, that the time from eight till twelve o'clock each day should be devoted to public business, and afterwards the Protestants could occupy themselves with their own affairs.

The Protestants then met, and, under the guidance of George Gerhard as president, resolved to send a deputation to the king, the royal commissioners, and to the palatine, to recommend the cause of the Protestant religion with modesty, prudence, and zeal; and they now begged the palatine to protect the Hungarian pastor from the insults to which he was constantly exposed.

* It was on the 1st of July that the Lutheran deputies held their first service; their place of meeting was a store in the little Pootshi Street, and on the 10th of July the Calvinists held their meeting in a similar place.

† Engel, Vol. V. p. 96.

On the 21st of June the deputation set out for the royal residence, and on the 22d had an audience of the king, setting forth their grievances, which are too important to be here omitted. The paper which they presented was as follows:— *

“Most Gracious, Imperial, and Royal Majesty: We have no doubt that your imperial Majesty will well remember the statement which was presented to your imperial Majesty in 1662, recounting the grievances and oppressions which the Protestant subjects of your Majesty had borne, and how that petition requested your Majesty to use your royal influence to put an end to those grievances which were then definitely and specifically recorded, with the proofs of the same. A request was made, that your Majesty would please to restrain those who, contrary to the constitution of the country, were hindering the free exercise of the Protestant religion. While the same evils still continue, and while those who are guilty of excess remain unpunished, thus giving encouragement to more glaring acts of oppression, unbounded liberty is taken in persecuting the Protestants, till it appears scarcely possible to preserve even a wreck of that religious liberty which was guaranteed by laws of the land and by royal ordinances. Churches, schools, gymnasia, hospitals, and all the property connected with them, which the Protestants had quietly possessed in dependence on the law of the land, have been taken away by threats, surprise, tricks, or sometimes by arms, — indeed, by processes in which all law and justice are disregarded. Some of the buildings have been completely removed, and the materials used for stables and other similar buildings. The dead can be buried in the churchyard only after paying enormous fees. Protestant pastors and schoolmasters have, under various pretences, been plundered by prelates, magnates, and others holding civil and military

* Hist. Diplomatica, in App., p. 87.

offices, even by foreign soldiers; and then, chased out of their dwellings and bound with chains, have been carried out of the country. Some have been nailed on the ground on wood in the form of a cross; others have been bastinadoed; others only let loose after paying a heavy ransom. Many, under the pretence of their having originated or favored a rebellion, were summoned to an extraordinary court at Presburg, and there sentenced to banishment or to the galleys; and, after three vain attempts to hang a Protestant pastor, he was at last buried alive. The rest were compelled to resign their office and go into exile; so that the most of the parishes are without pastors, and the people without divine service of any kind, living like the inferior creation, while the children are dying unbaptized.

“Both noblemen and peasants have been taken prisoners, and led in chains to attend the service of the Popish priest. The consecrated wafer has been thrust by force into the mouth of some who did not wish it. Several Protestants have been unjustly driven out of their property, and whole villages have been plundered without redress. Many who were married by Protestant pastors, or received other ministerial services from them, were on that account summoned before the priests, and compelled to change their religion. Protestant parties are even by military force obliged to pay Popish priests. When Psalms are sung or prayers offered in private houses, the parties, and even sometimes noblemen, have been marched to prison by the officers of foreign troops, as if they were common felons. On the military frontiers your imperial Majesty has, by several special decrees, granted freedom of religious exercise, and yet in such places Protestant pastors have not been tolerated. In some counties all Protestants have been indiscriminately dismissed from all public offices, and therefore could not be elected to this Diet. In some cities the Protestants are completely, and in others partly, deprived of their civil rights; and the election of mag-

istrates does not take place, according to long-established custom, by the free choice of the citizens, but by the nomination of commissioners of the Royal Chamber.* In some towns and corporate boroughs the Protestants are excluded from the common deliberations in public matters; and though your Majesty's gracious decrees were directed to all, yet only the Roman Catholics were brought together to hear them read; and, contrary to the customs of the country, all Protestants were struck off the list of candidates to be elected to the Diet. Protestants, who have been born among us, are either not admitted to the rights of citizens, or are admitted under great restrictions, and they are absolutely prohibited from acquiring property in houses and lands. Magistrates who, on not finding Roman Catholics fitted for an office, have appointed Protestants, have been on that account fined and otherwise punished by the attorney-general. Churches, manse, glebe lands, schools, and private houses, have, despite the patron's or proprietor's protest, been delivered over to Jesuits, by which means the Jesuits have, contrary to law, obtained a footing in the country, while the protests of the citizens have been disregarded. Evangelical artisans are obliged to attend to Popish ceremonies; some of the trades' corporations have been dissolved, and have again obtained their freedoms only on condition of expelling all Protestants from among them. Very often has it occurred that our brethren were not admitted to learn or to practise a trade till they had renounced their faith. Marriages, baptisms, and other rites are often refused till the parties have either actually joined the Church of Rome, or have promised to do so. Legacies, which were left for Protestant purposes, have been wrested and applied to purposes contrary to the wish of the

* This had taken place on the 24th of April, 1675, in Edenberg, by order of the Royal Chamber, and in the year 1680 by Kollonitz, who removed the last Protestant Secretary of the Council of Eisenstadt, and filled up his place with a Roman Catholic.

testator. Much of our ills we leave untold, that the petition may not be too wearisome to your imperial Majesty. Still we are prepared at all times, if required, to give all the particulars of those complaints which we here mention in general, and to *furnish proofs of the same*. While we therefore renew our former complaint, we betake ourselves once more, with all becoming respect, to the throne of your imperial Majesty, begging, for the sake of the mercy of God, that your imperial Majesty would cause, during the sitting of the present Diet, that our distress may be relieved; that we may be restored to the possession of our former privileges which have been violently taken away; that the disturbers of our religious liberties may be punished according to law; and that the political rights of the evangelical party may be restored and guaranteed for all time coming, as the law of the land directs.

“These favors of your imperial Majesty we shall not only acknowledge by fervent prayer to God for a blessing on your Majesty and on the house of Austria, but also by continued obedience and loyalty. — Waiting for a favorable decision on the part of your Majesty, we are, your imperial Majesty’s most faithful and most obedient subjects.”

THE PROTESTANT STATES OF HUNGARY.

On the 30th of June the Protestant deputies appeared before Count Nostitz, the Bohemian chancellor, who declared, in the name of the King, that his Majesty had really read their petition all through, but, as it contained many weighty matters, he must first hear the statement of the Roman Catholics. The Protestant cause thus seemed likely to be completely crushed. At the same time, on the 4th of July, the Burgomaster of CEdenberg gave orders that none but the deputies and the foreign princes should venture to attend the preaching of the Protestant pastor who was chaplain to the Protestant members of the Diet.

The Papists had, in the mean time, also handed a memorial to the king, and Nostitz now appeared to inform the Protestant deputies that it was his Majesty's wish to settle the whole matter quietly, and it would be only in case of the friendly deliberations proving unsuccessful that he would interfere as judge. The Protestants requested a sight of the memorial of the Papists, which the king refused, giving as a reason that it would only increase the bitter feeling. By means of the palatine, however, they got possession of the paper, and found that the Papists represented that they had only taken possession of such churches as had been built by their party, and had been unjustly seized by the Protestants. The Protestants had secured their religious liberty by means of rebellion, and therefore they had no right to it. While the greater number of the magnates had again joined the Church of Rome, it would be very unseemly to take more notice of the peasant than of the peer. Protestant pastors had not been punished as such, but as rebels; and those who had been burned had deserved the punishment by being incendiaries and tumultuous. They then related the most distressing stories, how Popish priests were obliged to hide in bushes, and could discharge the duties of their office only at the peril of their life; how in some counties only two or three Roman Catholic priests were to be found, while hosts of Protestants were there; how in one county, Simeghi, not a single priest was to be found, while a hundred Protestant pastors were laboring in the county; how in another county fifty Protestant pastors were instructing the people, and in the whole county not a single priest. Thus spake the Roman Catholics.

The king was willing to appoint commissioners to settle the whole affair, but the Protestants had already learned that no confidence could be placed in such an arrangement, and therefore declined. They preferred leaving all to his Majesty's pleasure, for from their mighty antagonists there was little to be expected. Bishop Kollonitz had given evidence

of his feeling in a sermon on the festival of Ignatius Loyola, in which he had, by way of reproach, called the one party of Protestants "Augsburg merchants," and the other "Swiss peasants."

On the 2d of August the Protestants handed a second petition to the emperor, in which they answered the charges of the Roman Catholics. The emperor received the speaker of the deputation very kindly, and promised to consider the contents closely and conscientiously; he would decide so as to satisfy the Protestants of Hungary, and give them his decision through a commissioner.

The Protestants begged not to be asked to enter into treaty with their antagonists, for they could yield nothing of their rights, and royal decisions which had already been made must remain sacred. They showed the folly of supposing that the Protestants had slipped into Hungary with fire and sword, or by the aid of the Turks, and reminded the king how they had obtained the assurance of full toleration, not by force, but by the royal free will; for, in 1559, when his Majesty granted the toleration, there was perfect peace in the country. In 1647 there were ninety churches restored to them which had been unjustly taken away, therefore no charge could be brought that they were taking the churches of their opponents. The great majority of the inhabitants of the country was still on their side. They showed the falsehood of the charge that the Papists had received more ill than they had done to others, by the fact that no Popish priest had been driven away by the Protestants; and if individuals of the latter had injured individuals of the former confession, the Protestants had no means, as the Papists had, of protecting their party from injustice.

While the Protestants were thus waiting between hope and fear, a letter arrived on the 18th of August. Afraid to open it themselves, they laid it before the royal commissioners, so that there might be no accusation of having in any way

altered the royal message. The commissioners praised them for what they had done, and sent the letter back. It was a very harmless note, simply advising them, in their present critical position, to be patient and moderate. And a very good advice it was, for they were just about to require an unusual amount of these virtues, when, after one petition to the queen and four to the king, his Majesty, who always received them kindly, could come to no decision in their case. Towards the end of August they began to absent themselves from the sittings, and, so soon as the king heard it, he immediately wrote them a severe reproof. They now addressed themselves to the influential men about the king, such as Charles, Margrave of Baden, the Bishop of Vienna, Counts Nostitz, Zinzendorf, and Swartzenburg, as also to the Austrian chancellor, Hocker,* who were favorably disposed towards them. The Diet had now been five months sitting, and still the Protestants had gained nothing.

On the 1st of October George Gerhard moved that the whole Diet should unite to petition the king respecting the religious grievances. The motion was ably supported by the Roman Catholic member, Gabriel Kapy, and after a very warm discussion, they resolved to send a deputation to the magnates, to move them that they should cause all parties to unite in the petition. When the deputation reached the council chamber of the magnates, they were informed by the palatine that the time had not yet arrived for discussing the religious affairs of the Protestants, but that he would intercede with the king on their behalf. He kept his word, and the very same day returned them an answer in the king's name, "that Leopold pledges his royal word that the case shall be decided, and begs that, till such time as the question comes

* The chancellor said: "If your patience under such trials had continued for ten days it would have been wonderful, but that you could bear on for ten years, ever since the Presburg commission in 1671, it is beyond conception."

before the house, they should quietly proceed with business ; the palatine would also earnestly and affectionately request them to adopt that course."

On the 2d of October Gerhard renewed his motion, and once more Gabriel Kapy rose courageously to support him. He was well informed respecting the exact state of the Protestants, and he declared that it was the firm resolve of the Roman Catholic deputies of thirteen counties to take the side of the Protestants. The matter was the most important which could come before them ; and he, for his part, would not return to those that sent him till the religious disputes were settled. A storm followed this declaration. The royal commissioners and the clergy declared it to be a hasty resolution ; that the question stood later in the order of discussion, being the sixth point ; the Diet should wait till the proper time came. The clergy added, that it was unbecoming their dignity to join in a petition in favor of the Protestants, and that, moreover, all the Roman Catholic laity were not so favorable to the motion as Kapy represented. Being thus challenged to express their opinion, all the laity declared their readiness to vote in favor of the motion. The magnates having acknowledged the justice of the petition, the palatine, an upright, honorable man, declared that, even in case of the clergy refusing to join them, the laity should of themselves approach the monarch with their request. The king was regularly informed of all these proceedings.

On the following day, the 3d of October, the debates were again stormy ; high words were interchanged. During the discussion the vice-palatine arrived to say that all were agreed to send a deputation consisting of members of all three estates to the king, the palatine himself would take the lead, and thus a decision in this matter should soon be obtained. This proceeding brought Leopold at last to a decision, and in five days the following royal message was delivered : —

" All states in the whole land, magnates, nobles, royal free

cities, and royal boroughs, should remain by their religion. This privilege should also be granted to the soldiers on the borders. Not only should there be full liberty of faith, but also full and complete liberty of religious exercise in every form. No party should have the liberty to depose the clergy of the opposite party, or to banish them from the districts where freedom of religious exercise is guaranteed. No more churches should be taken away, but those which had been seized since 1670 should remain in possession of the present occupants.* The Lutherans should have liberty to build a church, and to exercise their religion in every county where no Lutheran church at present exists. The 1st article of the Peace of Vienna is renewed in all its clauses. Roman Catholics have the free exercise of their religion in every part of the kingdom. It should be especially permitted to the Lutherans in Presburg to build a church in a convenient place which should be showed them.† The town of Edenberg should continue to enjoy her present liberty. All coming disputes in religious matters should be settled without the use of arms; and the 8th article of the sixth decree of King Ladislaus should be renewed and conscientiously observed. Lastly, all the inhabitants should take special care not in any way whatever to mock or treat with disrespect the religion of any party at present in existence.

As this declaration was neither signed by the king nor sealed with the imperial seal, the Protestants refused to accept of it. The clergy were much offended. The royal messenger took the part of the Protestants, and declared their demand, to have the sign-manual and the seal attached, per-

* We see how the clergy knew to provide for themselves. The most notorious plunder was here sanctioned. Among these was the Presburg church, as well as others which had been built by the Protestants, and many of the ninety which had been lately stolen.

† Wondrous generosity! — to have liberty to build a new church instead of that splendid church and college of which they had been deprived.

fectly just. The clergy were informed that it was the will of his Majesty, in case they should continue obstinately to resist claims so just as those of the Protestants, to take all necessary steps for carrying out the resolution entirely independent of them. This firmness was of some use, for on the 11th of October the paper was handed to the Protestants with all diplomatic formality. Bitter was the wrath of Bishop Kolonitz, the president of the chamber, who could not bear that so many Roman Catholics had interceded in behalf of the heretics, and bitter was the opposition which the Protestants might expect in carrying out their aims.

The king was often undecided as to which party he should yield to, for he hoped to bring them nearer to each other. He also expected that the Protestants would be perfectly satisfied with what they had now obtained. When he found, however, that the bitterness of party feeling did not subside, he issued, on the 12th of November, another decree, in substance the same with the foregoing, but at the same time more specific, especially naming several places where ground should be granted for building evangelical churches. The Protestants accepted all this as an *instalment*. They felt that they had been driven out of their rightful property, and had as yet only received a very small portion in return. The royal decree was acknowledged by the states on the 22d of November, and exceptions were taken to some parts of it. The states were informed that they might soon expect a new decree. When the document appeared, it was only an advice to the Protestants to be content with what they had received. Instead of remaining quiet, however, they drew up a list of all the churches, schools, property, &c., which had been taken from them by force, and handed it to the king on the 8th of December. The paper received, it is true, no attention, but it contained the following statistical information. It stated that in counties under Leopold's sway, they had lost, in Edenberg, 27; Eisenburg, 97; Salad, 3;

Raab, 15; Komorn, 14; Wiesselburg, 24; Wesprin, 8; Presburg, 46; Neutra, 50; Trentshin, 55; Arva, 10; Liptau, 35; Zips, 99; Sharosh, 7; Sol, 33; Thurotz, 23; Abanivarer, 67; Száthmar, 5; Beregh, 12; Barsh, 25; Zemplin, 114; Gömör, 33; Torn, 20; Unghvar, 36; Hont, 22; Neogräd, 10; Borshad, 1; together, 888 churches, without counting the chapels (and houses for prayer).

At the same time that the Protestants handed this statement to the king, the Diet presented also a petition, with a request to the palatine to support it. They demanded that from the Diet a decree should proceed, reversing all the involuntary resignations and exiles; that all the exiles might return home and obtain possession of their property; and that all ecclesiastical decisions should be made consistent with the royal decree; in other words, that the decree should be made retrospective. On the 17th of December, a verbal message was delivered from the king, that these matters should be all granted. The king was willing in such cases, where inconvenient building ground had been given to the Protestants, to have it exchanged for more suitable places. Such of the Protestant churches as the Roman Catholics already held, and which had not yet been consecrated, should be restored, and the Protestants might bury their dead as they chose.

Not satisfied with the verbal message, the Protestants sent petitions on the 20th and 22d of December, begging that all limitations to the free exercise of their religion should be legally removed; and as the Diet appeared to be drawing to a close, they threatened to absent themselves from the sittings, if their request was not granted. On the 24th of December, they heard the reply read, which required, "That all the resolutions of the Diet should be drawn up in perfect accordance with the will of all the states; and that the articles respecting religion should be entered among the laws of the present Diet. The king promised that all religious

matters still undecided should be brought forward at the next Diet." That was now the end of the exertions which the Protestants had made. Leopold granted nothing more. Only on the 29th of December, the palatine brought them the information, that in Modern, Kasmark, and Zeben, the king permitted Protestant churches to be built. On the 30th of December the Diet was closed, notwithstanding the protest of the Protestants, and on the same day the king left the town. The articles of the Diet numbered eighty-two.

The bitterly disappointed Protestants took the last constitutional measure, of entering on the 31st of December, both with the palatine and with the representatives of royalty, a protest against the decision respecting the religious disputes.

The best article was the 25th, renewing the 1st article of the Peace of Vienna, but there was an unfortunate clause added, protecting the rights of the landed proprietor, which were declared not to be affected. This article formally annulled all the documents which the exiled clergy had been obliged to sign, allowed them to return to their homes, and guaranteed that no one should be in future disturbed in the exercise of his religion, nor compelled to observe ceremonies contrary to his conscience. In the 26th article this was still further explained, and applied to particular cases. This article granted the restoration of such churches as had not yet been consecrated; and named the commissioners who should in the different counties grant land for building new churches, specifying at the same time what churches should belong to the Lutherans and what churches to the Reformed. Where the churches are not restored, still the Protestants should have the use of the bells and of the burying-ground. As had been resolved in 1647, no one should be obliged to pay any fees to the clergy of any church to which he did not belong. All the magnates had a right to build chapels in common with their own palaces and castles. The Protestants should be admitted to all offices in the state, whether higher or lower;

and it was finally admitted, that the Protestants have a right still to claim much more than is here guaranteed, and, notwithstanding the opposition of the clergy, the way was declared to be open for them at a following Diet.

If we look at the way in which the Protestants were at that time oppressed, we see in these resolutions much cause of thankfulness, and we must acknowledge that it was the laymen among the Roman Catholics, and neither the king nor the priests, to whom the Protestants were indebted for the change.

If we look, however, at the law of the land, and at enactments then in full force; if we consider the steps by which the Protestant Church had been oppressed, the churches taken away, and the pastors banished; if we reflect on the parties who, under the holy names of religion and justice, themselves bearing the title of ministers of Jesus Christ, caused this distress, — the words of the Lord come involuntarily to our remembrance: "Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye shut up the kingdom of heaven against men: for ye neither go in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that are entering to go in. Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye devour widow's houses, and for a pretence make long prayers: therefore ye shall receive the greater damnation."

Why should we call up names? But the Archbishop of Grán, George Szelepczésy Bishop Leopold Kollonitz, and Ladislaus Mattyashowski, made themselves so notorious in all these proceedings, that their names shall go down with disgrace to all coming ages. The archbishop boasted that he had rescued sixty-three thousand souls of heretics from damnation, and brought them back to the Church of Rome. How had he done so? That was to a zealous Jesuit a matter of little consequence. The equally zealous Bishop Barskony gave the Pope a list of 6,768 heretics whom he had brought into the Church of Rome, and for this great work he was made Bishop of Erlau.

CHAPTER XVII.

Conduct of the Roman Catholic Clergy after the Diet. — The Recorder of Edenberg. — War with Tokely. — Vienna besieged by the Turks. — Relieved by the Poles. — The Prince of Transylvania joins Leopold against the Turks. — Ofen retaken after a Hundred and Forty-six Years' Possession by the Turks. — General Karaffa. — The Court of Assize at Débrécsin and Eperjes.

WE have not yet done with our charges against the Roman Catholic clergy. History sits in judgment and condemns them. Their acts after the Diet were as bitter as their words had been during the same. We cannot follow them into all the details, but we select one case to illustrate the spirit which actuated them in all their movements.

The free city of Edenberg was one of the first to build a church and a school, and thus to assert its rights in consequence of the decision of the Diet. The majority of its inhabitants were indeed Protestants. In consequence of the Diet having declared Protestants capable of holding office, the citizens met on the 24th of April, 1682, and elected John Serpilus, a Protestant, to the office of recorder of the city. Bishop Kollonitz presided at the election as royal commissioner, and as he could ill brook, not only that a Protestant church was built, but also a Protestant recorder elected in the city, he, on his own responsibility, set aside the election, and appointed Nicolas Horwath, a Roman Catholic, to the office. As the electors insisted, however, on retaining Serpilus, and refused to acknowledge the nominee of the bishop, — going indeed so far as to carry the fasces, the insignia of office, to the house of the former; and as they on the following day

elected two Protestant senators, the enraged bishop left the city. On the 8th of October he sent Count Nicolas Draskowitsh, the chief justice; Count Erdödy, the president of the chamber; and Count Zichy, the keeper of the crown, to install Horwath, but they were obliged to come away after three days without success. On the 16th of November they returned to attempt to unite the office of recorder and mayor in the same person, and thus settle the dispute. Being once more unsuccessful, they returned on the 10th of December, and the chronicle records: "While the Protestants and Roman Catholics held together, it was at last resolved that Gregory Natl should be recorder till the close of the year, and in future the city should have the liberty of electing freely whom they would."

Under these circumstances, it was not to be wondered at if the Protestants translated "*Punica fides*" into "*Ne hidj neki mest Papista.*"* It was no wonder if between the Court of Vienna and Tokely the peace was only in appearance, and each only watched an opportunity to gain an advantage over the other. Each endeavored to represent the other in as unfavorable light as possible at the court of Constantinople.

The disadvantage was just now on the side of Tokely. For while, during the truce between him and Austria, matters appeared so unfavorable to the Protestants at the Diet of Œdenberg, and it seemed as if new persecutions were likely to break out, he cunningly reckoned on the consequences, and promised obedience to the sultan if he would support him against Leopold. The warlike grand vizier wished nothing more eagerly, and sent orders to the Voyvod of Moldavia and Wallachia, to the Pasha of Ofen, and to the Prince of Transylvania, to be ready to support Tokely in case of need with money and arms. With such promises of assistance, he

* Don't believe him, he is a Papist.

gave notice that the truce should cease, and summoned the surrounding counties to join him. For this time, his summons was disregarded, for the Protestants were afraid of injuring their cause.

To protect himself against Tokely, who by the assistance of the Turks was become too powerful for him, Leopold, on the 18th of June, 1682, concluded the treaty of Luxemburg with Saxony, Bavaria, Hesse-Brunswick, Luneburg, and the circles of Swabia and Franconia. An embassy was now sent to Constantinople and to Tokely to mediate peace, but without success, upon which a very bloody war commenced.

In the month of August, 1682, Tokely had possession of Száthmar, Onod, Tokay, Kashaw, Leutshaw, and the whole of Zips. He now issued a bulletin calling the Hungarians to arms. Leopold now made a truce, and Tokely availed himself of the opportunity of sending an embassy to Constantinople to conclude a solemn treaty with the sultan. This was in January, and on the 28th of April Leopold entered into a treaty with John Sobiesky, King of Poland, promising him from the Pope, as head of the league, three hundred thousand dollars for the use of troops. With astonishing rapidity the Turk advanced, and so early as the 14th of July he stood before Vienna. He besieged the city till the 12th of September, during which time Tokely's troops had possession of Eisenstadt, Eedenberg, Güns, and Presburg.

Wherever Tokely's troops appeared, the Protestants obtained possession of all their churches and schools, little dreaming how soon they must again surrender them. Tokely entered Eedenberg on the 15th of July, and on the following day the Jesuits, to the number of eleven, were removed from the town in three carts. They received one hundred florins for their expenses on the road, and twenty men to conduct them in safety. On the 17th of July the Protestants obtained possession of St. George's Church, which was consecrated by Pastor Acs; and on the same day they were again put in

possession of the Latin school, and of the Church property which, nine years ago, had been taken from them. The Roman Catholic senators were about being dismissed, but the Protestants interceded for them, and they remained in office.

This possession of their churches and schools did not continue long, for when Vienna was relieved by the Polish troops, the slavery of the Protestants returned. At the same time with the Turkish troops did Tokely's retire, and in the month of September all was again as it had been before the invasion. This could not be said of every place, for where the victorious arms of the league made way, there were the Protestants once more bitterly oppressed. The cruelty and severity of the Popish clergy will be best seen by an extract from the petition which was presented to the king by the Protestants in 1687 at the Diet.

In this petition the Protestants complain, "That the free exercise of the rights of their religion is almost universally prohibited; that the pastors are being driven out of the villages, or prohibited from discharging their official duties; they are deprived of their property and driven to beggary; the churches are taken forcibly away; the poor people, and especially the miners, are compelled either to become Roman Catholics or lose their means of subsistence, indeed are sometimes imprisoned in heavy irons in case of refusal, or cannot receive their week's wages except they have been at mass.

"Almost universally has the Church property, consisting of houses, gardens, vineyards, been taken away; rectors and teachers imprisoned; nobles and peasants compelled to observe Popish ceremonies and holidays; Protestants obliged to sign declarations by which they engage to decline accepting of any office whatever, simply on account of their religion, deprived of all corporation privileges; — and all this done as if by command of the king.

“The tithes, which the Protestants are not bound to pay, are demanded by the priests, and other payments made compulsory in direct opposition to the laws of the land; the fees at funerals most oppressive; the use of bells, and also of hospitals, denied; public and private worship disturbed in every possible way, or prohibited; — and all this without redress.”

The Protestant Prince of Transylvania, terrified by the defeat of the Turks at Grán, 15th of August, 1685, and also by Tokely's misfortunes, joined the league on the 28th of June, 1686, and assisted the emperor very considerably in regaining Ofen, after it had been in possession of the Turks for one hundred and forty-six years; still the prince was unable in any way to relieve the Protestants. On the contrary, the persecutions above described soon extended also to Transylvania. For when the unstable Prince Apaffy, shortly after entering the league, refused to observe the conditions, his country was regarded as a conquered province.

It is not consistent with the plan of this work to give a detail of the cruelties of that time; still we cannot overlook the fearful human slaughter at Eperjes, as it casts some light on the complaints and sufferings of the Protestants, and gives a bad notoriety to the bloody and reckless men who, without shadow of law or of justice, despotically ruled over their fellows.

After the misfortunes of the former year, Tokely had been for some time cast into chains by the pasha, and, on recovering his liberty, he made several attempts once more to stir up the inhabitants of Upper Hungary to rebellion. The enemies made use of this opportunity to injure the Protestants. Anton Karaffa, the military commander of the district, a tyrant and a courtier of the worst stamp, had laid a plan to accuse all the nobility of Upper Hungary, who were chiefly Protestants, of having conspired against the king. It was represented that Gabriel Palasdy, one of Tokely's generals, had written letters and sent money to the fortress Munkacs, that the castle might be made the centre of a new revolution.

Karaffa now went to Vienna, accused the nobility and the citizens of Upper Hungary of preparing to rebel, and begged full power to rescue the country and the emperor from this great danger. The Austrian and Bohemian chancellors supported his request, and Leopold granted him the desired power to examine and punish the guilty *according to the laws of Hungary, and without molesting those who had already been pardoned.**

It was after the impulse of his own unbridled hate towards the Hungarians † that he summoned the extraordinary assize at Débrécsin and Eperjes. Men like himself, without faith and without conscience, were made members of that court. In Eperjes there were two Italian huxters, Federigo, and Giuleani, a native of Danzig and Swabian, and Karaffa himself presided.

Sending out spies and emissaries of the lowest grade, he filled the prisons with noblemen and citizens, with rich and poor, at pleasure. Thirty hangmen stood in his pay, and he had given six hundred florins for the invention of new modes of torture and refinements in the art of beheading, torturing, hanging, and quartering. ‡ So soon as the prisons were filled with men, many of whom had faithfully served their king and their country, he opened the court on the 20th of February; and, according to previous arrangement, the principal accuser and witness was an abandoned woman named Eliza Ujhély, one of the most notorious camp followers. The nobility of Zemplin saw that there was, under these circumstances, only one way of escape. Through the Bishop of Grosswardein, Augustine Boskowitzh, they sent a present of four hundred ducats and twenty barrels of best Tokay wine, and thus

* Fessler's History, Vol. IX. p. 393.

† A common expression with him was, that if he thought he had a single nerve in his body favorably inclined to the Hungarians, he would cut it out and throw it in the fire.

‡ Fessler, Vol. IX. p. 396; Johannes Rezik, l. c.

delivered themselves from further persecution and from death.

On the 15th of March the sentence of death was executed on Sigismund Zimmermann, a distinguished senator and inspector of the Evangelical Church, after he had been four hours on the wheel. His god-father, Julian, also a senator, and an Italian by birth, stood by, good naturedly watching the spectacle. At the same time and place, Caspar Rausher, a retiring, modest man, in the forty-fourth year of his age; the noble-minded Andrew Ketzer, of Lippock, also a Protestant, and one of the deputies to the Diet in 1662, who had then nobly defended the cause of freedom; and Francis Barány, a senator of Eperjes, also a Protestant, — having been first put to the torture, their right hands were then cut off, they were afterwards beheaded, and the bodies quartered and thrown into the streets. Karaffa then issued a decree that, under pain of death, no one should venture to assert that they died innocent.*

On the 22d of March, five others were put to death. Gabriel Ketzer, whose father had just been executed, and who was now in his thirtieth year, ascended the scaffold, singing, —

"Lord Jesus Christ, my only light,
The rock on which I build."

With him were executed Martin Sharosfy, Samuel Medvetsky, and the senators George Fleishhacker and George Schönleben. Medvetsky's head fell as he had uttered the words, "Lord Jesus, into thy" —. These men were simply beheaded, and quietly buried; and Fessler is not correct in saying that they were quartered like the rest.†

* Johannes Rezik, Prof. Ev. Coll. Eperjes, l. c.

† Johannes Rezik. Simon Fieldmayer had taken his own life in prison; he had been a distinguished warrior, and had fought on the king's side at the taking of Pesth.

A nobleman, Sigismund Guth, of Neusohl, who had been already some time under the torture, was at the last moment rescued by his relative, Michael Fisher, a favorite of Karaffa, and he was afterwards made senator, for which favors he became Roman Catholic.*

On the 9th of May, Andrew Szekely of Doba, George Bezegh, the wealthy and noble George Ravensky, Gabriel Palasdy, and the senators Frederick and Daniel Weber, were put to death with all the horrors and cruelty of the first execution. Ravensky was before his death so long exposed to the fire, that his body was half roasted. David Feyá, the recorder of Kashaw, went deranged under the torture, and died in prison, and in his place, a poor butcher of Kashaw, Samuel Lanyi, was without accusation or trial, set up and beheaded. After Feyá's death the body was hung on a gallows and quartered.

Michael Rosh, a nobleman from Neusohl, had been put to the torture till his strength was nearly exhausted, when a friend succeeded in ransoming him for ten thousand dollars. Having been for some time carefully nursed, he began to recover from the effects of the torture. As he was explaining to some of the deputies of the Diet at Presburg what he had suffered at the hands of Karaffa, one of them exclaimed it was impossible for the human frame to endure so much; but, on taking them aside and showing the scars, two of them immediately resolved to go to Vienna to demand that an end be put to such tortures. With the assistance of the palatine, Paul Esterházy, these two deputies, Nicolas Berényi and Ladislaus Barkotzy, succeeded in having the court dissolved and Karaffa recalled. The widows of Gabriel Ketzer and Sigismund Zimmermann, who had been judicially murdered

* Rezik remarks, "It is the custom now that theft, homicide, or rebellion is not punished if the culprit is a Lutheran and turns to the Church of Rome.

without any just ground, had cried to the king for relief, and had received a few hundred florins; but though an inquiry was promised into the transactions, yet not only was Karaffa not punished, but the king even granted him a medal as a mark of approbation.

At the beginning of the Diet in 1687 the Protestants handed in a faithful account of their sufferings, and begged for redress. They referred especially to the clause of the last Diet — *salvo jure dominorum terrestrium* — which had in so many cases rendered the promised aid tantalizing. But Leopold informed them that though, by their dissatisfaction with what had been already granted, they had forfeited all right to the privileges, nevertheless he was resolved of his own free favor to continue all the liberties which had been granted in 1681, notwithstanding all opposition on the part of the Popish clergy and some of the lay proprietors.

This article was for the Protestants a source of much anxiety. He declares that they had lost all right to their legal privileges and freedoms, because they had raised their voice against the illegal limitations of the same; and he declares it to be free royal favor if they should still continue to enjoy those rights. The bishops entered a protest even against this article, and by so doing, showed what spirit was likely to actuate them for the future. This time it was no relief to the Protestants, but, on the contrary, a heavy stroke, that all the churches which had been taken on either side since 1681 should be restored. This was then interpreted to mean that all the churches which, by the Diet at Oedenberg in 1681, had been ordered to be surrendered to the Protestants, were now to be returned. The royal commissioners accordingly took possession of them, and banished the pastors. On the 24th of January, 1688, the Protestants handed in a modest, but solemn declaration to the Diet, in which they stated their grievances and their rights. An acknowledgment of the receipt was handed to them by the representatives of the

crown, which acknowledgment they preserved, so that they might use it in happier times. Whether Joseph, the son of Leopold, who at this Diet was crowned King of Hungary, realized the hopes of the Protestants, shall be seen in the course of this history.

CHAPTER XVIII

FROM THE YEAR 1688, TILL LEOPOLD'S DEATH IN 1705.

The Royal Commissioners and their Excesses. — Banishment of Pastors Sextius and John Bury. — Stephen Fekete a Persecutor. — Bishop Matthew Rhadonnai. — Rákotzy's Imprisonment and Escape. — Civil War. — Rákotzy conquers Hungary and is elected Prince of Transylvania. — Treaties of Peace. — Foreign Intervention. — Leopold's Death.

SCARCELY had the Diet of Presburg been dissolved, when the clergy found means of bringing the decrees of the Diet of Œdenberg, which had here been renewed, to bear with terrible effect on the Protestants. Under the direction of the powerful Archbishop Kollonitz, was the new royal commission made to consist, partly of priests, partly of such public officers as were completely devoted to Rome's interests; and this commission was guilty of the most flagrant injustice, depriving the Protestants of all the churches and schools which they had legally obtained since 1681. In Gömör county, which was mentioned in the 26th article of the Diet of Œdenberg as one of those in which the Protestants should retain their churches, an order was sent by the royal commissioner to the commander of the Castle of Murány, under date of May 30, 1688, directing that all the preachers on the estates of Murány and Berensh should be banished, and, in case of opposition, should be thrown into prison.*

In consequence of this decree, the clergy of Murányallya, Hossureth, Vizesreth, Chisne, Suvetes, Rakos, and Nagykoese, left their congregations, and the churches were lost.

* In some of the estates were from six to seven, in others ten or more villages. See Crudy's Eccles. Prot., 2 Tom., MS., Appendix, No. 16.

In Sol, the royal commissioners drove the people to the necessity of emigrating. In Kremnitz and Schemnitz, the emigration of the Protestants was so extensive, in consequence of the religious oppression, that the loss to the public revenue in eight years amounted to several millions.*

In Schemnitz, the Count Erdödy, Valentine Szente, and two others, took possession of the Protestant church in the king's name, and then proceeding to Neusohl, they demanded the keys of the two churches, and ordered the organ and furniture of the church to be within an hour brought to a private house, while both the preachers must immediately leave the town.

The same work had already been done in the town of Dille, out of which the pastor, Kortonius, was banished for the third time. The commissioners, assisted by the vice-gespan, Samuel Bonicsky, a renegade Protestant, went through the same process in Bries; and the pastor, Sextius, who was just returned from exile, was ordered within a very few hours to leave the town. With wife and five children, he left the town as an exile. The old pastor, Nicolas Nicolaides, was also with the schoolmaster ordered to quit; but, on the entreaty of the congregation, he obtained leave to remain, on condition of resigning all claim to the pastoral office. The old man exclaimed, that he *would rather emigrate to Germany, even if he should die on the public streets, than make such an engagement.* The schoolmaster, Martin Dubowsky, might also have remained, on condition of educating the children in accordance with the tenets of the Church of Rome, but he scornfully rejected the proposal, and, with his faithful wife, accompanied the pastor in his exile.

In Altsol, the Protestants received a message requiring that the surrender of the church should have taken place previous to the arrival of the commissioners. In Karpfen, or-

* Hist. Diplom., p. 124.

ders were received immediately to close the Protestant church, to cease to use the bells, and to banish the Protestant preachers without delay. In this church, John Bury, whose history of the transactions has often been quoted, was laboring all the time, and he also was obliged to go into exile. An appeal to the laws of the last Diet was disregarded, and the only reply was, that, on pain of death and confiscation of all his property, no pastor should in future discharge any of the functions of his office.

John Bury appealed once more to the laws of the land, but was informed by the vice-gespan that "he had only executed his orders, and did not wish to show the Protestants' ways and means of remaining." Bury, who was at the time laboring under intermittent fever, answered that he had always stood under the special protection of the Most High; even during his thirteen years' exile the Lord had provided for him, and, under the shade of the Most High, he and his children should never want. "Certainly the Lord will not forsake you," said the commissioner in a kindly tone, as if somewhat moved, to the great astonishment of some and chagrin of others of his assistants.

The proposal was made that, by undertaking to resign the pastoral office, they might remain in quiet,—but this was declined. A young priest, Emerich Kano, had in the mean time taken possession of the church with all the silver; and when he found that, after three days, the two preachers were not yet gone, he threatened to drive them away by the military power. The vice-gespan quieted the young priest, however, bidding him wait till Leopold's decision in the matter had arrived, and the pastors had still a little quiet.

Many other parishes were treated in the same way, and all appealed to the king for protection against the injustice done them. After the deputations had waited for years at Vienna, it was on the 2d of April, 1691, that Leopold broke silence by a declaration little calculated to relieve the Prot-

estants. We may enter more particularly into the consideration of this resolution or decree at the proper time. It is sufficient here to remark that the doubtful passage of the Edenberg Diet was not explained, and some of the enactments of that Diet were overturned. The persecutions were from this time forward intolerable. Often were the ambassadors of England and the Netherlands requested to interfere; but when, by such means, a favorable concession was made, it was either counteracted in a few days by another decree, or was not carried out by those who had charge of the execution.* As evidence of this, we shall present to our readers only a few facts.

In the spirit of Popish fanaticism, the royal commissioner,† John French, deputed by the Presburg chamber, came to Trentshin. He deposed the Protestant senators, ordered the city not to retain more than one Protestant pastor, and after forbidding even him to baptize, to attend funerals, to marry, or to perform any similar ministerial office, he at last, in 1696, banished him. The schoolmaster and some students were banished; others were thrown into prison. Respectable citizens were publicly whipped on the market-day for no other crime than that of being Protestants. The commissioner compelled the Protestants to attend all the processions, and was in the habit of characterizing them, without exception, even in public, as rebels, liars, thieves. This lasted for three years.

Females, whether of the nobility, gentry, or peasants, who, from conviction, joined the Protestant Church, were immediately banished, and threatened, in case of return, to be publicly whipped by the hangman.‡

In the year 1700, when the complaints had become very loud, a new commissioner was sent to inquire into the cause

* Hist. Diplom., pp. 126, 127.

† The commissioners were generally either bishops or men of distinction.

‡ Hist. Diplom., l. c.

of complaint; but, instead of making matters better, he made them worse. He compelled Protestants to carry the flags before the Popish processions; and if, in the places under his protection, a pastor fell sick, no other could be admitted to supply his place. In a similar way were the royal commissioners, Earl Löwenburg, Peterfy, and Meyer, perpetrating the most intolerable cruelties in Schemnitz, Kremnitz, Neusohl, and Bartfeld, for which they were never punished.

In Güns, the royal commissioner was assisted by the bigoted Abbot Szalavar, and the renegade Stephen Fekete, once a Protestant superintendent, now Popish recorder of the city. The abbot had a soldier given to him as bodyguard, and he abused this privilege so far as, without any assigned cause, to employ his guard in taking two Protestant senators and casting them into prison in the Castle of Forchtenstein. Here they lay for six weeks and three days, and were at last released by giving a promise, which they had no intention of keeping, and which they did not keep, of joining the Roman Catholic Church. Their names were John Simon and Daniel Gombassy. The abbot put the pastor in chains, and did not set him free till a thousand dollars were deposited as security that within twenty-four hours he should leave the town. On one of the citizens inquiring on whose authority this was taking place, the abbot drew out a pistol, saying, "This will answer the second question you ask." *

In the mean time the abbot's military guard plundered fearlessly and shamelessly in the town and suburbs. By circulating false reports in the king's name, and by giving to the Roman Catholics certificates that they were good citizens, many of the Protestants were driven into the forests, and during their absence their houses were plundered. Little behind the abbot was the priest George Ujvany in inventing

* Ex protocollo Jesuitarum Gunsä.

new punishments. It was this priest who, in the year 1700, introduced the song of the night-watch, in which the following passage occurs: "Glory be to God and to our Lady, — the clock strikes nine."

The hardest blow of all was the cruelty of Fekete against those over whom he had once been placed as pastor. In his new office, as recorder, he laid the heaviest portion of the taxes on the Protestants, and acted on the whole in such a way as to earn the most unbounded praise from the abbot.

And all this persecution in Güns was in the face of the special royal protection which Leopold had granted them, and which had been guaranteed by the palatine and by Kollonitz in the year 1674, and renewed in 1701, in which patent Leopold declared it *to be his royal will and pleasure, that the strictest faith be kept with the citizens of Güns, and that they be protected from every foe, and from every attack on their just rights.**

But the Papists knew too well that they had the power in their hands. Without regarding the royal patent, they took possession of the Church funds, and of the money which had been gathered for evangelical purposes, — a part of which had even been subscribed by brethren in foreign lands, — and being now deposited with the Protestant citizens of Güns, it was all taken away, and never returned.†

In Bartfeld, the provost, Tarnocsy, with two priests, the recorder of the city, and sixteen soldiers, attacked the pastor, Elijah Sartori (who had been appointed with Leopold's sanction), *while engaged in public worship, drove him out of the church*, placed him on a cart, and ordered him to leave the town. Those of the citizens who showed any inclination to resist were thrown into prison, and many were fined in two hundred florins; during which time the provost and his friends were eating and drinking in the house of the pastor.

* Hist. Diplom., l. c. † Hist. Diplom., and Eedenb. Denkwürdigk. MS.

This took place on the 10th of April, and on the 10th of May following a similar scene was enacted at Bartfeld.

The Bishop of Fünfkirchen, Matthew Rhadonai, did not wish to be behind his brethren in zeal. He accordingly sent a circular round his diocese, giving information that he would tolerate within the bounds of his diocese neither heretics, nor Jews, nor robbers, nor Calvinists, nor blasphemers, and that every one who wished to reside in his diocese must embrace the Roman Catholic religion, — which alone can save them. If, however, the preachers should refuse to listen to reason, they should be treated like those of Nádasdy and Mobatz. "Be assured," he wrote in another letter, "that if you sent me twenty-five bushels of ducats every day, I would not tolerate you in my diocese. For I tell you that an ox or an ass, the creeping things and the fish in the sea, yea, even the Devil himself, would sooner be taken out of the abyss and obtain eternal life than a Calvinist. I know how dangerous the Calvinistic doctrine is. Robbers, Calvinists, and Turks, I will not tolerate." This letter bore date 17th of March, 1690.

In this spirit were his letters written. Even more zealous than Kollonitz, he wrote in the following year to the landed proprietors, directing them for this once to have some little respect for the law of the land, nevertheless, to lose no opportunity of advancing the glory of the Church of Rome.

His next attempt was in writing "letters of conversion" to the Calvinists, filled with threats. Those were directed to the preachers in Kosmark, Darvocs, Siklos, and others. At the same time he urged his clergy on to the most violent measures in rooting out Calvinism. And it did not at that time require much exertion to produce this much-desired consummation. The clergy looked to their head, the Archbishop Kollonitz, and acted as he did. He and the palatine, however, stifled every feeling of justice and of humanity towards the Protestants. The evangelical inhabitants of

Grán were, without distinction of sex, driven by force into the Popish Church, their Psalm-books which they had brought with them were struck out of their hands. In the country places, the churches of Bash, Moros, Boosen, and others, were, without ceremony, taken possession of by the Papists, and those who refused to turn to Popery were driven, quite irrespective of age or sex, from house and home.

About this time the cardinal obtained from Rome a special license permitting the palatine Paul Esterházy to marry his brother's daughter. The license was granted on the express condition that he should use his utmost exertions to banish heresy from the apostolic empire.* The prince was really in earnest, and hoped by his zeal to atone fully for the sin of his marriage, and for every other. He soon surpassed even the clergy. As the richest landholder in Hungary, he abused his power to take possession of all the churches on his vast estates. Whole villages he compelled to become Papists. Whole districts he banished from house and home on refusing to comply with his wish, cast others into prison, inventing many new punishments. All this he did in his private capacity. Then, as palatine, he ordered all the lieutenants and deputy-lieutenants of counties to destroy these vermin out of the districts under their care. He set aside the law of the land, and gave orders in direct contradiction to the decrees of the Diets.

The Jesuits are not ashamed openly to boast of such things, as appears in the book *Phosphorus Austriacus*, Vienna, 1699; in which they report triumphantly that in one year above eighteen thousand souls have been brought back to the Popish Church, and that the number of churches taken from the Protestants cannot be counted.

It was in the same spirit that, to the great vexation of Joseph, the court preacher Widmann, in Leopold's funeral

* The usual name of the Austrian empire at the present time.

oration, mentioned the great merits of the deceased in rooting out the heretics. By means of working on Leopold's weakness, and often without his knowledge, the Jesuits have succeeded in casting a stain on his character which remains there after his death. The personal character of the monarch is represented by many contemporaries as very different from that which we have seen developed in ecclesiastical matters.

It was natural that the hatred of the Protestants for the throne of Austria increased under such treatment. The number of malcontents made by the persecution was increased by a host of honest, well-meaning patriots, who saw with the bitterest sorrow, that, notwithstanding the oaths and promises of Leopold to preserve the Constitution of Hungary in all its rights and privileges, yet Austrian ministers, and especially Cardinal Kollonitz and Palatine Paul Esterházy, had brought matters so far, that Hungary was now treated only as a province of Austria.* All these liberal spirits were therefore hated by the ministry of Vienna, and traps were laid for them, that they might be first provoked to rebellion, and then betrayed.

They thus succeeded in betraying the young Rákotzy. His was a character which even the training of Kollonitz and of the Jesuits had not been able to spoil. Enraged that he should not join them in their councils, they bribed his secretary, who delivered up a letter which had been written by Rákotzy to Louis XIV. of France, though that letter had never been sent, and the secretary had been ordered to burn it.

Rákotzy and many of his most courageous friends were imprisoned, and the former would certainly, in spite of Leopold's promises, and in spite of powerful intercessors on his

* The cardinal's motto was, "I will make Hungary first captive, then poor, then Popish."

behalf, have died on the scaffold, if his noble spouse, Amelia, daughter of the Landgrave of Hesse, had not promised Captain Lehmann, who had charge of the prisoners, thirty thousand florins in case of setting her husband free. Rákotzy escaped to Poland, and Lehmann died on the scaffold, but the money was duly paid to his family.

This young and talented prince, whom the King of Poland refused to surrender up to Austria, now felt himself quite at liberty, and even called on, to draw the sword for his poor oppressed country. In April, 1703, the first flame of civil war broke out, and as the insurgents were without arms and discipline, they might very readily have been oppressed.

Rákotzy's arrival out of Poland, his valorous declaration, the delays of the Court of Vienna, which lay in perfect security, and some advantages gained by his army in the commencement, put Rákotzy in possession of the half of Hungary. The insurgents swarmed round the walls of Vienna, and plundered and burnt all down. The repeated representations of the foreign ambassadors in favor of Hungary had for years been disregarded, and now the evident falsehood and insincerity of the Court of Vienna prevented any reasonable expectation of peace, even in spite of all the exertions of that best of patriots and most moderate of priests, Paul Szecsényi, Archbishop of Kalotska. "Who can believe," wrote Rákotzy to the archbishop, "that the Court of Vienna really intends to keep its word, when the Turks are already invited to assist in quelling the discontent, and when the Jews are promised a great reward for assassinating myself?" And again: "The king acknowledges that the laws of the land have been transgressed by his officers without his wish or knowledge, and yet he does nothing to cause the injustice to cease. He refers only to some coming Diet, but, after what we have seen, we may rather expect the injustice and the oppression to increase than to cease when the Diet meets." *

* Fessler, l. c. Vol. IX.

Rákotzy was willing to enter into a treaty, but only on condition that a guarantee be given by the foreign powers that the treaty shall really be carried out. Nothing could be more disagreeable to the Court of Vienna ; but the circumstances were such, that, owing to Rákotzy's success and talents, and to their own mistakes, they were now compelled to admit George Stepney, the English ambassador, and also the ambassador from the Netherlands, to take part in the deliberations with Rákotzy's deputies. These deliberations were conducted partly at Páks, partly at Gyöngyös ; but, owing to the changeableness of the directions sent from Vienna, they came to no conclusion, and Leopold continued to waste and plunder, not only Hungary, but also Transylvania.

The Protestants who lived under the government of Calvinistic princes had, since Botskay's days, about the year 1605, lived in peace with the Unitarians and the Papists. On the death of Apaffy, however, in the year 1690, this land was also doomed to drink the bitter cup which the Jesuits mix. With a prudent precaution, the states had, previous to their union with Austria, taken every legal means of securing, by repeated and varied enactments, their full civil and religious liberty. Leopold had, in the name of himself and his successors, in the most solemn manner, ratified these enactments, and bound himself by a decree, dated at Vienna, the 4th of December, 1691, to the strictest observance. So early, however, as the 4th of December, 1693, the king published a declaration, by which all the contracts were rendered of little avail, and in 1699, another, by which the Protestants were reduced to the greatest straits.

For upwards of a hundred years there had been no Roman Catholic bishop in Transylvania, and it was contrary to law for any one to assume the title. A bishop made his appearance, however ; and shortly after, in the year 1700, the College of Weiskirchen was taken away from the Calvinists, and this was done by a company of soldiers under the command of a priest.

Leopold had just a few years before sworn, "never to issue an edict by which the Protestants should be disturbed or hampered in their religious rights and liberties." Soon after, churches were taken away. They were in a short time obliged to restore the college, but the chamber now refused to pay the professors, and they were reduced to the greatest want.

A new royal edict appeared in 1702, respecting the tithes. The tithes were to be taken from the Protestants, and they were about to be excluded from public offices, when an agreement was made — in which the Lutherans, however, had no part — according to which the tithes were to be divided between the Protestants and Roman Catholics. Even this, however, brought no peace, for "what the Calvinists and the Unitarians voluntarily surrendered was kindly received by the Papists, and what they did not surrender on demand was taken by force." *

Wherefore, in the year 1703, in the midst of the war, a deputation was sent to Vienna to beg the king to protect the Protestants. The deputation waited long; and before they had received their reply, the king's general, Robutin, had laid the town of Enyed, with its Protestant college, in ashes. This took place on the Sunday before Easter, in 1704; and shortly afterwards, or in the following August, Transylvania elected Rákotzy to be prince.

Under such circumstances was the consideration of the conditions of peace more earnestly taken up, in the presence and under the assistance of the foreign ambassadors.

On the 1st of May, 1705, the king invited the English and Dutch ambassadors to join with Szecsényi in showing that he was prepared to remove all just ground of complaint. Rákotzy demanded other securities, such as the occupation of the fortresses in the country by Hungarian soldiers, the

* *Historia Transylvaniæ*, p. 33.

removal of foreign generals from the army, and of the foreign civil officers, — the blood-suckers of the country, — according to the constitution; and also the enjoyment of equal civil and religious privileges by all ranks and parties.

Whether the king would have kept such a promise is doubtful; and the more so, when we see him regretting the privileges which the Protestants had obtained at the Diet of Eödenberg.

On his deathbed he was distressed at the thought of the devastations in his kingdom, and at the prospects which awaited his son, Joseph I. In addition to this, a letter from the Elector of Bavaria, Maximilian, to Rákotzy, was intercepted, and the consequence was, that he gave the following wise advice to his son: — "*Whatever the ministers may say, make peace with the Hungarians. Demand the fulfilment only of the conditions of the last Presburg Diet and the right of inheritance; and whatever else the insurgents may demand, yield it, however hard it may appear; that you may then be able to protect the whole kingdom from foreign invasion.*" *

Thus departed Leopold, on the 5th of May, 1705, in his sixty-fifth year. People have given him the appellation of "The Great." In as far as Hungary was concerned, he had no title to it. This country could not call him even a just king. With the sword, and with constant fear and jealousy, the Hungarians must protect themselves from him and his courtiers, as from robbers. The noblest of her sons died on the scaffold or in exile, and Hungary must look quietly on. The deeds which Leopold's emissaries perpetrated in the name of true religion would have brought disgrace on a heathen government. At Marienzell, the famous place for pilgrimages, which Leopold often visited, he usually began his prayers with the formula, "I, Leopold, the chief of sinners, and the unworthy servant of the Holy Virgin," &c.

* Fessler, Gesch der Ungarn, Vol. IX. p. 566.

What brought honor on his name was the distinguished general the Duke of Lutringia and Eugene of Savoy ; his ministers, Strattmann and Kannitz, brought him respect from foreign courts ; but in as far as Protestantism in general is concerned, or in as far as Hungary and its Church was connected with him, we can only see him as the blind instrument of an archbishop, and it is only as a *heartless persecutor* that he deserves the epithet, "The Great."

CHAPTER XIX.

JOSEPH I. FROM 1705 TO 1711.

Election of Superintendents. — Quarrels between the Pastors and the Lay Office-bearers in the Church Courts. — Pastor of Presburg banished by Kollonitz. — Charles XII. founds Scholarships. — Synod of Rosenberg. — Diet of Onod. — Rákotzy excommunicated. — Rákotzy and the Jesuits. — Joseph favors the Protestants. — Death of the King. — Peace of Száthmar.

WITH the banishing of a Jesuit, the notorious Widemann, who had delivered the funeral oration over the late king, and with a complete amnesty under date of May 10, 1705, Joseph I. of Austria began his reign. The conciliatory spirit with which he commenced was also most firmly retained during life. What a privilege was this for the Protestants! Under persecution and oppression, the inward life of the Church had suffered severely, and little had been done for the schools. Their principal members had been executed; their pastors banished; and since 1672, they had no superintendents in all that part of the country under Leopold's sway. It was in 1704, during the disturbances under Rákotzy, that the Lutherans took courage to elect Stephen Pilarik of Schemnitz, and by the assistance of the Baron Godfrey Hellenbach, to appoint him to the office of superintendent on the 19th of May. On the 22d of May, Andrew Bodo, of Szetnek, and James Zabler (just returned from exile to his church at Bartfeld), were elected superintendents. The nobility elected a fourth, in the person of Daniel Kirmann, pastor of Sol, in the year 1706, and Stephen Pilarik ordained him without any opposition on the part of the congregations. There was just now great need of distinguished

men at the head of the ecclesiastical movements, for very unpleasant misunderstandings existed in many cases between the pastors and the elders of the churches. The elders and deacons of the churches wished to place the pastor in a very dependent position, and the clergy, on the other hand, did not always treat the lay representatives of the Church with becoming deference. In Presburg, the quarrel between the town council and pastor Christian Krumbholz rose to such a height, that Cardinal Kollonitz interfered, and banished the pastor. In Modern, the superintendent, Stephen Pilarik, published a catechism in which the reply to the question, "What is God?" stated, "God is a spirit." Now, in former catechisms, it had been added, "the most perfect"; which expression Pilarik omitted, and the omission was the occasion of a quarrel, which rose to such a pitch, that Pilarik had to resign his office and retire to Saxony. There he lived many years as pastor of Meissen.

The loss of such men could be ill borne just at this time, and was so much the more felt as they had by their learning done so much for the schools. The Latin proverb says, "When arms sound, the Muses keep silence"; but the Protestants of Hungary had always made good use of the times of peace to make the schools efficient.

And notwithstanding all that had taken place, still the high schools were in a tolerably satisfactory state. In Oedenberg, Noeschel had introduced a new curriculum, in which the Hungarian language was made prominent,—a measure which makes Oedenberg to this day a place of no small importance as the seat of a Hungarian college. In Presburg, Modern, Güns, and Pösing, as also in the mining towns of Lower Hungary, Kremnitz, Schemnitz, and Neusohl, there were distinguished professors, who, like Bury and Pilarik, had won themselves a high place in the hearts of many grateful students. In the free cities of Upper Hungary, as Leutshaw and Eperjes, the Protestants were not less zealous;

indeed, in the latter city, some thought them too zealous, for, instead of the college which had been destroyed in 1672, they in 1684 commenced to build a new establishment, which, from its splendor, excited the envy of their foes, and brought on them much persecution. The Calvinists gave a pleasing evidence here of their kindly spirit towards their Lutheran brethren, in making a very liberal collection towards the building fund.

While thus engaged in advancing the interests of the schools, the Protestants were not only favored by the victories of Rákotzy, but also by the intervention of foreign princes. On the 28th of July, 1705, Charles XII. of Sweden decreed that four Hungarian students of divinity should be supported at his expense at Greifswald, and he at the same time undertook to intercede with the king on behalf of the Protestant interests generally. In the counties of Thurocs and Liptau, many churches which, either by force or fraud, had been taken from the Protestants, were, by the order of Rákotzy, restored. Among these was the church of Libethen, where the first Protestant congregation in Hungary had been formed. In the free election of their pastors the Protestants were much less hampered than formerly; and this may have arisen from a conviction on the mind of the oppressors, that the dowager-empress and the king were tired of fighting, and in case of complaint were prepared to show the Protestants more justice.

It appeared, then, to be a proper time for holding a synod to regulate the disorders which had crept in during the persecutions of Ferdinand. Accordingly, in April, 1707, the Synod of Rosenberg met. The burning of candles in daylight, and the chanting of the liturgy, were, at this meeting, directed to cease, and in their stead suitable portions of Scripture, and a selection of prayers for particular occasions, were ordered to be read. The singing of Latin hymns and the abuse of instrumental music in public worship were forbidden,

and it was directed in future to abstain from funerals at night, as well as from carrying a cross before the coffins. Another regulation was as impolitic as it was opposed to the principles of the evangelical church, namely, that the superintendents should bear the title "Excellentissimus." Among other reasons, this was not without its influence on the bishops in inducing them at the following Diet to urge that the decrees of this synod should be annulled.

It was at this time that Rákotzy summoned the Diet of Onod, at which the throne of Hungary was declared vacant; and it was resolved that Hungary should in future be a republic. From this time forward Rákotzy's good fortune began to forsake him, and the ambitious friends who surrounded him, but especially Count Beresenyi, the commander of the forces, drove him to ruin. At this Diet, all the four churches, the Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinistic, and Unitarian, were declared to have equal rights and privileges, and preparations were made for banishing the Jesuits.

Several of the deputies now raised their voices in favor of the Jesuits, and brought charges against the Protestants. When a petition had been prepared, setting forth the great benefits which the Jesuits had conferred on the country, this Roman Catholic prince not only expressed his astonishment, but also in a lengthened reply expressed his entire dissatisfaction with the order and its schemes. He reminded the States how it was the Jesuits who had given him a spy in the person of Captain Longuevall, who betrayed him to the government of Vienna by means of the notorious letter to Louis XIV.; how it was the Jesuits who were raising triumphal arches for him in Transylvania, and were supplying him with money for the war, while they, at the very same time, were representing themselves in Vienna as martyrs to the cause of the emperor.* All that they had done for the

* Engel, *Gesch.*, l. c., p. 197.

cause of education — so thought Rákotzy — had been more than counterbalanced by the persecutions, and the confusions, and mischief, which they had caused in all lands, but especially in Hungary.*

The prudence of the prince prevented a schism in the ranks of the insurgents, but this made it only the more necessary for Joseph to take energetic measures for protecting himself from the impending danger. Accordingly, while his generals, with all manner of troops — among whom were even Danes and Hanoverians — were watching every opportunity for successful operations, the king published once more a complete amnesty. He also summoned a Diet to meet at Presburg in 1708, but, notwithstanding all assurances of personal safety, not one of Rákotzy's party appeared. The object of the Diet was thus lost, but the spirit of the times was still manifest ; for when the Protestants presented their petition for redress of grievances, the Roman Catholic party obstinately resisted, giving as a reason, that all the Protestants were rebels, and, as such, deserved no sympathy. The Diet separated without bringing the Protestants any relief, and all appeared to go on as under the reign of Leopold.

It was on the 12th of December, 1709, that the dawn of a better day appeared. Under this date, Joseph issued an edict, together with a letter addressed to the Archbishop of Grán, directing that the priests should cease their clandestine persecutions ; that in religious matters, all should remain as it was before the Rákotzy revolution ; that the articles of the Œdenberg Diet of 1681 should be explained in their natural literal meaning, and should be scrupulously adhered to ; and that no change should be made except legally at the Diet. By this step he gained the hearts of many Protestants, who, weary of war, were only waiting for an opportunity of lay-

* Petr. Bad. Hist. Eccl. Hung., Tom. III., MS.; Ribinyi, *Memorabilia*, Tom. II. p. 172.

ing down their arms with a good conscience. Rákotzy's ranks began to thin. Soon, however, must he sustain a heavier loss. Clement XI., in a bull of 18th of December, through the Cardinal of Saxony, excommunicated Rákotzy. The Roman Catholics, in great numbers, deserted him. Want of money and disagreements among his generals now induced him to take steps for a reconciliation with Joseph. His violent but short-sighted Hungarian advisers now piled difficulties in his way, and reminded him of his pledge, not to lay down arms till complete civil and religious liberty had been gained for the whole land. The war continued; even the advice of the King of Poland was rejected; and Rákotzy's cause went on sinking fast.

One cause of Joseph's continued success was his faithfulness to the Protestants, even when danger seemed to be past. The clergy were again resuming their old tricks wherever Joseph's arms were victorious; and the Protestants of Schemnitz, Kremnitz, and Neusohl, cried to the king for help against the royal commissioners, and especially against Ladislaus Borschitzky, whose zeal in the restoration of the Catholic faith equalled the olden time.

On the 10th of March, 1710, Joseph issued an order to the archbishop and his coadjutor,* "That the Protestants should not be disturbed in the possession of such church property as was guaranteed by the Oedenberg Diet of 1681, and which they held previously to Rákotzy's rebellion; those who had returned from exile should be allowed to remain quietly, and the Protestant pastors should not be disturbed in the possession of their revenues." The cardinal wrote a circular to the clergy, in which he explained this edict in a way prejudicial to the Protestants; but Joseph immediately issued a fresh order, in which he declared that the churches which

* Christian August Duke of Saxony distinguished himself in the siege of Ofen, and in the year 1692 joined the Roman Catholic Church. In the year 1695 he became Bishop of Raab, and coadjutor of the Archbishop of Grán.

Rákotzy had taken from the Roman Catholics should be restored, but the Protestant pastors and schoolmasters should retain the revenues.*

In this way was Joseph seeking to restore peace and harmony among his subjects, when the angel of death, in an unexpected way, entered the royal dwelling. Joseph I. was attacked with small-pox, and very soon died.

In the mean time Rákotzy was pursued and driven out of Hungary to the borders of Poland. He had given his army into the command of one of his generals, Count Karolyi, and, though much smaller than formerly, still the numbers were considerable. He heard, however, nothing of the death of Joseph, and the communication having been stopped in consequence of a prevailing epidemic, the Court of Vienna succeeded for the present in keeping him in ignorance.

By great exertions on the part of Count Paul Pallfy, the field-marshal, and Eleonora, the queen-dowager, a peace was at last concluded, known by the name of the "Peace of Száthmar." It was signed on the 10th of May, 1711, and the conditions were guaranteed on the part of England by the Earl of Sutherland, and on the part of Holland by Baron Rechtan. It was a hard battle which those men fought on both sides before they could bring about a reconciliation. The manner in which they did their work, however, may be learned from a memorial which the same men, as representatives of their respective countries, handed to Leopold before his death. In this memorial they stated, "that the conduct of the landed proprietors, in compelling those who resided on their estates to adopt the religion of their landlord, is in no way different from the awful French persecutions. It is

* These were chiefly churches where the whole village was Protestant, but where the church was claimed by the Catholics on the ground that they had built it. In such places the priests enjoyed the revenue without having a single individual under their care. In Harken, in Edenberg County, in Missdorf, and elsewhere, this may be seen at the present day.

not to be expected that by such treatment the souls of men can be brought nearer to God. If the dragoons and hussars are proper persons to do the work of the apostles of Jesus Christ, he would never have said, 'Behold, I send you forth as sheep among wolves'; and besides, these dragoons are not fishers of men, but 'mighty hunters before the Lord,' who hunt for souls to drive them to perdition."

The fruit of such representations these men reaped in the Peace of Száthmar, some of the conditions of which were as follows:—

"The Transylvanians shall be treated according to their own laws, rights, and customs. The ecclesiastical state of the Kumanians, Jasyges, and free Haiduken, should be regulated at the next Diet. The States have a right to demand at the Diet what appears to them to be a sufficient guarantee of the king's sincerity in engaging to preserve the independence of Hungary and Transylvania; to appoint none but natives to civil and military offices; and to grant the Protestants perfect freedom. It was forbidden, under heavy penalty, to make the participation in the confederation with Rákotzy any reason for punishment in time to come. The royal generals and civil officers received the most peremptory orders to treat all parties with perfect impartiality."*

* Fessler, Vol. IX. p. 646.

THIRD PERIOD.

FROM THE PEACE OF SZÁTHMAR TO THE DEATH OF
LEOPOLD II., 1712 - 1792.

CHAPTER I.

CHARLES VI. — 1712 - 1740.

Rákotzy's Retirement. — Coronation of Charles in Presburg. — New Persecutions. — The King protects the Protestants. — The Diet. — The King still favorable to Impartial Justice. — Renewal of the Acts of 1681 and 1687. — Quibbles. — Proposed Oath to exclude the Protestants. — The Protestants placed entirely in the Hands of the King.

THE bloody war which had laid the country waste for a period of nine years was now concluded at the Treaty of Száthmar. Thousands of laborers returned to the cultivation of the land. The nobility repaired the castles which had been burnt down, and resumed their patriarchial relation to their dependants. The amnesty had been universal, so that even Rákotzy might live at ease, if he chose, on his estates. Full of mistrust, however, towards the Austrian government, and of hatred towards his former adherents, he preferred residing out of the country. With a few faithful followers he went to Paris, where he resided for six years. Some historians say he was supported by the bounty of the French king, but this we cannot believe, as, by the Treaty of Száthmar, he had full right to enjoy the proceeds of his estates when and how he chose. He afterwards lived eigh-

teen years at Constantinople, and died at Rodosto, in Bessarabia, in his sixtieth year.

In the mean time, Charles hastened home from Spain to take possession of the throne which had been unexpectedly vacated. The Capuchin monks of Mount St. Jerome helped him to escape. The act cost the guardian and reader of the cloister their lives, but at a later time Charles richly repaid the favor which had thus been shown him, by endowing that order of monks, on a magnificent scale, at Vienna. Charles was crowned emperor at Frankfort-on-the-Maine, and on the 25th of January, 1712, he reached Vienna. One of his first acts was to surrender the royal crown of Hungary to deputies of the Hungarian nation, that this monument of their national independence, which had been so long shut up in the treasury at Vienna, might be in their own hands.

A Diet was soon summoned at Presburg, to take the necessary steps for his coronation as King of Hungary. The coronation took place with great splendor on the 22d of May, in the Cathedral of St. Martin. Immediately afterwards, the Protestants presented an earnest statement of their case, and expressed a hope that the confidence which they had placed in him might be realized.

Since the death of Joseph, the Protestants had experienced new oppressions, and, while the conditions of the Peace of Száthmar were not yet carried out, the public worship of the Protestants had already in some places been made to cease. At Neusohl, the soldiers had been employed in this work, and the empress-mother had been obliged to use her influence that the disturbances should cease. She had written, "that, both in Hungary and Transylvania, the rights of the Protestants as established by law should be respected, and that they should at all times have the liberty of presenting their grievances, either before the king or the Diet." The bishops had, however, found means of evading the law and of manifesting their hatred to the Protestants in many forms

of oppression. The petition, therefore, which the Protestants presented at the coronation, was to the effect, that those pastors who had in the mean time been banished from their churches, or deprived of their income, might be restored to their rights.

If we may judge from the number of decrees which Charles published in favor of the Protestants, and from the circumstances mentioned in those edicts, we would infer that the spirit of persecution was as rampant at this time as it had ever been. Though sometimes hardly pressed by the clerical party, yet we find him showing no favor to the arbitrary acts even of those high in power. At the Diet of 1712, he gave orders to allow the Protestants every opportunity of bringing forward their just complaints. And though he sent the archdeacon as royal commissioner to visit the Protestant churches of Gömör, yet he gave orders to the youthful Joseph Esterházy on no account to disturb the Protestant church of Bartfeld, and he recalled and reinstated the Reformed pastor of Lewens, after the clerical party had banished him.

On the 14th of August, 1713, he issued an edict by which the authorities of Kashaw were warned to keep within the bounds of the law in their treatment of the Protestants; that the clergy should not be prevented from receiving their just dues from the people; that the tradesmen should not be punished for absenting themselves from the processions on Corpus Christi day; and that the charge of having taken part with Rákotzy should no more be allowed to prevent any one from enjoying his full rights.

Such impartial justice filled the hearts of the Protestants with rejoicing, but tended only to excite the priests to greater watchfulness to find grounds of accusation. It was bitter, they thought, that when they had so nearly gained their great end—the annihilation of the Protestant Church—a new respite should be afforded the heretics to enable them to gather

strength. Accordingly, if a pastor preached, visited the sick, or discharged any pastoral duty out of the bounds of his parish, a charge was immediately preferred against him. It was not unusual in such cases to excite the people and to raise a tumult, while the pastors were then charged as the cause of the riot.*

In consequence of such representations, the clergy obtained from Charles, on the 29th of April, 1714, an unfavorable edict for the Protestants, in which they were ordered on no account to go beyond the bounds of their parishes to open schools which had not existed previous to Rákotzy's time, nor to retain any pastors or teachers who were not actually and fully employed.

The difficulty of the king's position may, however, be readily seen. Still his example had an effect on the cardinal-archbishop, for, when the Protestants of Gömör county presented a petition complaining of the loss of their churches, he did not, it is true, restore them, but on the back of the petition wrote a direction to the Protestants and Catholics to live in peace with each other, and to the authorities that they should faithfully carry out the king's decrees.

On the 26th of June, 1714, we find another edict directing that the tradesmen who had been imprisoned for not attending the procession on Corpus Christi day, should be immediately released, and that the authorities of Kashaw should in future let religious matters alone. On the 10th of June we find another royal letter to the citizens of Eperjes, ordering them to obey the royal commissioners, and to restore the

* This conduct was not confined to that period, for in 1840 the same plans were with great effect carried out. A band of rioters, with the priest at their head, disturbing Protestant funerals; the pastor arrested for assembling the children of his parishioners on a Sunday evening to catechize them; on the decease of a pastor, the widow not allowed to inherit a *Commentary on the Bible*, the property of her deceased husband, because it was a book not in accordance with the doctrines of the Church of Rome;—such are occurrences in our own time.

Protestant church and school-house. A very sharp reproof was also given to the Roman Catholic citizens of Bartfeld for annoying the Protestants in the building of a new church.

The last Diet had been dissolved on account of the plague, and Charles summoned a new meeting in Presburg, which lasted from the 19th of October, 1714, till the 10th of June, 1715. In the upper house the bishops, and in the lower house many of the Roman Catholic deputies, evinced such a spirit of hostility to the late conciliatory measures, that many presumed on this fact to renew the persecutions they loved so well.

At the Diet, an effort was made, not only to annihilate the conditions of the Peace of Vienna and Linz, but also of the Diets of 1681 and 1687, and to make the bishops supreme judges in all matters pertaining to religion. The king, however, on examining the proposed enactments, struck out such passages as seemed to him severe. He erased one declaration, which proposed to enact that no attention should be paid to any edict of toleration for the Protestants previous to the year 1681, and confirmed the following enactments:—

“The king declares it to be his royal will and pleasure that the enactments of the Diets of 1681 and 1687, in matters of dispute between the Roman Catholics and Protestants, be considered as still binding, and are hereby renewed. Should any one consider himself aggrieved by the execution of these resolutions, he has a right personally, but not in a corporate capacity, to present his grievance before the throne. Commissioners shall be appointed by the king and the Diet conjointly for carrying out this decree.”

The kingdoms of Dalmatia and Slavonia, as also some free cities, were to be left out of these enactments. The law had some benefits for the Protestants, but they were burdened with many disadvantages.*

* The commissioners appointed for carrying out the enactments were the

The laws of 1681 and 1687 had been mentioned, but were not entered; it had been said that the enactments should be explained according to their real meaning; but who should decide what that is? Should the enactments of Leopold in 1691, of Joseph in 1709 and 1710, decide? or should the Diet pass a declaratory act for explaining the resolutions? Such questions gave the Protestants much annoyance before the commission, which soon met at Pesth. The quibbles were endless. It was said this enactment is a declaration of "the royal will and pleasure," consequently the Protestants have no *legal* rights. It was said that the old statutes were "still" binding, which might imply that they could any day be suspended. Such were the quibbles of men resolved to be partial.

The decision was also unfavorable, which directed the complaints in future not to be laid before the Diet, but before the king. The number and the political weight of the Roman Catholic commissioners was so unfavorable, that the Protestants begged some alteration to be made. At this time, also, the Protestant religion was solemnly abolished in Dalmatia, and the Peace of Vienna thus openly violated.

In the decree which annulled the decision of the Synod of Rosenberg bitter expressions were used respecting the Protestants; and now they were prohibited from holding any synod or passing any decrees without the knowledge and approbation of the king. The alleged reason was to prevent rebellion, but the real reason was to undermine the independence of the Church, an object which the Popish clergy kept always prominent, as was evident from the violence with which they insisted on the formula of the oath in future being, "I swear by the Holy Virgin Mary, and by all the

imperial Baron George Berenyi, Councillor Michael Revay, Godfrey Hellenbach, Andrew Hunyady, Stephen Barlock, Stephen Nagy, John St. Ivany, Joseph Sigray, Paul Skoliesany, Paul Roday, and others, amounting to twenty in number.

Saints," for with such an oath no Protestant could accept office.

The priests represented the Protestant clergy as not administering the ordinance of baptism according to Scripture. And they found a case which suited their purpose. The Reformed pastor of Raab was a distinguished physician, and was often at dinner with the bishop. On one occasion, after dinner, he asserted that baptism was sufficient, if administered, not in the name of the Holy Trinity, but in the name of Christ; and he appealed to passages in the Acts of the Apostles in support of his assertion. This story was told at the Diet with all earnestness as being the "Protestant doctrine," and appears to have given occasion to the decree of Charles VI. at a later time, in which he directed that the Protestant pastors should be examined respecting their *views of baptism* before they could be ordained.

With all their efforts to introduce the new form of oath, "by the Virgin and all the Saints," the priests did not for the present succeed. In another matter they were more successful, for when the deputies wished a declarative act, that the patron had no rights over the conscience of his subjects, the palatine and magnates contrived to leave the restrictive clause completely away, and thus give the landed proprietors the most unbounded rights over their tenants. Many churches were by means of this clause lost to the Protestants, and many trials had to be endured.

The Protestants protested against the clause placing all their liberties in the hands of the king, but the Lord had, for the present, so arranged the matter for the best. They were just now safer in the hands of the king than under the power of the bishops, who had so many means at their disposal, and who were so unscrupulous in the use of these means. From the Roman Catholic Church no compassion was to be expected.

Whoever refused to acknowledge the Pope as head of the

Church, Mary as intercessor with God, while the Scripture said, *There is one God and one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus*, — whoever refused to go to mass to kneel to the host, or such like idolatry, — such an individual was to the priests what the Jews were to the Samaritans. Shut out from all compassion, and all the privileges of humanity, whoever killed them thought he did God service.*

* A Jesuit preached in Lemberg in 1846. Among other edifying portions of the sermon occurred the statement. "The Protestants have no souls."

CHAPTER II.

The Difficulties of the King's Position. — The Roman Catholics seize the Protestant Churches in the newly conquered Lands. — Jesuitical Justification of the Acts. — The Churches of Komorn, Wesprim, Papa, and Lewens. — The Tithes. — Presumption of the Priests. — Attempt to reduce the Number of Preachers. — Petitions to the King, and his Reply.

THE hatred to the Protestants had reached such a pitch during the whole reign of Charles VI., that it appeared sometimes impossible for the king to protect them. The question respecting the advantage of a measure was sometimes more pressing than respecting its justice. Still Charles deserves the high praise of endeavoring to do the best for the Protestants under existing circumstances, and of always to the utmost of his power protecting them from their sworn enemies, the Jesuits.

The forcible removal of churches and schools was now most felt in the districts where the Turkish crescent had been wont to stand. The Jesuits said that all the toleration edicts had been made for that part of Hungary which had stood under Austrian rule, and not for the districts under Turkish sway ; consequently the newly conquered territories had no claim for relief, at least under those enactments.

This argument was sufficient for the Popish zealots. Instruments were found to do the work. The Protestants, who had lived quietly under the Turks, were now exposed to violent persecution under the Popish government.

The Diet had scarcely ended, when Alexander Nedesky, deputy-lieutenant of Komorn, began to banish the Reformed clergy, and ceased only when the king ordered him to make up a list of the churches which the Protestants had held be-

fore and during the Diet of 1681. The town of Wesprim must no more have a church, a manse, or school, said the priests, for it is no more a border town. For the same reason must the Protestants in Papa, who were the majority of the inhabitants, give up their claim to have a place of worship. In Lewens the Protestants were deprived of their religious liberty, and an attempt was made to reduce them absolutely under the power of the priests.* In Barsch, the priests took possession of one church after another, and made the people Catholic. The matters went so far, that, on the 2d of December, 1716, the king ordered an official report of the proceedings to be handed to him.

What grieved the Roman Catholics was, that in places where their religion had either entirely ceased, or where only few adherents remained, the Protestants were in possession of the revenues. The one party considered this most unjust, the other party thought it perfectly reasonable. The Protestants thought that a Popish priest and school-master did not require any income where there was no work for them to do. The Papists thought that what had been originally built and endowed for their Church must always belong to her. The king was often greatly at a loss to know how to decide. This was evident from the decrees at this time published, in which he acted evidently without any fixed rule, yielding merely to the pressure of the individual case. In Sol the tithes were given to the priests; in Little Houta they were reserved for the Protestants.† This was accomplished by the intervention of the obergespan, Stephen Rokary, in April, 1720.

* The pastor of Garamsogh was summoned before the Bishop and Chapter of Gömör, to answer to the charge of having performed pastoral functions beyond the bounds of his parish, but the Protestant nobility protected him.

† Only seven churches here and one in Neogräd retained the tithes for the Protestants; but this arrangement lasted till 1848.

The priests assumed to themselves a kind of territorial right, and exercised the same authority over the Protestant as over the Roman Catholic parishioners. The priest of Bakabanya drove this interference so far, that the Protestant knight, John Godfrey Hellenbach, appealed successfully against him at the county court.

It was a mark of a good Catholic to hamper the Protestants in the exercise of every right. They sometimes could not conveniently take possession of a church or school; and just at that time it was no easy matter to get up a credible report of an intended rebellion; so there remained nothing over but to represent the meetings of synod as very dangerous affairs. Indeed, they obtained a decree prohibiting all synods. Another plan was to represent the number of pastors and teachers in the larger Protestant churches as being quite too great for the circumstances of the place, and to suggest that they were supported for other reasons than for the wants of that particular church. Their perseverance was so great, that the commander of the fort at Trentshin had, within two years, to receive three distinct orders from Vienna to cease to annoy the Protestants. Notwithstanding all these warnings, he succeeded in removing one of the pastors, as also the high school, in the year 1719, and prohibited those who resided in another parish from attending the church.

The zeal of the commander went so far, that he was preventing the church from electing a new pastor in the place of the aged and sickly John Blasius, and had also given orders that the neighboring nobility should have no access to the church; but a petition to the king set matters right, and the commander of the fortress was ordered to let the Protestants alone.

In Neusohl the Protestants were more fortunate. Where an investigation had been instituted to inquire into the reason why this church supported three pastors, they were able to persuade Charles to allow all three to remain. The Calvin-

ists at Bets-Volgye, in county Szalod, appealed successfully to the king for protection ; and also at Papa, though they lost their church, still they obtained permission to meet together elsewhere for worship. No one from another parish was permitted to join them. This was in 1720, and it was ordered that all should remain as it was till the commission at Pesth had finished its work, and given in the report to the king. This resolution was adopted to quiet the Protestants, who were violent in their demands for a speedy and final settlement of their grievances. Orders were then issued to the commission to take up the complaints of the Protestants, to examine them accurately, and to give a full report to the king.

CHAPTER III.

THE PESTH COMMISSION.

THE Commission, which was expected to settle all the quarrels in religious matters, was summoned at first to Ofen, but commenced its business afterwards at Pesth, under the guidance of Stephen Koháry as president, on the 16th of March, 1721. The basis of their deliberations should have been the 25th and 26th articles of the Cedenberg Diet; and if the commissioners had confined themselves to their instructions, it would have been happy for the land. The Popish part of the Commission, however, resolved to take as the basis of their transactions the decree of Leopold of 1691, which had been falsified by Kollonitz, and had never been recognized by the Protestants as genuine. They also introduced another decree of 1707, which was very unfavorable to the Protestants, and in which the following sentences occur:—

“That the Protestants of the Helvetic and Augsburg Confessions shall have the liberty of publicly professing their religion only in those lands which in 1681 were in possession of his Majesty; but in the newly conquered territories there should be no liberty to profess any other religion than the Roman Catholic.”

“In many cities, the freedom of religious exercises was originally granted only because these cities lay on the border of the kingdom; as the kingdom, however, has been extended so that these cities have ceased to be border towns, the religious toleration must also naturally cease.”

“Religious toleration has not been granted for the purpose

of allowing members of the Roman Catholic Church to join the Protestants. Accordingly, when any Roman Catholic attaches himself to the Protestant Church, or any Protestant having joined the Roman Catholic Church, should he again return to the Protestants, in all such cases the party concerned shall be dealt with as a perjured person, and shall be delivered over accordingly to the law of the land."

The Protestants protested so much the more against the introduction of this mandate as the basis of the transactions of the Commission, as it was so directly in opposition to the royal decree of 1715. The decision had been as follows:—

"His Majesty commands that the three acknowledged confessions in Hungary shall be tolerated according to the true meaning of the articles of the Diet of Eödenberg; the king will graciously take care that the guaranteed conditions shall be faithfully carried out, and that neither the landed proprietor or any other shall avail himself of his position to force the conscience of any individual. If, however, contrary to his expectations, such oppression should be threatened, the king will prevent it with all his royal power and influence."

How different were the two decrees! By adhering to the latter, peace might be obtained. The following demand was accordingly made on the commissioners: "That they recognize that religious liberty continue to be the right of every one, in every station whatever, in the land. That no difficulty be laid in the way of calling and supporting the pastors. That in the fortresses, in the capital cities, or in any other places, no one shall be prevented attending divine worship when he pleases; no one shall be compelled to change his religion; no one's property confiscated on account of change of religion; that no one should be deprived of his situation, or prevented from holding office in consequence of his religious views. No 'priests' dues' shall be demanded

from Protestants. They shall have the use of graveyard and church bells like the Catholics. No one shall be summoned before the deacons' court for having become Protestant. No landlord to have the right of compelling his tenants to become Catholics. The Protestants shall have a right to elect superintendents. They shall have their marriages under their own jurisdiction. They shall not be subjected to visitations on the part of the Popish bishops. Protestant pastors shall not in future be banished from their churches or obliged to resign; they shall have free access to the sick and dying, to prisoners, and all others who are members of their Church. When a pastor comes to a town to visit the sick of his church, he shall not be prevented from remaining during the night within its walls. Mixed marriages, as also the baptism of the children of such marriages, shall be left to the free choice of the parties connected. Pastors may be called from one church to another. The number of pastors in each church shall be left to the disposal of the church itself. Evangelical books shall not be prohibited, and those which have been taken away shall be restored. Those who have studied at foreign universities shall not on that account be expatriated. The Protestants shall not be bound to attend the Roman Catholic ceremonies and processions, nor to swear by the Virgin and the Saints."

These demands of the Protestants, which must be regarded as perfectly just, raised a storm in the Commission, and gave occasion to debates, the report of which fills several folio volumes.

The difficulties of the Commission were increased by the number of complaints pouring in upon them, and by the great difficulties which the clergy laid in the way of the Protestants, to prevent them bringing legal evidence of their charge. When the evidence was not immediately forthcoming, the clerical party strove to represent the case as suspicious, or as having failed for want of proof. It argued, however,

anything but a sense of justice to demand that in all such cases legal evidence should be immediately presented.

It was especially against the pastors of the flock that the hottest bolts were directed. On the very day that the Commission had opened its sittings, a royal decree was obtained, requiring the authorities of Skalitz to search and report what the pastor of Tura-Luka had to do in that city which occupied him three full days ; what conventicles he had held, what money he had collected, and whither it had been sent, — all this must be accurately reported. The authorities of Tyrnau and Skalitz put a stop to an examination which was turning out favorably for the Protestants. Such evidence was coming out as proved that they had a right to recover their church, and also evidence respecting maltreatment of a Protestant citizen named Langhaffer. The king, on hearing of this interference of the magistrates, ordered them to assist the Protestants in their investigations.

The clergy had, however, means at their disposal to counteract all the royal decrees, and to enable the civil authorities to disregard them. One of the heaviest blows on the Protestant cause, at this time, was the transfer of the censorship of the press entirely into the hands of the Jesuits. This was still not enough, and, afraid of the influence which a Protestant deputation, with the distinguished orator Paul Priletzky at its head, might have on the king, the clergy protested against all further concessions.

The bitterness of the parties was increased by the fact of the Protestant commissioners at Pesth being forbidden to hold any public divine service. At the same time, also, the Bishop of Erlau, John Erdödy, wrote a book on the theme, "Whether, and how far, a prince, magistrate, or landlord can tolerate heretics." (Tyrnau, 1721.)

The difficulties had reached the highest pitch ; passion had closed both ear and heart against the voice of truth and justice. The hall which should have been a temple of peace

and reconciliation was become the arena of unbounded quarrels. The king had his choice either to dissolve the meeting or to adjourn it in the hope that a time of quiet reflection might calm the boisterous spirits. He chose the latter alternative. On the 24th of July he adjourned the meeting *siné die*, and when complaints were brought before him of fresh injustice, he ordered everything to remain as it was.

During this time of uncertainty, the clergy continued to oppress the Protestants. Freedom of conscience and of religious exercise was to be found nowhere but on paper. The complaints and petitions to the king were numerous, and in the course of time so bitter that, in March, 1722, the king ordered the petitions to be sent back. One ground of complaint was, that the Jesuits now began to search for all religious books, and even Bibles, which had been printed out of the kingdom, and when such were found they were confiscated.

The Reformed Church of Debrécsin had ordered 2,894 Bibles for their own use, and these were seized and confiscated in Kashaw. In June, 1723, the king ordered the Bibles to be restored to their rightful owners, but the perpetrators of the injustice were in no way punished. The command was also disobeyed, and none of the Bibles ever came to Debrécsin.

With the anxiety with which those who are ready to perish in the waters look to a boat approaching them, forgetful that the boat is still floating on the same element which is about to destroy them, only hoping still for the possibility of relief, — such was the anxiety of the Protestants as they looked forward to the approaching Diet at Presburg, where the affairs of the royal commission were expected to be in some way arranged.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PRAGMATIC SANCTION.

HITHERTO Charles VI. had no male issue ; the most earnest desire of his heart was, therefore, to secure the kingdom to his daughters. To gain this end, he was willing to make the greatest sacrifices. And though the wise and valiant Eugene, Duke of Savoy, had so low an opinion of the morality of his time, that he ventured to say to the emperor "that two hundred thousand bayonets were a better guaranty than a million oaths of all the courts of Europe," yet the emperor exerted himself to the utmost to obtain the ratification of the "*Pragmatic Sanction.*" After having obtained the consent of England, Holland, and soon after, also, of Spain, he thought that all difficulty was removed, and little anticipated that Eugene's warning would one day prove true.

In the year 1719 he informed the Bohemians that, in consequence of the testament of Ferdinand II., their crown was capable of descending in the female line. The whole of the States were then summoned in 1720, and the Pragmatic Sanction having been read, the States solemnly swore to protect it with life and property. Charles then declared his elder daughter, Maria Theresa, then in her third year, as the only heiress to the throne of the inseparable Austrian crown lands. The same ceremony took place shortly after in Moravia, Silesia, and Austria.

In Hungary, the king was obliged to be more cautious in urging forward this work on which his heart was so intensely set. Independently of the oppression of the Protestants, the Hungarians generally had good cause of dissatisfaction with

the king, for he had extracted nearly three millions of florins from the land for the expenses of war, and had concluded the peace of Passarowitz without asking them to take any part in drawing up the treaty.

Charles, therefore, applied first to Transylvania, and on the 30th of March, 1720, they responded to the king's wish by ratifying the descent in the female line, and promising to acknowledge the daughters of Charles as the rightful heirs of the crown and of the princely honor.

When all this had been done, Charles then summoned a Diet to meet at Presburg on the 27th of June. The Cardinal-Archbishop of Kalotsh, Emerich Csáky, and the palatine protonotary, Francis Szluka, succeeded so well in gaining the hearts of the deputies, that, after high mass, when each had made an eloquent and heart-stirring appeal to the assembled multitude, many hundreds of voices cried, "Long live the house of Austria! Hurrah for the female line!"

The league between Hungary and Austria, acknowledging the descent both by the male and female sides was solemnly ratified, and the glad tidings were forwarded to the king by a splendid embassy. In a short time, the king appeared at Presburg, to communicate to the States his wishes and plans, and the Pragmatic Sanction was entered among the statutes. According to his coronation oath and the laws of the land, all that territory which had been rescued from the Turks ought now to have been united to the kingdom of Hungary. Among the districts in this state was the banat of Temes, with Belgrade, Servia, and Bosnia. Hither had many of the most pious Protestants fled in the days of persecution, to find rest under the dominion of the Turks. But now that the territory belonged once more to the worshippers of Mary, these men, who had but lately escaped from persecution, were once more exposed to all the terrors of other days.

The king, having often had occasion to feel that the constitution of Hungary hindered him very much in carrying

out his sovereign will, manifested no particular desire, on this occasion, to observe the laws of the land. As he wished to have those waste lands cultivated, he, as Emperor of Germany, issued a proclamation, inviting German colonists to come and settle on the newly conquered territory, guaranteeing them at the same time full liberty of faith and worship. The banat of Kraiovia he now granted to his Transylvanian general; the banat of Temes, containing nine thousand English square miles, he granted to another general, Claudius Merry; and Belgrade and Servia he gave to Alexander, Duke of Wurtemberg.

Under the guidance of the war-office at Vienna, and also of the imperial chamber, it was not so easy for the Papists to develop so much of their sectarian spirit, and, under guaranty of the emperor, whole troops of immigrants, partly Protestant and partly Roman Catholic, with their pastors, priests, and school-masters, arrived to settle in these waste lands. They drained many of the marshes, they cultivated much of the land, built villages, established schools and flourishing churches, and changed the whole face of the country. Even to this day the dialect, the pronunciation, and the dress mark these colonists most distinctly.*

While the emperor was thus acting in the spirit of humanity, and of high policy for the well-being of his land, the clergy and their adherents at the Diet were not only quietly hindering every step towards redress of grievances, but were also openly protesting against every concession which was being made to the Protestants. On the 29th of June, under the guidance of Cardinal Althan, Prince of Saxony, a solemn protest was handed in, stating,—

“That inasmuch as the Word of God, and the preservation of the Catholic faith, is committed to the clergy, and as they have never forgotten their duty to the citizens of Hungary,

* Ribinyi, Mem. Aug. Conf., Tom. II. p. 204.

they must now solemnly protest against any proposed toleration whatever towards those who are not Catholics, and must solemnly resist any proposal, either at the Diet or elsewhere, to prejudice the rights of the Roman Catholic clergy and of the holy faith. They beg an authenticated copy of this protest."

This one act throws full light upon all the deeds of the Church of Rome at all times, and shows us how much stress should be laid on the writings of the Jesuits who have attempted to free her from the charge of persecution. The fact is, that Rome has never consented to allow those who are out of the pale of her communion any rights or privileges whatever which she could prevent.

The Protestants, full of anxiety, laid a counter protest in the hands of the notary; they sent a full report of the transactions of the Pesth Commission to the king, and retired in sorrow from a Diet which had done nothing to mitigate their sufferings. Their regret was the more keen as they had hoped that, by acceding so readily to the wishes of the court, they might expect some little consideration in return.

It was not in the king's power, however, at all times to act as he chose. The influence of the clergy was constantly around him; the constitution of the country hampered him; and those to whom the executive power was intrusted, being themselves entirely devoted to the interests of Rome,* showed little zeal in giving a favorable turn to the statutes affecting the Protestants.

It is not difficult to understand how an unfavorable report might be sent in; how the half of the truth might be told; or

* The prince palatine was enrolled as a member of the "Society of Mary," made some magnificent endowments on the festival of the "Immaculate Conception of the Virgin"; at a great age he made a pilgrimage on foot to Marienzell. The president of the Pesth Commission was also a devotee of Mary, and left a legacy of thirteen thousand florins to the society peculiarly dedicated to her service.

how, after the Protestants had with unspeakable exertions obtained a favorable decision in any particular case, the authorities might delay carrying it out till such time as suited their own convenience, and this time was frequently very distant. The decree which the emperor issued from Luxemburg on the 12th of June, 1723, and which reflected so much credit on him, was never executed. In that decree he ordered, under severe penalties, that the Protestants should not be disturbed on account of their religion, and that they should on no account be compelled either to change their religion or to join in ceremonies inconsistent with their conscience.

The persecutions still continuing, he issued in October a still more stringent decree against the excesses. This was, however, of little avail, for the Bishop of Waitzen took possession of the Protestant churches in Little-Waitzen, Kis-Ujfale, Hatvan, and elsewhere; and though the king ordered an investigation, which turned out favorably, still the oppressed must wait many a weary day before obtaining redress. On the 15th of September, in the same year, an order was sent for the fourth time to the military governor of Trentshin, that he should prevent all opposition to the building of the Protestant chapel; and still the clergy managed their affairs so well, that in December they persuaded the court to issue an edict prohibiting the building of a chapel, but at the same time graciously permitting the Protestants to purchase a house in which to hold their meetings.

Thus were both king and counsellors wearied out, till, instead of the voice of truth, only that of policy was heard. The question was not so much what is right, as what is convenient. Indeed, the king was often sorely pressed in maintaining his own just rights. For, as the wealthy and noble George Radvany or Radvansky was about to marry Susanna de Reva, who was related to him in the fourth degree, and as the priests refused him the license, he applied to the king. When the king had examined the case, and had ascertained

that it was only a late law of Rome which extended the prohibition to the fourth degree, and that it had been entered among the laws of Hungary only in 1723 ; when he had further ascertained that both the parties were Protestants, and that, according to the laws of their Church, the marriage was not forbidden, — he granted permission that the marriage should take place, and solemnly prohibited all parties whatever from raising any opposition. The ceremony was, however, scarcely ended, when a summons was put into the hands of the parties married, of the pastor, and of all the witnesses, requiring them to appear before the Chapter of Grán to answer to the charges which should be preferred against them. The king settled the matter by writing to the dean and chapter, that they had no right either to examine into the religious affairs of the Protestants, or to punish for any religious act. It was thus only by great energy and decision that he was able to prevent the clergy from trampling openly on his decree.*

For these and similar evils the king hoped to find a remedy in a new court which he constituted under the name of a Deputy Privy Council. Though this court turned out ill, still it is evident, from all the circumstances of the case, that the king's designs were good. This council consisted of twenty-two members nominated by the king, and they appointed their own subordinate officers. The palatine was to be at all times president.†

The province of this court was to publish and to watch over the execution of the laws of the land. With the exception of the fiscal matters and the courts of assize, all was intrusted

* Ribinyi, Mem. Aug. Conf., Tom. II. p. 192.

† Several Protestants assisted in persuading the king to organize this court, in the hope that the new council should consist of an equal number of Protestants and Roman Catholics. So soon, however, as the king had sanctioned the formation of the court, the promise was withdrawn. "Hæreticus nulla fides."

to them. They had the censorship of the press, the guiding of the public education, the inspection of schools, churches, and public charities was intrusted to them, and they usually decided by a simple majority of votes.*

On the 21st of March, 1724, this council was opened by Count Philip Louis Zinzendorf, in the castle at Presburg, with the following words: "Out of this high council the clergy may expect honor and dignity, the magnates advantages, the nobility rights and privileges, the citizens advantages in trade and commerce, the land alleviation of taxes, the whole kingdom the highest prosperity, so that it shall be said, 'See how righteousness and peace kiss each other!'"

We have only to deal with the politico-ecclesiastical workings of this court, and the facts may be allowed to speak for themselves to show what benefits and what ills were thereby conferred on the country.†

On the part of the Jesuits and the clergy very little was done to realize the bright hopes held out by Zinzendorf. The first field of operations was connected with the mixed marriages, and with an ecclesiastical superintendence of the Protestant pastors, churches, and schools. A nobleman, George Pathy, who was about to marry a Roman Catholic lady, was told that he must either within a year himself become a Roman Catholic, or pay a heavy fine. He appealed to the king, and being a nobleman, he found means of escape from the sentence of the council.

By a decree in June, 1725, this council limited the rights of Protestants to study at foreign universities, though many

* Under Maria Theresa the court had increased to ninety-four members, and received a salary of eighty thousand eight hundred and fourteen florins. The members were elected from among the prelates, the magnates, and the knights.

† When the question was raised at the next Diet, whether this court should be abolished, the Bishop of Erlau, Anton Gabriel Erdödy, strove to persuade the Roman Catholic party to vote for its continuance, by assuring them that it was the hammer of the heretics, — "*malleus hæreticorum*."

foundations and scholarships existed for their support.* It was now resolved that permission must in each case be asked and obtained; and thus what was each one's right was exposed to the caprice or whim of men in power. In cases where noblemen had built Protestant chapels on their own estates, an inquiry was instituted by this council in how far they should be tolerated, and the report was often highly unfavorable, and the matter was then much worse than when the decision had formerly rested with Charles. The Baroness Elizabeth Colisius de Revay had built a chapel for the Protestants on her estate, and this council ordered it to be closed, as it had been built after the time of the Pesth Commission.

On the other hand, the transgressions of the Roman Catholics were either not punished at all, or not in proportion to the offence. The Protestant inhabitants of Sol raised their voice in vain, petitioning against the unbounded oppression of their Popish landlord. In cases where the Protestants were far removed from a Protestant pastor, they had their children baptized, and their dead buried, by a priest. In such cases they must often pay four or five times as much as was customary under such circumstances. It was only in a case of extremity that a formal charge was brought, and even then it was no easy matter to bring evidence sufficient to satisfy the judges, or to compel the priests to make restitution. The priest of St. Martin Kata drove his oppressions so far that, by an order of council of 24th of March, 1726, he was directed to return to the Protestants what he had unjustly exacted, and they were declared free from all priestly exactions in all time coming. Yet a clause was added to qualify this privilege, namely, "if the Protestants were free from these exactions previous to the Pesth Commission."

* It was only a few months previously that a nobleman, Michael Kassay, had endowed two scholarships at Wittenberg for Hungarian students.

Any little advantage which individual churches obtained afforded them little joy when they saw how the whole Church was suffering. In August, 1725, shortly after the decree respecting attendance at foreign universities, an order was issued to inquire into the authority and jurisdiction of the Protestant superintendents, and two years later a circular was sent to all the counties, demanding accurate information on this head. The king's influence in favor of the Protestants had been decreasing since the establishment of this court. In Rad the Reformed church was closed and deprived of all its revenues in 1728; and the pastor, Stephen Szécsy, being banished, the congregation was entirely broken up. In March in the same year, an order was issued for a return of all the apostates in the kingdom, that steps might be taken to have them restored to the Church. In April the Protestants were forbidden to make any public collections for religious purposes. And the worst of all was, that all the means of redress were taken away.

Charles summoned a Diet at Presburg in 1729, and here the Protestants hoped for some relief. But the passions of the clergy had blinded many to a sense of justice, and when, in the beginning of the sittings, some of the Protestants refused to take the "decretal oath" for conscience' sake, they were, with much uproar, turned out of the house. It is true that some of them had taken the oath, but it is equally evident that no sincere Protestant could do so with a good conscience. Among those who were thus turned out of the assembly were Andrew Petay, deputy of Borsod, Samuel Zsemberg, and Paul Katona. In addition to this, they were obliged to pay a fine of sixty-four florins; and when Paul Jessenack, the representative of Prince Eugene of Savoy, proposed to leave the decision of the case to the king, he was told that by such a proposal he was bringing disgrace on the prince, for it was only *by the assistance of the Virgin Mary* that he had gained all his victories.

The distinguished lawyers Stephen Kenessey and Samuel Bohas went immediately to Vienna to represent the case to the king, but on their return they were solemnly excluded from the sittings "as informers," till the king settled the quarrel by a decision in favor of the weaker party.

In drawing up the articles of the Diet, the clerical party inserted a clause, which had not been enacted at the Diet, to the effect that all witnesses should be sworn by the "decretal oath." So soon as the Protestants discovered this, a deputation was sent after the king; — but it was too late; he had already signed. The Protestants had then no other comfort than this which many of the royal councillors gave, namely, that they were not bound by a law for which they had evidently not voted. But when they looked back over the past, they found little consolation in such statements.

And they had good reason to be concerned, for the noisy quarrels respecting the "decretal oath" were made to bear heavily against them in the explanation of the 9th article of the "Resolutions of Charles"; and in their anxiety they looked upwards, like the disciples in the storm, and cried, "Help, Lord, or we perish!"

CHAPTER V.

THE RESOLUTIONS OF CHARLES.

THE Pesth Commission had long since given in their report, the Protestants had also forwarded their statements, but it was not till the year 1730 that King Charles handed the minutes to a commission to be examined. The commission consisted of Counts Zinzendorf, Stahremberg, Dieterichstein, Nesselrode, Ferdinand Kinsky, and Lewis Bathyáni, under the guidance of the veteran warrior and statesman Eugene of Savoy as president. The Hungarian prelates were excluded.

In consequence of their report, Charles issued, on the 21st of March, 1731, the following resolutions, which the Protestants had so anxiously expected, but in which their hopes were so grievously blighted:—

I. The decree of Leopold, of 2d of April of the year 1691, is to be regarded as explanatory of the 25th and 26th articles of 1681, of the 21st article of 1687, and 30th article of 1715. Private religious exercise is tolerated in all places, but the public exercises only in the places mentioned in the 26th article.

II. The pastors of these authorized churches must confine themselves to the members of the churches living at these places or assembling there; there may be, however, as many preachers in the one church as the wants of the place seem to require, subject to the sanction of the king. In these places they shall have the liberty of visiting the sick and the prisoners.

III. Family worship may be tolerated in other places, but

none beyond the members of the family shall be present on such occasions. Such isolated families must employ the priest for all ecclesiastical functions, yet they shall not be bound to pay more than the Roman Catholics pay on similar occasions.

IV. Without interfering with the rights of the land-owners, yet if they intend to make any alterations in ecclesiastical matters on their estates, they must first give a report to the king, stating their reasons for the change, and must wait for his decision.

V. Wherever the Protestants of both confessions elect superintendents, they must first obtain the consent of the king. The jurisdiction of the superintendents shall extend only to the lives and morals of their clergy. In civil matters they are subject to the laws of the land, and in ecclesiastical matters subject to the archdeacon of the Roman Catholic Church, who shall be bound to take care that the baptisms are properly administered, and that the clergy are properly instructed in the nature of baptism. The marriages shall be all under the control of the bishops, subject to the law of the land, and for this purpose an appeal to the archbishop is allowed.

VI. The apostates, and especially those who had once been Protestants, and who had joined the Roman Catholic Church, shall be severely punished at the pleasure of the civil magistrate, but each case must, previous to the infliction of the punishment, be reported to the king.

VII. Mixed marriages can be celebrated only by the priest.

VIII. The Roman Catholic holidays must be observed also by the Protestants, and the Protestant tradesmen are bound to take part in the processions to the honor of Mary and the Saints.

IX. The Protestants shall be bound on taking office, and on other public occasions, to swear according to the formula

of the "decretal oath," with the express clause, "by the Mother of God and all the Saints." In criminal cases, the witnesses shall be sworn after the usual formula, that no delay may take place, and that the ends of justice may not be frustrated. Past transgressions in religious matters shall be looked on as cancelled. New transgressions, however, shall, on the charge of the attorney-general, be immediately and irretrievably punished. Each individual who thinks himself aggrieved can appeal to the king in his own name; the appeal, however, in the name of a whole church is forbidden.

These were the famous royal resolutions. The Protestants had heard something beforehand of what was to be expected, and had sent a deputation on the 20th of February, consisting of John Radvan and Abraham Vay, to try and obtain as much favor as possible.

So soon as the resolutions were published, the Protestants prepared a petition, and handed it to the king on the 6th of April, protesting against the limitations of their rights; when this produced no effect, they on the 13th of September renewed their protest, and on the 23d presented an extract of their grievances.

The priests were as much dissatisfied as the Protestants; they thought they had received far too little! Cardinal Althan, Bishop of Waitzen, entered a most decided protest against the resolutions, and declared his firm resolve to act as if they had not been published. The king having twice summoned him to appear at Vienna and withdraw his protest, on his non-appearance ordered the protest to be openly torn in pieces at Pesth; the property of the bishop was ordered to be confiscated, and himself to be banished. By the assistance of the Jesuits a reconciliation took place, and the cardinal remained in the country. Though the protest had been publicly torn in pieces, yet we soon find it again in full health and spirits.

The churches and church property of the Protestants were everywhere now seized upon, and directions were issued to draw up an accurate list of all the churches that were not secured to the Protestants by a positive declaration of the Diet in their favor. These were all confiscated. In Eisenberg county the Lutherans alone lost forty churches; and here, as well as in Neutra county, the public worship almost completely ceased.

An excitement and commotion took place among the Protestants, who held meetings to plan what was to be done. This was especially the case in Barsh county, and the conscience-stricken government issued an edict requiring that the Protestants should remain quietly in their houses, but at the same time that the confiscation of churches should cease, *till such time as the fatherly wisdom of the king should direct it to be resumed.*

This fatherly wisdom soon found an opportunity of displaying itself; for when all had become somewhat quiet, an imperial decree appeared, directing all the churches still in possession of the Protestants, which had not been guaranteed to them by express enactment, to be immediately confiscated. It was midwinter, and a Hungarian winter! One may picture the distress of the people, but much more of the clergy and their families, who were all turned out on the world. The priests were devoid of pity, and the work went on. In the county of Presburg the progress was slower than fanaticism might naturally have wished, and on the 9th of April, 1732, a new edict appeared directing to hasten and accomplish the work. The pastors betook themselves to the king, but in vain. One received the reply from the lord chancellor that this work could not be delayed. After all this persecution one might expect that, in the free cities, and in the churches guaranteed by the law of the land, if not a feeling of humanity, at least state policy might have dictated some degree of leniency and justice. The first and second reso-

lutions had secured to the pastors of these churches the right of visiting the sick and the prisoners within their own bounds, and had also secured everywhere the right of family worship. But in the execution of these decrees so little respect was paid to the wishes of the Protestants, and to the necessities of the place, that a wing of one parish was frequently attached to a far distant church, while the road thither was sometimes impassable.

An order was issued from the viceregal court in December, 1732, directing the magistrates of Schemnitz to examine whether the Protestant church in that city had any need of their third pastor; how many dissenters were in the city; what was the form of worship; whether the miners also partook of the labors of these pastors; who were the principal supporters of the Protestant cause; and how long they had enjoyed toleration. In the year 1733, the viceregal court laid a proposal before the king of a short and easy way for putting a stop to the church at Trentshin, where the church and schools had once been so flourishing. An inquiry was instituted through the magistrates of Presburg, why the church in that city had three pastors; why they had bought a common dwelling-house and fitted it up for a church; whether they paid taxes for that house; whether they held their schools, and what was the course of instruction. When the report had been handed in, a royal order was issued prohibiting the Protestants from having a school where anything beyond the rudiments was taught, unless they could bring evidence that a special permission to that effect had been granted. After many appeals, a new inquiry was instituted through the magistrates, whether it were safe to leave a higher school in the hands of the Protestants.

The preaching on the Lord's Day was now indispensably necessary to strengthen the faith and to cheer the hopes of the Protestants, and the people flocked to those cities where preaching was tolerated; but even in this respect every diffi-

culty was thrown in the way by the king, who at this time stood so completely under priestly influence.

That this wholesale robbery was not always peaceably accomplished will be readily understood when we consider that sometimes whole churches consisted of noblemen, who, as such, had many rights and privileges. In Lower Hungary they sometimes assembled their vassals, and surrounding the church with dung-carts, posted themselves behind the barricade. If no military happened to be in the neighborhood, the priests, with their party, generally found it convenient to retire.

We must especially record the seizing of the churches in the county of Neutra, and particularly the church of Miawa, which, in the days of Leopold I., had suffered severely, but was now made to drink the cup to the very dregs.

The pastor of this large Slavonian church was Daniel Kirmann, distinguished by learning and zeal in his office, as well as by the melancholy fate which afterwards befell him. At the Synod of Rosenau, notwithstanding the warning of John Bury of Neusohl and Adam Mittach of Lösing, he broke out into the most violent invectives against the pietists, and adopted stringent measures against them. Bury, protesting in vain against these measures, burst into tears and cried, "Let these tears witness against you, for a curse shall rest on every one who loveth not his brother." They were prophetic words which the enemy must put into execution.*

The occasion of his misfortune was the conversion of a poor man named Wenzel Mlimar from the Roman Catholic Church. This man had, under deep concern for his soul,

* This same Kirmann was sent by Francis Rákotzy to Charles XII. of Sweden about the time of the unfortunate battle of Pultawa, and obtained from him twenty thousand dollars for the school of Eperjes, the funds of which had been forcibly taken away by the Jesuits. He also obtained from the King of Sweden a thousand dollars as his own travelling expenses, and on returning to his own church he labored to prepare a book of common prayer for the churches under his inspection.

fallen into melancholy, and, by the instruction of Kirmann, had been relieved from his mental agony. On learning the comforts of the Gospel he joined the Protestant Church. This was enough for the priests. With a company of soldiers they came in the night to Miawa to carry the poor man away. Some of the citizens, hearing of the affair, hastened to ring the alarm bells, and the whole village was soon in commotion. The superintendent refused to deliver up the poor man, remarking that he would at all times be prepared in the proper place to give an account of what he was doing. On the 20th of May, 1731, consequently nearly two years after this transaction, he was, without much inquiry, found guilty, partly of blasphemy and partly of exciting his people to rebellion by ringing the alarm bells, and was accordingly sentenced to be imprisoned for life in the Castle of Presburg. Although not one of the soldiers had been either killed or wounded in the affray, yet the Protestants were ordered to surrender their church and school buildings over to the priests. The unfortunate Mlimar was imprisoned at Presburg, and in the year 1733 was secretly taken out of the way.

Kirmann concealed himself for some time in the Carpathian Mountains, but on receiving an anonymous letter, stating that it would be best for him to go to Presburg and cast himself on the emperor's clemency, he, conscious of innocence, resolved to follow the advice. He was cast into prison. On the 29th of April, 1732, Frederick William, King of Prussia, appealed to the emperor on Kirmann's behalf, and stated, through his ambassador, that any favor shown to the superintendent or his family, the King of Prussia would consider as shown to himself. But it was all in vain. After five years' heavy sufferings in prison, he petitioned the Emperor Charles, but also in vain. The Lord permitted that after nine years' imprisonment he should die in the prison. On his deathbed the priests forced the consecrated wafer between his teeth, and then spread the report that he had ab-

jured his heresy, and had died in the communion of the Church of Rome.

To give this falsehood some degree of credibility a splendid funeral was given, and a monument was erected to him in the cathedral ! By so doing, however, they gave evidence that he was not the criminal which they represented him to be. They remind us of the words of the Lord, Matt. xxiii. 31, "Wherefore ye be witnesses unto yourselves, that ye are the children of them which killed the prophets." "Ye are of your father the Devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do : he was a murderer from the beginning, and abode not in the truth, because there is no truth in him." (John viii. 44.)

In the same way that Frederick William of Prussia had interested himself for the single individual, in like manner he appealed to Charles VI. for the whole Protestant Church of Hungary. This appeal was ably supported by the ambassadors from England, Holland, Denmark, and Sweden. The Swedish ambassador protested especially against the decretal oath, as one which no conscientious Protestant could take ; and he succeeded in so far, that some of the newly elected officials of Presburg and Neusohl were not required to take the oath.

Even this concession seemed to burden the tender consciences of the Jesuits, as if they had been too gentle ; and the following year, 1733, an order was issued requiring that in all cases the decretal oath should be *demandé*, and only in case of positive refusal on the part of the Protestants another formula should be substituted ; all, however, who were to be admitted to government offices should be prepared by all means to take the oath.

The annoyances which arose from all these decrees can be easily imagined. In 1734, in Szabolis, the newly elected Protestant officials having refused to swear by "Mary and all the Saints," were, in spite of the law to the contrary, immediately set aside and others elected.

Deeply must it be deplored that the mind of the emperor was now so completely under the influence of the Jesuits that his former sense of discriminating justice seemed fast flying away. Like an expiring taper, he seemed sometimes to rally strength, and then fall once more into his torpor.

Charles VI. had become what his father Leopold I. always was, and the Jesuits had glorious days in Hungary. The kingdom was ruled on the principles of "Mariolatry." No promise, no contract, no oath, was kept with the heretics. Where no positive royal license for a Protestant church existed, there were the Protestants compelled to perform all the ceremonies and join in all the processions of the Roman Catholic Church.* By one means or other, the schools were destroyed and the children taken away.

Individual priests brought actions, frivolous and vexatious, against Protestant churches, and the punishment was sure to follow the charge, — not the proof of the same.† Indeed, in some cases a legal sentence was considered so entirely a matter of course, that it was dispensed with, and the priests gave orders in their own name, so that the king had to interfere to prevent such glaring acts of revenge.‡

Even the private religious exercises in the families of the Protestant nobility were often prohibited on the most vexatious and frivolous grounds, but especially if any stranger was permitted to be present, or if the chaplain was ever known to be guilty of visiting the Protestant families scattered through the neighborhood.

Thus, in the family of Bossany in Kisprona, Ujfalenssy in Divekujfelu, and in the family of Gostony in their castle at Krems, the family worship, which had been kept up

* *Intimatum* Carl. Reg., anno 1733 and 1738, ad Magistratum Presburgensium.

† Fiscal action in 1731 and 1736, 24th of March and 10th of July, against the preacher Michael Marosy of Waitzen.

‡ Royal decree of 15th of March. 1734.

from time immemorial, was, in 1732, forbidden. In county Wesprim, the Protestants had, with the consent of Count Zichy, enlarged their chapel, when the sister-in-law of the count, the wife of John Zichy, was stirred up by the priests to such an unholy zeal, that she had the whole building torn down. In a neighboring village, Polotai, the Protestants had put a new door on their chapel, and John Zichy fined the whole village for their presumption; and, that no one might say that his zeal was less vigorous than that of his wife, he had the chapel levelled with the ground.

From the workshop of the Jesuits, the imperial chancery at Vienna, orders were given respecting the baptism of children dying in the act of parturition;* and in a later order of 1738, directions were given to keep a close watch over the Calvinists during the time of the plague, that their doctrine of predestination might not lead them to suffer the infected to remain among the healthy.

Their police measures went farther, however, and interfered with other matters than predestination. An example we find in the case of Elizabeth Heritz. She was born of Protestant parents, and educated in the Protestant Church, but when, as widow, she was about to marry a Roman Catholic, and for that purpose was obliged nominally to connect herself with the Church of Rome, she thus brought herself under the power of the priests. As her conversion had been only nominal, so as to gain her end, she immediately returned to the Protestant Church, and lived in that state for eight years. On her decease, on the 7th of August, 1731, her husband, a tailor in Güns, obtained permission to bury his dead out of his sight. The story reached the ears of Cardinal Zinzendorf, who sent the hangman to raise the corpse five days after the burial, to strip it and leave it naked for three days under the gallows, and then to bury it in a span deep

* We shall see that the impudence of the monks brought them even farther than this.

of earth, as a warning that so it should be done with all those who leave the Church of Rome.*

To sum up the picture of misery, we need only remember that the Jesuits had the censorship of the press entirely in their hands, and well did they watch over the spiritual food of the Protestants. Their arbitrary decisions knew no limits. In the year 1734, they confiscated the books of Stephen Szaboczly and George Megyessay, though these books had all been examined in Vienna, and declared to be free. What did it avail to show the permission of the imperial censor? When the books reached Bruck, they were carried to the chancery at Presburg; and as in the fable the tracks of the beasts at the lion's den are all towards the den and none returning, so was it with these books; having once reached Presburg, they never came out.

The books of Stephen Banyai, the Reformed professor at Patak, met with the same fate at Neudorf. Among other books confiscated, were several copies of his own work, entitled *Balm of Gilead*, intended to prove "that the plague is infectious"! Bookbinders had their whole stock of Bibles taken away. Books taken for examination, however harmless they might be, were seldom returned. How far the Jesuits went in the exercise of the censorship of the press under Charles VI. and Maria Theresa, may be seen from the confessions of Alexius von Reva.

He acknowledges and confesses that Austria feared nothing more than the books which young men studying at foreign universities brought home with them. Therefore were the edicts, bulls, and proscribed lists of books so numerous. This nobleman acknowledges that the very name of Protestant used to fill him with such rage, that he fell on their books like a raging lion, but that, after glancing through them, he often came away as a lamb.†

* Ribinyi, Mem. Aug. Conf., Tom. II. p. 264.

† Esprit Post. J. Jos. e Comit. Trantsorm. Archiep. Viennensis, a L. B. de Reva, illustr., pp. 24, 25.

Under all these circumstances, the Protestants could feel the force of the Scriptural direction, "Trust not in princes, nor in the sons of men." The apparent favors which came from the court at Vienna were in reality limitations of their rights and freedoms. This was particularly the case with the royal permission to elect superintendents which was granted in 1734. Under the pretence that the visitation of the churches on the part of the superintendent was a burden, it was directed that in future the superintendent should only watch over the clergy, and not over the people. The numbers must therefore be reduced to four for each of the sister churches, though the Lutherans had five and the Reformed Church six districts. The confirmation of the appointment was left with the emperor.

The favor was too small to be accepted with gratitude, and too great to be thrown away; wherefore both churches accepted of the proffered boon. The Lutheran churches had at this time sunk down to the number of two hundred and fifty.

The mining districts elected Samuel Michaelis of Neusohl, a man of considerable abilities, and very eloquent, and he was made superintendent in 1733.* In 1736, a substitute for the imprisoned Daniel Kirmann was found in the person of Zaborsky, an eloquent man, but without college training; and just as the instructions were being handed to him, appointing him to his office, he was struck with paralysis and expired. In his place was elected in the following year Elijah Mohl of Modern. The third superintendent was Michael Torkosa; and in 1742, for the district beyond the Danube, as fourth superintendent they elected John Siphovis-Toth.

* A neighboring priest was pleased, in a letter which he wrote to Michaelis, to denominate him "predicans sceleratissimus, nebulo impostor, infernalis furcifer, draco tartareus, monstrum membrum abscissum et mortuum, sacrilegus, idololatra," &c.; and all this because the people preferred going a long way to hear Michaelis, rather than sit under his own preaching.

The Reformed Church, which had had six superintendents, confirmed Stephen Major-Korsi as superintendent for the adjoining circuits on both sides of the Danube, and George Zoványi in Debrécsin. This latter died in 1757, old and full of days. He usually went about half in Hungarian, half in Turkish dress, with a huge knife hanging to his girdle.

Another arrangement of great importance for the protection of the Protestants, was the appointment of a district inspector on the part of the influential nobility, who should stand as adviser by the side of the superintendent and protect the people in their civil and political rights. All actions, lawsuits, cases of oppression or of hardship, should be reported to him, and he should stand in constant correspondence with an agent in Vienna. The Lutherans elected to this office Christian Kalitsh, Michael Ossfy, John Radovansky, and General Thomas Szirmay, noblemen strongly attached to their church. Peter Zay was the first general inspector.* The Reformed Church appointed Stephen Vesselényi, Michael and Ladislaus Teleky, Ladislaus Béthlén, Ladislaus Balo, Joseph, Stephen, and Peter Daniel.

By the assistance of such district inspectors, the superintendents were to a certain extent protected, and the cause of liberty better supported than by mere paid agency. By the representations, the entreaties, and the influence of these men, who had high connections in Vienna, many a favor was obtained, many a harsh measure was softened down, and many acts of arbitrary cruelty prevented. Many pastors and schoolmasters found in the hospitable abodes of the wealthy nobility a place of refuge and means of subsistence for months, or even for years. The remembrance of such

* Other noblemen strongly attached to the Protestant Church were Gabriel Pronay, John Podmanitzky, Stephen Zeitkowsky, Paul Jessenak, Von Hellenbach, Stephen Radovansky, Alexander Podmanitzky, Adam Esovski, Stephen Szirmay, Ladislaus Pronay, Balthasar Pongracs, and Alexander Vidas.

things makes the clergy of the present day very willing to share the Church government with the descendants of men who so ably and so zealously advanced the best interests of the Church in days gone by. It was much to be desired that the same brotherly kindness which generally characterized the intercourse of the Lutheran and Calvinistic churches at that time should still continue; for though in 1732 the Lutherans refused to join the Calvinists in their petition to the king, supposing the expressions to be too decided, yet very shortly after we find both once more joining in Pesth to send a united statement to the court.

The active agents in Vienna, Matthew Bodo and Joseph Modori, assisted by Andrew Ottlick, labored hard in the cause, and it was chiefly by their exertions that permission was obtained for the Protestant clergy to visit the sick and the dying of their own communion, even in places where no licensed Protestant church existed, only on condition of paying the priest the usual dues. It may be, also, that the war with France at this time made the court more inclined to listen to the appeals of the Protestants.*

The nobles recovered their ancient right to hold religious exercises in their castles, and many a thirsty soul came hither to be refreshed by the Word of life. They tasted here something of the benefits of that light in their dark, dark night, and the Word of God was sweeter to them than honey and the honey-comb.

The brethren in other parts of the kingdom were, by this success, encouraged to renew their efforts. The Protestants at Trentshin, whose church and school buildings had been taken from them, now obtained leave to build a wooden

* As in consequence of the unexpected war with France the soldiers were withdrawn from Hungary, and the Jesuits had therefore no more power to carry out their schemes, Count Pallfy is reported to have said, "The Protestants must either have God or the Devil for their friend, for when everything is so completely in order for their annihilation, there comes always some untoward event to prevent its being carried out." — *Smalli Advers.*, l. c.

chapel in one of the suburbs, and directions were given to the governor of the city not to hinder them in their work. To prevent the Roman Catholics, however, from being too much provoked by this wondrous generosity, it was at the same time ordered that no one from Bohemia or Moravia should be permitted to attend the preaching, and that neither the preacher nor the singing-boys should be permitted to enter the city.*

What labor the Protestants must have had in obtaining and enjoying these crumbs which fell from the master's table, may be seen from the fact, that on the third day of April, 1737, Archbishop Kollonitz handed in to the king a protest against all these concessions. And it is hard to say whether he might not have been successful, had not the war with the Turks broken out, in consequence of which mild measures were rendered absolutely necessary.

The royal proclamations became less frequent and less fiery. The superintendents called on all the churches under their care to engage regularly in prayer for the success of the emperor. The emperor's position was becoming more and more critical. The Turks had Belgrade already in their hands, and were masters of the Banat. They were now approaching steadily towards Transylvania, which we have been obliged so long to pass over, but to the state of which country we now return.

* Mandat. Reg. 3d, c. 5. September, 1735.

CHAPTER VI.

STATE OF THE PROTESTANTS IN TRANSYLVANIA UNDER
CHARLES VI.

IN this country the Protestants enjoyed on the whole many advantages. Since the resolutions of Charles they had been occasionally annoyed, but as the Jesuits had not succeeded in bringing the magnates and higher nobility to join them, they were prevented from developing their full force. More than two thirds of the population were Protestants, and completely to overturn and destroy all their privileges appeared neither desirable nor, indeed, for the present, practicable. On the surrender of the country to Leopold I., father of Charles VI., the magnates had secured the fundamental principle, "that the right of patronage in church matters should remain intact, and that no clergy should be introduced to the country but such as were already there."

This clause was directed against the Jesuits, who by the law of the land were prohibited from settling in Transylvania, and also against the settlement of a bishop. The last bishop had been banished under Siegmund Báthory, and his estates had been confiscated to the prince, and also to some of the magnates who had deserved well of their country. In spite, however, of this condition under which the emperor held the country, the military governor of Transylvania, Francis Stephen Steinriller, succeeded in the year 1716, in the king's name, in introducing George Martonfy de Garancsfalva as Transylvanian bishop for the Roman Catholic Church, and with him began scenes of anarchy and arbitrary government such as Rome alone can introduce.

The so-called Carolin residence in Alba Julia was fitted up for his reception, and the superintendent with the professors and the college must be removed elsewhere. As a recompense for the loss to the Reformed Church, fifteen thousand florins were promised, but the money has as yet not been paid.*

In the train of the bishop came the Jesuits, who settled in all the principal towns,—in Clausenburg, Alba Carolina, Hermannstadt, Kronstadt, and Advarkely. The different orders of the Jesuits were carefully scattered over the whole country, and thus, through the narrow passes of a clear and strict law, and over the steep mountains of royal decrees and of binding and existing compacts, had Rome safely conducted her warriors into a land which for a century had been closed against them. The firmest positions had been taken; the general very properly chosen! Such battles as Rome, out of her unspeakable love to souls, usually fights, should also soon follow.

In all places of learning and trust proper persons of moderate abilities were introduced, to be ready, without making any stir, to fill up all vacancies which might occur. This was all in full operation in 1727, under the guidance of the heads of the cathedral at Weissenberg and Kalos-Monastor. Proper persons were to be always ready for proposing to the king to fill up every vacant post; and under the expression “proper persons,” was to be understood members of their order. How zealously the plan was carried out may be seen from the fact, that among all who have the charge of the instruments and apparatus of science in Transylvania only two at present are laymen, one a Protestant of the Reformed Church, and the other a Roman Catholic.

A prohibition now appeared, forbidding the building of churches and the opening of schools or academies without

* Petr. Bad de Statu Reb. in Trans. sub Carolō VI., Tom. III. p. 261, MS.

royal commission. The (Roman Catholic) Court of Inquiry was directed to pay particular attention to those who should desert the Roman Catholic Church. In the royal decrees, it appeared in the preamble "that many had joined the Roman Catholic Church to obtain the royal favor or to avoid punishment for some crime (*sic!*), and when they had gained their end they then returned. Others who joined the Roman Catholic Church suffered so much persecution that they again fell off." Now it should be ordained that all who joined the Church of Rome, and remained steady, should be taken under the especial protection of the government; those, however, who again fell off should be punished as the emperor in each case should direct.

When matters were thus far prepared that the Roman Catholics had more courage, and the Court of Inquiry was prevented from taking decided steps, the priests proceeded to alter the laws which regulated the mutual relations of the four confessions, Lutheran, Calvinist, Unitarian, and Roman Catholic.

These laws had been in so far favorable to the Protestants that they secured them the possession of their churches and church property against the ravages of a robber-priesthood of the Church of Rome. As, however, those laws had been made during the time of the Turkish government, and many articles in the laws required a certain line of conduct to be observed towards the Turks, the priests availed themselves of this circumstance to give them a plausible pretence for overturning the whole law. They succeeded, too, in gaining the Court of Inquiry entirely to their interests, so that the way seemed clear before them.

The Protestants saw their danger, and took alarm. They reminded Charles VI. of his own solemn promise to them, as well as that of his father Leopold I., his mother Eleonora, and his brother Joseph, that they should still enjoy their rights as they at that time existed; and the danger was for the present removed.

The Protestants had to pay dearly for this. We do not mention here the Turkish war, nor the plague which began to rage very fiercely, but another event of vast importance which occurred on the 29th of March, 1735. On that night imperial soldiers broke into the castles of many of the most distinguished magnates, and carried them away as prisoners to different fortresses.*

The same took place with the superintendent of the Reformed church in Enged, whose house was searched in every corner, his papers taken to Hermannstadt, and he himself to Alba Carolina. Other prisoners soon followed him, as Siegmund Boronyai, doctor of theology and professor in Enged; Pastor Torsok-Szigeti and Andrew Szaboslai of Neudorf; as also a nobleman, John Thurotz; but these last were soon set free, without, however, any punishment being inflicted on those who had denounced them, one of whom, at least, was perfectly well known.

Count Emerich Béthlén was sent to Vienna to intercede for the prisoners, and he was so successful that he obtained the appointment of a military commission to examine the case. After a very strict investigation, all the prisoners were found not guilty of the charges laid against them, and the emperor ordered their innocence to be publicly proclaimed.

And yet the raging enemies found ways and means of keeping them in prison till the 15th of January, 1739.† The magnates who had been thus so unjustly dishonored and imprisoned demanded the punishment of their accusers, but the court observed a strict silence on this matter, and no justice was granted.

* The names of those thus violently taken prisoners and carried out of their castles were, — John Sajar; Ladislaus Rhedri, in his twenty-sixth year; Siegmund Toracky, sixty years old, and paralytic; Francis Rhedri, nearly sixty years old; Michael Toldalagi, seventy years old, deaf and blind; and Count Samuel Béthlén.

† Accordingly the statement of Fessler requires to be corrected. See Petr. Bad. Eccl. Hist., sub Carolo VI., MSS.

CHAPTER VII.

The Protestants summoned to Rebellion.— Misfortunes of the Imperial Army.— Disgraceful Peace.— Death of the King.

THE war with the Ottomans becoming more and more serious, occupied the attention of all Europe, and especially of the Pope and the Emperor, so much that for some time few imperial orders were issued. The few which came to the light, however, reminded the Protestants of their miserable state and of their mighty foes. And yet, when the son of Prince Rákotzy, who stood under the protection of the Turks, summoned the Protestants of Hungary and Transylvania to revolt against the emperor and join the Turks, they refused to listen to his proposals. Not an individual of importance passed over to the Turkish ranks, though at that time the victorious party.

In the unfortunate engagement of 23d of July, 1739, at Krocska, the field-marshal, Wallis, had been nearly routed when he was relieved by the arrival of William Reinhard of Neupergs. Reinhard had received secret instructions from Maria Theresa and her consort to conclude a peace with the Turks; but his unfortunate position and his own imprudence, together with the cunning of Marquis Villeneuve, the French ambassador, who wished to humble Austria, induced him to conclude that disgraceful peace on the 1st of September, under the guaranty of France, by which the fortresses of Belgrade and Szobacs, together with Servia, the whole of Austrian Wallachia, with the island and castle of Orsova, were ceded to the Turks.*

* By this peace the fundamental constitution of Hungary was violated. See Carl. III., Decret. 1715, art. 41. See also *Corpus Juris Hungariæ*.

The emperor's cheerfulness now forsook him. He sought solitude, and not unfrequently shut himself up in his cell in the Capuchin monastery, which he had built in the market-place. Sometimes he went to his palace at Halbthurm, in Wieselburg, and here, by partaking of fruit and cold drink after the heats of the chase, he brought on the disease of which he died in Vienna, 20th of October, 1740. The papal nuncio stood by him in his dying hours.

The death of Charles VI. was no cause of joy to the Protestants, nor of sorrow to the Roman Catholic priests, in as far as the future was concerned, for his successor was his own daughter, Maria Theresa.

CHAPTER VIII.

MARIA THERESA. — FROM 1740 TO 1780.

Dangerous Position of the Queen. — She is delivered by the Hungarians. — Fruitless Efforts of the Protestants to obtain their Religious Freedom. — Forbidden to present Petitions in Corporate Capacity. — Extracts from a Petition to the Queen. — Effects of this Petition. — Examination of the Pastors respecting Baptism. — The Resolutions of Charles VI. of 1731 renewed. — Sorrowful Consequences. — Persecutions. — The Protestant Schools.

MARIA THERESA was crowned with the usual ceremonies on the 18th of March, 1741, and inherited from her father a land wasted by war, by fanatical oppression, and by an army of officials.* Having been attacked by Frederick the Great of Prussia, by the Elector of Bavaria, as also by France and Spain, it seemed to be hastening to its downfall.

Forsaken by faithless allies among the princes, she, contrary to the advice of her German advisers, summoned a Diet at Presburg, where, with her babe of six months old (Joseph) in her arms, she delivered such a powerful address in Latin, commending herself and her child to the care of the Hungarian States, — casting herself on their generosity and valor, — that when she had concluded, four hundred and ninety-seven Hungarians drew the sword, and cried, “*Yes! our life’s blood for our king!*”†

The happy consequences of this proceeding of the queen,

* The officials in one single department amounted to forty thousand, who cost the land nearly ten millions of florins yearly.

† “*Moriamur pro rege nostro Maria!*” The title of queen is not recognized in Hungary, even when a female monarch is actually reigning.

both for herself and the monarchy, are well known. For Hungary this was one of her brightest days. Pity that religious intolerance and love of persecution cast a shade over the picture, and that the inner life of this brave people should be so soon turned to darkness and night.

The queen had sworn "to preserve inviolable all the rights and privileges of the nation in all points, clauses, and articles, as had been settled between the king and the representatives of the country." Still this was not so much the ground of the nation's confidence as was that gentle and humane disposition which was universally believed to characterize the person of the sovereign. They thought, therefore, that now was the time to recover their inalienable rights and freedoms, which, partly by force, partly by fraud, had been wrested from them. As bitterly oppressed subjects, they reckoned on the tender heart of woman for redress, and took their measures accordingly.

To lose no time, the Protestants sent a deputation to Maria Theresa in July, 1740, but she replied through her chancellor, Pallfy, that she was not willing to receive so numerous a deputation, and that it was, besides, contrary to law to approach the throne with the complaints of a whole class. Disappointed in their expectations, the deputies left the city, resolved to try some other plan.

On the 20th of January, 1741, a deputation appeared in Vienna from Hout and Neogräd, and in April another deputation followed; and as the queen seemed inclined to listen to them, the deputy of the Reformed Church, Abraham Vay, and of the Lutheran Church, Maythéni, drew up and presented a petition which was too important to be here passed over.

In the preamble of the petition it was set forth, that the prohibition of petitions in the name of a class had reference only to private interests, which were often so represented. It was also set forth that, in the present case, the evil was of

such a nature that it could not otherwise be met than by a petition stating the oppressions of the whole Protestant body. The different enactments are recapitulated, according to which, "the Protestants of Hungary should in no way whatever be disturbed in the enjoyment of all their rights." The ten points of the Diet of Œdenberg, of 1681, are recapitulated, and it is shown that not a shadow of religious freedom remains over.* Petitioners represent further how Protestant pastors are banished out of whole circuits, as in the case of Arszeg and Tolsag in Eisenburg county, and that the people are not suffered to go to hear the Word of God or to receive the Lord's Supper in the neighboring county. They are not even allowed the quiet use of their own religious books. When some have ventured to go to a neighboring county to hear the Word of God, they have been waylaid by the authorities, and their books and even clothes taken from them, without respect to age, or sex, or station in life. Others are for the same offence summoned before the county court.† Here they have been sentenced to fines and imprisonments in chains. Some are compelled to join the Roman Catholic Church, or subjected to endless annoyances. The landed proprietors often abuse their rights so far as to compel those residing on their estates to become Roman Catholics, else imprisonment, banishment, and confiscation await them. Even after some have paid the fine to obtain leave to reside on the estates, they are even then banished. The decretal oath shuts Protestants out of office, and very often brings them to bear heavy persecution, simply because their consciences could not bear the blasphemy contained in that oath. Parties are refused marriage and other rites, indeed even Christian burial; corpses are torn out of the earth and thrown

* "Ut ne umbra quidem alicujus libertatis appareat."

† This court, called the "Herrenstuhl," was perfectly arbitrary in its decisions, and merely carried out the will of a few landed proprietors of the county. It was the source of much oppression up till the year 1845.

into some dishonored place, because it is feared that they have not died in the Catholic faith. If Protestant domestics are taken sick, and the priest is not sent for, that, too, is a crime to be punished with fines. Those who had long before 1731 joined the Protestant Church, are, under some pretence, seized, scourged as apostates, and again handed over to the Church of Rome.

They complain that the Protestant schools are reduced to the elementary classes, indeed sometimes completely prohibited ; and that the books of the Protestants, such as the Bible, hymn and prayer-books, as well as works on dogmatic theology, are not allowed to be imported into the country, or if found are confiscated. Even in places where the Protestant worship is tolerated, the pastors are not allowed to visit the sick and the prisoners, or to comfort the dying. In many places, indeed in the greater number of the free cities in the entire kingdom, out of mere religious hatred, the Protestants are not permitted to enjoy the rights of citizenship, and this measure extends not only to strangers, but also to those born in the place. The nobility, who in Hungary enjoy so many privileges, are excluded from office, however well fitted to fill the post, simply because they refuse to take the blasphemous decretal oath ; the post is then often filled up by men not at all qualified, and the votes of the nobility, who have a right to decide in such matters, are completely neglected. Petitioners inform the queen that all these complaints, and many others even worse than these, could be proved by documentary evidence. Petitioners further declare, that though her imperial Majesty had reserved to herself the right of finally deciding in all these matters, yet the grand cause of the evil lies in the fact of all these cases being handed for investigation to the very parties who have first instigated the injustice, that they might report. In this way the complaining party is put completely at the mercy of the persecutors ; and if this course is continued, there remains nothing over

for the faithful Protestant subjects of her Majesty but persecution, misery, banishment, and complete destruction.

Whilst it is impossible for her Majesty, with all her cares of government, to examine all the charges and complaints of the Protestants, and to decide according to the law of the land, the Protestant States, who are not behind their Roman Catholic countrymen in devotedness to the throne, unite in the following petition :—

First, That the Protestants of both confessions, as members of the kingdom, shall be treated like the Roman Catholic citizens, and shall not on account of their religion be excluded from any of the offices of state, or courts of law and appeal.

Second, That in all oaths, the formula “by the Triune God,” shall be reckoned sufficient, and no further burden be laid on the conscience.

Third, At the election of civil office-bearers, the vote of the Protestants shall not be suppressed, but treated as of equal value with the vote of a Roman Catholic.

Fourth, That the Protestant clergy shall, in matters pertaining to ecclesiastical discipline, be subject to their own superintendents alone, and to no foreign ecclesiastical authority ; and that the matters relating to marriage shall be decided according to the acknowledged and authorized principles of the confession to which the parties belong.

Fifth, That in the counties where the Protestants are in possession of churches and chapels, and enjoy the privileges of the public exercises of religion, it shall be permitted them to repair their churches and to build manses and school-houses where these do not already exist. That the nobility generally shall have the right of building chapels on their own land, and of supporting chaplains ; that those who come to attend divine service should in no way be molested ; and that the peasants who live beyond the prescribed bounds of the parish should not be prevented from receiving the visits

of the Protestant clergy in case of need, and from obtaining the comforts of the Gospel in a dying hour.

Sixth, That those who join the Protestant Church should in the future not be persecuted and punished as apostates, or banished from the land of their fathers, and that those who are already banished should be recalled.

Seventh, That the churches which, according to article 30th of the Diet of 1715, had fallen into the possession of the Roman Catholics,* should be restored, or, where that was impossible, at least no more should be taken away under such pretexts.

Eighth, That in the royal free cities the Protestant pastors shall no more be prohibited from entering the interior of the city, and that all the limitations of knowledge be removed.†

Ninth, That Protestants coming to reside in the free cities should not, on account of their religion, be excluded from citizenship.

Tenth, That the system of seizing churches, chapels, schools, and income of the Protestant clergy by force, should cease for ever, and that the "customary fine" which at all times might be levied from Protestants should also for ever cease, that the peace of the country might not be for ever disturbed by such unjust measures. And should complaints be brought to her Majesty, that she would be pleased to direct inquiry and redress, not through the viceregal court at Presburg, but from the home office, for the viceregal court often took the liberty of decreeing exactly the opposite of what the court at Vienna had ordered.

Should at any time doubts arise, then, in the spirit of the 14th article of 1647, there should be a mixed commission,

* This was the case when a priest by force or fraud succeeded in reading the mass or performing any other religious ceremony there.

† This referred to the exclusion of Protestants from professorships, and also to the prohibition of anything beyond elementary schools in connection with the Protestant churches.

containing an equal number of Protestant and Roman Catholic members, appointed to examine the case, and when they had decided, her Majesty would please to direct the local magistrate to carry out the decision without the intervention of any other party ; for experience had shown that royal resolutions in favor of the Protestants generally remained unexecuted.

“By this means”—so said the petition at its close—“should the nation of Hungary, so devoted to her Majesty’s interests, be delivered from much and grievous oppression. We, who humbly present this petition before your Majesty, should, by the granting of our supplication, be so firmly bound to your Majesty’s throne, that we should ever consider it an honor and a privilege to shed our blood in defence of your Majesty’s cause against every foe.” The petition was signed by “Her Majesty’s most obedient, ever faithful subjects of the Augsburg and Helvetic Confessions, residing in Hungary.”

A petition founded thus on facts, and supported by evidence, could not pass without leaving a deep impression on the mind of Maria Theresa, and so much the more as extracts of all the laws made in favor of the Protestants had, in January, 1742, been handed to her and her counsellors by that faithful nobleman Gabriel Perényi. He had been assisted and supported, in making the extracts and presenting them, by John Botius and the general inspector John Radvan.

The queen handed the petition of the Hungarian Protestants to her chancellor, with directions to report upon it. The report appeared on the 4th of March, 1742, advising that her Majesty should condescend no reply to the petitioners. As she, however, felt this suggestion incompatible with her sense of duty, she summoned on an early day her whole council, to present the chancellor’s report, and to ask their advice. Her ministers advised her to act as the chancellor

had reported, and, accordingly, no reply was given to the petition.

We see that the queen and the Protestant cause were still in the hands of the Jesuits. This was soon made still more evident. The Bishop of Funfkirchen, in the visitation of his diocese, felt himself peculiarly pressed in conscience to look after the state of the poor erring Protestants who had left his fold. He not only inquired into outward and civil matters, but also examined the Protestant pastors respecting their views of baptism. Well, if Protestants were allowed to live, it was but reasonable to expect that they should teach only such doctrines as Rome approves. So at least thought the Bishop of Funfkirchen. Now, on the occasion of an examination at Szokal, the bishop felt quite grieved in spirit at the answers which the Protestant pastors gave on the subject of baptism, and, astonished that any men pretending to hold the office of pastor in a Christian church could differ so far from what the infallible Mother Church teaches respecting the nature of the sacraments, he in his zeal denounced these men in his report to Vienna, as monsters of ignorance, who pretended to support by Scripture their own views of baptism, which were not the same as those of the Church of Rome. The bitterest part of the charge, however — at least to Popish ears — was, that these Protestant pastors caused many children to be eternally lost, by forbidding the midwives to baptize in case of death in the act of parturition.*

On the 15th of September, 1742, an order was published by the viceregal court at Presburg, and directed to be read in all counties and parishes in the name of the queen. This royal decree brought heavy charges against the Calvinistic pastors, and directed that the authorities should prevent them,

* It is the well-known principle of the Church of Rome, that children dying unbaptized are therefore lost; wherefore the midwives are directed to baptize in case of need, to the saving of the souls of children. The same practice prevails also in the Lutheran Church.

if necessary, by force, from spreading their dangerous doctrines by which any child may be suffered to die unbaptized. If any case of the kind should occur, then the Calvinistic pastor and the midwife are to be held accountable for the crime, and punished accordingly.

A heavier measure awaited the Protestants, for in the following December another proclamation appeared, by which the queen confirmed to its full extent the unfortunate resolutions of her father, of the year 1731. The desire of religious liberty was now a crime, and Maria Theresa brought a heavy stain on her character by sanctioning such a measure. From this time we see her led by bigotry to demand the heaviest oppressions and persecutions of her Protestant subjects.

The decretal oath, which Charles VI., at the instigation of the foreign ambassadors, had allowed to be dispensed with, Maria Theresa again introduced, by which means the conscientious and influential Protestants were excluded from office. In this way was Joseph Klobuschisky, who had been duly elected as a member of the chamber at Presburg, removed from his office, and another illegally appointed in his place, but for the illegal steps there was no punishment inflicted on the parties concerned. Similar cases might be brought forward by hundreds.

The greatest possible difficulties were laid in the way of young men who wished to study at foreign universities. Not only was the passport very expensive, but even before granting it, evidence must be brought that the individual seeking such permission had sufficient means to support him. In this way the rich endowments and scholarships intended for Hungarian students were rendered useless. If any one were too poor to study abroad, he was prohibited from seeking assistance from friends for that purpose.

The candidates of theology, who were residing abroad, were at one time ordered home within a month. Not even

the poor traders who lived on the frontiers escaped, but, under the pretence that by their books they were spreading heresy in the land, their Bibles and hymn-books were taken from them. The Protestant carriers of Zips lost many religious books in this way ; those of Arva lost forty Bohemian Bibles, and at that time it was no trifle. An order of 1747, from the viceregal court, directed the Reformed Church to destroy their catechism, and have it immediately abolished. The old battles about church and school-houses, and the claims of the priests on the Protestants, were renewed and continued in the old way. The Diet of Œdenberg brought matters so far, that in eleven counties divine worship according to the Protestant form was to be tolerated only in two places in each county. Six of these counties had been already *regulated* ; the five remaining counties were to be examined with the greatest care, that none but the two legal Protestant churches should be tolerated, and when that was done the remaining nineteen counties should not rest long behind. We shall see with what cunning the foes of light set to work.

In Raab the Protestant worship had occasionally been suspended, but always restored again ; now, however, a charge was brought that the Protestants had no legal permission to meet for worship. No sooner had the charge been read in Presburg than an order was issued, and accordingly churches and schools were closed, the revenues seized, the pastors and teachers turned out of their dwellings, and permitted to continue in Raab only on condition of resigning all claim to be considered as office-bearers in the Church. In parishes where perhaps scarcely three Roman Catholics resided, priests were forced upon the people. We might name the places where this occurred, — for example, in Dobschan, in 1746, in Ratho, in Csetnek, where very few Papists resided, but, on the contrary, which was the residence of the Protestant superintendent. In Asgyan the pastor had only but

expired of fever, when an attempt was made to introduce a priest into his place. When the people protested, they were summoned by the attorney-general and subjected to a tedious legal process. When the congregation had found, however, in Stephen Bornemissa, an able advocate and zealous defender, the Papists found means of making him harmless by bringing an accusation against himself. He lost his right to practise as an advocate, — certainly as a warning to all others not to be over-zealous in defending the Protestants. With much trouble did this unjustly persecuted man again obtain leave to practise, but it was with the express and significant declaration that this favor was shown “only for this time.”

The plundering and the forcible seizure of churches and schools continued ; and the order of 1746, which was intended to put a stop to the proceedings, was published only in a few counties. Where the difficulties appeared insurmountable in carrying out their plans, the Popish party contrived to allow the churches to fall into decay. The repair was strictly prohibited. And when, after many pressing petitions, the queen at last permitted some of the churches to be repaired, the permission was clogged with so many conditions as to make it nearly useless. The court at Presburg threatened to tear down the whole building, if the slightest alteration was made in the plan of repairs which had been sanctioned.

Faith, however, finds a way. By it is the world overcome. In proportion to the difficulties is the strength of that principle which the Holy Spirit works in the soul. When preaching and the sacraments were forbidden, the people had strength and courage to travel for miles to those places where public worship was legal ; and the poor often spent their last penny in such attempts to obtain nourishment for their souls. Though this was not once to be compared with the pilgrimages which were customary in the Roman Catholic Church, neither in moral tendency nor in expense, still the priests and the Popish nobles resolved not to tolerate it. Thus the young

Earl Szirmay punished his tenants and vassals with great severity for attending divine service in Jacobfalva and Zoben. It was well known how Baron Stephen Klobuschisky sent his servants regularly on Saturday evening to warn his tenantry, under heavy penalties, not to venture to go to Eperjes to divine service on the following day. To be sure that they obeyed this injunction, he ordered them all to be present in the Roman Catholic church. Whoever disobeyed had the choice of being publicly whipped, or of paying an indefinite fine !

Under these circumstances many emigrated to the neighborhood of the Theiss, and such numerous Protestant churches were there formed, that often twelve to eighteen thousand souls were under the pastoral care of only two pastors. It was true that those who emigrated were obliged to leave the greater part of their property behind.

The Countess of Szent-Ivany imprisoned her tenantry on the estate at Alho-Sebes, near Eperjes, for the crime of attending a Protestant place of worship, and kept them in chains till they joined the Roman Catholic Church ; and when one woman positively refused to accept of freedom on any such terms, she was banished from the village, leaving her husband and her property all behind. The miseries, however, of those who happened to have priests or — as at Stavnik — Jesuits for the proprietors of the soil, are known only to the Lord, and cannot be described by mortal hand.

Neither experience nor humanity seemed to have any influence in moderating the struggles to convert the Protestants. The deputy-governor of the county Houth once replied, as some one exultingly told him of the conversion of a Protestant to the Catholic faith, “ that he knew no such fools as those who could rejoice over such things ; for,” said he, “ if all the Protestants turned over to us, there would not a single individual of those who are now Roman Catholics be per-

mitted to remain in office ; for places must be provided for the converts."

Though the Protestant schools were closed or oppressed, and the Roman Catholics were in their school system perfectly free, still the intelligence of the former was in no way behind the latter. The primate once exclaimed, in a consultation on the state of the schools, "In vain have we lowered the schools of the Protestants ; in vain forbidden them to attend foreign universities : notwithstanding all we have done, they still surpass us in learning." And indeed it did appear as if the blessing which once attended the light food of Daniel and his followers rested here on the moderate opportunities which the Protestants enjoyed for cultivating their mental powers.

CHAPTER IX.

Ecclesiastical Visitations. — Bishop Biro. — Processions. — Mixed Marriages.
— Children taken from the Parents. — Countess of Szent-Ivany. — Persecution of the Protestant Pastors. — Matthew Bohil.

NEXT to the severe censorship exercised in the schools, the heaviest trial for the Protestants under Maria Theresa was, perhaps, the ecclesiastical visitation. The Popish bishops and archdeacons meddled in a most provoking way with all the affairs of the Protestant churches. Not only did they inquire into the manner of dispensing the sacraments, and require the sacrament of baptism to be dispensed in a way agreeable to their wishes, but also fomented quarrels between pastor and people, that they might have an opportunity of interfering to decide the dispute.*

While the bishops thus visited and regulated the affairs of the Protestant churches, the superintendents were forbidden to interfere; for, it was said, the congregation cannot bear the expense of a second visitation; besides, it would be useless, as the bishop must of course know best what to do. A Popish bishop know best what to do in a Protestant church! The pretence of sparing expense was very futile, for the bishop usually came in great splendor.

As a specimen of the way in which the bishops exercised their power, we may look at Francis Barkotzy, Bishop of Erlau, who summoned the Calvinistic pastors on the 18th of June, 1748, to Nagy-Banya, to be examined on the nature and design of baptism. On this occasion he treated them

* Letter of the Vicar-General of Kalotsh to the Reformed Church in Bagyaslo, 24th February, 1748.

sometimes with parental kindness, sometimes with episcopal severity; and reminded them that their freedom was not dependent on the law of the land nor on the will of the sovereign, but on the words which occurred in the enactment (*adhuc toleratur*),—merely for the present is toleration granted.

Martin Biro, Bishop of Wesprim, issued an order on the 20th of July, requiring the host to be carried through the streets to the sick, with burning tapers; and that every person, of whatever religion he might be, who should meet the procession of the host on the street, or past whose house it might be borne, should fall on the knee to worship.

The trades' unions were obliged to take part in the ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church in the free cities, carrying the flags of their trade. If any apprentice or journeyman absented himself from the procession on Corpus Christi day, he was fined in several pounds of wax or in six florins, — for such times, and for such people, a most fearful oppression.

The government were obliged to interfere, and decide, that at Neusohl the journeymen tradespeople should not be obliged to pay more than two pounds weight of wax; as also, that the household furniture of the Protestants, which had been seized to pay these enormous demands in consequence of refusing to take part in the processions, should be restored.*

None of the Protestants, however, were so much to be pitied at this time as those who were married to Roman Catholics. Their domestic happiness was entirely at the command of the priests, who, partly by the influence of the confessional, partly by orders from higher quarters, were empowered to interfere and regulate the education of the children as they chose.

* See decrees of viceregal court at Presburg, 16th July, 1743, and 28th July, 1745.

In many cases the marriage with Protestants was forbidden till the Protestant party joined the Church of Rome ; or, if it was tolerated, all the children were regarded as by right belonging to that Church. The husband was no more " the head of the wife " in this respect, but all must be subject to the priests, who made themselves " lords over God's heritage."

How far this went may be illustrated by a case which occurred in the year 1746, at Nagy Saros. There appeared before the Roman Catholic priest, P. Karasy, two pairs wishing to be married. Both were intended to be mixed marriages, but in one case the bride, in the other the bridegroom, was Protestant. When the priest had tried in vain to persuade the Protestant parties to turn to the Church of Rome, and all his arguments seemed useless, he at last took them over to the church, and, without asking their leave, married the Protestant bridegroom to the Protestant bride, and the Roman Catholic to the Roman Catholic.

The fanatical attempts at so-called conversion penetrated into all the circumstances of life. It was a matter of no unfrequent occurrence that, where one of the parents had been Roman Catholic, but had joined the Protestant Church, so that both were now members of the Protestant communion, the priest stepped in, took possession of the children, and had them educated in some convent in the Catholic faith.

The Jesuit Szanty, in the neighborhood of Eperjes, was particularly active in this way. A Roman Catholic who had been compelled against his will to join that communion, and who had married a Protestant, was training his son in the Protestant faith; for he said he would sooner suffer ten deaths than see his child Roman Catholic. When Szanty heard this, he went to the house and brought the child—at that time six years old—into the church, made him confess, and thrust the consecrated wafer into his mouth ;—thus he was *made Catholic*. The disconsolate parents applied to the

preacher, Matthew Bohil, for advice, and he had the child sent to friends in another country, where it might escape from the men who were thus hunting after souls. The Jesuit pater complained to the Countess Szent-Ivany, the proprietress of the soil, and she had the father thrown into prison with a chain round his neck, while the mother was obliged to wander many a weary day and night among the mountains and forests, that she might escape the same fate.

One child concealed himself for several days under a bed, and another lay in a shed for fourteen days, seeking opportunity to escape from the attempts of the Jesuit to "convert" him, while the mother was thrown into prison for not revealing where her boy lay hid.*

The Jesuit Schewsluck, whom the contemporaries called the bloody miscreant,† surpassed his brethren in making proselytes. Assisted by armed bands, he went from house to house, seized the children of mixed marriages, shut them up, and wrought on their imaginations by promises and threats till they joined the Church of Rome. Many females were also in a similar way imprisoned till they forsook their Church. The case of the children of a powder manufacturer in Eperjes was very severe. The widowed mother was obliged to surrender her two eldest children to the priests as a necessary preparation for a second marriage. She then married the Protestant citizen Michael Rastatsy, and educated the younger children in the Protestant faith. The Jesuit, on hearing of this, carried the children by force from the mother, and shut them up in the college. On the evening of the 30th of June, 1744, these boys, tired of the chastisements to which they were subjected, broke open the door and fled to the Protestant pastor, who, without communicating with the parents, sent them off to friends in a distant country, to be there educated in the Protestant faith.

* *Smalii Advers.* loc. c. § 66.

† "Blutiger Koth, und answurf der Hölle."

A worthy pupil of the Jesuits was the Countess Szirmay, of the family of Barkotzy. Of a very different disposition from her husband Thomas, she gathered her Protestant servants, dependants, and tenantry to the castle, and had them whipped till their eyes were sufficiently clear to see the excellencies of the Church of Rome.

The priests have always known how to use superstition for their own ends. Accordingly, the popular superstition, that a mother could not venture on any work or undertake a journey after childbirth, without being "churched," was made the occasion of winning many Protestants over to Rome. The practice had come originally from the Jews, and the priests carefully taught that some great misfortune might reasonably be expected if this rite were not observed. They then in many cases refused to perform the service till the party concerned had finally forsaken the Church of her fathers. If, however, the mother ventured to neglect the observance of the ecclesiastical ceremony, she was heavily fined.

It was no easy matter for the pastors to escape; for many spies were ever ready to inform if they ever crossed the bounds prescribed for their labors. Whether it was to visit the sick and dying, to administer baptism, to visit a brother minister, or whatever was the object, they were seized and whipped. This was the prescribed punishment for crossing beyond their bounds. Among others who were thus treated we find Matthew Bohil, who, on passing through the village of Rodacs, on his way to visit pastor David Meltzel, was seized by some students of Kashaw, headed by the priest of the district, and openly, in broad daylight, was whipped in the streets. The pastor of Bartfeld, who was afterwards settled at Iglau, John Christopher Anders, having once obtained permission from the archdeacon to come within the walls of the city to visit a brother-in-law, for the purpose of arranging some family affairs, was, under the pretence of friendship,

allured into the house of the archdeacon, and there treated as a prisoner. As he protested against this treatment, and was about to force his way out, the priest seized him, tore off his wig, administered some orthodox blows, and threw him out into the street with bare head. The boys before the priest's door now began to throw stones, and it was with trouble that some Protestant citizens were able to rescue him from the danger.

An aged preacher, Andrew Hulvajdt, who had come to Uigfalu to have his coat repaired, was seized by the priest of the place, and was beaten. Andrew Gross, of Leutshaw, was seized by the Minorites in the street, and confined in an upper room of the monastery,* out of which he escaped, by binding his bed-clothes together to make a cord to let him down from the window. His cord was too short, and the fall which he experienced was the cause of a tedious illness.

Even within the bounds of their prescribed districts, the pastors had many difficulties to encounter. In Bartfeld, Trentshin, and Eperjes, they were not suffered to go within the walls. When, therefore, a member of the church residing in the city fell sick, he must either remain without the comforts which his pastor could afford, or else be carried out to the suburbs, there to receive the consolations of religion. After many petitions, the queen ordered this regulation to be rescinded ; but the court at Presburg, in transmitting the order to the civic authorities, instead of saying that the pastors "*must* be admitted," as the queen had directed, wrote that they "*might* be admitted into the city." When now, in dependence on the queen's decree, Matthew Bohil entered the city, he was threatened by the superior of the Jesuits, and ordered immediately to leave.

* The monks considered themselves justified in doing so, for a decree had been issued from their workshop at Presburg, directing that any clergyman found travelling, if a member of the nobility, was to be handed over to the attorney-general ; if not, he was to be without ceremony imprisoned.

Bohil, however, was not the man to be terrified. He knew that the Palatine Count John Pallfy had written to the governor of the city to see that the queen's decree was executed, and in dependence on him, and in spite of all priestly protests, he continued his visits to the sick. The Jesuits drove matters so far as to appeal to Presburg that the permission might be reversed. When, however, the priests could not gain their ends by legal means, they took care that the pastors should be pelted in the streets with mud and stones.

We cannot do better, however, than allow this faithful witness to speak for himself, and describe his own experience and sufferings.

CHAPTER X.

Imprisonment of Bohil. — Cause. — Escape. — A Jewish Rabbi. — Persecution of the Friends of Bohil. — His Wife's Escape. — Bohil's Works on the Ecclesiastical State of Hungary. — The Papal Nuncio Camil Paulati and the Societies of St. Joseph and St. Stephen. — Duties of Members. — Banishment of Professors.

ON the 28th of November, 1746, were gathered round the table of Matthew Bohil* at Eperjes, his dear friend Bartholomew Klein, pastor of Hermannstadt; John Lougay, rector of the school at Eperjes; Bohil's wife, and three small children, who listened while the father told the tales of suffering of his childhood and youth. A knock was heard at the door, and two town-councillors with two police officers entered, demanding that the pastor should appear before the magistrates' court, to give information respecting a certain paper. Bohil, knowing the spirit of these gentlemen, went into the next room, and provided himself with a line on which his wife used to dry clothes.

The cause of the summons and of the examination, which

* Matthew Bohil was born in 1706. His father had been four years in exile during the reign of Charles VI. Matthew was distinguished by learning and piety, and was ordained first in Czersent, and afterwards, in 1734, in Eperjes, one of the most sorely tried of all evangelical cities. In 1672, the Jesuits had taken possession of the college of the German and Slavonian churches, had turned out the Protestant town-council, and, because there were no Catholics capable of holding office, had appointed strangers. In consequence of the commission of 1681, the Hungarians and Bohemians obtained ground for building a church in the suburb. The Germans, however, were shown a place near the hangman's house, and when they refused to build there, they were accused as rebels and despisers of the royal clemency. In consequence of this, all their preaching stations were closed for eighteen years.

These remarks will make some parts in the text more intelligible.

lasted two days, was a book which had appeared, entitled *The Rise and Progress of Popery*, translated into the Bohemian, with a supplement, containing the spirited address of the professors at Wittenberg, which had been written a hundred years before, to encourage the Bohemian brethren to remain firm in the faith in the time of persecution.

Thirty-three questions were laid before him to answer, and he was kept a prisoner in the house of Bogdány till the Jesuits had leisure to examine all his books and papers. Among the books they found a *History of the Jesuits*, by Hasenmuller, which in no small measure excited their rage. Bohil's fate was now sealed.

To conceal, however, the real cause of their conduct from the public, they spread the report that they had found among the papers copies of a correspondence with Frederick the Great of Prussia, urging him to war with Austria. They also said that Bohil had two wives, of whom the one was still alive in Saxony.

Bohil was conscious of innocence, and as every one had access to him, he did not think of flight. When, however, from the 12th of December, no one but his wife was admitted to see him, — all his books, papers, and sermons were taken away to the Jesuit college, — his former guards were dismissed, — he was advised to bring his son, then five years of age, into the prison, — his new guards, casting ominous looks at each other, slept and watched alternately by day and night; he felt that his fate was sealed, that Kirmann's doom awaited him, and that he should fall one sacrifice more to Jesuitical craft and cruelty.

He committed his case to God in prayer, and resolved to attempt an escape. So soon as his resolution was formed, he felt such joy and inward peace as if he were already out of his prison, out of the city, and far away in some place of safety. And in a wondrous manner did the Lord help him out of all his troubles.

On the same evening, some members of his church brought him a plentiful supply of wine and provisions, which he looked on as a confirmation of his resolution. And yet when he thought of his flock deprived of the spiritual comfort which he had been enabled to administer; and when he reflected that, without his resignation, no other pastor could be appointed, but that, like the churches of Güns and Miawa, they would be left to the mercy of the enemy, his heart sank within him. Gladly would he have communicated with his flock, but there seemed no way open. As he was thus engaged, he had a severe attack of toothache, and as the pain was very violent, the judge allowed his physician, Andrew Yensi, and his surgeon, Stephen Hap, both Protestants, to visit him.

In the presence of his guard he revealed to these friends in Latin his whole plan of escape. They took leave in tears, and Bohil laid himself quietly down to sleep. Two guards stood by him in the same room, and it was their duty to relieve each other alternately; but this night they seemed both inclined to sleep. Bohil prayed that their sleep might be as that of Saul and Abner when David passed unobserved through their camp. It was midnight. Both guards were quite overcome with sleep. Bohil took his clothes and the line which he had brought with him from home, and, on reaching the door, he found the key still there. With little trouble he passed to the yard. The dogs, which were usually so fierce, were still to night. Passing the monastery of the Minorites, he turned to the city wall. Making the cord fast, he pressed through a small aperture in the wall, and let himself down with so little caution, that the flesh was torn from his hands by the small rope. The cord was too short, and being obliged to drop a considerable depth without its help, he received some wounds on the head. But he might now consider himself free. He praised God in the words of the 124th Psalm:—

“ Even as a bird
Out of the fowler's snare
Escapes away,
So is our soul set free:
Broke are their nets,
And thus escaped we.
Therefore our help
Is in the Lord's great name,
Who heaven and earth
By his great power did frame.”

The second wall was easily passed. He wandered in the neighborhood for some days undiscovered. Though it was winter, he slept in the woods; often must he wade through the melted snow; yet at last he got safely away and reached Holland. Here he met with a Jewish rabbi, to whom he told his tale, and the rabbi generously took him into his house. Not only had he food and clothing here, but his generous host provided a skilled physician, who soon cured him of his wounds.*

On the 9th of February he reached Breslau, where the kindly reception which there awaited him made him forget his sorrows. How much was he now rejoiced to reflect that, on the night of his escape, he had not turned in to bid farewell to his wife and little ones! for, so soon as his escape was known, the strictest examination was made of all his relations and friends, and under a terrible oath they were required to answer on the following points:—

1. Who had advised him to escape?
2. Whether he had not communicated his plan to some one?
3. Whether no one had seen him after his escape?
4. Who had given him the cord, and helped him over the wall?
5. Who had provided him with travelling expenses?

* In his autobiography, Bohil concealed the name and the residence of his benefactor, that he might not be made to suffer for his kindness.

6. Where he now is ; whether any letter had been written to him, or received from him ?

7. Whether he had seen his wife since his escape, and what advice he had given her ?

8. Whether none of his accomplices are known ?

Bohil's wife was told, that if she attempted to escape the strictest orders were given to have her arrested at the frontiers and brought back, while in such case the heaviest punishment would be inflicted on her. But she was worthy of her husband, and found ways and means of bringing her three children and an orphan girl who lived with her, after twelve days' travelling, safely over the frontiers. She was received at Plessva with true Christian hospitality, and soon reached her husband at Breslau. Bohil was at the time engaged in writing a description of the miserable state of the Protestant Church in Hungary, for the sake of awakening the sympathy of Protestant churches and Protestant princes in their favor.* He here opened the eyes of the Protestants who had been led to suppose that religious freedom had been again perfectly restored in Hungary.†

The most cursory view of the oppressions recorded in this book might well tend to open the eyes to the true tendency of Rome's efforts. The aim of the priests was to eradicate the entire Protestant Church. They hoped at least to bring Hungary as far as Croatia, Steiermark, Carinthia, and Austria had already been brought.

This was the design of the societies which were formed in 1744 under the guidance of the nuncio, Camil Paulati, and of the Bishop of Raab ; of which the one chose St. Stephen, the other St. Joseph, for patron ; and one of the fundamental principles and conditions of membership was, that each mem-

* *Tristissima Ecclesiæ Hungariæ facies, &c.*, a Matth. Bohil, V.D.M. Brieg, 1747.

† See Resolution of Leopold I., 1691, — a masterpiece of Kollonitz ecclesiastical toleration, — Part IV. p. 322. Ed. MS.

ber bound himself to obtain annually one recruit for Rome, that is, one proselyte to Popery, and use the utmost exertions to prevent the Protestants from obtaining posts of influence or honor.*

These societies had a "religious fund," the contents of which were freely used in every way to annoy the Protestants. The poor were enticed by presents, others were promised lucrative posts, and institutions were built expressly for the purpose of receiving the proselytes. Orphan children were the especial object of the care of the priests; indeed, sometimes, when the parents were still alive, the children were allured away and shut up in monasteries, that they might be educated in the Popish faith.†

The most distinguished Protestant teachers were expelled; as, for example, John Blasi, professor in Schemnitz, because he had permitted his pupils to write an essay on a theme displeasing to the Jesuits.‡ The chapels of ease were forcibly seized, and in whole counties at once.§ Such cruelties were exercised towards the so-called apostates that the queen was obliged to interfere in their behalf.

* The statutes were printed in 1745 in Latin and German.

† See the orders of the viceregal court for the years January, 1749, May, 1764, July, 1769, and July, 1774.

‡ Royal decree, 12th of November, 1748.

§ Decree of 17th of January.

CHAPTER XI.

United Petition of the Protestants. — Martin Biro's Pamphlet. — Dealings of the Court. — Appeal to Foreign Powers. — Letter of Frederick the Great to the Archbishop of Breslau, Cardinal Schaffgotsch. — His Appeal to the Pope. — The Protestant Prelate Sweetmilk. — The Archbishop of Canterbury interferes. — The British Ambassador. — Effects of the Interference. — Gabriel Pronay.

It was full time for the Protestant Church to raise her voice once more, notwithstanding that an edict of 1745 had revived the prohibition against joint petitions. A decree of the vice-regal court of 17th of January, 1749, explained very minutely, under nine heads, how the civil authorities were expected to treat the "apostates," that is, all who had under any circumstances, by force or fraud, been made members of the Church of Rome, or who had been born in its communion, — if they should ever join the Protestant Church. It was a piece of the greatest cruelty which a fully ripened priestcraft could invent. Martin Biro, the Bishop of Wesprim, had also written a pamphlet dedicated to the queen, and containing the most extraordinary charges against the Protestants; * indeed, in the 21st page, the witty bishop, in demanding the extirpation or banishment of all the Protestants, says, that as the Church of Rome was never *blood-thirsty*, she would be satisfied with the *burning* of the heretics.

On the 3d of August the Protestants handed in their memorial, with a full statement of their grievances, and also of the resolutions of the Diet and royal decrees guaranteeing

* Euchiridion Martini Baronis, Padani, Episcopi Vespriniensis, de fide hæresiarchiis et eorum sociis, in genere de Apostatis, &c., 4to. There is also a German edition; see Neue Zitzung von gelehrten Sachen. Leipzig, 1751, February 11.

them the privileges which were now refused. The documents are too long to be here inserted, and contained only a statement of facts, with which we are now familiar, showing that under her Majesty's government no relief had been obtained. They reminded the queen of her promise at the coronation, "to be a mother to all her subjects," and yet that, under her reign, the landlords were treating their Protestant vassals worse than the heathen treated their prisoners of war. They declared their readiness to place their life, property, and influence, unreservedly at her disposal, in defence of the crown, if she will only grant them liberty to worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience.

Though they had expected much from this representation, and though petitions from single individuals were constantly pouring in to keep her in mind of the case, yet history records no good effects which ever proceeded from these applications. On the contrary, the policy pursued was, that for every small favor granted in any particular case, ten times as much was taken away in some other form.

It is impossible to give a full and detailed account of the doings of the viceregal court, but a few statements may here be recorded as a specimen.

Shortly after the petition had been presented to the queen, asking protection for the Protestants, the authorities in Sola took possession of the chapel belonging to the Protestant congregation of Kiroly Falva, and turned them out. The chapel at Acsa was ready to fall, and one of the wealthiest Protestant noblemen, Gabriel Pronay, applied to the queen on the 12th of August, 1749, for leave to rebuild it in a more convenient place. The court now directed inquiry to be made, and especially respecting the condition of the Roman Catholic church in the place, and whether the Protestants had had uninterrupted possession of a place of worship there ever since 1681; and at last permission was given to rebuild the chapel. The conditions attached were, that it should be built of wood,

and outside the gates, in a place so full of water, that there would be no danger in case of the wooden church taking fire.

Being dissatisfied with these conditions, they were kept waiting a year and seven months, after which time, in reply to numerous entreaties and representations, they obtained leave to build a proper church, but with the condition that it should not be ~~ceiled~~ ceiled.

Another order was issued for the whole kingdom, directing that, in every case, the children of mixed marriages should be educated in the Roman Catholic faith. In the counties of Neogräd and Gömör, a commission had been appointed to investigate and report on the state of the Protestant churches; and when the report turned out too favorable, the commissioners were dismissed, and new officers appointed, with directions to bring up a report of another kind. The result was, that this report, which might as well have been manufactured without the trouble of investigation, gave the government an opportunity of seizing the building.

The Protestants of Netzpol in Thurotz obtained leave to build a church on condition of its being built entirely of wood, without any foundation of stone, and that it should have no vestry nor other building attached to it.*

When parties were suspected of having once been members of the Church of Rome, or when it was supposed that they ought to be in connection with that Church, the most tedious, oppressive lawsuits were commenced against them. One citizen of Neusohl, Samuel Holler, a goldsmith, was on this account thrown into irons, and no one but his wife was allowed access to him. The school at Eperjes was becoming more and more hampered in its operations; and when, after many petitions, some of these restrictions were taken away, the superior of the Jesuits protested against the royal patent in the presence of the magistrates, without punishment or even rebuke.

* Decrees of the years 1749 - 1751, issued at Presburg.

On the 8th of June, an order was issued forbidding the Protestant pastors to leave their usual place of residence to perform any ministerial act; forbidding the marriage, baptism, or burial of any stranger from another parish; and requiring that the fees of all ecclesiastical acts, or the *stola dues*, should be paid to the priests, and that even by Protestant noblemen.*

Such annoyances, and others, which were more harassing than one might suppose, led many to form the resolution of taking the last legal step which remained open to them, that is, to appeal to the foreign powers which had guaranteed their liberties. It is very intelligible how they should, in taking this step, use the utmost caution.

The Dutch and Hanoverian ambassadors wrote repeatedly, remonstrating with the empress. Some of the most distinguished Protestants gained access to the throne, and made their complaints be clearly understood. And, in addition to these, Frederick the Great of Prussia threw his influence into the scale.

By comparing all the circumstances, it would appear that the Protestant clergy of Hungary had sent the fanatical pamphlet of the Bishop of Wesprim, together with a full description of their circumstances, to the consistory at Berlin; and that the book had been brought under the notice of the King of Prussia. Frederick immediately wrote to Count Philipp Gotthard Schaffgotsh, cardinal and prince bishop of Breslau, under date of the 26th of February, 1751, in which he takes up the principles of the Roman Catholic bishops of Hungary, and particularly of Martin Biro, declaring that one might suppose they had resolved to extirpate Protestantism. The letter is, however, too valuable to be passed over, and runs thus:—

* Decrees of 1750—51.

"FREDERICK REX.

. . . . "You will no doubt have heard, as we have done, what hard persecutions and troubles have for some time past fallen to the lot of the Protestants of both confessions in Hungary; and how, contrary to treaties guaranteed by the mediation of foreign powers, one church after another has, on the most frivolous pretences — indeed, under such pretexts as ought to make every honest man ashamed — been wrested from them. They have also, in their common rights and privileges as citizens, been so vexatiously molested, that one might almost suppose that the design of the government is to drive them to despair, and induce them to try such illegal means of redress as would place them entirely at the mercy of their rulers.

"Though we stand in no connection with these people; and though they are prevented from applying to us, partly by the recollection of their obstinate opposition to our interests in the late troubles, partly by the strict orders of the court at Vienna, forbidding them to do so; and though, if we looked at the matter merely in a political view, we should have more reason to rejoice than to grieve at seeing them so bitterly punished by their own countrymen, for their obstinate opposition to our interests; not to mention the fact that such persecutions in a neighbor's territory must be most beneficial to us; — notwithstanding all these considerations, the miserable condition of so many innocent people awakens our sympathy, and compels us to make some attempts to relieve them. We would have had no objection to apply in this case to the court at Vienna itself; but when we see that the most friendly allies of that court can, with all their efforts, obtain no relief for the suffering Protestants; that they to whom said court is under weighty obligations are powerless in this matter; we feel that we should be much more so, and would by our interference only give a coloring to that charge which has so

often been brought against the poor sufferers, namely, that they gladly seek foreign aid against their own government.

“We are so much the more dissuaded from applying to the court at Vienna, as we are firmly persuaded that the guilt of all these persecutions does not rest with the imperial Queen of Hungary, whose well-known character would be entirely opposed to such transactions, but with the Roman Catholic clergy in Hungary, who have resolved on the entire *eradication* of Protestantism in that land; and they are so zealous in carrying out their plan, that the wise empress, for the sake of having their assistance in some other schemes, is obliged to give them their will in this case, or at least, not to oppose them with that energy which she might well wish. In this opinion we are confirmed by a scandalous publication of Martin Biro, Bishop of Wesprim, which has lately seen the light, in which he rings the alarm-bell against these so-called heretics, and stirs up his enlightened sovereign to the bitterest measures against them; not blushing to assert the principles of his Church with such sentiments as must tend to loosen every bond of society, and which fill every honest Roman Catholic with abhorrence. Under these circumstances we have thought it most practicable to attempt to bring influence to bear on the fountain of the evil, that is, on the Roman Catholic clergy of Hungary, and to make them feel in a suitable, but, at the same time, unmistakable manner, how a future age will judge these proceedings by which the men who have given the most satisfactory evidence of unwavering attachment to the crown, and have offered their property and life cheerfully in its defence, should, as a reward for their faithfulness, be plundered of their most just rights and liberties, and be brought to the very verge of despair. Yes, they should be brought to feel what a terrible retribution awaits their Church, if a time should come when the Protestant Church should by Divine permission gain the mastery, and the term heretic, then be applied to the Roman Catholic, —

what a terrible retribution awaits them, if these same principles which are now published should then be acted on.

“To give these clergy, then, such an intimation, we know of no one so suitable as yourself; and we apply to you with so much more confidence, as we have frequently had opportunity to observe with pleasure that humanity, and the observance of the first principles of all religion, are not banished from your mind, and that you are very far removed from that superstitious prejudice which maintains it to be a sacred duty to advance divine truths by unjust means. We know how embarrassing and intricate such a commission is, but we have such confidence in your wisdom and zeal, that we are assured you will find the proper ways and means for making yourself be heard, and we trust with good effect. By so doing, you would confer on us a very especial favor; and though we do not at all make you responsible for success, yet if your interposition should prove successful, it would increase in no small degree our pleasure and the obligations under which you have already laid us. We shall be glad to hear a report from you at the proper time, respecting the results of your exertion, and remain,” &c., &c.

On the 28th of February, the Cardinal and Bishop of Breslau, Count Schaffgotsh,* replied, and expressed his disapprobation of what the Hungarian clergy were doing; declined writing to them, however, as he had reason to believe that his letter would not be answered, and would produce no effect; he was willing, however, to meet the wishes of his Majesty, and forward his Majesty's letter to the court of Rome, with a request that the matter might there be considered, and the result he would report in due time.

The effects of this step of the cardinal's may be seen in a

* Count Schaffgotsh was born in 1716, was made bishop in 1747, and the following year, cardinal.

letter of the Chief Counsellor of the Consistory and prebend of St. Peter's at Berlin, John Peter Sweetmilk, addressed to the superintendents of the Protestant churches in Hungary, dated 2d of August, 1751, from which it appears that a most conciliatory letter from the Pope had reached the town-council of Berlin, through the intervention of Schaffgotsh. The Chief Counsellor writes that he cannot send them a copy of the letter, as it is feared that the publishing of it would not be agreeable to the Pope ; still, having read the letter two or three times, he can give the substance. The Pope declares that, after several consultations with the cardinals, he cannot approve of the exertions (*molimina*) of the priests in Hungary, and, in accordance with the wish of the King of Prussia, he would interfere on behalf of the Protestants in Hungary. He must, however, be cautious, so that he may not be called a protector of the Lutherans. He would not write direct to the court, but would take the proper means of letting the bishops of Hungary know his will and pleasure. It is true, he is responsible only before the judgment-seat of Christ, and needs not be much concerned about the opinions of men ; it is, however, prudent, so far as conscience allows, to have due regard to the circumstances in which one is placed. He would warn the bishops to be cautious lest, while striving to benefit the body of Christ in one place, they should injure it in another, and thus cause pain in the heart, and bring grief to the head.*

The Chief Counsellor Sweetmilk adds : " May these words contain truth and really bring relief ! " He incloses a letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury, from which it is seen that the archbishop had received a statement of the case of the Hungarian Protestants, and had laid it before the King of England, who had given directions to his ambassador at

* It was Benedict XIV., otherwise called Prospero Lambertino, one of the most moderate of the Popes, who held office from 1740 to 1758.

Vienna, D. Keith, to inquire prudently into the case, and to put the Protestants in the way of applying to him for assistance.

The archbishop declared himself ready at all times to be the faithful advocate of his poor brethren in the faith, and expressed the hope that the Pope would by his actions manifest as much kindness as the wisdom and policy of his words would lead one to expect.* He begs, in conclusion, that when any intelligence of importance should be received from Vienna, it might be communicated to him.†

The Pope gave directions to his ambassador at Vienna to consult with the ministers respecting the way in which the rights of the Roman Catholics and Protestants in Hungary might be so defined, and in future so strictly observed, that no pretext should be furnished to Protestant princes for making reprisals on the Church of Rome.

And what were the consequences of these deliberations? The first fruit was, that the empress directed the pamphlet of the Bishop of Wesprim to be confiscated.

The next fruit, however, was, that the noble Gabriel Pro-nay, who was suspected of applying to the foreign powers, was threatened with chains and with an action for high treason; for it was construed to be high treason to appeal to foreign powers on behalf of religious grievances. During the sitting of the Diet at Presburg, he was summoned before Maria Theresa in the night-time, to receive a reprimand on the subject.

So much were the Roman Catholics concerned on this point, that when Samuel Polsky, a wine-dealer, and a Protestant, was returning from a journey in Prussia, he was put to his oath, whether he had communicated with Frederick the Great respecting the religious state of the Protestants in Hungary.

* Edenberg MSS., Fasc. XII. No. 21.

† The letter is dated at the Palace of Lambeth, 8th of June, 1751.

CHAPTER XII.

The Queen's Promises. — The Chapels of Ease taken away. — General Persecution of the Protestants. — Riots at Vadosfa. — Imprisonment of the Superintendent and forty-four of his Church Members. — The Seven Years' War with Prussia. — Peace, and Diet at Presburg. — The Death of the Queen's Consort, Francis I.

OTHER fruits of the interference of foreign powers on behalf of the Protestants we seek, as the Lord sought for figs on the barren fig-tree, and find them not. He found leaves, and we find here leaves also, — fair promises. The queen declares herself entirely ignorant of those fearful oppressions concerning which the Protestants complain; declares herself determined not to suffer the like; only she expects that they will not attempt to obtain relief by applying to foreign powers, but content themselves by stating their individual grievances to her.*

But the Jesuits and their colleagues, the bishops of Hungary, permitted the queen to make promises; the Pope and his nuncio to hold councils with the Austrian ministers of state; the Protestants to pour out their grievances before all the world; and Frederick with his hand on the sword to take up his threatening position in the front ground; and yet they went on unmoved, unchecked, in their great work. According to the unsearchable counsel of God, the Babylonian captivity of the Church was doomed still to last a little longer.

Under the pretence of holding religious meetings without leave, the churches of Csalonia in county Houth, and Estergal in Neogräd, were once more exposed to expensive law-

* Fessler, Vol. X. p. 371.

suits, and the church-buildings of the former, as well as all the chapels of ease in Zemplin county, were by a decree of the viceregal court taken away.*

In Schemnitz and elsewhere, the Protestants were once more removed from all civil offices; the Protestant pastors were subjected to examination by the bishops and archbishops. A nobleman of Schemnitz, Andrew Fritz, who was suspected of having once belonged to the Church of Rome, was subjected to an expensive lawsuit, to oblige him to prove the contrary. All the Protestants who were in any way connected with the army were placed under the immediate jurisdiction of the clergy.†

The private chapels at Azorotz and Padluisan were closed, and the newly built chapel at Cyina was torn down, while the preacher was subjected to a tedious lawsuit for having visited the nobleman Ferdinand Zay, who lived beyond the bounds of his district.‡

The schools of the Protestants were now closed everywhere, except in the "articled parishes."§ The pastors were no more suffered to visit the Protestant prisoners. They were informed that the right of accompanying culprits to the scaffold from this time forward belonged only to the Roman Catholic priests, that they might prepare the unfortunate individuals for dying in the "right faith."||

At Akaba, there was a pastor in advanced life, of the name of Nemethi, who married a very young wife. She was not happy in her new position, and committed suicide by drowning herself in the Lake of Platten. The widower was threatened with an action at law, as being the indirect cause

* See decrees of 17th of January, 14th of March, 27th of May, and 2d of June, 1752.

† Decree of October 3, 1752.

‡ Viceregal decree of November 2, 1752.

§ Certain parishes exactly described in a decree of the Diet.

|| Orders received by the magistrates of Edenberg, 7th of May, 1753.

of the fatal act; and, to escape the punishment which, whether justly or unjustly, was sure to await him, he made his escape. A Roman Catholic priest now came, took possession of the church and pastor's dwelling, and conducted the service in future as in a Popish church.*

Pastor Samuel Lessovingi was fined in one hundred dollars, for having administered the Lord's Supper to Baron Bulow, a captain in the army; and the payment was enforced.

The affair of Vadosfa was, however, one of the heaviest trials for the Protestants. The number of them residing at this place had increased greatly within a few years, in consequence of persecutions in other parts having driven them away. With the exception of a few noblemen, nearly all the residents were Protestant. The distinguished superintendent Fabri was laboring here, when it occurred to a Roman Catholic landowner, Balas, to build a chapel on a spot of ground which was disputed property between the members of the two confessions. The Roman Catholic chapel was to be consecrated on St. Stephen's day. By some means a report was spread that, on the same day, the Bishop of Raab intended forcibly seizing the Protestant house of worship. He had of late been very diligent in this part of his calling, and there was some reason to fear that the report might prove true. Some of the resident nobility wrote, under these circumstances, to friends in Rabakoy, and on the appointed day they came by thousands, armed, and prepared to defend the church if the Bishop of Raab should attempt to take possession. The day arrived, and crowds of pilgrims came to attend the consecration of the church. But the Protestants, fearing for their own interests, closed up the roads, refused to admit the pilgrims, and, what was very natural, as neither side would yield, there was a considerable riot, and the pilgrims

* Protocoll. Evang. Eccles., Luth. Troetus, cis Danubium congest. anno 1768. Edenberg MSS.

were driven away. The consequences may naturally be supposed. Forty-four of the Protestants, some of whom were women, were imprisoned in the castle of Kopuvar for a year and seven months, and then dismissed, some with one hundred and fifty lashes, some with one hundred, and some with fifty. Two of the women, who could bear the imprisonment no longer, and had joined the Church of Rome, were already released. One nobleman was thrown for a year into prison, and the remainder who were involved were fined in three thousand florins, and with this money a Roman Catholic church was built. The superintendent was thrown into a distant prison, deprived of his office both as superintendent and pastor; and it was decreed that, in all time coming, the Protestant church of Vadosfa should remain closed every year on the 20th of August.*

But who can recount all the tales of suffering and persecution and misery endured by the Protestants under the reign of Maria Theresa? The rehearsal would fill volumes. We must pass over these harassing scenes, and only remark that, in other states under the Austrian government, the sufferings were, if possible, still greater than in Hungary. In Styria the Protestants were banished by troops from the country; their property was held back or destroyed; their children, if not yet confirmed, were taken from them and retained in the country to be educated in the Popish faith. Many of the pastors of Styria who were banished from their country were taken up by Count Roday, and provided with lands and houses where they could reside. In 1752 they sent a petition from this retreat to the queen, requesting their children to be delivered up to them.

The Seven Years' War broke out with Prussia, but brought the Protestant subjects of Maria Theresa no relief. Frederick II. broke into the Austrian territory, and the queen per-

* This punishment lasted till 1830. Edenberg MSS., Fasc. XVI. No. 10.

mitted the valiant General Nádasdy to be set aside, and General Daun to take his place. Notwithstanding that the latter was armed with a sword which the Pope had consecrated, and also with a fanatical Popish bull of 30th of January, 1759, still both of these were not able to transfer to him the military talents of Nádasdy.*

After seven years' bloody fighting, all parties were exhausted. Hungary alone had lost above fifty-two thousand of her sons in the war, and the whole affair was closed with little advantage to either side.

On the 15th of February, 1763, the Peace of Hubertsburg was ratified, and in the following year the queen summoned a Diet to meet at Presburg. This Diet was opened on 22d of June, but brought no relief to the Protestants. The demands which the queen made on the country for paying the expenses of the war could not be met, and in very low spirits did she dismiss the Diet. Her sorrows were soon increased, for on the 18th of August, 1765, her consort, Francis I., suddenly deceased. From this time she became more and more devoted to the ceremonies of her Church, and out of her private purse flowed rich donations to the proselytes who joined the Church of Rome.

She soon gave her talented son Joseph a share in the government; and the hypocrisy which he discovered among the pious attendants of his mother was, according to Fessler's opinion, the cause of that bitter hatred which taught him afterwards to make such sweeping reforms among the Jesuits and the monks.

* The Pope's letter bore the fisherman's seal, and in virtue of this letter Clement XIII. exalts General Daun above the immortal Eugene; with the consecrated sword he should utterly eradicate all stinking Satanic heresy. The destroying angel should fight at his side to help in annihilating the accursed seed of Luther and Calvin; and the Most High the Avenger should use his arm to destroy from the earth the Amalekite and Moabite, &c., &c.

Smalii Adversar. Relig. Protest., MSS. When this brief was issued, Frederick had met with a loss, and the Pope then showed his character in its true colours.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Chancellor's Court. — John Dourjan's Pamphlet. — Provision made for Hungarian Students at Tubingen. — Continued Persecutions.

UNDER the co-regency of Joseph, the state of the Protestants was but little improved, for the jealousy and ambition of his mother left him little more than the name of king. When at last the petitions had reached a pitch that Maria Theresa could bear no more, she referred them to the chancellor's court, and asked the opinion of that court respecting the calamities, or at least the complaints.

And this superior court of appeal, with bishops and Jesuits for its advisers, did not delay long with the report, but informed the empress that the cause of all the complaints was to be found in the fact that the decrees of her imperial father had not been sufficiently strictly carried out against the Protestants.* This supreme court, therefore, continued to grieve the Protestants to the utmost, partly in a direct way, partly also by not interfering to protect them from the illegal oppressions of the Roman Catholic priesthood. If a Protestant happened to transgress in the smallest point, the punishment was certain, and often far beyond the merits of the case ; but when a Protestant was the accuser, there was seldom any punishment inflicted on a Roman Catholic defendant.

Bibles and prayer-books and catechisms, belonging to the Protestants, were confiscated ; and yet for several years the fanatical pamphlet of John Dourjan of Waitzen, which was

* Very true. If the imperial decrees had been carried out as strictly as the Jesuits wished, there would have been no Protestants remaining over to complain.

as bigoted as that of Martin Biro, and in which was taught "that it is just and right to compel those who are not Roman Catholics, by *any means whatever*, to adopt the Roman Catholic faith,"—this pamphlet was allowed to circulate for many years unhindered.* It was not till the year 1770 that it was declared to be, "in a political and religious aspect, a dangerous book which should be confiscated."

The evil effects of such publications were counteracted by the violent and passionate style in which they were written. More dangerous, however, were the missionary institutions erected in the districts where the Protestants chiefly resided.

The missionaries commenced the street and field preachings in the counties of Sol, Houth, and Neogräd, about the year 1766. At first the people came out of curiosity, but after a time they were obliged to attend. The Protestants were in general so well acquainted with the Scriptures that these sermons did not gain many over; for, instead of preaching Christ, these missionaries strove much more to proclaim the wonders done by the saints; and instead of fixing the faith of the hearers on the Son of God, they strove to bring them to believe on images and relics, on miraculous wells and wonder-working temples and crosses.

A part of the missionary exertions consisted in visiting the Protestants who happened to be sick; † another, in watching strictly to prevent young men going to study at foreign universities. This latter was brought to considerable perfection by Francis Barkotzy, Archbishop of Grán and imperial primate, so that few could avail themselves of the opportunities which foreign universities afforded for remedying the defects

* The title of the book was, "Justa Religionis Coactio." Anno 1763.

† By some of the trades' unions it was enacted, that if a master trades man fell sick, the head of the corporation must inform the priest, and if a journeyman fell sick, his master must send for the priest. Of course, if the patient were a Protestant, they were expected to be the more punctual in the discharge of this duty.

of the schools. When, however, the noble Duke of Wurtemberg heard of these difficulties, and how poor students were forbidden to collect means for their support abroad, he founded those free tables at Tübingen for Hungarian students, of which, however, few could avail themselves till after the archbishop's death.*

At this time the persecutions of so-called apostates went on as before. Matthew Mailing, a town-councillor of Libetban-ya, was, in his sixty-seventh year, accused of having, fifty years ago—consequently before the famous “Resolutions of Charles”—left the Church of Rome. He was thrown for three months into prison, and it was only as an act of peculiar kindness and clemency that he was allowed to retain his office afterwards.†

The town-councillors of Debrécsin were members of the Reformed Church, and having once ventured to set a prisoner free who was charged with apostacy from the Church of Rome, they were not only punished with the loss of a whole year's salary, but in time to come two Roman Catholic councillors were joined with them in the office. If any one ventured to speak in favor of the Protestants, or even to use his influence to expose a notoriously malignant and false accusation, he was denounced as a “ringleader,” and treated accordingly. Protestants were more and more strictly held to their duty of tilling the priests' land, of paying the stola dues and the “Lecticale,”‡ and of building and repairing Roman Catholic chapels and schools, while their own were plundered and hastening to decay.

The bishops and landowners went so far as to roll all the burdens of themselves on their Protestant vassals; and a law

* Edenberg Memorab., Fasc. VII. No. 45. See Appendix.

† As a matter of course, he must be a Roman Catholic in future.

‡ “Lecticale” was the duty which every married couple must pay annually to the priest, amounting to about one shilling English for each family. In large parishes, it came to a very considerable sum.

was promulgated in the year 1770, requiring them also to bear their share of the support of the priests and school-masters. At a procession on Corpus Christi day, there arose a tumult at Reimasombath, and the consequence was, that the Protestants were punished with the loss of their church and church property : the protest of the attorney-general and the petition of the Protestants were equally fruitless in attempting to regain possession.

The daughter of Stephen Okolicsányi — her mother being a Protestant — was positively forbidden to marry a Protestant of the name of Sontag ; and when the authorities announced that the order came too late, and that the marriage had already been solemnized, a sharp reproof was sent them for not having used *proper means* so as to *secure* his conversion. Indeed, in affairs relating to marriage the jurisdiction of the Protestants was entirely set aside ; and the Pope gave divorce, as in the case of Paul Bene von Nador, without any reference to the laws and customs of the parties concerned.

CHAPTER XIV.

Travels of the Emperor Joseph. — He meets with the Protestants, and receives their Deputations. — The Superintendent of Debrécsin. — The Emperor's Dislike to the Jesuits. — Letter to the Duke of Choiseul. — Letter to Earl Aranda, Minister of Spain. — Suspension of the Jesuits in 1773.

WHILE it appeared that the Protestants in Hungary were hopelessly lost under the oppression of the priests, the Lord was preparing for them a wondrous deliverance. The book of the Bishop of Treves, John Nicolas Hontheim, concerning the origin of the Papacy, had done himself and the Jesuits great injury, and now, in a smaller sphere, the journeys of Joseph in Hungary helped on with this work.

Joseph had already in Vienna become acquainted with the workings of the Jesuit system, and by his travels in Hungary he was brought into contact with the Protestants, with whom he frequently conversed. With the superintendent of Debrécsin, Samuel Szilaggi, he conversed in Latin for several hours, inquiring into all the particulars connected with the state of the Church, with the oppressions which they had endured, with the conduct of the royal commissioners, and the principal causes of dissatisfaction among the Protestants. On hearing that the most essentially necessary books were taken from the teachers of the Protestant schools, and that only a few days before this had happened to the superintendent's own son, Joseph directed immediately that the books should be returned. Many and long were the conferences which Joseph had with Szilaggi, and it may be that those conversations had a considerable weight in preparing him for the famous *Toleration Edict* which he afterwards published.

Joseph's gentle and winning manner gained the hearts of

those who for half a century had been bowed down with oppression; and the consequence was that innumerable petitions and complaints were constantly reaching him. And these petitions, coming with all the earnestness of men in distress, and not misrepresented by any intermediate courtier, fell like good seed into a ground which brought forth an abundant harvest. On his travels through Hungary, the emperor could not fail to observe that the Jesuits were the principal cause of all the calamities and immorality which prevailed. His dislike to this order was not less than that of the prime ministers of Spain and Portugal, who had already banished the monks; and this feeling is very evident in the letter addressed to the Duke of Choiseul, prime minister of France, who appeared prepared to act in unison with the Court of Vienna in banishing the monks.

This letter, dated January, 1770, was as follows: —

‘SIR, — For the confidence placed in me, accept of my thanks. If I were once emperor, you may reckon on my support and my approval of your plan of dissolving the order of the Jesuits. You need not lay much stress on my mother; *the affection for this order of monks is hereditary in the house of Hapsburg*. Even Clement XIV. has some evidence of this. In the mean time Kaunitz is your friend, he has unbounded influence with the empress, and agrees with you and Marquis Pombal in this matter; besides, he is not a man of half measures.

“Choiseul! I know these people well. I know their plans and exertions to spread darkness over the earth, and rule all Europe from Cape Finisterre to the North Sea.

“In Germany they are mandarins, in France they are academicians, courtiers, confessors; in Spain and Portugal, nobles; and in Paraguay, kings.

“If my grand-uncle, Joseph I., had not become emperor, we might have seen in Germany Malagridas, Aveiros, and

an attempt at regicide. He knew them, however, thoroughly; as they once suspected his confessor of the crime of honesty, and of placing more confidence in the emperor than in the Vatican, they had him summoned to Rome. The priest saw all the horror of his situation; he knew what awaited him and begged the emperor's protection. In vain was the interference. Even the Papal ambassador at Vienna demanded that this man should be removed from court. Exasperated at this despotism of Rome, the emperor declared that, if this priest must go, he should not travel alone, but should have plenty of company, for all the Jesuits in the empire should go with him, and not be allowed to return. This unexpected decision of character obliged the Jesuits to yield.

"Thus was it once, Choiseul. I see there must be a change. Adieu! may Heaven long preserve you to France, to me, and to the host of your friends.

"JOSEPH."

The influence of the minister, Kaunitz, over the mind of the empress was, as Joseph here acknowledges, very considerable, and this influence he used to turn her against the Jesuits; for by obtaining from Madrid a copy of the sins which she had at the previous Easter confessed to the priest, he showed how even the secrets of the confessional are used for political purposes.

A letter which Joseph wrote to the Earl of Aranda, Knight of the Golden Fleece, and a Spanish nobleman, immediately after the suspension of the Jesuits, is too important to be passed over. He writes:—

"SIR,—Clement XIV. has by the suspension of the order of the Jesuits gained an immortal name. He has blotted out those sibyls from the earth, and their names will in future be mentioned only in history and in connection with Jansenism.

"Before they were known in Germany, religion brought with it happiness to the nations: they have sunk that hallowed name to be an object of detestation, and made of it only a cloak for their covetousness and ambition.

"An institution which the heated imagination of a Spanish veteran contrived for the purpose of bringing the mind of man under one tyrant, and reducing all to be the slaves of the Lateran, was an unlucky present for the grandsons of Tuis-kon.

"The Council of the Loyolites regarded the advancement of their own glory and the spreading of darkness over the earth as their grand work.

"It was their intolerance which brought on Germany the Thirty Years' War. Their principles have robbed emperors of crown and of life, and it was they who wrote their own history in its blackest die, in connection with the Edict of Nantes.

"Their influence over the house of Hapsburg is too well known. Ferdinand II. and Leopold I. were their protectors and patrons, even with their latest breath.

"The education of children, arts and literature, the appointment to ecclesiastical dignities, the ear of kings, and the heart of queens, all were intrusted to their wise guidance.

"The world knows too well what use they made of their influence, what chains they laid on the nations.

"It is no secret that, besides the great Clement, the ministers of the Bourbons and Pombal of Spain assisted in having them set aside. Posterity will know to value their labors, and will erect altars to their memory.

"If it were possible for me to hate, I must hate the men who persecuted Fénelon, and who procured the *bull* 'De Cœnâ Domini.'

"JOSEPH.

"*Vienna, July, 1773.*"

In the same year was this order, which had nothing of Jesus but the name, suspended also in Hungary ; and like as when the frost is gone and the sun of April calls forth millions of flowers and buds, so was it in this land when the blighting frost was removed. All parties had good reason to rejoice, but especially did the Protestants lift up their heads, for their redemption was drawing nigh.

CHAPTER XV.

Erection of new Bishoprics. — The Protestants begin to breathe more freely. — The Filial Churches freed from the Priests. — Petitions to the Emperor and Empress. — The Emperor's Journeys. — Development of Religious Freedom.

WITH the banishing of the Jesuits, a new day dawned upon Hungary. It is true that with the property taken from the Jesuits new bishoprics were endowed, and that in the counties chiefly inhabited by Protestants. It is true that many Jesuits still remained in the country, many of their pupils still held offices of trust, many of the civil authorities still gave their orders in the old style : still, a new day had dawned on Hungary.

Friend and foe knew, that though Joseph had been educated by a Jesuit, still he would never be the slave of the priests. Many a bright evidence had he given of his love of justice.

The Protestant Church began to rouse herself from that torpor into which she had fallen. Her activity as a Church had nearly ceased. Sufficient evidence of her low state has already been given ; and if any one wish more, he need only glance at the fact, that one of the pastors at Eödenberg was summoned before the magistrates for having spoken in his prayer of *faith as the only way of salvation*.*

In September, 1773, the Reformed Church held a meeting at Buggi, to consult in what way their cause might now be best advanced.

In some places the Protestants now began to meet on the Lord's Day for reading the Scriptures ; but in the commence-

* Eödenberg MSS.

ment, they had great difficulties to encounter. The Lutheran clergy met at Aesa, and resolved on a united address and petition to Maria Theresa and Joseph. Their petition was presented at court by the zealous and valiant Calvinistic general, Count Nicolas Belesneg, by Paul Vatey, Stephen Vay de Váza, and Joseph Battay. In Neogräd, an earnest movement commenced against the payments to the priests and Roman Catholic schoolmasters, and the compulsion to assist in building and repairing Roman Catholic chapels.

Their petition to this effect was presented by Ladislaus Perényi, and was not only graciously received, but also, on the part of the empress, an order was given to Samuel Nagy, the agent of the Protestant churches at Vienna, to draw up a concise history of the Reformation in Hungary, for the benefit of the empress.*

The emperor came to Upper Hungary and Transylvania in the course of the year, and the Protestants in the neighborhood of Kashaw availed themselves of the opportunity of presenting their grievances to him. They complained that they dared not meet together to worship God. So early as the 23d of September, the emperor gave his reply, promising them full liberty of worship. Petitions flowed in from all sides. Joseph received and read them. The Lutherans wished for a consistorial court, and for that purpose appeared in a numerous deputation before him at Pesth. He received the deputation, and listened to their request to take the Protestant Church under his protection. Very shortly afterwards, permission was given to the filial church at Felső Petin, that the pastor of the nearest church might be allowed to visit their sick and to baptize their children.†

* The manuscript is probably lying in the imperial library at Vienna.

† When the pastors began to travel more frequently to visit the scattered members of their flock, the old edicts were once more, in the last year of the reign of Maria Theresa, renewed, and the pastors confined to the place where they resided.

The free imperial cities obtained leave to enlarge their schools; and in Edeberg the pastors began to print catechisms and books which but a little before they dared scarcely have in possession.

It is true that pastors were still summoned before the magistrates for having ventured to marry parties without the consent of the priests. In the absence of Joseph, many were entangled in knotty lawsuits. Some of the pastors were, as in the case of John Toth, deposed from office, and some were called up to give a reason why they admitted strangers to be present during the celebration of divine worship. The senior Morosinetz was sentenced to three months' imprisonment for having read, and prayed, and sung, with brethren out of Moravia. Two pastors of the same church held different meetings at the same time, and for this they were both expelled. A nobleman, Michael Kubinyi, allowed his son to be instructed in the Protestant faith, and was on that account thrown into a prison, where he suffered severely from want of proper food, water, and fresh air, and after a year's imprisonment, he was dismissed on payment of a fine of a hundred florins into the mission fund, and for the future was placed under the special control of the police.

The offensive names given to the Protestants still appeared in the legal documents. One church was forbidden to help another in the case of need. The authorities of the county of Neogräd were severely reprimanded by the viceregal court for their remissness in punishing the pastors when they went beyond the bounds of their parish, and also for their sadly neglecting to seek out and to punish in an exemplary manner the apostates from the Church of Rome. A preacher at Neusohl was suspended for three months, and the priests wished him to be entirely superseded, because he had not passed an examination before the Roman Catholic bishops in a satisfactory manner. He was declared to be deplorably ignorant respecting the nature of baptism, for he had asserted

that baptism ought not to be administered to a child before it is completely born into the world.* The priest at Bosing removed the dust of the evangelical palatine Illyesházy and his partner Catherine Pallfy, out of that church which they had so richly endowed.

With all this, the demon of persecution was evidently bound with a chain, the last ring of which Joseph was holding with a firm hand. The attacks were more and more isolated, and at last the fiend seemed to have fallen at Joseph's feet into a deathlike sleep.

* The Jesuits had already decreed otherwise, and directed that, in case of death in the act of parturition, the child should be baptized by the midwife.

CHAPTER XVI.

LIMITATIONS OF THE CHURCH OF ROME.

IN the same year in which the Jesuits were banished, the Roman Catholic priests and bishops were ordered to have no communication with Rome, otherwise than through the foreign secretary at the court of Vienna. Immediately afterwards the very questionable institutions of the night asylums were closed. It was forbidden to apply to Rome for dispensations in case of marriage and for divorces; and the priests were ordered to read these edicts from the pulpit.

In the last years of Maria Theresa, when Joseph's influence was becoming greater and greater, new decrees were from time to time published, limiting the authority of the priests and relieving the Protestants.

The pastor of Rosenau was permitted to enter within the walls of the town and to visit the sick; the pastor of Nemesker was admitted even into the prisons; while a priest in Grunau was forbidden to force himself on the Protestants when sick, and if they died they might be buried in whatever way they themselves had wished. The children of Protestants were to be allowed, even in the Roman Catholic schools, to have their own books. In Liptau the authorities were ordered not to force the Protestants to assist at the building of the church of St. Nicolas, except they voluntarily chose to do so.

In many places the Protestants obtained leave to enlarge and improve their churches, and much less difficulty than usual was laid in the way. Indeed, a very unusual occur-

rence in Hungary happened at this time. The government brought an action at law against the Roman Catholic chapter at Erlau for having driven the Protestant inhabitants from the village Egyeg, for having torn down their houses, expelled their pastors, seized their books, and thus disturbed them in their religious privileges, as well as in their civil rights. The lawsuit was decided in favor of the Protestants, and the sentence was, that the Protestants should be immediately brought back to the village, their houses built at the expense of the chapter, the church immediately opened, and the county informed that it was hoped such excesses would not be repeated.

The Bishop of Neutra had permitted his clergy, particularly, however, the priest at Holtsh, to demand exorbitant payments from the Protestants for services rendered, and now it was ordered that this priest should return all that he had unjustly taken since the year 1771; and this was done without the Protestants having asked it. The priest of Altenburg was forbidden to take double fees, or to punish the Protestants who did not send for him in cases of sickness. Parties who had been compelled at the time of marriage to engage to educate their children in the Church of Rome, and who had neglected to fulfil their engagements, were now allowed to speak in their own defence, and were sometimes set free from that obligation to which they had been morally compelled.

Those who had been punished for apostasy had also some relief. Many were by the sentence of the Inquisition condemned to a long imprisonment, and then to work on the streets in chains. Many of these were now set completely free, and many had their punishment very considerably alleviated. The compulsory decretal oath began by degrees to be less rigidly enforced, and the orphan children of Protestants were allowed to be educated in the faith of their fathers, if any relatives chose to take charge of them. The em-

- peror watched strictly over the executive powers, and punished severely for neglect of duty.

The Protestants of Altsol gained a suit which they brought against the priests and the priest-ridden magistracy, and received back a thousand florins and fifty kreuzer, which between the years 1763 and 1776 had been taken from them as punishment for not attending processions and other Popish ceremonies. The Protestant church at Neusohl was dispensed from the sum of two hundred and thirty-three florins, thirty kreuzer, being the law costs for inquiries in religious matters.

This was the state of matters in Hungary as the evening of the life of the Empress Maria Theresa was approaching with quick steps. Before we take leave of her, we must briefly glance at the brethren in Transylvania who had been subjected to her sceptre.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE PROTESTANT CHURCH IN TRANSYLVANIA.

THAT the Protestant Church in Transylvania was in a miserable state we have already seen. Still, however, it had many advantages over the Church in Hungary. The great number of magnates zealously attached to the Church made it a matter of political wisdom not to exasperate them too much. Besides, the form of church-government was very advantageous to the peace and prosperity of the community. The superior church courts consisted of a combination of clergy and laity. The superintendents were ably assisted by the advice and influence of the magnates, and the most respected and influential of the nobles had a seat in the church courts, and a voice, ever since 1709.

The Counts Teleky and Béthlén, as also the nobles Vesselényi and De Hadad, stood generally by the side of the superintendents, and guided the public affairs.

They went also to Vienna, and by their fearless, dauntless demeanor, made it convenient that they should be treated with respect. When a large deputation came, however, to Vienna, they were not recognized as deputies from the Church, nor were they admitted as such to the queen.

After several attempts, however, at last two of their number, Earl Teleky and Senator Bilder, were admitted, and they declared that the oppression of the Church was becoming every day more intolerable, and that neither in the laws nor in the judges did they see any hope of relief: they therefore, as the last resource, applied to the sovereign, and besought her aid in the maintenance of their rights.

The empress took the part of the petition referring to civil evils into consideration, and gave directions respecting them, but left the complaints in ecclesiastical matters untouched.

In vain did they appeal to the solemn contract which had been made between the four religious bodies, Roman Catholics, Lutherans, Calvinists, and Unitarians; in vain to the Treaty of Vienna in 1686, and to the treaty of 1691; in vain did they remind the empress that they as a free principality had become united with Austria without giving up any of their own rights and privileges. All the contracts and royal decrees were appealed to in vain.

The principal conditions of the Pragmatic Sanction were soon broken also in civil matters, and thus the seeds of contention and discord were sown between the two nations.

The complaints in Transylvania were nearly the same as in Hungary, and they agreed in these points:—That very many churches, manses, and school-houses, were forcibly seized by the Roman Catholics, or by the military commanders. They had, for example, seized the cathedral of Alba Carolina with bells and clock, which had been presented by the Protestant prince of the country; the college and pastor's dwelling had also been forcibly taken for Roman Catholic purposes. The churches of Barbard, Kent, and Matz, met with the same fate; and when new churches were built, they were torn down again by the Jesuits. The churches of Szamasfalva, Erhid, Katona, Egyhasfalva, and many others, were seized by Roman Catholic nobles and governors in spite of their oath of office, by which they had bound themselves to distribute impartial justice.

In Miklosvar, the Count Kalnoki had not only seized the church, but had also imprisoned and annoyed the Protestants for the sake of compelling them to join the Roman Catholic Church, and, in spite of the direct enactments to that effect, he received no punishment whatever.

At Ebesfalva, the administrator of the treasury had taken

possession of the church by the military; and at Bolasfalva the same thing took place, with the addition that the bells and clock were carried away. The steward of Countess Haller assisted the priests in seizing the churches of Maros-Kerestner and St. Pal, in the Kuhullar circuit.

The commander-in-chief took possession of the Lutheran church at Hermanstadt, the college and collegiate church at Klausenberg, and other smaller chapels, not to speak of those which, by virtue of contracts, passed over into the hands of the Romanists.

The inhabitants of Transylvania complained, further, that the *five articles* of the constitution which pressed so heavily on them were inserted without their consent, and merely by the cunning of Kollonitz, therefore these could never be considered binding.

Further, the right was granted to Jews, Armenians, Bulgarians, Greeks, and even to those who were not natives or homeborn, to build whatever houses they chose for religious purposes, while the Protestants alone were prevented, — yes, even had their churches torn down, though they possessed in all respects the same rights as the Roman Catholics.

Further, that deputations to the empress in religious matters were not received till they had first described their object, and obtained permission, by which means years passed before the subject of complaint was heard.* Petitions sent to the chancellor's office were sometimes not even read. In appointing to office, the Pragmatic Sanction, by which all religious parties had an equal right, was completely disregarded. For example, in the council there were six Roman Catholics, three Calvinists, two Lutherans, and one Unitarian; by the commissariat there were no Protestants appointed.†

* The last privilege was thus taken away, namely, the beggar's right of asking relief. The same principle was adopted in 1851.

† The injustice of this arrangement may be seen from the following statis-

In addition to these complaints, a paper drawn up at the time by Stephen de Daniel and Vargyas demanded, —

“That their churches should be all restored or rebuilt, according as they had been seized or demolished; that the military commanders should not interfere in religious matters; that the attorney-general should be punished for not stopping these acts of violence; that the empress should repeal the five points, and declare them null and void; that the Protestants should have the right of building churches and endowing pastors where and how they chose; that they should have the right of at all times approaching the throne with petitions; and, lastly, that a proper distribution of patronage should be made in the offices of state.”

But the empress, who, in the beginning of her reign, and in the time of need, had promised so solemnly to preserve the rights and freedoms of the country, now forgot her promise and her oath so far that she never gave an answer to all these complaints.

So far from carrying out the principles of the constitution, she, at the Diet of Hermannstadt, in 1744, had all the articles erased which in any way hampered the Church of Rome; and by thus taking away the protection of the other churches, she virtually dissolved the union which had been made.

Protestant churches were now forbidden to be built; persons joining that communion were treated as criminals;

ties: — The Catholic magnates at that time amounted to twenty-eight, the Calvinists to fifty-one. Among the higher nobility there were thirty-nine Catholics and ninety Calvinists; among the lower nobility, one hundred and thirty-one Roman Catholic families, and seven hundred and thirty-one families of Calvinists. The Lutherans, or Saxons, lived in six free cities, in twelve towns, and in many villages which were exclusively occupied by them. They numbered two hundred thousand. (See Petr. Bad.) In the circles of Sepsi-Kesdi, Orbai, Miklosvar, Udvarhely, Marosh, and Aranyos — omitting Csik — there were sixty-one Catholic villages, and two hundred and eighty-three inhabited by Reformed and Unitarians.

Popish priests alone had the right of solemnizing mixed marriages ; Catholic children dared no more to attend Protestant schools ; and the " Reformed States " were forbidden to retain that name.

The forcible seizing of the churches was forbidden, it is true, in 1752, but that took place only when the Unitarians had by force succeeded in recovering a church which the Papists had taken from them. The decree to this effect was drawn up in such a way as if it was the greatest possible crime to protect one's property from the hand of the robber or to take back what he had violently carried away.

The Jesuits had now the ear of the empress, and they knew how to do their work. For a time they forbade the Transylvanian students to attend foreign universities, and it was not till 1759 that freedom was given to go and study in Belgium. They did not hinder the Roman Catholic bishop, Anton Stayka, from appointing " saints' days " at his own option, and compelling all indiscriminately to celebrate these days by complete cessation from work.

To give a clear picture of the state of the times, we will bring the reader to contemplate a family scene. The facts of the case are well authenticated.

Count Dionysius Pauffy, with his wife, Baroness Agnes Barcsai, both being descended from Calvinistic parents, had three sons and one daughter. The profligate life of the count had soon not only involved his own property, but had also placed that of his wife in the hands of the creditors. Contentions ran high between the count and his partner, and they were much increased by the conversion of the former to the Church of Rome in the year 1755. He now demanded his sons, to have them educated in the Church of his adoption. The mother was not bound in this case, by the Transylvanian law, to surrender her right ; but an imperial command, and the hope of being able to retain the daughter in her own faith, induced her to yield.

The countess's mother, in the mean time, afraid of the ruin of the family, obtained a royal commission to examine into the state of the debts; found them very heavy, paid them off, and took the property into her own hand, under the express condition that the count should surrender his right to the education of the children to her disposal. A formal contract was drawn up, and signed by the parties and by the proper legal authorities. This contract was confirmed by a royal decree of the 8th of February, 1762.

On the principles of this agreement, the count's mother-in-law, dying shortly after, left the property equally divided among the four children, and appointed the imperial Court of Inquiry to be executors of the will.

The count and countess became once more reconciled, and lived together by virtue of a special contract, handing to him the right over the education of the sons, and to her that of the daughter. Both parties undertook not to disturb or annoy each other in carrying out this arrangement.

The count soon returned to his former course of life, and the countess, for the sake of protecting her daughter, then eleven years of age, had her betrothed to the imperial Count Samuel Teleky.

The countess now made a will which received her Majesty's sanction, and the engagement with Teleky was so much the more readily confirmed, as his family had rendered good services to the crown, and had received a patent to that effect from Leopold I.

The agreement was that Agnetha should be married in her fifteenth year.

The countess now thought herself in this matter quite secure, when, on the 15th of July, 1767, at five o'clock in the evening, she received information that the count was in company with Count Nicolas Béthlén and a troop of hussars, within a few miles of the castle, coming to carry away her daughter. The carriage of Teleky, who happened to be

there, was immediately brought out, and they tried to escape. After three hours, however, they were overtaken by the hussars, and brought back as prisoners. On the way back, one of the party handed the countess a letter from General Andrew Hadick, stating that he had orders from the empress to prevent the marriage of her daughter with Teleky, and that he hereby forbids her to think further of such a step.

Arrived in the castle, a letter was presented by General Béthlén from Boytai, Bishop of Transylvania, requiring her, according to the wishes of the empress, to surrender up her daughter, that she might be educated by Béthlén, under the direction of the bishop. The mother and the intended husband refused to do so till they saw the letter of the empress, upon which orders were given to the soldiers to load, and Teleky was led away by sixteen armed men. The countess and Agnetha strove to conceal themselves, but were discovered, and the daughter was torn by force out of the mother's arms by Lieutenant Pichler, and carried away.

That same night the mother started for Vienna to lay her complaint before the throne. A petition was presented by the two aggrieved parties to the empress, breathing the bitterest spirit of distress, despair, and rage, and demanding redress.

The answer of the empress was, that her Majesty had already, for the weightiest of reasons, decreed that the father have the right of educating the children.* She would abide by her decree so much the more, as the said Agnes Pauffy had applied to her Majesty, begging for further protection.

Her Majesty disapproved, therefore, very highly, of the steps taken by the countess and by Teleky, but, in consideration of the circumstances, would not punish them for what they had done. Her Majesty hopes that the countess will look with the greatest gratitude on what has been done to

* Why not, then, in case of the father being Protestant?

secure her daughter a good education, and that in future no complaint on the subject shall ever reach the throne.

Shall we now give a description of the character of this empress? and shall we take as our guide the facts which transpired under her government and with her approbation, manifesting bigotry and unbounded hardness of heart? or shall we take the description given of her by the Jesuits and other writers, as a model of gentleness, goodness, and warmth of heart? We believe that she was in reality a person of warm feelings and kindly disposition. We would merely observe that her goodness of heart manifested itself generally as moving between two lines, one of which was drawn by the priests, and the other by an absolute and despotic ministry. In both regions—in religion and politics—she had little mercy for those who opposed her will, however legal and just the opposition may have been.

It is well known with what severity the noblest families of Bohemia were, contrary to the articles of the capitulation of Prague, imprisoned, proscribed, and “*otherwise put out of the way.*” They were put to the torture, and exposed to cruel deaths for having acknowledged Charles Albert of Bavaria, who had taken possession of the country as their sovereign. There was no stop put to their cruelties till the King of Prussia interfered, and procured relief.

It is told of her that, about the time of the coronation, a merciful priest brought upwards of fifty widows and children to meet her, and supplicate freedom for husbands and parents who had been confined in prison by the commission; and that, when the attendants wept at the story of misery, the empress positively refused their request.

That she did not treat Hungary as it deserved at her hands, is very clear, but the evidences lie beyond the bounds of a Church history. At the same time it cannot be denied that the empress understood how to chain the magnates to her court, and estrange them from their native land;

and she zealously watched those who were likely to become too popular. As the son of General Aspermont, who had been distinguished in the wars of Rákotzy, was once driving near Anod, and his heavy travelling carriage had got fast in the mud, the Hungarian peasants returning from market with their fiery horses, laughed at the "German" in his distress. Aspermont sprung on the box and cried, "What! will you let Rákotzy's grandson stick in the mud?" They immediately attached their horses, and drove him in triumph into Anod. When Aspermont came to court, the empress, quite inflamed, cried, "*Aspermont, hear! We don't want you to stick in the mud, but you must give up your references to Rákotzy, or else we will lay you in prison.*"*

Such outbursts reveal the character better than the calmer acts of reflection. Maria Theresa had her happy hours and days, when she was capable of noble thoughts and feelings. It was at such a time that she ordered the torture to cease.

Do we understand, however, by goodness of heart that principle which leads us to weep with those that weep, and rejoice with those that do rejoice; which enables us to see in man an object of love and sympathy for which we shall do our utmost to make him happy? In this case the character cannot be ascribed to Maria Theresa. Any goodness which she possessed was reserved for priests and members of her own party; so that of her might be said, in the language of Scripture, "If ye love those who love you, what thank have ye? do not even the publicans the same?"

But can goodness of heart sit on a throne? Can one remain long uncontaminated by the courtiers who surround the sovereign? Is it not the very object of courtiers to claim for themselves, and to suck honey out of this flower, till it falls withered to the earth? Is not the fate of such monarchs most to be deplored, who have a heart to feel for suffer-

* Diary of an Old Pilgrim, p. 178.

ing humanity, who grasp in its full extent the value of their position as rulers, and who desire to spread happiness far and wide around them ?

The Protestants have indeed little cause to boast of the goodness of Maria Theresa's heart, and much rather might they say of her what Fénelon wrote to Louis XIV.: — "You have no love to God. Indeed, you regard him with a slavish fear. You fear hell, and not God. Your religion consists in superstition, in trifling superfluous religious exercises. You are like the Jews, of whom the Lord said, 'This people draweth nigh to me with their tongues, but their hearts are far from me.' Conscientious in small matters, but hardened in cases of great importance, you love your own glory and your own ease. You draw all to yourself, as if everything had been made only for you, while the truth is, that God has made you and placed you there for his people. But oh ! you do not understand these truths ; how could you find any pleasure in them ? — you don't know God ; you don't love him ; you don't pray to him with the heart ; you don't strive to know him."

All this was applicable to Maria Theresa ; but in joy over her great and noble-minded son, the Protestants forgot and forgave the bigoted mother. They forgot and forgave the evils which, even under such favorable circumstances, a less decided character than Joseph II. could not have healed.

FOURTH PERIOD.

FROM JOSEPH II. TO FRANCIS JOSEPH I., 1780 - 1849.

CHAPTER I.

General View of the Emperor's Position. — His wonderful Letter. — Edict of Toleration.

THE Protestant Church of Hungary had been brought to the very verge of ruin. Under the appearance of faithfulness in carrying out the laws of the land, and zeal for the supposed cause of religion, — that is, for the support of the Church of Rome, — no opportunity of crushing the Protestants had passed by without improvement. From being a recognized and established Church in the country, with the same rights and privileges which belong to the Roman Catholics, the Protestant Church was reduced to a state of abject slavery, receiving fewer privileges than were accorded to the Jews.* But little remained over, and Hungary would soon be like Austria, Carinthia, and Styria, where the very name of Protestants had ceased to exist.

But the Spirit of God moved upon the waters, and among those whom his gentle breath quickened, was Joseph II., Emperor of Austria.

It is not our intention to describe the virtues or the faults

* "Ut nobis civibus, non jam civitatis solum sed illa etiam *quæ ut hominibus debebantur jura*, passim negata fuerint." — Petition of the Protestants of Hungary to Joseph II., in the year 1781.

of this illustrious scion of the house of Hapsburg; neither would we attempt to decide the question, whether, by a stricter regard to the Constitution of Hungary, and to the national character of the Hungarians, his attempts at reform might not have been more successful. Certain it is, that the Hungarians, firmly attached to monarchy, but at the same time jealous of their constitution, were not moved to look kindly on ecclesiastical reforms proceeding from one who had carried away the crown of Hungary out of the country; who had divided the kingdom after Austrian fashion into circles; who, instead of elective lieutenants and deputy-lieutenants of counties, had appointed imperial administrators who had repealed the municipal constitution of the free imperial cities of Transylvania and Rumania; and who, by the introduction of the German language into the proceedings of the civil courts, had virtually shut out native Hungarians from office. With due reverence, but with an energy becoming the citizens of a free kingdom, many counties raised their voices in solemn protest against these innovations. The county of Zemplin reminded the emperor that the legal courts of Hungary did not consist merely of imperial functionaries, but were made up of them and the nobility of the land acting in conjunction, and that it was impossible for the latter to acquire the German language in less than three years. Even Tamerlane, or Timon the Tartar, the conqueror of Asia, did not, they said, require such hard conditions from the vanquished natives whom he had reduced to serfdom. Besides, they added, the Germans in Hungary were numerically the minority, and it was painful for a nation to bow to a fraction within itself; neither could it be asserted, they added in conclusion, that civilization was chained down to the German language, for in all languages the arts and sciences could be cultivated, and the morals refined. The ill-humor of the Hungarians was increased by a new proceeding, namely, a description of the houses and inhabitants; and wild and bit-

ter was the cry of indignation which this called forth from peasant and nobleman.

In the midst of all this confusion the emperor labored hard in repairing and clearing out the ship of Peter, in which the Bishop of Rome had under a false flag carried on for many years a most pernicious smuggling trade. The emperor knew the wares well, as also the secret stores, where they were kept, and the agents by whom they were disposed of. During the regency with his mother, he had thoroughly studied the intrigues of Rome, and was resolved to free Catholicism at once from its foulest stain and its greatest weakness, — the Papacy; and at the same time to relieve Protestantism from its greatest scourge.

What served the emperor as guide in his work of reform seems to have been a protest of three electoral princes of Germany, handed to him during his regency, containing an appeal to the emperor against the usurpations of Rome.*

There were also among the higher clergy in his own dominions men found who ably supported him in his noble work. Among these was the Archbishop of Prague, Count Przichowsky, who had prepared a translation of the Bible for Bohemia. At his side stood the president of the theological seminary at Prague, a man capable of imbuing the minds of the students with a love of truth. The bishops of Budweis and Leitmeritz vied with John Leopold Hay, the Bishop of Königratz, in the noble race. The latter, in his charge to the clergy of his diocese, writes and exhorts them "not to search any more into the secrets of families, nor, under any pretence whatever, to deprive the people of their books. We urge you to peace: and what can become the servant of the Lord better than that he be found promoting peace among the Lord's people? Let there be an end of

* *Gravamina trium archiepiscoporum Electorum Moguntinensis, Trevirensis et Coloniensis, contra curiam Apostolicam. Anno 1769, ad Cæsarem.*

confusion, of persecution, and of devouring one another, for that is well-pleasing in the sight of God."

In the same spirit was the learned Bohemian prelate, Augustine Zippe, and the Abbot Stephen Rautenstrauch, striving to support the emperor. The latter wrote several pamphlets, explaining to the people the nature of the emperor's reforming measures.

Another of the worthies was Henry Kerres, Bishop of Vienna, who labored successfully in abolishing the superstitious use of relics, pictures, and images, amulets, and holy wells, or pilgrimages to them. He discouraged the offerings of wax, and silver shrines and images, and, for weighty reasons, directed the churches to be all closed at sunset. In the same spirit do we find the Archbishop of Salzburg, and also the emperor's ambassador at Rome, forwarding the good cause.

All these on the side of the emperor. Against him, however, were arrayed the whole army of monks and priests, especially the priests of Hungary, and Rome with her Italian policy.

That the emperor understood his position, and that he had thoroughly studied the strength of his antagonists, will appear evident from the close of his memorable letter to the Archbishop of Salzburg, on the commencement of his reign.

"I have," he writes, "a heavy work before me. I should reduce the army of monks, and should try to transform these fakirs into human beings. My task is to reduce the power of those before whose shorn heads the rabble bows with reverence, and who have gained a dominion over the citizens such as nothing can equal."

To give a full view, however, of the emperor's firm resolution and humane feelings, it is necessary to copy the letter which he wrote to the cardinal and legate, his minister at Rome. In this letter is much that is calculated to throw light on the so-called "Josephinism" with which a learned pre-

ate of the latest times is attempting to blind the public. The letter is dated October, 1781, and is as follows : —

“MY LORD CARDINAL, — Ever since I mounted the throne, and assumed the first diadem of the world, I have made philosophy to be the lawgiver of my kingdom. . . . It is necessary to remove out of the category of religion some things which never belonged to it. As I hate superstition and Phariseism, I shall deliver my people from them. To this end I shall dismiss the monks, abolish their monasteries, and bring them all under subjection to the bishops of the diocese. In Rome they will call this an aggression on the divine rights. They will cry and lament that the glory of Israel is fallen ; we shall hear that I am taking away the tribunes of the people, and am drawing a line between dogma and philosophy. Bitterer still will be the rage when they hear that I have done all this without consulting the servant of servants, and awaiting his opinion.

“We must thank him for the degradation of the human intellect. Never shall we bring these servants of the altar voluntarily to keep their place and confine themselves to the preaching of the Gospel ; never will these children of Levi be willing to give up the monopoly of wisdom and knowledge. The monastic principle has been from the very first directly opposed to reason ; they give to the founder of their order a degree of honor approaching to divine worship, so that in them we see the antitype of the Israelites who went to Dan and Bethel to worship the golden calves. This false system of religion has taken possession of the mass of the people, who, while they know not God, expect all from their patron saints !

“I shall restore the rights of the bishops, and give the people, instead of the monk, the regular priest, and instead of the legendary romance, a preached Gospel ; where there is a difference of religion, there shall be a preaching of morality.

"I shall take care that my plans serve also for the future. The seminaries are the schools of my priests, where they shall come forth enlightened and prepared to communicate knowledge to the people, and in a period of less than a century we shall have Christians. My people will understand their duty, and children's children shall bless us for having freed them from a too powerful Rome, and for having shown the priests how to keep their proper place."

Armed with this intrepid spirit, and supported by a comparatively small number of friends, the emperor began his work of tearing down Rome's abuses.

For very intelligible reasons, the emperor strove to separate the clergy of his kingdom from all foreign influence. Accordingly, under date of 24th of March, 1781, he forbade all connection between the monasteries of the country and foreign monks or inspectors. No deputies dared be sent to attend deliberative meetings of clergy out of the country; and no foreign inspector dared give any directions or prescribe any penalties to those residing in the country. None but natives could be received into the religious brotherhoods, and neither monks nor nuns dared collect money to send out of the kingdom.

On the 26th of March, it was ordered that no papal bull should be published in any part of the empire, without first having obtained the emperor's sanction; the same principle was soon after extended to all foreign bishops whose jurisdiction extended in any way over the Austrian frontier.

Returned from his journey to France, he immediately issued the memorable decree, by which the bull "Unigenitus," and the still more infamous bull, "De Cœna Domini," must be expunged from the ritual; and on the 30th of June, a royal decree abolished the "religious patent" which the bigoted Ferdinand II. had laid on his people, and by which all dissent from the Church of Rome might be visited with

the severest penalties. Another decree forbade the reception of novices into the cloisters, and ordered a correct census to be taken of the value of the property in the hands of the monks.

At the same time that these excrescences of the Church of Rome were pruned, and that the Roman Catholics were taught to distinguish between the essentials of religion and the customs of their Church, the Protestants, on the other hand, were permitted to taste privileges of which they had been long deprived. At the very commencement of his reign, the Protestants had handed the emperor a spirited memorial, detailing the historical development of their wrongs;* and the monarch, who loved justice, was not slow in ordering that religious opinions should henceforth exclude from no civil office, and that fitness for the post should be the only qualification. This was the dawning of a bright day, and the full splendor of the sun of freedom burst out on the Protestants on the 24th of October, 1781, when the *Edict of Toleration* was forwarded to all the bishops of Hungary, with the direction to use their influence to persuade the priests to a kindly feeling towards the Protestants. The decree explaining and regulating this edict appeared in December, and contained sixteen articles:—

I. In all parts of the empire where the Protestants of both confessions were prohibited by law from holding meetings, they should now have liberty to meet privately for divine worship, without any inquiry being made whether Protestant meetings had been held there before or not.

II. His Majesty declares these private meetings to mean, not what they had been hitherto in Hungary, but that, in every district where there were one hundred or more families

* The author of that memorial was John James Horvath, an advocate of Pesth. He was a pupil of the famous lawyer, Pongratz, and he lies buried in the wood near Pesth, with the single inscription, "Fuit."

who possessed conjointly the means of building a church, school-house, and manse, without unfitting them for paying their other taxes, they should have liberty to build; their pastor should be free to visit the sick who wished to see him, without any limit whatever, only that the churches should have neither bell nor spire, and that there should be no entrance direct from the street.

III. No one possessing the necessary talents and qualifications for an office should henceforth be excluded on account of his religion. Protestants should have leave to buy and hold landed property, to practise trades, and to obtain academic honors in the same way as Roman Catholics, even in those places where they were hitherto prevented from doing so.

IV. No Protestant shall be obliged to swear by any form inconsistent with the fundamental principles of his religion. No one shall be obliged to attend mass. Much less shall any one be fined for absenting himself from the processions. All laws to the contrary are hereby repealed.

V. The Protestants shall in all cases keep possession of the churches they at present hold; and where these buildings are decayed, there is hereby perfect liberty granted to rebuild them of wood or stone; yet, with this limitation, that the expense be not above the means of the people.

VI. The chapels of ease which the Protestants possess shall remain in their hands, and pending lawsuits respecting them shall all be quashed in favor of the Protestants.

In the remaining articles it was decreed respecting mixed marriages, that where the father is Roman Catholic, all the children of both sexes should be educated in that faith; where the father was Protestant, the male issue should be Protestant. Priests were prohibited from visiting sick Protestants unless sent for; and no visitation of Protestant churches or examination of the pastor on the nature of baptism should henceforth be instituted by any priest.

CHAPTER II.

First Fruits of the Edict of Toleration: Thanks of the Protestants; Protest of the Priests of Hungary and some of the Counties. — Efforts of Cardinal Migazzi. — The Minister Kaunitz. — The Confessor's Explanation. — Pope Pius VI. comes to Vienna. — His Efforts fruitless. — His Master of Ceremonies. — The Pope's Departure. — The Leave-taking. — The Emperor's Present.

THE impression produced by the Edict of Toleration on the inhabitants of the vast empire was deep and vivid. The tidings were joyous for those who at heart hated the ceremonies of the Church of Rome, but who had been obliged for generations to adhere outwardly to its communion. Like the trodden flower, when refreshed with dew, raising its head once more, so did these crushed spirits arise, and either formed new Protestant churches or attached themselves to those already in existence.

On the 2d of February, 1782, the Protestants of the sister churches in Hungary held a meeting in Pesth, at which Count Peter Zay and Nicolas Belesnay presided, to draw up an expression of their gratitude to the emperor. The vote of thanks was written in Latin and German, and sent to Vienna under charge of a numerous deputation.* The Protestants had not received all which they had a right to expect; still the heaviest of their chains were taken off, and they hoped in the course of time to receive back the remainder of the privileges which had been guaranteed them by law, but wrested from them by the strong hand of oppression.

* At the same time instructions were sent to the ecclesiastical agent at Vienna, respecting the steps he ought to take in future; and the pastors were directed to take heed that the edict was properly published through the country.

Foreign countries heard the story, and rejoiced in the tidings.

It could not be expected that Rome and her party would be satisfied; and it was not long till protests, numerously signed, were handed to the emperor, expressive of their extreme dissatisfaction.

The Cardinal Joseph Battyáni, on hearing what the emperor was about to do, even before the edict was published, handed in a protest signed also by the Bishops of Grán and Kálotsh, asserting that the emperor had no right to grant such a toleration, it was unconstitutional, and could only be binding on the country when adopted legally by a vote at the Diet.*

Not content with this, the bishops made use of their great wealth and influence to excite the counties and the free cities to protest. The supreme executive delayed in publishing the edict, and the authorities in the counties were thus animated in their resistance. Some of the counties brought up the old laws of 1525-26, by which all Lutherans might on detection be burned, and urged these as legal reasons for refusing to publish, much less to act on, the edict; and in this case their memory was exceedingly convenient, for, though they remembered the passing of the law, they had forgotten that it was repealed by the Treaty of Vienna.

With equal zeal did Cardinal Migazzi labor in Vienna; and the papal nuncio was pouring in protests and representations, not only against the Edict of Toleration, but also against all the emperor's reforms, till the minister Kaunitz informed him dryly that his Majesty did not wish any more information on these subjects.

The emperor's confessor also tried the weight of his lance in the contest, and declared that he could promise the em-

* When emperors overstepped their constitutional powers to crush the Protestants, the cardinals saw no harm, but much rather a high degree of virtue, in the proceedings.

peror no success against his foes, if he did not cut off all the heretics, root and branch, and burn up their temples; if he did not seize their children to have them educated in the Church of Rome, and annihilate all the heretical books. Alas! poor man! it was all in vain, for the emperor's name was Joseph II.

On the 12th of January the emperor wrote to Cardinal Battyáni, informing him that the *loyal* bishops in the empire had no scruple in fulfilling the royal law, "Whatsoever ye will that men shall do unto you, do ye even so unto them"; besides, he had no intention of forcing any man's conscience; and if any man was dissatisfied with his measures of toleration, he was welcome to resign his office and leave the country. It was, however, expected from the bishops to see to it that the edict was not only published, but acted on, and to report the same to the viceregal court. Finally, the cardinal primate would inform the other bishops of this his imperial Majesty's royal will and pleasure.

When all these efforts of the bishops did not succeed in changing the emperor's resolution, Bishop Nagy, of Stuhlweissenburg, published a pastoral letter, purporting to be a statement of the motives which urged Joseph to his humane efforts. In the same letter the characters and lives of the Protestants were attacked, and no falsehoods were spared so as to mar the working of the edict,* and the emperor was as little spared as any of the people.†

As the emperor was still far from being satisfied with what he had done, and was proceeding still further to limit the power of the Pope, in an evil hour, and contrary to the ad-

* See Fessler, Vol. X. p. 553.

† When a paper was found nailed to the door of a monastery which Joseph had confiscated and sold to the Protestants for a chapel, charging the emperor with being a Lutheran, and being guilty of various other crimes and misdemeanors, the emperor had the paper printed and sold for two pence a copy, the money to be handed to the deacons of the Protestant church.

vice of his wise cardinals, Pope Pius VI., urged on by Austrian refugees, and trusting in his own personal influence, resolved to undertake a journey to Vienna. Having signified his intention of visiting Vienna, the emperor sent a kind invitation, assuring him of a cordial reception. On the 22d of March, being the week before Easter, Pius VI. reached Vienna, and received such honor from the thousands of Roman Catholics who came to meet him, that he had no cause to complain of Austrian devotion to Rome. Crowds, even of the highest ranks, pressed into the anterooms to kiss the slipper which was there exhibited, and for the sake of lightening the trouble, the Pope caused the slipper to be carried round to many of the most distinguished families in the city. With all this pomp and splendor the emperor and his minister Kaunitz remained unmoved; and when, at the Easter festival, the master of the ceremonies raised the Pope's seat a step higher than the emperor's, the latter absented himself from the whole ceremony, with the remark, "Then the Pope can drive alone, and sit alone in the church." The emperor should have read the lesson of the day on the occasion, and he excused himself to the Pope by pretending a pain in the eye.

Meantime, there was no want of pamphlets explaining to the people the meaning of all this show on the part of the Pope; and the wits of the capital were all on the side of the emperor.

All attempts to bring the emperor and his minister away from the reforms which they had begun were in vain. The emperor said, "He was no theologian, and could not argue with his holiness. He wished, however, that the arguments should be put in writing, and he would show them to his divines. As to the monasteries," he said, "the Pope had been already informed of all that had been done; and as this was no dogma, but a plain matter of business, he (the emperor) would just leave matters as they were."

Only one conference was held in the presence of Kaunitz and of the cardinals; but it led to no results. Pius VI. thought to gain Kaunitz over to his side, and accordingly paid him a visit. The wary minister received him without any ceremony, in his morning gown, and led him through his vast picture gallery. As the Pope strove to turn the conversation on ecclesiastical topics, the minister requested him to reserve such subjects for a more suitable time and place.

The Pope's visit has been in vain. He has no hope of doing more. The emperor informs him that it would be pleasant to have the expression of his approbation of the measures of toleration now in progress, but if this was not convenient, then it could be dispensed with. The Pope approve of toleration! The Pope's approbation of measures a matter of indifference! Which was the severest cut?

On the 22d of April Pius VI. left Vienna, accompanied by the emperor and his brother Maximilian as far as the village Mariabrunn — Mary's Well — about four miles from the city, where they took an affectionate leave.

The emperor gave his holiness a present of a cross set with diamonds, valued at £20,000. The Pope went on his way to Rome, and the emperor pursued his course of reform quite unmoved, for, not many hours after the parting, the monastery at Mary's Well was closed.

CHAPTER III.

Benefits of the Edict of Toleration. — Freedom of the Press. — The Emperor popularly charged with Heresy. — His Reply, and his Decree founded on it. — The Six Weeks' Instruction of Persons leaving the Church of Rome. — Church-building in Hungary. — The Commissions of Inquiry and the *Homo Diocesanus*. — The Spirit of the Viceregal Court, and some of the Counties. — Extracts from the Petition of the Sister Churches to the Emperor.

THE emperor still pressed forward. Difficulties seemed merely to accelerate his course. What was to him the dust of the falling house? He had a clear plan of the manner in which it should be rebuilt.

On the 19th of November, 1781, he repealed the law prohibiting the Protestant clergy from crossing the bounds of their parish, and allowed the exiled pastors to return. Priests were prohibited from forcing their services on sick Protestants, and wherever they attended, they were ordered to make use of Protestant prayer-books. The Protestants obtained leave at the same time to use the materials of old decayed churches in building and repairing their places of worship.

The chase after the children of Protestants and Jews, to have them — especially if orphans — educated in the communion of the Church of Rome, was still more limited, and it was decreed that they should be baptized only on their own request. As, however, a certain age was hard to be fixed, it was only required to see that no bribe in the shape of reward or threatening was held out. Such young persons wishing to join the Church of Rome must wait six weeks after giving notice of the intention, and if still continuing in

the same mind, might then be baptized. If, however, any of these conditions were wanting, the children could not be forcibly detained from their parents or guardians.*

On the 22d of June, the Protestants obtained permission to print their Bibles and other religious books in the country. A list of the books which might be printed was furnished, and among them we find, "A correct copy of the Bible; Luther's Catechism; the Heidelberg Catechism, only that some expressions offensive to Papists should be removed; the Prayer-book and Liturgies of both the Lutheran and Reformed Churches; Arndt's *True Christianity*; a good hymn-book; and a few other books named."

The books which had been confiscated during the previous reign, but especially the Bibles, were ordered to be restored, and, shortly after, the compulsory attendance of Protestant children on Roman Catholic schools was dispensed with.

Where priests strove to bring back the old reign of hatred, they did not any more escape unpunished; and when the priest of Bossontya forcibly took possession of a Protestant church, he learned to his cost that the good old times were gone. The Archbishop of Grätz had simply inquired at Rome whether he ought to publish the Edict of Toleration, and for this he was summoned to Vienna to give an account of his doings. It was shortly before the Pope's visit, and, as a punishment, he was ordered to leave the city the day before his holiness arrived.

By such proceedings the popular fury was soon directed against the person of the emperor. What had formally fallen to the lot of the Protestants, now fell on his devoted head. From all sides he was attacked, so that in the year 1782 he was obliged to make a public declaration, that he had no

* The Church of Rome had long claimed all orphans as her own, but it would appear from this, that even in cases where only one parent was deceased, the same claim was made.

intention of leaving the Church of Rome ; that he should be glad if all his subjects were Roman Catholics ; but that he did not feel at liberty to force any man to act against the dictates of his conscience. Besides teaching and setting a good example, he did not wish to use any other means for gaining over proselytes to his cause. If any one forced his servant or his child to leave *any church* and join another, he should not escape unpunished. It was then in December decreed, that any Roman Catholic wishing to join the Protestant Church must give notice six weeks beforehand, and receive religious instruction for that period.

The opinion that the visit of the Pope had made the emperor a better Catholic was natural. Some other circumstances strengthened it. For some time the Protestants had done almost what they chose, but now an edict appeared, requiring them to give notice of the meetings of their church courts, that a policeman might be in attendance, and to give notice also of the subjects to be introduced at these meetings.

Like the ebbing and flowing of the tide is the popular feeling, and the Popish party were so elated by these movements, that they soon began their old tricks, and, in some cases, refused burial to the bodies of Protestants, and threatened to throw them out of the graves again if interred in the common graveyards.* These were, however, only isolated clouds to darken the bright heavens. The Protestants were annoyed, — the humane plans of the emperor were retarded. Sometimes the priests did not come when called, and the expense of the Commission of Inquiry was incurred in vain. Sometimes they refused to sign the report of the commissioners, and forwarded themselves other reports injurious to the Protestants.

The law said, that in erecting new places of worship for

* Intimatum, 6th of July, 1782.

Protestants, care should be taken that sufficient means of support were forthcoming without overburdening the tax-payers. Here was a place for the enemy to work. And not without effect were the insinuations and open attacks; for the emperor was obliged to issue a fresh edict, ordering that no unnecessary annoyance should be given to those seeking leave to form a new church; that in the towns one month be allowed, and in the country three, to prepare a report; and that in no case should the delay be longer in investigating the circumstances. Besides, it was further decreed that the civil authorities do not require to fix a salary for the pastor and schoolmaster, but may leave that to private agreement between the parties concerned.

Even an edict of toleration cannot cure all the ills of a country. And this was felt by the Hungarians; for, even though the emperor had prepared schedules of inquiry, and accurate tables of the questions which should, and of those which should not, be asked, yet the viceregal court, actuated by the old spirit, and consisting chiefly of the old members, was able still to throw difficulties in the way. Let us take a few illustrations.

The Reformed Church of Boehenye petitioned that their exiled pastor might be restored to them, and, on the 15th of July, 1782, an imperial order directed the necessary steps to be taken. And first, of course, an inquiry must be instituted why he had been banished; and then an inquiry why he should be restored; then a report, and afterwards an explanation of the report, must be obtained. For the sake of quashing the whole affair, a commission was nominated, composed exclusively of Roman Catholics, and it was only after an energetic protest and much delay that the legal commission, consisting of an equal number of Protestants and Roman Catholics, was obtained.

The commission reported that in the years 1681 and 1721 public worship was conducted in this parish; after their pas-

tor was banished, they had been allowed to keep a schoolmaster; the number of families appeared to be sixty-nine; the landlord was willing to furnish wood *gratis* for building a church, and the people were willing to undertake all the cartage; residences for a pastor and schoolmaster, and sufficient funds for their support, were already provided; if a pastor were among them, these funds would be increased. Such was the report, and the resolution of the county formed upon it was, "That, inasmuch as there are not a hundred families connected with the place, the Protestants be not allowed to recall their pastor or build a church."

The Protestants of Nagy Bajom petitioned for the recognition of their claims to a church. The report stated that the conditions of the edict were all fulfilled, and the proper number of families was to be found. A nobleman of the district, however, exclaimed publicly, that, as they valued the salvation of their souls, they could not in any way assist in spreading heresy; and the county gave its decision accordingly, stating, "That, inasmuch as the Protestants now contribute to the support of the priests, if they had a pastor of their own the priest could not exist; and to support two clergy—a Protestant and Roman Catholic—out of a common fund, was above the means of the parish; therefore the Protestants shall not have leave to build a church or to call a pastor."

The Protestants of Csoekol were long kept back by the Bishop of Wesprim, who had reported that the soil was barren, that the parish was four thousand florins in debt, that they must pay the priest twenty-five florins, half a hogshhead of wine, and certain duty labor, together with a fixed quantity of corn and his official dues. The resolution of the county was, that this county also should not be allowed to build a church or call a pastor.

The viceregal court generally decided in accordance with the vote of the county, especially if that was unfavorable to the Protestants. Indeed, in the case of Tharos, they directed

to make diligent search whether a Roman Catholic schoolmaster were not already in the neighborhood, whose duty it was to instruct all the children of every party; and to conduct the inquiry respecting the available funds in the presence of a "homo diocesanus."

A village belonging to the free city of Ædenberg had already obtained permission to build a church, when a new difficulty was found in the fact that the town would not give them ground. Two peasants, George Swentenvain and John Kessener, then offered all they had — their house and garden — for the Lord's cause; but the story coming to the emperor, orders were sent to the civic authorities to lay no more obstacles in the way of building, but to grant the ground at once. For the present they should not have a schoolmaster, for, if they had, the Roman Catholic schoolmaster could not continue in office.

But who could enumerate even a tithe of the grievances? If the Roman Catholic party could do nothing else, they could involve the Protestants in heavy expense. An appeal to a higher court was often fruitless, and the emperor was far away; but the sighing of the prisoners came into the ears of the Lord of hosts, and was written in his book of remembrance.

When the grounds of complaint had become very heavy, the two sister churches united in a petition to the emperor, out of which we here insert a few extracts.

After complaining that the authorities were very stringent in pressing every point of the law in its most unfavorable sense, they state, that in every case where a new church has been granted, the Protestants have been compelled, contrary to law, to assist in supporting the priest. The limitations of the edict are strained and extended far beyond the evident intention. They had been promised some of their old churches back, but not one had they obtained. At investigations his Majesty had simply required the presence of a

Roman Catholic priest, but the practice was to reject every petition which was not countersigned by the priest. In many of the commissions none but Roman Catholics officiated. They then requested the revoking of the edict of the 10th of February, 1783, by which the Protestant churches are required to be an hour's walk asunder. They begged protection from those decisions by which they were prevented from appointing a schoolmaster, because "the Roman Catholic schoolmasters would then have nothing to do." They complain that, contrary to the spirit of his Majesty's resolutions, the names of "akatholick," and "tolerated sectarians," are still applied to them as terms of disgrace.

They request, finally, that the priests be declared incapable of holding office in courts where the affairs of the Protestants shall be investigated and decided.

The petition was dated Vienna, August 6, 1783, and its fruits we shall have an opportunity of seeing.

CHAPTER IV.

Reform in the Schools. — The Protestants Distrust the National Schools. — Relief in Church-building. — The Church Registers. — Organization beyond the Danube. — Abuse of the Six Weeks' Instruction. — Poisoning of the Abbot Rautenstrauch at Erlau. — Persecution of those who wish to leave the Church of Rome.

UNDER Maria Theresa a commencement had been made to reform the schools, and now, under Joseph, the principle was extended to the whole empire. A national school system was introduced, according to which the schools, from the very commencement to the highest departments of the university, were conducted on one general plan. A central office of education was appointed, and the learned Godfrey Swieten appointed first president in 1784. The vice-presidents, who had the charge of the system in Hungary, and who resided at Ofen, were Christopher Nitzky and Joseph Klobusitsky. The university was removed from Ofen to Pesth; and chiefly by the learned ex-Jesuits, Szerdahély and Mako, was the new system of education adapted to the state of Hungary, and extended also to the Protestant schools. To cover the expenses, however, it was required to return to the government a correct report of all property in Hungary which was intended to promote education in any form. Some time afterwards the Protestants were obliged to give up all their funds to the government.

After many fruitless consultations with the school inspectors, and with the commissioners of education, the Protestants at last petitioned the emperor to allow them a little breathing time, before introducing the new system. It was, they said, necessary to bear in mind how closely a system

of education was connected with religion and with the Church; and certain modifications were then necessary, to secure freedom of conscience. They requested, therefore, that their school funds should be restored to them, and additional assistance given, as they were otherwise not able to provide the necessary number of professors, schools, seminaries, libraries, and printing establishments, nor yet to make provision for retired office-bearers or their widows, as the law directed.

After some inquiries which were now instituted, the emperor issued the following regulation for the Protestant schools in Hungary:—

In cases where the Protestants have schools already in operation, they shall be allowed to retain them; where they, however, have no school nor schoolmaster, the precentor of the Protestant church shall have *the same right as the Roman Catholic teacher to instruct the children of his own creed, in the presence of children of other confessions*, in the catechism of his Church. This privilege shall also be granted to those Protestants who, although not sufficiently numerous in the district to be formed into a church or to have a school, shall nevertheless be able to support a “cantor,” or clerk. Several villages might also unite, if they chose, to keep a “cantor” for this purpose; and in every case the parents had a right to choose for themselves to which of the neighboring schools their children should be sent. It was necessary, however, that these Protestant catechists should have passed their examination in the Normal School of the National Board; * and in every case, the Protestants must bear

* For the sake of keeping up uniformity of system in the empire, the directors and principals of the high schools and universities were obliged to attend for a definite period at the Central Normal School at Vienna, and there pass an examination. They were then required to open district normal schools, or to have classes for the training of teachers, who might afterwards be appointed as teachers, (a) in the high schools, (b) in the town schools, and (c) in the villages. Of course, the system could not in all cases be inflexibly carried out.

the entire expense connected with such an officer. In the higher national schools, where both Catholic and Protestant teachers were appointed, they should be paid out of the national fund. In districts where none but Protestants resided, and where, therefore, Protestant teachers were appointed by government, they should also be paid out of the general fund. In mixed schools, such prayers should be used as made it consistent for the children of all confessions to come and to leave at the same time. The days and hours of communicating religious instruction should be fixed and published, and the greatest possible regard should be shown to the conscientious feelings of the children of Protestant parents. Change of religion on the part of the children in those schools should never be tolerated without the consent of the parents. Everything should be omitted in the school-books which could give the Protestants any just ground of offence. The Protestants had the immediate inspection of their own schools, and could be controlled only by the Superior Imperial District Commission.

These extracts give us some notion of the emperor's benevolent intentions. Still, however, the black history of the past, the years of fierce persecution which the Protestants had borne, combined with the fact that a sum of ten thousand florins, which had just been collected in Zips for school purposes, was demanded from them, gave good ground to fear being entangled by the influence of an individual, so as to chain themselves and their children to a system. They avoided, therefore, most punctiliously, affording any assistance to the national schools; and where a mixed school was erected by the government, the Protestants kept their children generally at home. When the school inspectors complained, the Protestants replied generally that they had not received permission from the superintendents, or that the local circumstances required some modification of the system before they could take part in the national schools.

These excuses drove the emperor to propose some modification in the government of the Protestant Church, by which a central general consistory should sit at Vienna, and thence issue orders more or less at the bidding of the court.

The Protestants objected to this proposal, urging as reasons the size of the kingdom; the fact that four superintendents with their *consistoria* already existed for each Church, Calvinistic and Lutheran; that the expense of such a superior consistory would be too heavy, and the proper persons to fill the office could not easily be persuaded to leave their homes, and reside permanently at Vienna; besides, such a constitutional change could only be made in consequence of a resolution of a grand national synod.

The emperor yielded for the present, and a general conference was summoned for the 8th of June, 1788, to which the different congregations were directed to send deputies.*

While this was going forward in reference to the schools, the Protestants were obtaining still more and more freedom from the grievances which in their petition had been laid before the emperor.

The Protestant pastors were permitted to visit and discharge ministerial duties among the *diaspora* or scattered adherents to their confession, under the condition that the priests' dues were in all such cases to be paid, and that the Roman Catholics should not be excited to dissatisfaction with their clergy.

The Protestant tradesmen in Güns and other places obtained dispensation from attending mass and taking part in the processions, and the Protestant catechists were receiving more and more liberty and encouragement in the schools.

The one great struggle now was respecting the "stola

* This is taken from a MS. in the library of Count Roday, being a report of the superintendents to their agents at Vienna.

dues." * The Protestants wished to be entirely freed from this demand on the part of the priest. The emperor thought to settle the matter by prohibiting first the priest, and then the Protestant pastor, from receiving money at baptisms, communions, and funerals; but it was in vain, for pretexts were still found for keeping up the custom. One example we select, as illustrative of the state of parties at the time.

The priest of Bogyoslo complained to the magistrates of the district that the Lutherans had refused to pay him his *stola dues*. The magistrates decided that, inasmuch as he had been in possession of these dues before the Edict of Toleration, he had a right to them, and the payment was accordingly enforced. The county magistrate sent out the hussars to enforce the payment, and the soldiers not only drove in all the priests' dues, but also took some little perquisites for themselves. The people complained to the emperor, and an investigation was instituted. The result was that the priest having himself acknowledged that he had not received these fees previous to the Edict of Toleration, was sentenced to return twofold all that he had unjustly taken. The county magistrate was sentenced to receive a public reprimand in his own court. The soldiers who had exceeded their duty were ordered to restore all that they had seized, and to be imprisoned three days on bread and water. The appellants received permission to build their church as they themselves wished, only on condition that the contributors to the building fund should not be overburdened.†

Such even-handed justice had not for many years been known in Hungary. There had still been one law for the Protestants and another for the Roman Catholics. But, if

* The money which the priest claimed for every act which he performed in the *stola*, or official dress.

† The original sentence lies at Ofen, dated 22d of November, 1785, and is numbered in the MS. No. 35,607. The records of the church go on to say that the sentence was literally executed.

their joy was great at obtaining simple justice, how much greater must it have been when the private religious exercises were no longer restricted, but the pastor could baptize, marry, attend funerals, &c., unmolested, on condition of paying the priest his fee ; and it was not long till the government, weary of the constant complaints, at last abolished the fees to the priests, and made them payable to the Protestant pastor.

Still further, the Protestant churches were allowed to keep their own registers, and filial churches were permitted to attach themselves for civil and religious purposes to recognized existing congregations. By virtue of this connection, the pastor of the congregation obtained a right to perform ministerial acts within the bounds of the filial or adjunct parish. In such cases, however, the stola dues must still be paid to the priest, the exemption extending itself only to independent congregations which had their own pastor and church.*

These last privileges gave the Protestants an opportunity of regulating the internal concerns of their congregations, which they had for a long time not been able to do. Especially manifest was the change which now took place in the circle beyond the Danube, where a new superintendent, Samuel Krabowsky, entered on office, and had the charge of thirteen "seniors' districts," and one hundred and twenty-five churches. Here the presbyterial form of church government was revived, the seniors were directed to summon the clergy of the district together at least once a year, and himself to inspect all the churches, for the sake of removing all abuses which might have crept in. The exercise of discipline was of course much stricter among the Reformed churches than among the Lutherans ; still all were now revived and animated by a new spirit.

The priests were enraged at seeing the fruits of the con-

* See royal decree of 22d of March, 1784.

cessions in favor of the Protestants, and the steps they took to be avenged were often of such a nature as to baffle all attempts at justice. The annals of the time record black, and cruel, and tyrannical deeds, which could not be brought home to any individual, but respecting which popular opinion spoke out very decidedly.

The six weeks' instruction of intended proselytes gave the priests an opportunity of exercising their arbitrary power and tyranny. For example; the priest of Lopejens had a youth of sixteen years of age for a long time shut up in his house under pretence of the "six weeks' instruction," and during that time the youth was repeatedly bastinadoed. The priest said it was for theft. After a legal investigation, however, the president of the court of justice, Count Charles Pallfy, sent the report of the trial to the emperor, and with his own hand Joseph wrote on the report, that, for every stroke the youth had received, the priest should be confined a day in prison.

Examples like this did not always succeed in terrifying into a sense of duty. When the Baron Schoenrich was dying, he addressed his assembled family with these words: "I would have left a large property behind me to be divided among you, had not the priests, by false accusations of me to the emperor, squandered it all away."

The abbot Stephen Rautenstrauch, who had the inspection of all the theological faculties in the empire, and who has already been mentioned as an enlightened friend of reform, had been to Erlau to examine the theological school in that city, and after the examination, having sat down to supper in excellent health, he was soon seized with spasms, and after six hours of violent convulsions, he expired. Poison had been administered in his food.*

In Trentshin county the authorities were so decidedly

* Fessler's History, Vol. X. p. 571.

on the side of the priests, that those who proposed leaving the Church of Rome were cast into prison ; and in Œdenberg, even those Roman Catholics who ventured to attend a Protestant place of worship were threatened with legal proceedings.

CHAPTER V.

Removal of the Bishops from Civil Offices. — Application of the Religious Funds. — School System. — Further Evidence of Joseph's love of Justice. — War with the Porte. — Revolution of the Netherlands. — Serious State of Hungary. — The Emperor's Health gives way. — Recall of his Reforms. — The Crown sent back to Hungary. — The Emperor's Death.

THE conviction that, so long as bishops sat in the civil courts, little justice was to be expected for the Protestants, had induced them, in their petition to the emperor, to mention this as one of the evils to be remedied, and in the course of time Joseph seemed to have arrived at the same conclusion. In the year 1785 they were all removed from the civil and judicial offices which they held, and their power in other respects was very much limited. When, in the reports to the emperor, hard expressions were made use of in reference to the Protestants, the reports were sent in to be altered.

In the schools constant alleviations were introduced, and in general, the wishes of the Protestants met with the kindest consideration. The emperor now introduced a law by which all children from six years of age were to be considered capable of attending school, and the parents were held responsible for their attendance. The school-books were improved, and not only the quantity but also the quality of the instruction given, even to the Roman Catholic children, met with a favorable alteration. Especially were the Scriptures much more carefully read in the schools than had previously been the case; and the emperor thus manifested his appreciation of the expression, "Man liveth not by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lord."

Several monasteries and nunneries had been closed, and their incomes confiscated ; but it was neither for his own use, nor for general state purposes, nor for presents to favorite ministers, that this was used, but all was put together in a general religion and school fund.*

The emperor used his influence to stop the abounding superstitions, as he took away from the most renowned places of pilgrimage their silver and gold shrines, and sent them to the mint. He forbade presents of silver, iron, wax candles, &c., at these places, and discouraged the pilgrimages to the utmost.

In the same way he strove to remove an evil which was likely seriously to injure the Protestant Church. From the poverty of many Protestant congregations, it had not been in their power to pay a pastor ; accordingly some schoolmaster or student generally came and conducted the preaching services, — sometimes, indeed, not much to the edification of the people. The emperor now ordered that no one should be allowed to preach without having first obtained a license by regularly constituted church courts.†

The emperor strove to regulate the quarrels of contending parties concerning the joint use of the churches, and sometimes he succeeded ; but in general, when Protestants and Roman Catholics worshipped in the same house, the latter took the precaution to have it consecrated, and in case of

* The emperor established eleven hundred and eighty-nine new parishes, and paid the working priests one hundred and thirty-three thousand six hundred florins annually, out of his confiscated monastic property. He intended to establish forty-seven more, with eighty-six vicarages, and one hundred and ninety-seven chaplaincies. (See Fessler, Vol. X. p. 569.) In Hungary alone were one hundred and thirty-four monasteries closed, in which twelve hundred and nine priests and two hundred and seventy-five lay brothers had resided ; and in one of the orders, namely, Eremites, the emperor found an immense sum in hard cash. The landed property which fell to the crown brought in a revenue of two hundred and three thousand six hundred and twenty-nine florins annually.

† Royal decree, 11th of September, 1788.

separation afterwards this gave them a factitious right to retain the building, even though it had previously been the property of the Protestants.

The case was much easier when it was a simple inquiry respecting secular property, such as manses, fields, gardens ; for here they need only prove their original property, and justice was in all cases done. Let us take an example. In Schutt-Somerain, where the so-called " German house " had been taken by the military as a barrack, and the town had taken all the fields as public property, in the course of time documents were found proving this all to belong to the Protestant church, and immediately, notwithstanding all opposition, the emperor ordered the whole property to be delivered up. Another case, which was still more admired as a case of discriminating justice, was, when the Roman Catholics had, some fifty years before, taken a bell from the Protestant church, and set it up for themselves, the emperor, on examining the case, ordered the bell to be restored.

The time was not to be long, however, in which the Protestants could enjoy such favors. The emperor was hastening fast to his grave. The shadows of the evening were lengthening, and death came on with giant strides.

A war broke out with the Turks, and was carried on chiefly in the interest of Russia. Rebellion was threatening in the country. The priests and the heads of the political parties were violent. Joseph had no kindly associations with the family hearth, — no wife nor child to smooth the brow of care ; and that great mind began to sink under the load.

On the 28th of January, 1790, he was so far exhausted, that he with his own hand withdrew many of the reforms which he had introduced ; to his honor be it said, however, that some of the measures which had been dear to him all his life through, were even now, despite all efforts to the contrary, still held fast. Among these were the Edict of Toleration, and the new parishes which he had formed.

On the 17th of February, the keepers of the crown of Stephen left Vienna with their sacred charge, which the Hungarian nation almost adored. They arrived in Ofen on the 21st, and five hundred cannon shots told the nation the glorious tidings of their arrival. The emperor was then no more. On the 20th he was found sitting up in his bed in the attitude of prayer, but life had fled. He had reached only his forty-ninth year, but had written his name deep in the hearts of his people. Wild were the weeds which defaced that lovely land as he ascended the throne, and in the sweat of his brow had he eaten kingly bread, attempting to sweep away the arrears of ages. For him it was enough to have the kingly reward of the consciousness that succeeding ages would acknowledge his efforts for his people's good. His successor, Leopold II., would have a lighter task, that of following in the track so nobly pointed out before.

CHAPTER VI.

State of the Protestants under Leopold II., from 1790 to 1792. — Leopold's Arrival. — Petition of the Protestants referred to the Diet. — Royal "Resolutions" and their Consequences. — The Diet. — The Seventeen Articles of the United Synod. — Deputation of the Synod to the Cardinal Primate of Hungary. — Sudden Death of the King.

WHEN Leopold ascended the throne, the joy of the Roman Catholics knew as little bounds as the grief and sorrow of the Protestants. The latter feared, the former hoped, everything from the change; for, notwithstanding the Edict of Toleration, the prospects of the Protestants were sufficiently dark. The liberties which they had of late enjoyed were regarded as mere royal bounty, and in the same way as Joseph had granted these privileges might his successor withdraw them. Leopold might be guided by the same principles as his predecessor, and confirm all his just and liberal decisions, but he might once more sweep them all away; and then what would avail the protest, and the cry of the oppressed?

In this uncertainty, every eye was directed towards him who had already earned the character of wisdom and moderation. Each party strove to make a good impression on the mind of the new king. The Roman Catholics approached him with a detail of the claims of their Church, supported by mutilated extracts from royal decrees and laws of the land. The Protestants did not fail in stating their case as well as circumstances permitted. Between the two parties the emperor stood as a rock in the sea, unshaken and undaunted. He heard the advice of the few faithful men who stood around the throne, and refused to yield to the claims of fanaticism. But let the facts speak for themselves.

On the 12th of March Leopold arrived from Tuscany, and on the 10th of June he held a Diet at Ofen. Early in November this meeting was transferred to Presburg.

Meanwhile, all the arrangements which Joseph had made ceased to be carried out, and fanatics who wished on account of the Edict of Toleration to make his name hateful, availed themselves of the opportunity for carrying out their designs. The king, however, lost no time in relieving the minds of his subjects; and when the petition from the Protestants reached him, it was immediately handed over to the Diet, with an expression of his earnest desire that the grievances there complained of should be settled according to the laws of the land and the demands of equity.

According to custom, this petition was handed to a mixed commission, and in the course of time reached the Diet, the proposals having been thrown together in the form of seventeen articles.

After some fiery debates, it was resolved to send the articles to the king, with the request "that he would, of his own sovereign will, decide these matters as his own wisdom should direct." The emperor accepted of the powers thus vested in him, and, on the 7th of November, to the dismay of the priests and the Roman party, appeared the royal resolutions, based, not on the deceitful laws of Leopold and Charles VI., but on the broad ground of the Treaties of Vienna and Linz, and the laws and resolutions of 1608 and 1647.

All reasonable and moderate Roman Catholics expressed themselves satisfied with the resolutions; but the joy of the Protestants knew no bounds. Three weeks later a vast assembly of priests and bishops, at the palace of the Archbishop of Kalotsh, gave vent to their indignation, and forwarded a representation to the newly crowned king, complaining of the injury thus done to the rights of their Church, and modestly requesting that the resolutions should be al-

tered to meet their views. The emperor in his reply expressed extreme dissatisfaction with the tone adopted by these men; and when the Protestants heard of the matter, they immediately forwarded a vote of thanks for his consistent kindness.

The second series of royal resolutions soon appeared, and now came the hot struggle respecting their reception among the laws of the land.

Accustomed to debate, and of naturally warm temperament, the Hungarian deputies struggled hard on both sides. From the 18th of January till the 8th of February, all parliamentary tactics were made available for prolonging the discussion. The stakes were heavy, for the freedom of conscience of millions, and the powers of a hierarchy, were now opposed to each other, and Rome or liberty must triumph.

"Such resolutions as tolerate heresy are directly opposed to the fundamental principles of the Roman Catholic religion," cried Joseph Boronkay, deputy of Simegh, "and they open the floodgates of vice and crime. Besides, Hungary is 'Mary's kingdom,' and by these articles she would be dethroned, and the Queen of Heaven be banished from her dominions. Except the clause is inserted, declaring *that the claims of the Roman Catholic Church shall be preserved intact, I vote against the resolution.*"

Count Illyesházy, of Trentshin, declared "he had directions from his constituents to go to a certain point in granting liberty of conscience, but these resolutions go far beyond; he could not vote for them."

The deputy of Baros thought "there was no safety for the country except by adopting the 30th article of the Resolutions of Charles, in 1715, as a fundamental principle of government."

On the other side, the first who raised his voice was the deputy of Presburg. He declared his willingness to vote for the resolutions, "if the Protestants would bind themselves

never to complain again, nor to ask any more, nor to bring the cause of religion ever again before the Diet."

The deputy of Neogräd asserted, "They had now no choice but to adopt the resolutions of the emperor, for they had voluntarily appointed him umpire; and it was, then, self-evident that the decision of the umpire voluntarily chosen must be binding on both parties."

In speeches full of fire, and breathing the spirit of civil and religious liberty, many others poured out torrents of eloquence, till the bigoted members of the Diet were terrified into silence. "The Protestants of both confessions," cried the venerated and beloved Count Alays Battyáni, — "this we cannot deny, — have often borne such civil and religious oppression as was sufficient to drive them to despair. If they have complained to the Diet at different times of the unjust and inhuman treatment received, what else could they do? If the debates were long and keen, and the opposition to their just demands bitter, who was the cause, — they or their adversaries? Do they not, as citizens of our country, breathe the same air? Do they not share our burdens, and should they not enjoy the same civil and religious liberty as we? Are these imperial resolutions opposed to the principles of the Church of Rome? how much more terrible is it to wage war with the first principles of Christianity and universal love! Instead of modifying these resolutions, let us at once enter them on our statute books as an irrevocable law."

Matters appeared favorable for the Protestants, when a motion for adjournment to another Diet was made, and lost. The Archbishop of Kálotsch then objected to the resolutions altogether, as involving a decision on ecclesiastical dogmata; besides, the emperor had not been unanimously appointed umpire. The archbishop was reminded that majority, not unanimity, constitutes a valid decision, upon which the cardinal and imperial primate handed in the protest of the

clergy. He was tauntingly asked why this protest came so late ; why not when it was still uncertain towards which side the emperor should incline. If his decision had been adverse to the Protestants, would the Romish clergy then have protested against the principle ?

The notary took down the protest, but it was resolved that it should never be made the ground of future proceedings, and was declared *for ever null and void*.

After such a struggle were the resolutions entered among the laws of the land ; the Protestants rejoiced over what had been done, for the sharpest weapon had been wrenched out of the hand of the foe. Instead of having their privileges dependent on the will of the monarch, they were now protected by the laws of the land.*

The preamble of the seventeen articles set forth, that on the principles of common justice, for the sake of peace, and in accordance with the Treaty of Linz, the following articles shall be for all time coming the fixed law of the land : —

Art. I. Declared that Hungarians of every rank and station, wherever they resided, should have the free use of churches, schools, bells, and burying-grounds, and should under no pretence be molested in the exercise of their religion.

Art. II. Gave liberty to build churches and to hold worship where any one thought fit ; only with the condition that the size and expense of the new church should be in some proportion to the means of the county, and the number of individuals of that confession residing in the district. The county courts should decide in such cases. So soon as it is shown that a church or school is necessary, the landowner must give the necessary ground. The Roman Catholics,

* Out of the five hundred and forty-three members of the Diet, four hundred and fifty-nine voted for the Protestants, and eighty-four for the priests. In the assembly, were seventy-eight Roman Catholic clergy who had votes.

however, are not bound to contribute to the building of Protestant churches, and *vice versâ*.

Art. III. No one, whether tradesman or not, shall be bound to observe any religious ceremony, contrary to the dictates of his conscience.

Art. IV. Referred to the synods and judicatures, and decreed that a synod could be held, or a consistory be appointed, where the ecclesiastical authorities thought fit; only, that notice should previously be given to the king, of every general assembly of the whole Church, and a royal commissioner should be present at all these meetings, not as president, but simply as visitor. The resolutions of this general synod must first be countersigned by the king, before they are binding in law.

Art. V. Declared that the Protestants had not only the right to retain their own schools, but also to found new ones where they choose; only, in case of founding new colleges and high schools, the royal consent must first be obtained. Subject to royal approbation, they may appoint professors and teachers, and prescribe courses of study as they choose. Students shall not be prevented from studying at foreign universities, and enjoying the bursaries connected with such universities. The Protestants have the liberty of printing their own religious books, only nothing is to be introduced tending to throw contempt on the Church of Rome.

Art. VI. Declared that the Roman Catholic priests can have no further claim on the Protestants for dues or fees.

Art. VII. Gave liberty to the clergy of every denomination to visit the members of their own churches; to visit the sick and condemned criminals; only they should not deliver public addresses on such occasions.

Art. VIII. His creed shall not exclude any one from civil offices.

Art. IX. The clause "by the Holy Virgin, holy and elect of God," should be omitted from the official oath of all Protestants.

Art. X. Declared that under no pretence whatever should funds devoted to the support of Protestant churches, schools, hospitals, orphans' houses, or colleges, be taken from them or from their control. All similar foundations which have been unjustly taken from the Protestants during past reigns should be immediately restored. The king should, however, have an opportunity of seeing that these funds are devoted to purposes according to the wish of the donors.

Art. XI. Each party shall have the right to decide respecting marriages and divorces among their own members. The marriage of first cousins may be permitted among the Protestants without special license from the king.

Art. XII. While the Protestants have now for all time coming freedom of religious exercise, and perfect liberty to build and to hold, in all places, churches, schools, and manse; to prevent disturbance of the peace, actual possession shall for the present be a sufficient title to such buildings on both sides. Whichever party shall in future attempt to take possession of a building devoted to religious purposes, at present in the hands of either party, shall forfeit and pay the legal fine of six hundred Hungarian florins.*

Art. XIII. As the principles of the Roman Catholic Church forbid any member of that Church passing over to another communion, it is decreed that all such cases shall be laid before the king, and any Protestant attempting to persuade a Roman Catholic to forsake his Church and join the Protestants shall be subject to a heavy fine.

Art. XIV. These privileges extend only to the Protestants of Hungary, consequently the Protestants of Dalmatia, Slavonia, and Croatia, shall have no right to *purchase* immovable property, nor to hold any civil office.† If, however, the

* Act XIV. of the year 1647.

† And such is the case to this day. If a Protestant sells his house or land to a Roman Catholic, he may do so; but if a Roman Catholic sells his property to a Protestant, the sale is held to be illegal. The Protestants may,

Protestants in these countries can prove that they *once possessed* certain houses and lands, they may apply to the courts of law to have them restored. The seven villages in the lower part of Slavonia, occupied partly by Lutherans, partly by Calvinists, shall have free exercise of their religion; it shall also be allowable for strangers who are Protestants to settle there, and assist in the mills and factories, yet they may not purchase houses, nor rent any property *belonging to the nobility*.

Art. XV. In mixed marriages, if the father is a Roman Catholic, all the children shall be educated in that faith; if, however, the father be a Protestant, he shall only have the right to educate his *sons* in his own confession.

Art. XVI. All mixed marriages to be solemnized by the Roman Catholic clergy.

Art. XVII. To avoid scandal, the Protestant shall be obliged outwardly to observe all the Roman Catholic holidays; they may do what they choose, if without noise, in their own houses; no master, however, dares prevent his Roman Catholic servants from attending the public ceremonies of their Church.

Besides the spirit manifested in these articles, the king showed his sense of justice and regard for the well-being of his Protestant subjects by cheerfully allowing them to hold their general synod.

On the 14th of September, 1791, the representatives of the four hundred and thirty-four Lutheran Churches met in Pesth, and were presided over by the worthy Baron Ladislaus Pronay. On the same day the representatives of the Reformed Church met at Ofen, and chose for their president Count Joseph Teleky. In consequence of a proposition of the Reformed Church to that effect, a mixed commission of members of

therefore, retain among themselves such houses and lands as they possess, but shall not be able to acquire more.

both Churches was nominated, to digest as speedily as possible some plan by which, without interfering with doctrines, a certain unity of action and harmony should take place in the form of worship, marriages, schools, church revenues, and ecclesiastical discipline.

The friendly feeling of the sister churches appeared well at the beginning, but soon vanished when the commission handed in its report.

The lay and clerical members had good ground of quarrel in the question, whether a pastor should have a right to sit with a layman in the president's chair, and also respecting the rights of the pastor in church courts. The clergy of both confessions had ground of quarrel in the dispute about their confession. The tact of the president, and a letter from that distinguished hero Prince Josias of Coburg, brought matters more to some degree of quiet. It was now resolved, that a general consistory for both Churches should meet twice a year at Pesth. A sum of thirty-four thousand two hundred and fifty florins, for the expenses, was in a few minutes subscribed by the wealthier members of the synod, and on the 14th of October, the minutes of synod were closed, and sent by a deputation to be laid before the king for his approbation.

The synod also appointed a deputation to wait on the cardinal-primate, in the name of the members of their Church, to take a final leave of him. The cause was, that this prelate had been frequently inviting the more distinguished members of the synod to dinner; and they thought in this way to show him a mark of respect. The primate had, however, been actuated by other motives than those of Hungarian hospitality, for he had in the mean time prepared the way for preventing the recognition of the acts of the synod.*

While these acts were still unrecognized, to the great distress of his Protestant subjects, death suddenly called away

* See Fessler, Vol. X. p. 651.

this great and good emperor. He had, two days before his decease, received a magnificent embassy from the Turkish emperor, and on the 28th of February, 1792, he was seized with a violent inflammation, which carried him away. His motto had been, "A king's treasure lies in the hearts of his subjects"; and these words described the spirit by which he was animated.

FRANCIS I., 1792 – 1835.

CHAPTER VII.

PART FIRST, FROM 1792 TO 1800.

IF we examine the state of the law at this time, in reference to the relation between the Protestant Church, and on the one side the State, on the other the Roman Catholic Church, there was much room left for anxiety and fear. And yet, all that Leopold could, with any just regard to the political state of the country, give the Protestants, they had received. They hoped, in the course of time, to receive a recognition of their former state of perfect equality with the Roman Catholics; and they also hoped, by the recognition and approval of the acts of the synod, to have a new life imparted to their ecclesiastical movements. This hope was not extinguished by the death of their beloved king, when they heard his son, Francis I., at his coronation in Ofen, on the 6th of June, 1792, declare to the States, which approached him with the fullest confidence, "That this generous nation never would have cause to repent the confidence placed in him; never would he be behind in giving evidence of mutual confidence."

This promise was in a few days glaringly trampled on by the executive, for the censorship was enforced in such a manner as made the 15th article of the years 1791 – 92 a dead letter; and the power of the censor was now as rigidly enforced as under Maria Theresa.

Still worse was, however, yet in store. The viceregal or-

der of the 25th of September, 1792, was published, and a whole sea of evils broke over the Protestant Church.

By this edict, which was in direct opposition to the laws of the last Diet, the priests were justified in morally compelling the Protestant party in mixed marriages to give up the right to the education of the children ; and the practice of removing children in such cases from the influence of the parents was formally and openly approved. It was reckoned a crime to take a child which ought thus to be educated in connection with the Church of Rome into a Protestant house of worship, or to give it Protestant books. The Protestant clergy were required to turn Roman Catholics out of their churches, and even *the suspicion* that Protestants were tampering with the faith of the Roman Catholic, was to be regarded as evidence against them.

The cruelties of the French Revolution gave the Roman party an opportunity of representing their Church as the only bulwark against anarchy. According to them, the Reformation was the cause of all the evils in France. They accordingly spared no pains to bring matters back to the state in which they were previous to Joseph's days. The king was often absent, and the palatine seldom attended the sittings of the viceregal court, and there was then little to prevent them trying the schemes with the law of 1791-92, which had been so successful with those of 1608 and 1647.

They took the opportunity of the king's absence to publish the decree of the 25th of September. But a storm of indignation burst from the counties, with a declaration that the right of making new laws is vested with the Diet and the king ; and that the country cannot be governed by edicts directly opposed to the laws of the land ; such a decree, they said, could only emanate from some evil counsellors around the throne.

With equal firmness did the Protestants of both Churches hand in a protest through Alexander Pronay and Count Te-

leky, on the 7th of January, 1793, to the king himself. They received the most satisfactory assurances from his Majesty, who informed them that the edict had been published without his knowledge, and that he would inquire into the matter.

The report of the viceregal court of Hungary stated, in reply to the king's inquiries, that these edicts respecting mixed marriages and proselytism, were necessary as an explanation of the 26th article, which was not sufficiently precise on these points.

The Protestants declared that, by the first words of the 26th article, all the laws made against the Protestants, from the time of the Peace of Vienna, were repealed; and now appeared a new edict on the 28th of January, cancelling the spurious "*royal* mandate" of the 25th of September, and directing all the authorities to act according to the plain meaning of the 26th article. Many causes prevented the Protestants from obtaining much benefit from this new decree. In a few years the priests had gained a most unbounded influence over the civil authorities, and scarce a single point of all the privileges which Leopold II. had guaranteed them now remained over.

When the king now resolved on holding a Diet, in 1796, the Protestants hastened to have their complaints prepared to lay before the assembly.

On the 1st of February, the Protestant deputies met at Pesth, those of the Reformed Church at the house of Count Roday, and the Lutherans with Privy Counsellor Tehanyi. The complaints were here examined, and on the following day the two commissions met together at the house of the obergespan, Count Peter Valagh, where a report and petition were agreed on to the king. So soon as the report was ready, it was forwarded to Vienna, with directions to the agents to defer its presentation till after the acts of the synod of September and October, 1791, had been confirmed.*

* They expected every day to receive this ratification.

In consequence of this unfortunate resolution, the agents were hampered in their operations, being obliged to wait for the confirmation of the acts of the general synod, while the priests were going on and becoming bolder in their persecutions. It was not till July, 1799, that the complaint and petition, occupying sixty sheets, was handed to the emperor and circulated among the members of the Diet. A few extracts will show us the miserable state of the Protestants at that time, and it was not often that the emperor's motto, "*Justitia regnorum fundamentum*," was able to protect them.

After making grateful mention of Joseph and Leopold, the petitioners explain that it was their desire not to add to the cares which the troublous times had laid on the king's heart, which made them bear their sorrows so long; but they entertain the hope that so soon as the facts of their case are laid before his Majesty, he will immediately grant relief.

They complain,—

That the Bishop of Erlau and other priests speak of the Protestants of both confessions as heretics. In the schools the children are taught to call the Reformation "the rage of Lutheran and Calvinistic heresy, and the fanaticism of revolution." It is therefore evident that the bishops look on the Protestants as men whom they have sworn to annihilate, and on the profession of the Protestant religion as a crime.

That, in Ofen and Pesth, Protestant tradesmen have been prevented from establishing themselves in business for five, or indeed for ten years, under the pretence that the trade is overstocked, while Roman Catholic workmen have had no difficulty thrown in their way.

That the Bishop of Erlau had taken three orphan Protestant children out of Harsamy, in the county of Borsad, contrary to the wish of their parents, to make them Catholics. Two of the children had run away, but the third, being too weak to follow, was brought back, and illegally detained. In vain do we appeal to the executive for protection. Their

regulations to our disadvantage are carried out to the letter, even when contrary to law; but when they even wish to do us justice, they are prevented by the influence of the priests. We are therefore in a worse position than the Jews, whose children are at least not taken from them.*

That the Protestants in Tornau are refused a grave in the common burying-ground, although Joseph had made the most definite arrangements on this head, in 1788. The magistracy at Raab had refused burial in their graveyard to Protestants from Revfalu. The priest of Nyck had refused to allow the body of the landowner, Ladislaus Pagor, to be buried in the very ground which he had given for that purpose from his estate; and it was only after four days' struggling that the funeral was allowed to take place.

That the pastor of Batisfalva, on going to Teplitz, in the county of Zips, to bury a woman, took the opportunity of addressing the women that were assembled, on the merits of the work of the Lord Jesus as embraced by faith, as the only ground of salvation, and he was interrupted by a Roman Catholic priest, who asserted that out of the pale of the Roman Catholic Church there was no salvation, and threatening at the same time that if the pastor came out again to preach there, he should be arrested. Other pastors were driven away by the priests after they had begun the funeral service.

That in the valley of Puchow, in Trentshin, many Roman Catholics had, under the reign of Joseph II., obtained leave in due course to join the Protestant Church, and had since then strictly adhered to it. Since 1792, however, they and their children are exposed to every sort of trial. They had sent a petition to the king, but as they were not able to pay the stamp duty on their petition, it was not presented.†

* This passage is said to have provoked the higher clergy, and their creatures at court, to great rage.

† The stamp duty was one florin and three-fourths for each petition; as this petition was signed, however, by many of the peasantry, the court demanded this sum for each name attached to it.

While the case of these poor people was still undecided, they were driven by force to attend mass, and on resisting were thrown into chains ; so that, when the young monarch heard the story, he cried, " Will that country not give over its madness ? Who is here to blame ? The chancellor shall this very day have orders to have this stopped." *

Widows fled with their daughters to Vienna to escape persecution. The priests went from house to house, and informed where young men were to be found who could serve in the army. Many promised to join the Church of Rome, and were then not bound to serve. Some who were already enlisted obtained their freedom again through the influence of the priests, when their affianced bride promised to join the Church of Rome. Examples were to be seen in Luca.

In the county Barainy, many of the filial churches were separated from the principal church ; and, in addition to other evils, the pastor was then often so far reduced that he was obliged to support himself by farming.

In Bartfeld and elsewhere the Protestants had been obliged to buy ground on which to build church and schools, though the law had strictly ordered that the ground should be given free. In other places the greatest delay took place in the preliminary investigation of the claims.

The magistracy of Bartfeld compelled the Protestants to assist in building a house for the priest, and the landowner, Gabriel Gapy, whipped his tenantry for refusing to do so. When a complaint was made, he excused himself by saying it was reckoned to them instead of work on the roads.

Many examples were given of unjust taxes levied from Protestants because of their religion ; of mothers compelled to present themselves before the priest to be church-ed ; office-bearers were taken to the Roman Catholic church, there to

* Letter of the Protestant agent at Vienna, Stephen Yitkowsky, to Peter Valagh, the general inspector, dated Vienna, 27th of January, 1793. — Original.

be sworn; miners had money deducted from their wages to pay for wax candles for Mary and the saints; Protestant tradesmen were sent out of Raab, and Roman Catholics were allowed to remain and work. Children playing in the churchyard had broken the nose of an image in the church with a stone, and for this the Protestants must pay forty florins, for which the priest gave them a receipt.

The title "Right Reverend," as attached to the names of the Protestant superintendents, was erased out of the county books at Saros. In some parishes, licenses were demanded from the Roman Catholic bishops, to enable the Protestants to get married, contrary to the clear letter of the law. The Protestants should have their own censors, but now a royal censor was placed over them. The Protestants should have had assistance from the county funds for building and repairing their churches, according to law; but they sometimes obtained nothing, at other times very little, while the Roman Catholic priests often obtained more annually than the amount of the entire taxes paid by the Roman Catholics of the parish.

	Taxes paid by Roman Catholics.	Paid for the support of Roman Catholic Religion.
In Schemnitz,	3371 Florins.	4823 Florins.
" Bakabanya,	681 "	713 "
" Kasmark,	943 "	2186 "
" Libethanya,	111 "	376 "

In Debrécsin, the Roman Catholics paid taxes amounting to one thousand four hundred and eighty-six florins, and the Reformed, fifty-two thousand and twenty-seven florins; but the Roman Catholic professors received of this money seven hundred and sixty-six florins, and the Protestant professors only nine hundred and six florins.

In Torok, St. Nicolas, the Roman Catholics numbered three hundred, and the Protestants six hundred inhabitants, but at the military conscription the Protestants were obliged to furnish four times as many soldiers as the Roman Catholics.

The priests demanded baptismal dues from the parents of children baptized in the Protestant Church, and for any acts which they compelled Protestants to receive at their hands they charged a higher fee than Roman Catholics were obliged to pay.

In Hunsdorf, a soldier's wife was taken very ill on the march, and the priest insisted on administering the communion. She refused to accept it, and on the following day, while quite unconscious, the priest forced the wafer into her mouth. After a few days the patient recovered a little, and sent for the Protestant pastor, but on hearing the circumstances, he dared not interfere ; and the poor woman died in a few days in great distress of mind, and was buried according to the rites of the Roman Catholic Church.

The aged widow of Stephen Berzewitz, for nearly a century a zealous Protestant, asked in vain for a Protestant pastor to visit her on her death-bed. Her nephew brought the priest, and, against her will, the wafer was thrust into her mouth.*

Innumerable cases had occurred in which Protestants were excluded from office ; if admitted, were obliged to swear by the Holy Virgin and the Saints ; Protestant funds, as in Yanos, in Gömör county, taken from them and handed to the Roman Catholics ; mixed marriages solemnized without consulting the Protestant pastor.

In Valencye, when a pastor removed to another county, the landowner took possession of his manse, and surrendered the key only when compelled by the highest courts of the land.

* She was then regarded as being *made* Catholic. The petitioners expressed their fear that it would one day go so far as in the case of Caspar Dubroway, whose body was, by a sentence of the county court of Trentshin, taken out of the earth and burned, because the wafer which was put into the mouth of the dying man to make him a Catholic had fallen out. This sentence was confirmed by the Superior Court of Hungary, on the 14th of September, 1727.

Those who wished to join the Protestant Church were subjected to incredible annoyances. The law said that the priest should have six weeks to instruct those intending to leave the Church, and, if he in that time could not persuade them to change their resolution, they might then be publicly received into the Protestant Church.

Catharine Fessmaier and Catharine Grinya, however, after attending the priest twice a day for three weeks, without manifesting any inclination to remain in the Church of Rome, were then dismissed, and, by the assistance of the magistrate, who gave in a false certificate, they were detained six years before they could obtain leave to shake off the ceremonies of a Church which they abhorred.

In the village Papkessi, in Wesprim, Paul Harvath, with his wife, were accused by the archdeacons of an intention to leave the Church of Rome. On the 4th of February, 1794, he appeared before the county court, pleaded guilty to the charge, and asked leave to enter on his "six weeks' instruction." The county court decided not to grant his petition, because the court presumed that it was only laziness and dislike to the ceremonies which induced him to make the request. His infant children were now taken from him and taken to the vicar. On the 21st of July he presented his petition to the king, stating that he could not worship God in a church filled with images, and begged to be allowed the "six weeks' instruction." The petition came as usual to the viceregal court of Hungary, and now an investigation was instituted "whether the expression respecting the worshipping of images was his own." Harvath declared that he had dictated the words, and expressed the determination to abide by the petition. The court ordered that he should be instructed *respecting the honor due to images*. Harvath obeyed, and went to the bishop. The bishop refused to instruct him, and sent him to the vicar; the vicar had no time to attend to him, and sent him to a parish priest, from whom he received a book

"on the worship of saints," and after reading it, he declared his opinions not to be altered. The priest told him that this instruction did not at all warrant him in leaving his Church, upon which he once more petitioned the king in January, 1795, but nothing further came from it, than an order not to allow him and other Catholics to leave their Church. In 1797 the matter still stood in the same way.

In the same manner were Stephen Stigeti and his wife detained upwards of six years, before they obtained what the law of the land declared to be their right, after they had given six weeks' notice.

In the county Beregh, the judge, Bornemissa, directed two men to be soundly flogged, because they persevered in their determination to leave the Greek Church. The names of the men so treated, were George Fajoh and Andrew Metzoe.

Martin Holoma had become Protestant, and the priest of Csekbryswa in Neogräd invited the son to his house, kept him several days, and promised him money if he would turn back. Martin came to bring away his son, but the priest directed an official to give him twelve strokes with a stick and send him home. The Protestants begged that this priest might be punished.

The annoyances which parents had to endure for the sake of their children, made them glad to emigrate to other districts to obtain peace.

The daughter of a Protestant widow, named Catharine Sputs, had in her twentieth year, contrary to the wish of the mother, publicly declared that she was willing to marry Joseph Kowacs, a Roman Catholic youth. After some time she repented what she had done, and, for the sake of breaking off the connection, removed to relatives residing in another county. The priest, now, on his own responsibility, had her brought back by a company of dragoons, and kept her *in his own house* till she became a Roman Catholic. When he had brought matters thus far, he went a step further, and, con-

trary to the girl's own wish, and contrary to the wish of her mother, he married her to the young man.

The daughter of the superior judge, Thomas Titany, wished to escape from her father's house, and place herself under other protection, and she found in the parish priest the willing accomplice of her flight; for, representing her as having become Roman Catholic, he claimed, in the name of the Church, the right of removing her from her Protestant parents. The king expressed his extreme dissatisfaction with the proceeding, and the Protestants took the opportunity of requesting him to issue a resolution by which not only that individual case should be regulated, but also the whole country might be protected from similar occurrences.

In the mixed marriages, if the mother was Protestant, she had no claim on any of the children; if the father, however, belonged to the Protestant Church, he might demand the right of educating *his sons* in his own faith. The priests knew, however, that by a little well-timed zeal in these cases, they had the best chance of advancement, and they therefore seldom lost an opportunity of at least attempting to persuade or compel the father in such cases to waive his right. The means employed to gain their end were never too scrupulously chosen. If the bridegroom could not read, he was generally directed to sign the paper with "his mark," and was informed that this paper made up a part of the marriage ceremony. In the course of time it turned out that the paper had been a surrender of his paternal right of the education of his sons in the Protestant faith. One John Puckla was seized on the street by order of the priest of Hunsdorf, and led away to prison, for having neglected to observe a contract thus signed; and it was only after he was in the prison, that he learned for the first time that he had signed such a paper.*

* As a specimen of the contents of such papers, we select one case out of the records of the county of Thurotz. It appears from the legal evidence

In the case of illegitimate children, the Protestants petitioned that they might be left in the care of their mother, and be educated in her Church, except in cases where at baptism the father publicly acknowledges the child.

Notwithstanding that the Protestants were bound by law, only in so far to observe the holidays as not to disturb the Roman Catholics, or prevent them from enjoying their religious exercises on those days, — that is, though the law was only negatively binding, — yet they were often compelled by the priests to take a positive part in the observance of saints' days.

Though the king had, in 1793, given a full and satisfactory explanation of the meaning of the law respecting holidays, and had informed all the authorities that the Protestants were not bound further than merely that they should not disturb their Roman Catholic neighbors; yet cases occurred of persons being summoned before the magistrates, and fined, for cutting grass for their cattle on such days.

Some of the bishops, such as he of Erlau, had published the royal edict, requiring the Protestants to abstain from noisy and public labors on those days; but they had forgotten to publish the other edict declaring in how far the Protestants were not bound by them.

presented there, that a butcher, named Diera, had signed a paper previous to his marriage, declaring, "that though he would not change his own religion, yet he hereby surrendered all his children to the Church, out of which is no salvation. And if he should even attempt to instruct any one of his children in the Lutheran heresy, he hereby binds himself to pay to the parish priest of St. Mihaly, for each such child, the sum of five hundred florins, or sit a year in prison, and receive one hundred lashes. Further, for every child which, on attaining its seventh year, neglected confession to the priest, he should pay one hundred dollars. For every time that he detained his wife from attending mass, he should pay twelve florins, or receive twenty-four lashes, and he hereby surrendered all right of complaint or appeal against this punishment." It is quite clear that a man in a sober state would scarcely have signed such a paper, and far less a man who declared *that he was resolved not to change his religion.*

This memorable petition closed with the request that the king would not delay the remedy, under the plea of gaining time to examine the individual cases, but that he would take the Protestant Church under his protection, and afford her shelter from the crying injustice of her enemies.

CHAPTER VIII.

A GLANCE AT THE INWARD LIFE OF THE CHURCH IN
HUNGARY, 1792-1800.

BEFORE accompanying the Church further in her contests with outward foes, let us take a glance at her own inward state during the first years of the reign of Francis I.

The libertine spirit which had shown itself in France, was every day spreading among the masses in Hungary also. Life and property were becoming more and more insecure. Especially in the county of Heves, matters were so far gone, that the authorities applied to the clergy, requesting them to instruct their people in their duty as citizens, and, on account of the times, to omit all the dry orthodox or the polemical doctrines which had hitherto chiefly occupied their time.*

But many of the Protestant clergy were themselves in a very unsatisfactory state. The religious and civil liberty which the Protestants had just obtained was not in all cases wisely employed. There were so many new churches, that it was impossible to obtain educated men to become pastors, and many who had scarcely even a good common education, were appointed to the pastoral office. Among these were many blinded zealots, and men devoid of true faith, but who stood so much the higher in their own esteem. These men soon quarrelled with their congregations, with their school-masters, with the neighboring priests, and with the author-

* County laws of Pyula, 10th of September, 1795.

ities, and from their ignorance generally put themselves in the wrong.

In the schools, matters were not much better. In the whole kingdom was not a single institution for training schoolmasters; and the consequence was, that it was generally youths of sixteen to eighteen years of age who were appointed to this responsible office, and who looked on it merely as a stepping-stone to something else. Many of these young men were devoid of fixed religious principle, and, as might be expected, knew little of the philosophy of education. Besides, it was only the children of very poor parents who became schoolmasters; those who had worldly means strove to attain to the honor of the pastoral office.

In addition to all these evils, was still one more. Some of the school-inspectors, or of the elders of the churches who happened to be men of property, thought themselves freed from the necessity of consulting the wishes of pastor or schoolmaster, or church, but took the liberty of carrying out their own uncontrolled wish. An example of this we find in Paul Moskavitsh, who, without consulting the superintendent of the district beyond the Danube, or any of the deputies of the churches, with the assistance of a few pastors who were thoroughly devoted to him, held a visitation, and made such alterations in the churches as he himself thought fit. Such men sometimes did good, by at once removing crying grievances; but the consequence was a long-continued bitter feeling on the part of the properly constituted ecclesiastical authorities. The government was much to blame, that the acts of the Synod of 1791 had never been confirmed; and as a substitute, it was found necessary in some counties, as Neogräd, to draw up a special code of discipline, as a provisional basis of church government, till the acts of the synod should have been ratified. These provisional codes were, however, not sufficient for all cases, and, still worse they interfered with that unity of spirit and of action which

the synod had striven to introduce. Many of the sub-districts refused to pay their share of the general expenses, and some of the filial churches separated from the parish churches.

The Reformed Church has something more satisfactory to record respecting this period.

The college at Papa was founded about this time, in the year 1797, and from all sides great sacrifices were made for the sake of rendering it efficient.

It was also about this time, and chiefly by the efforts of Count Grady, that the Reformed Church of Pesth was formed, notwithstanding the difficulties which were encountered in obtaining ground and the legal concession. The four superintendents brought considerable sums together, and in the year 1800 the church was fully organized. Liberal was the support which was sent to the Gymnasium of Vasarhely at the request of the professors; for five hundred young men had just come from Saros Patar to study, and many of them were in very needy circumstances; besides, the buildings were in much need of repair.

Not less important was the new edition of the Bible which the chancellor, Count Teleky, had got prepared in Utrecht, and when it had succeeded in crossing the frontier, was handed over to the four Reformed superintendents, to be sold in their diocese at a very low price.*

There were at this time many meetings in larger and smaller ecclesiastical circles; but unfortunately, at these meetings, there was more said about recruits for the army, and about the payment of the clergy, than about the inward life of the Church. The king was obliged to join the army in person to watch over the movements of Napoleon; and

* The superintendent on the Danube received one thousand nine hundred and seventy-five copies, whence we may infer that the edition was eight thousand. At that time a Hungarian Bible cost four florins, though now, thanks to the Bible Society, it costs only one.

we find in one of these synodical meetings, that a day of special prayer was appointed for seeking a blessing on the royal army, and praying for protection for the person of the sovereign.

CHAPTER IX.

Fruitless Petitions of the Protestants. — John Arban imprisoned. — The Command to keep Roman Catholics out of the Protestant Churches. — Confiscation of London Bibles. — Little Warfare of the Priests. — A Deputation to Vienna. — The Palatine Joseph's Audience in Vienna. — Metternich and the Ministry.

WITH the death of the Primate Cardinal Bathyáni, the hopes of the Protestants became greater; they lost no time, on the return of the emperor from the camp, in laying their case before him. Though the deputy at Vienna had renewed their petitions in 1803, 1804, and 1806, still pretexts were found to leave them without relief.

In the year 1802, we find a man named John Arban, imprisoned, because his mother, having been a member of the Reformed Church, had joined the Church of Rome, and he refused to accompany her. When he petitioned the king for redress, his request was refused, under the pretence that he had been a Catholic, and had turned without the usual forms.

The case came back to be tried, and he was condemned to four weeks' close confinement, "*for his obstinacy and indifference to the claims of the Church.*" *

In 1804, a new order appeared, requiring the Protestant pastors on no account to suffer a Roman Catholic to be present at their services. The cause of this decree was, that very many conversions were taking place in Zemplin, and as

* While in prison, he was taken under the "six weeks' instruction" by priest Baloghi, but, as the priest soon died, his certificate was not received. In 1810 this poor man offered himself again for instruction, that he might have leave to join the Reformed Church; but then, and in 1811 and 1814, his petition was rejected under peculiarly aggravated circumstances.

the law forbade any one, under heavy penalties, "inducing or *encouraging a Roman Catholic to leave his Church*, the priests thought they could give the law such an interpretation, and thus change the Protestant clergy into Papal bodyguards, to prevent the Roman Catholics from even hearing the Gospel.

The superintendents of both churches held a meeting in Pesth respecting this order, and prepared a representation to the king, stating, that, as Gospel ministers, they were bound to "preach the Gospel to every creature," and could not therefore obey this edict. If the Roman Catholics must be kept away from Protestant churches, the king must contrive some other plan of doing so, and not lay the obligation on the pastors to exclude them. It was at the same time resolved to draw up a list of the grievances since 1793, which had as yet not been healed, and present them to the king with the expectation of justice.

In the midst of the tumults of war this representation was disregarded; and in 1806, a new edict appeared, directing that all whom the priests claimed as members of their Church, and who had been married by Protestant pastors, should be once more married by the priest.

Some of the counties now took up the cause of the Protestants with warmth. On the 16th of December, 1806, the authorities of Thurutz sent such a representation on the subject, that they called down on themselves the royal displeasure. Other counties brought forward authentic evidence that the edict was contrary to the Roman Catholic Church. It was all in vain. The edict was even after a few years renewed.

The systematic plan for reducing the numbers of the Protestants appeared now in shape of paternal care for the education of the children, which meant that the youth should be sent to Roman Catholic schools.*

* The Protestants had been working already for two years at a plan for

This was the severest cut of all ; for the Protestants had fancied themselves in this respect so fortified by the clear letter of the law, that no attack, even of Rome's heaviest artillery, could reach them. The executive power, however, acted as if the whole matter were settled, and demanded merely from the Protestants, within twelve months, an expression of their readiness to send their children to the Roman Catholic schools. The eight superintendents met and resolved that a general council or mixed commission should be held at Pesth, to devise means of escape from the threatened evil ; but, before that meeting could be held, a prohibition was issued, and they were forbidden to discuss the matter any further.

The next blow was the confiscation of seven hundred Bibles of the British and Foreign Bible Society. The palatine had written to the magistracy of Presburg, and especially to the vicegespan or deputy-lieutenant, Mailath, directing him to ascertain from the professors in what relation they stood to the British and Foreign Bible Society, how many Bibles they had obtained, in whose hands these were at that time, and how much money they had in their hands for the Bible cause. The professors were obliged to send all their letters and books for inspection, hoping that their Bibles would soon be restored.

While this was going on, the priests were not slow in carrying forward their guerilla warfare. They continued, under one pretence or other, to bring the Protestants to the payment of their dues. In Michelsdorf and Mattherz, the oppression of the priests had been very heavy, and the appeals so fruitless, that the Protestants wrote to the inspector-general, — " After thirteen years of patient endurance, under incredible oppression and expense, and after trying many plans to obtain

the improvement of their schools, and this makes the steps of the government the more extraordinary.

redress, we find ourselves as far as ever from obtaining what the clear letter of the law guarantees as our right.

These circumstances induced the councillor and district-inspector, Bersewitz, to write his book, entitled *The Present State of the Protestants in Hungary*.* He had good reasons for writing. He was not only urged to it by friends, but he had also learned by experience that there were Jesuits in long and in short coats, who were trying at court to misrepresent the Protestants. It was not only said that all Protestants are *ipso facto* rebels, but, also, that the Hungarian Protestants were so in a special manner. It was added that they had even altered their symbolical books; and that was very true, for, if they had retained the expressions, "the Babylonian Harlot," "Antichrist," and the other names applied to Rome, they would never have obtained leave to print their Confession of Faith.

Only one remedy remained open, and even that afforded little hope. The Protestants were ready, however, to grasp even at a straw, and accordingly a deputation was sent to Vienna to the imperial throne.

A resolution had already been passed, in the year 1816, that two deputies from the sister Churches should remain constantly at Vienna till such time as they succeeded in obtaining an audience of the emperor. They should also try to influence the ministry to prevent such men being appointed judges in religious matters as were themselves a party concerned in the dispute; but that the spirit of the Treaty of Linz should in this respect fully be carried out. The great European transactions of the time, however, prevented anything being done in this case till the year 1817.

In April, a deputation, consisting of Privy-Councillor Peter Balogh, general inspector of the Lutheran Church, and Count

* Nachrichten über den jetzigen Zustand der Evangelischen in Ungarn. Leipzig, 1822.

Ladislaus Teleky, of the Reformed Church, proceeded to Vienna. They considered it, however, prudent to inform the palatine of their journey and its objects, and to attempt to gain his influence on their side. They accordingly waited on him, and represented how the 26th article of the year 1791-92 was habitually disregarded almost in every point; how in many respects the Protestants were worse situated now than under Maria Theresa; how children were literally stolen from their parents by priestly influence, and sent to distant counties; and that many parents were reduced to beggary by the steps which they had been obliged to take to regain their own offspring. Though individuals had from their infancy been notoriously members of an evangelical church, still, if the priest asserted the contrary, this assertion gave him almost unlimited control over the parties concerned. The difficulties thrown in the way of those who wished to join the Protestant Church were so great as to render the step in most cases impossible. Those who announced their intention of doing so were frequently subjected to corporal punishment, *because, it was said, they obstinately resisted the will of the supreme rulers.** The deputation complained further, that Protestants were very seldom admitted to civil offices; that to accept of Bibles from the British and Foreign Bible Society had been reckoned a crime; and that to this day the acts of the Synod were, to the great detriment of the Protestant Church, not yet confirmed by the emperor.

The deputation stated these and many other grievances with firmness, but at the same time with becoming respect; and the palatine, having heard their story in silence, promised to use his influence in their favor. The deputation took their leave with the request that the palatine would not suffer

* Not of the *Supreme Ruler*, for it was taken for granted that no man had the right of private judgment, but must implicitly cringe to Rome and her creatures.

out of the one kingdom two to arise, namely, a Protestant and a Roman Catholic State.

Arrived in Vienna, the deputation had little difficulty in being introduced to the emperor, who received them with all possible civility. They congratulated him on his success and glory in the late wars; expressed the desire of the Protestants that his throne might long be firmly established, and then proceeded to open their case. They had never, they said, once imagined that the emperor had any part in the injustice which they were obliged to suffer, but they would simply request that the jurisdiction in their case should be taken out of the hands of those who were at the same time accusers and judges, and that the emperor would be pleased to order that the spirit of the Treaty of Linz be in all points carried out.

The emperor replied that he did not hate any one on account of his religion, if he only adhered firmly to the principles which he professed; but he neither could nor would tolerate sectarians. He esteemed the Protestants of Germany, but in Hungary they were driving the Roman Catholics out of all the civil offices.*

The deputation brought forward documents showing that in the Hungarian chamber, among all the office-bearers, was only one Protestant secretary; in the viceregal court were twenty-five councillors, of whom only one was Protestant; of the twenty-two judges of the septemviral table, only four, and of all the judges of the district table, only three, were Protestants; of the fifty-three lieutenants and deputy-lieutenants of counties, all but five were Roman Catholics.

"We observe," remarked the emperor, "that the Protestants prefer always having their affairs settled by the German

* One sees how the priests had misinformed the emperor for the sake of blackening the Protestants.

ministers, and perhaps they are more impartial. Among the Hungarians are very worthy men, but they like to make the throne yield." The deputation took the opportunity of requesting to have the acts of the Synod confirmed.

In reference to the confiscation of the Bibles, the emperor remarked that too much reading in these books was dangerous to the stability of the state. "The Protestants of both confessions in Germany don't believe anything. Wherefore, the leading men, as they find no comfort in their own system, are turning back to the Church of Rome."

The deputation remarked that they had no knowledge of such a state of things; besides, infidelity is not a fruit of Protestantism, but of the corrupt natural state of man. In France, and even Italy, were hosts of infidels, and no one ascribed this to the working of the Church of Rome, but to the natural heart.

The conversation now turned on political and family matters, and the deputation were dismissed with the impression that the emperor really wished to see justice done.

It was some days before the deputation could be admitted to see the Chancellor Metternich; but when the appointed time came, they saluted him as the prince who had the chief merits of the glorious Peace. They then pointed out the bearing of that Peace on the Protestants of Hungary, and declared that justice never could be done so long as the same parties were accusers and judges. They laid stress on the fact that, while the sons of the Protestants were out of all proportion the majority in the army, and in the labors for the defence of the country,* yet in the enjoyment of the state offices,† they were represented only in the ratio of *one to two hundred*.

* The lower nobility are chiefly Protestant, and in the time of Napoleon, they were obliged to take arms.

† None but noblemen were admissible to these offices.

The deputation went on to show how the children of mixed marriages were taken by force from their parents, and removed to distant counties ; how the fact of a person's grandfather having been a Roman Catholic, was made a pretext for summoning him, involving him in heavy expense ; and, if already married, he was compelled to be married again by the priest, — which, they said, was contrary to the canons of the Roman Catholic Church, and in former periods was quite unknown.

Prince Metternich replied that he could assure them, on his honor, that persecution or intolerance towards those who dissented from the Church of Rome was neither the wish of his Majesty nor did it lie in the character of the government. He acknowledged the advantages of Protestantism, and especially that it was much more advantageous to the rulers than Popery, which is still maintaining a State within a State. He acknowledged, that the Protestants in Hungary were suffering great injustice ; but it was exceedingly difficult to find a remedy, for the royal decrees met with so many obstacles, that they did not always produce the effect which was intended. He remarked that though this was not his special department, yet he would not fail to urge on his Majesty the necessity of seeing justice done to the Protestants.

The deputation left this powerful minister with high hopes, and proceeded to wait on the others who had influence over the affairs of the Protestants. Each one tried to shift the blame from himself, and made promises for the future ; but the deputation laid little stress on the smooth words of hope.*

* Report of the privy councillor Peter Balogh, MS.; Gen. Conv. Archives, Balogh, Fasc. XII. No. 106.

CHAPTER X.

The Inner Life of the Church. — Attempts to Improve the State of the Schools. — The Famine. — Legacies. — Support of the Preachers. — Ecclesiastical Authority and Order decay. — Attempts to get up a School Fund and a Periodical. — The Bible Society. — Preparations for the Reformation Jubilee.

A NEW and vigorous effort was now made in favor of the schools. The general inspector, Peter Balogh, issued an energetic appeal to the four Lutheran superintendents, urging them to greater diligence in enforcing more attention to the study of the Hungarian language and of theology. And the appeal was not made in vain.

Hitherto the troubles from without had prevented the Protestants carrying out any fixed system of education in all their schools, but a commission was now given by the four Lutheran superintendents to the professors Schwardtner and Shadius, of Pesth, to prepare a plan which might be expected to meet the approbation of the two sister Churches.

When these men, however, had fulfilled their commission, there arose peculiar difficulties in the practical working. Some wished to have a gymnasium in every seniorate; others thought it enough to have one in every district.* Some wished to have universities established; others only academies for both Churches united; and these to be erected at Presburg and Debrécsin. Some wished the members of the Greek Church to be also admitted. Some wished the German, and some the Hungarian language to be chiefly used.

* Including several of the former.

Want of harmony, and a regard for private and local interests, prevented the Protestants coming to any very favorable results, till an intimation was given that the government was about to require them to adopt the system at present in force in the Roman Catholic schools.

A time of severe trial soon broke loose on Hungary, and the schools experienced the withering blast. The government had been so much exhausted by the war, that it was obliged to become bankrupt; and the value of the circulating money was at once diminished by sixty per cent. The panic made the actual loss still greater. Then came the terrible years of famine, which are still remembered with horror. The salaries of the professors remaining nominally the same, were actually only two fifths of their former value, and the great number of poor students who required to be supported by benevolent contributions, not only suffered the greatest hardships, but lay on the professors as a burden too great to be borne.

But as the dark night brings out the stars, and as troublous times make us acquainted with new friends, so did these weeks and months of trial bring out an amount of generosity and a depth of interest before unknown. Rich legacies came pouring in. One from Baron Calisius amounted to forty thousand florins, which was designed for the academy at Presburg. The general inspector, also, in addition to his own liberal donations, wrote to many of the wealthy families in the land, to the superintendents and seniors, appealing for assistance; and the result was, that many thousands of florins were subscribed, and provisions were sent to the schools for the support of the young men.

Many others followed the noble example of the inspector. Some paid off old debts which lay heavy on the schools; others provided bursaries; others sent money or food; till it was soon found that what the bankruptcy of the state had

cost them was nearly all made up again by the private contributions of their own members.*

The country pastors were in a much better state than the professors and pastors in towns. In the country it was customary to pay the pastor in fruits and produce of the farm. As the quantity was fixed, and the price so enormously high, many country pastors turned it to good account for the benefit of their families.

It was, however, subject of deep regret that the Church was still sinking in its value as a Church of Christ. Many congregations neglected to follow the acts of the Synod, which would have given unity and life to their operations; forgetting that the circumstance of the emperor not having confirmed these acts, did not make them lose their innate worth or their *ecclesiastical* authority, whatever influence this omission might have on those out of the pale of the Church. It was forgotten that the acts were ecclesiastically binding, though not in the eye of the civil power.

Strange suicidal acts of insubordination occurred. A lay sub-inspector, John Fejas, held a visitation of the district without consulting the senior or any of the clergy, made arrangements to please himself, and even accused one of the pastors before the Roman Catholic bishop. The whole district was excited, and the war between the clergy and the wealthy laity waxed very fierce.

In the year 1807, a nobleman in Szanto horsewhipped the pastor in the open streets, in broad daylight. A few years later, another pastor, John Suska, of Udvarnor, was treated in a similar way, because he had brought to light a system of dishonesty by which the nobleman had been appropriating to himself some of the income of the Protestant Church.

* In the famine of 1806, there were one hundred and three students supported at Presburg. The income for the year was two thousand one hundred and ninety florins, and the expense five thousand three hundred and forty-five. The deficit was afterwards paid by the voluntary contributions of friends.

In the Lutheran Church some of the pastors were forcibly expelled without any reason assigned ; and in the Reformed Church such matters occurred, though less frequently, for the congregation had the right of dismissing the pastor on every new year's day if he did not comply with their wishes. Many a worthy man was thus hampered in his work, or made to cringe before his wealthy parishioners.

If each nobleman and wealthy or influential person did as he chose in the different parishes, it naturally follows that the decrees of the constituted authorities met with little respect ; and it was in vain to attempt to introduce unity of action. A general meeting was held at Pesth, in 1811, to consult about a new school fund ; but the diocese beyond the Danube not only did not appear, but even sent in to the government its own views on the subject, as if it were a separate independent body.

In the public discussions there was no mutual confidence, no deference to the wishes of others, and therefore no good results came out of them.

Why should we record the plans proposed for establishing a theological institution at Vienna, or a printing-press, or a periodical for the interests of the whole Church ? These schemes all perished for want of union.

Many congregations refused to pay the sums for which they were morally bound. They ceased to send in their contributions for the support of the publicly recognized agents of the Church.

In the midst of all these confusions and heart-burnings, a happy period was approaching, which, if properly improved, should heal all dissension, and renew the vigor of the whole Church. The jubilee of the Reformation was approaching. What a summons to self-examination lay in that word ! — to call up the memories of the Lord's goodness in the past ; to unite the scattered and disjointed members of the Church ; in one word, to renew the spiritual union of the members with one another, and with the Great Head, Jesus Christ.

As a preparation for the jubilee, the British and Foreign Bible Society sent a new grant of five hundred Hungarian Bibles, and, besides, a very considerable sum of money for printing a new edition of a Slavonian New Testament.

Both of the sister Churches were called on to make exertions to celebrate the jubilee in a worthy manner. It was the proper time for gathering the papers which threw light on the state of the Church in times past, and for setting up a monument to say, "Hitherto hath the Lord helped us."

CHAPTER XI.

FROM THE REFORMATION JUBILEE TO THE DEATH OF
FRANCIS I.

The Jubilee celebrated only by the Lutherans. — Fruits. — Students forbidden to study abroad. — Register of Mixed Marriages. — Children separated from their Parents. — Deputation to Vienna. — Persecution of the Protestants in Puchow. — The King in Hungary. — Report of Ladislaus Teleky.

THE festival of the Reformation Jubilee was observed with great solemnity by the Lutheran Church. The Reformed Church, with a few exceptions, took no part in the celebration. It was ordered by the consistory that all outward manifestations of joy, such as feasting, dancing, firing of cannons, should be avoided, and that the ceremony should consist in a public service held in all the churches on the 2d of November.

A few of the free cities neglected these orders, and, to the great grief of the common people, introduced the national guards, who, with drums and trumpets, commemorated the day in their own peculiar manner. It was a mere imitation of Popish festivals; but, with these few exceptions, all went on quietly and in order. Many Roman Catholics were drawn by curiosity into the churches, and went away with a favorable impression. Still more manifest were the fruits of this festival on the Protestants in their more diligent attendance on the means of grace and increased liberality towards the support of the schools and churches. Large contributions flowed in, and especially for the schools in Eperjes, Schem-

nitz, and Modern, liberal premiums were granted, and prizes offered for competition.*

The students of theology were from this time subjected to a strict examination; and to prepare them for it every exertion was made that they might avail themselves of the bursaries established for Hungarian students at Wittenburg and Leipzig, and afterwards transferred to Halle.† The bursaries in the native institutions were put on a better footing, and made to yield much more revenue.

It was the general inspector, Peter Balogh, who was the soul of all these undertakings; and it pleased the Lord to call him away by death in the year 1818, and Alexander Pronay was now elected to fill his place. The expectations which had been entertained of the new inspector were not disappointed, and under his direction the religious education of the students at the universities and gymnasia was made a prominent part of the duty of the Church. In Pesth a Hungarian pastor was appointed to superintend this work alone.

The Protestant prisoners now obtained leave to be visited by their own pastors, and some filial churches obtained an independent position, being permitted to call a pastor and a schoolmaster.‡

Since the tricentenary anniversary of the Reformation, the priests had again been busy at court, and a command came to the district beyond the Danube, in November, 1818, requiring them to furnish a return of the number of Bibles they had received from London, and the prices at which they had been sold.

* A prize of one hundred florins was given for the best biography of Matthew Bell; another for an essay on Pulpit Eloquence; and two thousand florins were invested by Samuel Liedemann, for the purpose of premiums for the best specimens of writing.

† The sums sunk for this purpose at Halle are said at present to amount to thirteen thousand one hundred and twenty-five dollars, and the interest, four hundred and forty-eight dollars yearly, can be divided. There is also a Hungarian library.

‡ Tyrnau obtained this right in 1818.

Under the pretence of the great insubordination prevalent at Göttingen and Jena, the students were forbidden to proceed to these universities; and, shortly after, all the German universities were forbidden.*

The professors in the native universities were required twice a year to furnish very accurate information of everything connected with the students and the study.

New difficulties were thrown in the way of those who wished to join the Protestant Church, and the judges acted in such cases as if no law existed on the subject.

A very strict registry was required of all mixed marriages; illegitimate children were all declared to belong to the Church of Rome; and where any danger was feared from the influence of a Protestant parent or relative, the children were removed from parental control, and put into safe hands. If the Protestant parents, or one of them, joined the Church of Rome, the children were compelled to follow.

Simply at the request of the bishop, the police authorities of Késmark brought the student Andrew Szokol away from his friends, and placed him in the Roman Catholic college at Leutshaw. Little inquiry was made when a bishop claimed any one as belonging to the Church of Rome, for the authorities supposed that the Church — that is, the bishop — must be infallible.

The priest of Lubla refused to allow a pastor to attend at the funeral of the wife of George Munster, and declared that the burial of a Protestant was a desecration of holy ground.

Count Esterházy wrote on one occasion, that inasmuch as the religion of the Protestants is accursed of God, the least possible favor should be shown to it, and that he did not think that the Edict of Toleration should extend to the deceased.

Under these circumstances, a new deputation proceeded to Vienna; but they found the air about the court so oppressive, that they came away sadly dispirited.

* Intimatum, November, 1818, and 4th of May, 1819.

One of the deputation wrote home : "Those who receive us with the greatest kindness are Metternich, Boldacia, and Esterházy. It is well that this last, in virtue of his office, has some influence, for many here would wish once more to introduce the Spanish Inquisition." The emperor received the deputation very kindly on the 23d of September, but informed them that just because he loved his subjects he could not allow them to study at foreign universities. Besides, the Protestants in the German provinces of the empire gave him far more pleasure than the Hungarians, who were constantly teasing him.

No wonder, said the deputation, that you are always called on to interfere ; but the endless attacks of our adversaries are the reason of this, and we are not to blame when we apply to our king for protection. The establishment of a theological institution, said the emperor, must wait till Germany return to proper order ; and, instead of sanctioning the decrees of the Protestant synod, he thought it better of himself to draw up a constitution for the Protestant Church.

The complaints of the Protestants he thought must surely be over-colored, and besides, if they had the power, they would themselves be intolerant.

The deputation was not very successful, for the oppression went on and increased in such a way as to set aside the very laws of nature.

In the valley of Puchow incredible suffering had to be endured ; but, for the sake of explaining the circumstances, we must take a retrospective view.

At the time of Francis Rákotzy, who was the proprietor of this valley, the inhabitants were favorably disposed towards the Protestant Church ; when, however, Count Forgács bought the property, the tenants were obliged to join the Church of Rome. At heart they still continued to be Protestants, and carefully inculcated their views on their children, so that, when the Edict of Toleration appeared, many of them mi-

grated to Moravia and Austria, where they enjoyed their privileges in peace. After some time those who remained behind wished also publicly to profess their faith, but the consequence was that many of them were thrown into prison. They appealed to Joseph, on the 15th of July, 1785, for protection, and he not only granted them leave to take the necessary steps for joining the Protestant Church, but he also sent them a priest expressly on purpose. This priest tried his powers in vain to detain them in the Church of Rome, and when he found that he was unsuccessful, he left them with the remark that, as they were so hardened, they might believe what they chose.

This poor people lived there till 1792, in the quiet enjoyment of their privileges as Protestants, so that the priests could not deny that their children had been all baptized, their marriages solemnized, and their dead buried, by Protestant pastors. With that fatal decree of the viceregal court in 1792 began their miseries.

A petition was sent to Vienna, and obtained immediate attention, but the stamp-duties for having the royal decision registered and brought into force were so heavy that the people were not able to pay. They remained, therefore, in this state of uncertainty till 1816, when an order from the viceregal court, dated 2d of January, No. 475, sent a deputation down to Loaz to investigate matters. The deputation came on the 13th of April, in the middle of the spring labor, and summoned the inhabitants of the whole valley of Puchow to meet at Loaz, where they were detained two days.

On the 15th of April a Roman Catholic member of the deputation announced the result of the investigation: "The children of all mixed marriages should be handed over without delay to the priest for instruction in the Roman Catholic religion, and the children which had in 1811 been put under the care of the priest, but who had run away, must be found out and brought back for instruction."

Fifty couples who had, it seemed, been married by Protestant pastors, though one of the parties was claimed as a member of the Church of Rome, were immediately separated from the rest, declared to be illegally married, ordered to proceed to the Roman Catholic church for confession, and on that same afternoon they were to be married. Some expressed unwillingness to submit, and were thrown into chains. The rest were driven by force to the church, and remarried. On the 16th the deputation departed, without, however, having obtained a single child ; and, on leaving, they handed the Protestant pastor a list of three hundred and seventy inhabitants of the valley whom he should not suffer to enter his church.

On the 18th of May, the county bailiff,* accompanied by the priest, proceeded to make the seizure of the children. After long searching, they found four ; but the others, like chickens before a hawk, had hidden themselves in the fastnesses of the wood.

On the 20th, this officer returned, contrary to law, in the night, with the Popish schoolmaster and some soldiers, and searched the dwelling with the utmost exactness. One man was imprisoned for not surrendering his relatives ; two women died of premature confinement arising from the shock ; and two children, having lost their way in the wood, died of hunger. This was the fruit of this Roman Catholic mission.

An appeal to the palatine Joseph brought them some relief ; as the report which appeared in consequence of this investigation recommended milder measures, because, it was said, even Maria Theresa had ordered *that no corporal punishment should be inflicted on account of their religion*.

It was said, however, that these men were not punished for being Protestants, but for their disobedience in refusing to become Roman Catholics, and this brought the matter once

* An officer of the lowest order, generally poor and uneducated, whose business it was to execute the decrees of the county court.

more before the county court. When the whole story was told, one of the judges, the Roman Catholic Count Pallfy, exclaimed, "*If any one would attempt to take my children from me, I would shoot him dead.*" And now the affair took another turn, so that in 1824 it was officially announced that the affair of Puchow might be regarded as settled.

When the king came to Hungary, in 1822, a Protestant deputation waited on him, and was kindly received. "I am a great friend of law and order," said the emperor, "but I must tell you plainly what your enemies say of you Protestants. You are charged with overbearing and tyrannical conduct in counties where you have the majority, and with secret plots when you find yourselves in the minority." The deputation replied that, in the face of such wealth as the antagonist party possessed, all their secret plans at elections would be of no avail; and if election riots occurred, and the people became excited, the Protestants had not the blame, for they were very far from approving of such conduct.

The deputation complained of want of a fair representation in the public offices. In the chancellor's office there was only one Protestant secretary; in the viceregal court only one Protestant member; in the chamber, neither the one nor the other.

The king presumed that this must arise either from the Protestants not becoming candidates for the office, or not possessing the requisite qualifications.*

The deputation told some of the tales of suffering endured by the Protestants, under priests who wished to force them to turn, and the king listened with deep emotion, exclaiming that he was desperately opposed to all such proceedings, "for all proselytism is despicable." He wished that every one

* All elections should take place without prejudice to the Roman Catholic religion; accordingly, in the list sent to the king for his confirmation there generally stood one or more able Roman Catholics, and only the most incapable Protestants found a place there.

should abide by his own Church, but he very much disapproved of the prevailing indifference to religion to be found in Germany.

The deputation complained further that their enemies were both interested parties and judges in religious matters; and the emperor, acknowledging this to be the case, expressed surprise that such a state of things did not occur in Austria, but only in Hungary, where one might have expected them to be perfectly safe under the protection of their constitution.

The unbounded power and wealth of the bishops, said the deputation, makes the constitution of no avail.

After a lengthened audience, the deputation was dismissed, with the assurance that on his return to Vienna the emperor would attend to all their grievances, and have them redressed. The deputation came away with high hopes that their work was not in vain.

CHAPTER XII.

The Theological Institution at Vienna. — Prohibition of Bible Importation. —
The Roman Catholic National Synod. — Hohenegger's *Signs of the Times*.
— Diet of 1825 – 27.

IN vain do we search for any of the good fruits which Count Ladislaus Teleky anticipated from his interview with the emperor.

The one real benefit conferred on the Church at this time was the opening of the Theological Institution at Vienna, in 1821. The director and professors were paid and appointed by the emperor through the Vienna consistory. It was soon endowed with thirty scholarships of fifty, eighty, and one hundred florins, and was intended to be the place for educating all the Protestant clergy of the empire.

Many of the Transylvanian students still succeeded in obtaining passports to foreign universities, and many of the students of the Reformed Church in Hungary, who did not understand the German language, still continued to content themselves with the opportunities furnished at home ; yet in the course of time the scholarships proved powerful attractions, and in the year 1829, between fifty and sixty candidates offered themselves for these emoluments. The students were directed to take a triennial course, and Professor Wehnrich succeeded in bringing the institution to some considerable repute.

About this time the Protestant superintendent and senior were relieved from the expense of postages ; but it was also ordered that no Roman Catholic child should be taken into a Protestant school, and that no Bibles, especially no Slavonian Bibles, should be imported from the Berlin Bible Society.

Several petty annoyances were inflicted on the Protestants, but the spirit manifested at the Roman Catholic Synod, and the offensive language there used, tended to widen the breach. The Protestant censors were once more paralyzed in their efforts by the superior influence of the imperial censors, and the students were sometimes compelled to attend extra sessions at college.

New attacks were made on the Protestants. The priest of Kroisbach, near Eedenberg, published a book, entitled *The Signs of the Times*, in which, by extracts from German rationalists, he attempted to show that the Protestant Church had long since forsaken her confession, and become revolutionary; that the Protestants, therefore, had forfeited all claims on royal favor or legal toleration. The cause of writing the book was spleen. The author, Hohenegger, had applied for a situation as priest in Eedenberg, and, blaming the Protestants for not supporting him with sufficient warmth, he took this way of being avenged. The Protestants did not take the trouble of replying.

A Diet was summoned to Presburg in 1825, and here the Protestants did their utmost to obtain relief, but the majority was too heavy against them.

The sympathy, however, which in the lower house had been manifested towards the Protestants, induced the government to be more gentle and more just in their dealings. This was especially the case when Adam Pewitzky became chancellor for Hungary. This man had in an incredibly short time raised himself from an inferior post, and had gained the complete confidence of his sovereign, so that he now obtained one of the highest offices in the land.

There was now little difficulty in obtaining leave to join the Roman Catholic Church, especially if the individual wishing to change his religion was a nobleman or wealthy.

The chancellor applied in 1829 to many of the most distinguished Protestants of Hungary, to know whether the acts

of the Synod of 1792 were not now, by the length of time which had intervened, become unsuitable. A singular unanimity manifested itself in the replies. The chancellor seemed to think of an ecclesiastical constitution being better manufactured at Vienna, but the Protestants urged that the men who had authority in the Church had the sole right of deciding this matter.

Count Ladislaus Teleky demanded that the laws should be literally enforced, and that, in difficult cases, his Majesty, assisted by men of honor, should decide ; but that in no case should the Popish priests have any right to interfere in the religious concerns of the Protestants.

He demanded that in no case should unnecessary difficulties be laid in the way of those who wished to change their faith ; that the children should not be taken from their parents ; and that the holy bond of matrimony should not be set at defiance by the priests demanding that parties should be married a second time.

CHAPTER XIII.

The General Archives. — Catechisms and School-Books. — Military Chaplains' Clerical Dress. — The Summer Schools. — The Unauthorized Teachers. — The Diet of 1830. — Pastoral Letters of the Bishops. — Count Butler's Conversion. — Country Churches, their Attachment to the King. — Death of the Emperor. — Universal Mourning.

WHILE we must express our astonishment at the clear views and evangelical principles maintained by the Hungarian magnates, in supporting the outposts of Protestantism, we must not refuse to many of them the honor of equal energy in advancing the inward life of the Church.

A great effort was made to collect all possible information, and to complete the archives of the Church. In consequence of a public appeal, very many valuable papers were sent to the general convent; and some, like the senior of Oedenberg, Gottlieb Gamauf, devoted much time to the classifying of the papers.

It was ordered that no catechism should be printed or used in the parishes without the supervision of the censors appointed by the Church. A new church was opened at Neudorf for the scattered Protestants of the military frontier, and efforts were made to have chaplains appointed for the Protestant soldiers serving in Austria.

After the memorable Diet of 1825–27, by which the meeting of a general ecclesiastical assembly was postponed till March, 1828, steps were taken to communicate with all the Protestant churches, furnishing them with a copy of the school plan originally prepared by Schwerdtner and Shadius, according to the acts of the Synod, and revised by other distinguished men. They were expected, according to the

Presbyterian system, to return a statement of their views, so that a system might be introduced, founded on the wishes of the entire Church.

The religious agents at Vienna were directed to forward an annual statement of all that was occurring in ecclesiastical matters at the court.

The importance of this arrangement may be estimated from the fact, that among three millions of Protestants in Hungary, there was not a single periodical giving ecclesiastical information, and advancing the interests of the Church ; not a single organ by means of which intelligence could be conveyed to the different parishes. The Reformed Church was even worse than the Lutheran, for the four superintendencies had no common centre, but stood independent of each other.

Efforts were made at this time to advance the salaries of the pastors ; for, since the depreciation of the currency by the national bankruptcy, though they received nominally the same amount, still it was not much above one third of the former value. It was, however, a delicate matter ; bitterness and jealousies were the result of the efforts, and the hearts of the people were estranged from their pastors.

A proposal was made that the clergy should have uniformity of dress ; but it was opposed by many of the clergy as a Popish notion. Gottlieb August Wimmer took the lead in this opposition, declaring that uniformity of dress, or a so-called priest's coat, was a poor security for morality.

In Oberschützen, Wimmer had been successful in laying the foundation of a normal seminary for the training of schoolmasters, and an educational institution, which at present continues to prosper far beyond the most sanguine expectations.

The great evil, however, in the schools was, and continues to be, that in the summer, in the whole length and breadth of the land, the schools were as good as closed, and

the teachers did not exert themselves much to increase the attendance. What is, however, to be expected, so long as a single teacher, badly paid, is expected to instruct from a hundred and fifty to two hundred children? The government might introduce a compulsory attendance, but so long as the free movements of a Presbyterian Church are suppressed or regarded as dangerous, little real advancement is to be expected.

At the Diet of 1830-31, the religious grievances did not form a part of the royal message, but in the course of debate they were brought so prominently forward, that a petition was drawn up by the States, and forwarded to the king, requesting him to interfere and regulate the quarrels respecting mixed marriages and proselytism; especially to require the priests to give a certificate to those who had received the necessary instruction.

This petition was of little avail, and as the cholera soon after, in 1833, raged fiercely, and at the same time several riots took place, the bishops took the opportunity of issuing pastoral letters, in which they attack the Protestants, calling them "heretics," and urging to watchfulness against their acts and doctrines. "Liberty of private judgment, and freedom of utterance," said one of the bishops, "cause the overthrow of kingdoms."

Many of the magnates were weary of Rome's chain; but they were prevented by their official position from leaving the Church of their fathers. We find one, however, Count John Buttler, stepping out and joining the Protestants. It was indeed becoming much easier to leave the Church than formerly. Some had finished their "six weeks' instruction" within a year, while it had formerly taken ten to fifteen years to bring them so far.

Another relief to the Protestants consisted in obtaining, in many towns, for church and school purposes, a sum out of the general fund in proportion to the contributions of the Protestants towards the taxes.

The excitement of these times affected the higher classes more than the great mass, and the general system more than the individual parish. In some districts, which were occupied almost exclusively by members of the Reformed Church, much peace and quiet were enjoyed. The people were sincerely attached to their king, and when they heard of his dangerous illness, public worship was held, and the great mass of the people crowded to the churches to join in prayer for his preservation. On the 4th of March, 1835, the king died, leaving his vast kingdom to his son, and bequeathing, in the sixteenth paragraph of his testament, "his love to his dear subjects."

The whole land joined heartily in the mournful ceremonies which followed. Many sermons on his death were published, and the feeling was universal, that whatever injuries the Protestant Church had received, the king had not been involved in the guilt. Surrounded by courtiers under the influence of Rome, he was as little able as was the palatine to carry out his noble resolutions. He had acquired the habit of replying to all petitions from Hungary, that he could not help them, or that he had nothing to do with Hungary.

CHAPTER XIV.

FERDINAND V. — FROM 1835 — 1848.

The Old Ministry. — The Diet of 1836. — The Roman Catholic Deputies. — Pastoral Letter respecting Mixed Marriages. — Payment of "Priests' Dues." — Royal Present to the Pastors of the Valley of Puchow. — Diet of 1840.

WITH the death of the old king the Protestants had expected a change of ministry, but as Metternich remained at the head of the government, all went on as if Francis I. were still alive.

The Protestants strove then quietly to gain influence in their favor by moving the influential members of the government. Between the years 1832 and 1836, many Roman Catholic members of the Diet took a most decided stand in favor of the Protestants; and when the hierarchy were opposing every just appeal, one of them, Eugene Broethy, exclaimed, "I will blow the trumpets, and not cease till the walls of Jericho fall flat"; and when the bishops prevented the good effects of his efforts being felt, he comforted the Protestants with the expression, "The child is not dead, but sleepeth." The Protestants required to watch closely over their privileges, for the Bishop of Rounan positively forbade the solemnization of mixed marriages, remarking that the Protestant party might join the Church of Rome, and there would then be no further difficulty in the way. The Bishop of Grosswardein did not, it is true, go so far, but he required a contract to be signed that all the children should be educated in the Church of Rome.

More than one book made its appearance in 1839, attempt-

ing to hold up the Protestant religion to scorn; and in Presburg, orders were given to the printers not to print the Protestant catechisms, and other confessional books, without special leave from the imperial censor, — although they had their own censor appointed according to law.

In 1838 the superintendent beyond the Danube complained that an order had been sent him from the viceregal court, forbidding the clergy under his care to instruct any children whom they knew, or *ought to know*, belonged to the Church of Rome. New complaints were also brought of the exaction of priests' fees from Protestants, and of "duty days" being also demanded.

The agents at Vienna reported that the pastors and precentors of Laar, Puchow, and Azov, had received from the royal bounty a grant of one hundred florins each, annually, for three years; only that this should form no precedent for time coming. It was, however, at the same time reported that the Bible affair was still unsettled, and that the pastor, Samuel Klein, had still to wait for permission to print his book on the rights and privileges of the Protestants.

From the report of the agent at Vienna for the year ending the 30th of June, 1839, we extract the following statements: —

Of one hundred and three persons who had expressed a desire to become Protestants, only twenty had obtained permission; twelve had still hopes of a favorable answer; seventeen were referred to a mixed commission to have their case examined; twenty-eight were declared to be too young; fourteen were ordered to receive six weeks' instruction in the principles of the Church of Rome; about eight had the decision made to depend on the circumstance, whether, by mixed marriage on the part of their grandfather or great-grandfather, or from any other cause, the Church of Rome could have any claim on them; one was involved in a lawsuit because she wished to bring her two daughters with her; and three were persuaded to turn back to Rome.

The general convent sat in sorrow in 1839, for the report of the agent at Vienna was unfavorable, the prospects were dark, and the general inspector, Alexander Pronay, was removed by death. The state of the Church was earnestly considered, and the two sister Churches approached nearer to each other.

A complaint was forwarded to the king, stating that the bishops were notoriously transgressing the laws of the land, and appeared to wish the old times back. The complaint was not without effect; for the bishops received a reproof, and were informed that the king expected them to keep within the bounds of the law.

This royal resolution, together with the reproof given to the authorities at Presburg, respecting the censorship, and also to the authors of offensive pamphlets, were cheering to the Protestants, as they looked forward with hope to the Diet of 1840-41.

At the Diet, the lower house was already won to their side, but in the upper house the Protestants were busily occupied attempting to open the eyes of the magnates and nobles to the justice of their claim. From the bishops little was expected; but the magnates, as Hungarians, were expected to lend their influence to support the laws of the land.

The interference with Protestant parties wishing to marry Roman Catholics was declared even in the upper house to be illegal, but the bishops resisted the passing of a law which should be retrospective.

In the lower house the debate was conducted with spirit, and the most talented speakers all declared themselves in favor of abolishing the "reverses," or contracts by which children of mixed marriages were bound to the Church of Rome. The abolition was intended to be retrospective; but the two houses did not agree, and at last a petition was presented to the king, requesting him to settle the whole matter by a royal resolution at his earliest convenience.

CHAPTER XV.

REFORMS WITHIN THE CHURCH.

Plan for Church and School Reform. — Protestant Soldiers in Italy. — The General Archives. — Theresa Szirmay's Foundations. — Founding of the Hungarian Church at Pesth. — Peace in the Church. — Attempts at Union.

BEFORE we proceed to the next Diet, which ought to be held after three years, we may glance at the interior arrangements of the churches.

The diocese beyond the Danube, consisting of a hundred and forty-nine parishes, had already drawn up a plan for their churches and schools, and had even made an attempt to have it introduced. The General Synod of the Lutheran Church declared their determination not to delay any longer in having a uniform plan adopted. The plan of the diocese beyond the Danube was submitted to them, and also to the Reformed churches.

Care was taken of the Protestant soldiers in Italy, in so far that the church of Pesth purchased Psalm-books in all three languages, and sent them to Italy.

In 1838, Alexander Pronay had enriched the General Archives with the original copy of the minutes of the Rosenberg Synod. Another valuable document was obtained, by the intercession of the palatine, out of the National Museum, namely, Luther's *will*, which Samuel Nicolas Junkovito, the antiquarian, had purchased in Germany, and left as a legacy to the Protestant Church of Hungary.

The valuable historical manuscripts of Schuleck, pastor of Szobatis, were purchased from his widow. And Theresa

Szirmay made a grant of three thousand florins for the diocese beyond the Danube ; or, if the money was not required for that purpose, to be given to divinity students who were sons of clergymen.

In the year 1839, the Hungarian Lutheran Church at Pesth was founded ; and to this object the superintendency beyond the Danube contributed very liberally. By this generosity they in part wiped away the stain which rested on them, for during some years past they had not been very willing to bear their part in the public burdens.

About this time many bickerings and heartburnings, arising from national differences, were healed, and a spirit of peace and reconciliation seemed to hover over the Church.

With the election of Count Charles Zay as general inspector, a time of great commotion came for the Church, and it is still uncertain whether these movements may be looked on as belonging to the good or evil signs of the times.

The two great ideas which Count Charles Zay zealously maintained, were those of nationality and of union. The German, Slavonian, and Hungarian elements he wished to unite, and to bring the two sister Churches to combine together.

It was in Hungary, where a deep-rooted jealousy and hatred had at all times existed between the Slaven and the Magyars, no easy task to develop his idea, and his impetuous zeal in the cause raised him many and bitter foes, who misrepresented his motives. The Slaven in Hungary would rather unite with their own race in other countries than with the Magyars and Germans in their native land.

Jealousy once awakened is cruel as the grave. New arrangements had been made, encouraging the study of the Magyar language, and the Slavonians saw in this step some great danger brooding over their nationality. It was in their eyes something terrific, that in the gymnasia, in the minutes of Church courts, and in all public Church proceedings, the Magyar language should be adopted.

So far did this disagreement blind the eyes of good men to their duty towards the Church and towards each other, that the gentle and prudent superintendent, Paul Jasophy, forgetting his duty to the superior Church courts, proceeded at the head of a deputation of Slavonian preachers to Vienna, thus giving the court an opportunity of interfering in the interior regulations of the Church.

Stormy debates in the Church courts, violent personal denunciation, commissions of inquiry, and angry passions, were the fruits of the decision of this subject; and it was some years before the passions were allayed.

The idea of the union of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches, as warmly urged by the general inspector, was an equally fertile source of quarrel. In vain was it urged that the dogmata of the two Churches should remain intact, and that no one's conscience should be forced, — that a foundation should merely be laid by which the next generation might approach nearer to each other; still sufficient reasons were found to prevent the scheme from being carried out.*

A new periodical was established in 1842, and in it the most learned men on both sides had an opportunity of expressing their opinions, so that this paper might be regarded as the organ of the proposed union. This paper was edited by Dr. Joseph Székacs of the Lutheran, and Dr. Paul Török of the Reformed, Church in Pesth, and was exposed, not only to the heavy hand of the imperial censor, but also to the constant attacks of the Roman Catholic party. Still it did good service to the cause of religion, for, without laying too much restraint on individual and party views, it placed itself on a Scriptural basis; published the abuses which occurred in ecclesiastical administration; attacked false opinions; gave

* The Popish party threatened, that if a union took place the Protestants could be no longer tolerated, for the law knew only of a "Lutheran and a Reformed Church." If they were united, they ceased to be the one or the other, and had then no further claim on toleration.

important information respecting what was going on at home and abroad; strove to raise a missionary spirit, and to give proper views of the objects and designs of Protestant missions; and up till the year 1848 stood up as the unflinching advocate of the Protestant cause, remaining true to its motto, "The truth in love." The affairs of 1848 prevented this periodical from continuing to appear, and thus seriously affected the best interests of the Church.*

This periodical had insisted on the necessity of holding a grand general synod, for the sake of removing many grievances; and it took deep interest in exposing an evil which had crept into the management of the Reformed Church, by which a species of consistorial dictatorship was restraining the free exercise of their Presbyterian privileges. We do not pause to recount all the questions which were handled with spirit and warmth in this periodical; for we hasten to the Diet of 1843-44, where many a privilege was obtained for the Evangelical Church.

* At present the Hungarian Church has no periodical of its own.

CHAPTER XVI.

DIET OF 1843-44.

Royal Resolutions of 5th of July. — Dissatisfaction of the Protestants and the Bishops. — Debates at the Table of Magnates. — Petition to the Palatine and the Diet. — Wonderful Declaration of the Palatine.

AFTER the Diet of 1839-40, which had discussed the state of the law in reference to mixed marriages and proselytism, there appeared, on the 5th of July, 1843, a royal resolution, declaring that from this time forward all the different confessions should have equal rights and privileges, and at the same time recommending that the education of the children of mixed marriages should be left to the free choice of the parents, as they might choose to agree between themselves.

The royal resolution pleased nobody. The Roman Catholic priests felt themselves insulted by being placed on a level with heretics, and the Protestants knew too well the secret power of the confessional to feel at ease respecting the influence of the Roman Catholic parent in mixed marriages. Both parties were then prepared to reject the resolutions, and the magnates united in proposing to solve the difficulty, by giving the education of the children in all cases to the father.

The primate declared that it was contrary to the principles of the Church of Rome to give a Roman Catholic parent any option in the education of his children. He or she has no right whatever to hand the offspring over to another Church. And still worse, this resolution would compel the Roman Catholic mother to surrender her influence over her own chil-

dren exclusively to a Protestant father. The bishops and higher clergy all joined with the primate; but many of the Roman Catholic magnates had learned to be less suspicious of their Protestant fellow-subjects.

In the course of the debate, the nobleman Lewis Vay charged the Roman Catholic clergy with aiming at being fishers of souls, which they wished to take in their net. The reply was, that in such a case they were not so much to blame as the Protestant missionaries who were travelling through the whole world, and who had even come to Pesth to try by force of money to gain over some Jews to their Church.*

The debate was warm, many of the Roman Catholic nobles resisting to the utmost all increase of the power of the clergy. The Protestants regarded this as a proper time for sending a deputation to the palatine; and, as the time did not allow of a commission being appointed for the purpose at a regular general assembly, Count Zay gathered such Protestants as were present at the Diet, and presented a petition, recounting briefly at the same time the sufferings which the Protestants had endured since 1608.

The palatine replied that he knew all the circumstances,

* The bitterness of the bishop is evident from this groundless charge; for it is well known that the missionaries to the Jews in Pesth required a thorough knowledge of the Gospel, and abundant evidence of change of heart, before they admitted any Jew to baptism. Even then they did not themselves baptize, but handed their catechumens to the pastors of the town to be baptized by them. They never made promises of worldly advantage, as the priests do, to gain any one over to their faith. Learned men came from all parts of the land to consult and to dispute, and no other means were used to gain them than sound doctrine, good example, and prayer. That the Jews knew and appreciated the motives which brought these worthy men from Scotland, was evident from the fact of their school containing at one time nearly three hundred Jewish children. It were greatly to be desired that many similar institutions existed in Hungary, and it is quite incomprehensible how the learned bishop could compare this work with the missions of his own Church. — *Note by the Author.*

and all that the Protestants had endured ; but he would have been glad if this petition had not been presented, for it would probably only add fuel to the flame. He regretted that the royal resolution, which contained everything that the Protestants required, had not been accepted ; but the deputation might depend on it, the government would lose no opportunity of satisfying the just demand of the Protestants, that they might only be kept quiet.

And, indeed, matters appeared sufficiently threatening ; for the priests were becoming more and more bitter, and the liberal-minded magnates were so exasperated against them that the aged archduke was obliged often to interfere and demand greater moderation.

The petition was widely circulated, and we shall here give some extracts : —

“ May it please your Royal Highness, &c. : — It is now fifty-two years since, by the 26th Article of 1791, we received a wreck of our former privileges, which had been guaranteed to us by different solemn treaties. It was but a *wreck* that we received ; for in that aforesaid article, there was not the full recognition of complete equality between the citizens who belonged to different creeds, and without which equality no peace and harmony can be expected.

“ And still, if the terms of that article had been observed, we should not have stood this day as suppliants. The law had scarcely been passed when the executive power in Hungary took steps to have it made fruitless.

“ Our freedom is trampled on, and the religious convictions of our brethren are subjected to arbitrary commands. Foreign powers exercise their subtle influences over our faculties. The efficacy of our schools is destroyed ; our independence is hampered ; we are treated as if our religion were a crime. Promises made to us by the government lie dead on the statute-book, and those who demand their right are treated like rebels. Not one word of the 26th Article of

1791 remains, which has not been construed against our most sacred privileges. It is now the third Diet since 1832, at which our Roman Catholic brethren have stepped out, full of zeal, and have demanded common justice to be done us ; but these thirteen years have brought us little relief ; the laws are still as arbitrary as before ; and any rest or favor which we enjoy is only as a boon which can at any time be recalled.

“ At one Diet the two houses could not agree. At the next, they agreed to recommend measures to the king for our relief, but these have been of no avail. The new insults which we must bear would seem almost incredible in the middle of the nineteenth century, only that the wide world knows that our adversaries place themselves above the law.

“ Our brethren have borne all rather than refuse due submission to the law ; and we, therefore, expect with the more certainty that at this third Diet our hopes shall not be in vain.”

The petition went on to state how the late royal resolution placed the Protestants in many respects in a worse position than before, and closed with the assertion that nothing short of a complete equality and reciprocity between citizens, as such, and independent of their faith, would ever bring peace and harmony to the land.

An appendix to the petition brought out the facts on which these general statements were founded, and presented a mass of evidence in favor of the demands of the evangelical party.

In the Diet the debates became more and more fiery. The magnates separated still farther from the bishops and their party ; and the galleries of the house, which were chiefly occupied by lawyers, drowned the speeches of the Roman Catholic party with torrents of disapprobation. After long debating, the following enactment, as proposed by the lower house, also passed in the upper house, and received the royal sanction : —

ARTICLE III. — *Respecting the State of the Church.* u

In accordance with the principles of the Peace of Vienna, it is hereby enacted that the following explanation and modification of the 26th Article of 1791 shall become a part of the law of the land : —

§ 1. It is hereby declared that those who have been educated till their eighteenth year in the Protestant Church, or, in case of females, to the time of their marriage, even though they should not have attained their eighteenth year, shall not be subjected to any trial on account of their religion. The same privilege shall also be extended to their offspring.

§ 2. Mixed marriages solemnized by Protestant pastors shall from this day forward be accounted legal.

§ 3. This last enactment shall be retrospective so far back as the 15th of March, 1839.

§ 4. The civil registrars are required, immediately on the publication of this law, to have the names of parties so married entered on the public records. Where this has not occurred since 1839, it shall now be attended to, for the sake of securing the rights of the children.

§ 5. Roman Catholics wishing to join the Protestant Church are subject to the following regulation : —

§ 6. The party shall, in the presence of two witnesses, chosen by him or her self, declare his or her intention before the priest to whom he or she has hitherto belonged.

§ 7. From the date of this declaration, four weeks shall be allowed to pass, and, either in the presence of the same, or of other witnesses, chosen also by the party concerned, a declaration of adhesion to the resolution shall be given in to the same priest.

§ 8. A certificate of each declaration shall be demanded from the priest.

§ 9. If the priest, from any reason whatever, refuses the certificate, the two witnesses shall then draw up and sign the necessary document to this effect.

§ 10. These certificates shall be presented to the pastor of that Church which the party wishes to join, and thus is the act complete.*

§ 11. A register of the number of conversions and the names of the parties shall be forwarded half yearly for the king's inspection.

The law was now explicit. No *but*, nor *if*, nor *adhuc*, could any more limit its operations. The wisdom of the 9th section was soon evident, for the priests very seldom gave the necessary certificate, but, on the contrary, treated the applicants with the greatest insolence. The Protestants did not fail to approach the emperor and the palatine with their united thanks for these favors, and requested that the remainder of the grievances might also be removed.†

* It is quite clear that the legislature intended to bring the proselyte only as far as the threshold, for only the Church itself, and not the State, had the right to declare who was fit to be a member of the Church.

† In the case of mixed marriages, the Protestants were still in a worse position than the Roman Catholics; for, if a divorce took place, the Protestant party alone was prevented from marrying again, and all legal processes were conducted before a court of priests.

CHAPTER XVII.

Calling of the Professors to Zay-Ugnacs. — Course of Instruction. — Popish Holidays. — Provision for the Instruction of the Soldiers. — Accusations. — Death of the Palatine. — Foundation of the Protestant Church in Ofen. — Archduchess Maria Dorothea goes to Vienna. — Archduke Stephen as Deputy-Governor. — Diet of 1847 - 48.

As the Protestants now felt themselves somewhat secure from the attacks of the foe without the camp, they turned their attention so much the more earnestly to repairs within the walls of Zion. On the 15th of July, 1845, the general inspector summoned the professors to his seat in Zay-Ugnacs, that they might discuss and modify the course of study. The new plan was published in 1846, and circulated through the churches.

In like manner was the constitution of the Lùtheran Church once more revised, and, in accordance with the Presbyterian forms, and with the constitution of Hungary, submitted to the Church courts in regular gradation, for their opinion. In 1848, this new code came into force, after having received the sanction of the majority of the churches.

The number of Roman Catholic holidays, and the manner of their celebration, being found oppressive to the Protestants, a commission was appointed to draw up a statement of the origin of these holidays, and of the present mode of observance. This commission was directed to report to the General Assembly.

Certificates of conduct and proficiency were required and obtained from students of theology at foreign universities, that the Church might have some means of selecting the proper persons for appointment to office in the Church. It

was resolved to lay the matter by petition before the king and the palatine.

About this time, Pastor Wimmer of Oberschützen published a translation of Dr. Barth's *Church History*, and he was represented at Vienna in such a light, that an order came from the cabinet to have the book examined, and to have Wimmer tried for the offence. The accusation was, that the history was calculated to excite hatred against the Church of Rome. There was good reason to fear that he would be suspended, for his zeal in the distribution of Bibles and Testaments had long been known at head quarters, and had not tended to increase his popularity at court.

Wimmer defended himself with energy, and, partly from the merits of his case, partly, too, from the kindly intercession of the Archduchess Maria Dorothea with her husband the palatine, he was for this time rescued from his perilous situation.

John Dierner, the teacher of the female school at Pesth, was also subjected to a lawsuit for some strong expressions against the Papacy, which occurred in an *Epitome of Church History for the Use of Schools*, published by him. The censor, Matthew Heubner, was also threatened with punishment for remissness in his office ; but the matter was settled by a promise to remove the objectionable parts in the next edition.

The Protestants were not allowed to rest, for some new occasion was still found for developing the old spirit of persecution.

A heavy stroke befell the Protestant Church in the death of the palatine, which took place on the 13th of January, 1847. It was true he had been zealously attached to the Church of Rome, but he had never allowed partisanship to blind him to a sense of justice ; and though the Protestants did not always receive from him what they thought they had a right to demand, yet he never allowed himself to be made

a tool for carrying out the arbitrary measures of a haughty priesthood.

The Archduke Joseph had in his last years manifested much more regard for the Protestant Church than formerly, and this may, perhaps, have arisen from his constant reading of the Scriptures at this period, and from the influence of his dear partner, the Archduchess Maria Dorothea, a princess of the house of Wurtemberg, eminently distinguished by her piety and zeal. It was evident that, as his end approached, he had learned the value of the Word of God, and had learned to rest on the only Saviour of sinners, Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, and to-day, and for ever.

It was through his influence that, in the year 1846, the Protestants in Ofen obtained leave to purchase a house and fit it up for a church, school, and pastor's dwelling.*

This noble prince now rested in the grave of his father; and, contrary to the wish of the archduchess, contrary to the testament of the palatine, and contrary to the original marriage contract, the archduchess was not allowed to reside any where in Hungary, but was required by the governor to take up her residence in Vienna.

The General Assembly of the Protestant Church in Hungary expressed its deep regret and sympathy with the archduchess in a letter of condolence; and it was not a matter of form, but the expression of a deep and bitter sorrow of the nation, on losing one who had been so long as the protecting angel of the Protestant Church.

A similar letter of condolence was written to the Arch-

* The Roman Catholic town council acted here in a manner hitherto unknown in Hungary. They not only gave the house for a very small sum, but furnished also building materials, and encouraged the Roman Catholic fellow-citizens to make a collection in money for the purpose. The noble and generous widow of the palatine, the Archduchess Maria Dorothea, gave twenty thousand florins towards the establishment of the church and school, and the Free Church of Scotland gave nearly four thousand florins, Vienna currency. The collections in the country were very unimportant.

duke Stephen, who now, to the great joy of the nation, was appointed palatine. It was at the Diet of 1847-48, that he was elected, and his election was soon after confirmed by the Emperor Ferdinand. As he was probably the last palatine of Hungary, and as this was probably the last Diet, we may take a closer view of its proceedings, and bid a lingering farewell to the constitution of Hungary.

CHAPTER XVIII.

DIET OF 1847-48.

At this Diet the country at last reached that point towards which she had long been gradually proceeding in the way of legal reform. Every new king had sworn that "Hungary should be governed as an independent kingdom, according to its own constitution, and never be treated as a province of Austria"; and still the arbitrary decrees of the king and of the viceregal court had threatened to make this oath a mere dead letter.

But at this Diet, an independent Hungarian ministry secured the independence of the country, and the name of such men as Count Bathyáni, Count Széchény, Louis Kossuth, and others, awakened the fullest confidence of the nation.

A better representation of the country was introduced; Hungary and Transylvania were united; and the right of holding annual Diets was secured by law. All were now required to bear their share of the public burden; duty, labor, and feudal tasks were allowed to be bought off, as also a compensation allowed for the tithes to the clergy. The law courts were improved, the censorship abolished, and freedom of the press once more introduced.

In reference to ecclesiastical matters, the 20th Article contained the following important paragraphs:—

§ 2. All recognized religious parties have equal rights and complete reciprocity.

§ 3. All the expenses of churches and schools shall be borne by the state, and the ministry shall make such inqui-

ries as shall enable them at the next Diet to bring forward a comprehensive measure on the subject.

§ 4. Without reference to religious opinions, each member of a church recognized by the state has a right to admission into the schools.

§ 5. The soldiers in the army shall have a chaplain of their own confession.

On the 11th of April, 1848, King * Ferdinand V. appointed Bathyáni to be prime minister of Hungary, and gave his sanction to these statutes. The Diet was then adjourned, to meet at Pesth on the 2d of July.

The Hungarians received the news of the appointment of a Hungarian ministry, and of the sanction of the resolutions of the Diet, with unbounded joy.

A circular was issued to the Lutheran churches, calling on them to unite in thankfulness to God, in love to the king, in confidence towards the ministry, and obedience to the laws, without which they could have no true liberty. In all the churches of Hungary prayers were offered for the king, and the people were instructed to take good heed not to abuse the confidence placed in them.

It was, however, discouraging to hear that the king had granted a war and a finance minister only with reluctance ; and that it was probable the appointment would soon again be cancelled. Reports were also spread, and not without foundation, that the Croats were preparing to invade Hungary.

It may readily be conceived that the minister who had charge of the religious matters and the schools had just now no sinecure. He began his work, however, by making choice of able assistants, and then summoned a meeting of the deputies of the churches at Pesth on the 1st of August.

A preparatory meeting of the churches was held to discuss

* The Emperor of Austria is only King of Hungary.

the proposals of the government. Should the pastors become mere servants of the state? Should the schools be taken from under their care? — These were the questions which were warmly discussed. At the General Assembly of the Lutheran Church, pastor Wimmer spoke with all his accustomed energy against the measure, and decried what he called the “Judas money,” — the state endowments of the pastors, as an inducement for them to give up the schools to state inspection.

The discussions were long and stormy; but the result was, that the dangers arising from the proposed plan of an endowment of all clergy by the state, and the separation of the schools from the Church, were brought so prominently forward, that the resolution of the Assembly was as follows: —

“The Evangelical Church requires to have the right of making and executing her own laws; and, on the ground of the Peace of 1608, and the law of 1791, she demands to be still permitted to guide her own schools, to have the election and support of her office-bearers entirely under her own control, subject to the law of the land; and she looks upon this as one of her highest privileges and most solemn trusts.”

There was the more need of this solemn and earnest resolution, as the minister of public instruction had proposed a law relative to the schools, and had it presented for discussion without once asking the opinion of the Church. A protest against this step was handed in, and varied attempts were made to unite the whole of the Protestant Church of Hungary and Transylvania in expressing one and the same opinion. The difference of nationality — the Saxon, the Magyar, and the Slavonian; the difference of faith — Lutheran, Calvinist, Unitarian — made the expression of one united wish a hard affair; and many other subjects were also discussed at the general assemblies.

After the deputies of the different churches had come to an understanding, they had a conference with the minister of

public instruction ; and after asserting the autonomy of the Church, or her right to make and execute her own laws, they expressed a willingness to wait for a final settlement of their claims, till such time as peace should be again restored. At the same time, however, as by the resolution of 1848 the tithes had ceased, and in many places the payments to pastors and schoolmasters were refused, the deputation begged that the loss thus sustained by office-bearers of the Church, through the resolution of the government, should be made good at the public expense.

The minister consented, in so far as the rights of other parties should not be limited, and left it to the Church to decide in what way a million of florins might best be divided among those concerned. He recommended the quantity in each case to be made to depend on the number of persons in connection with the church or school.

To carry out this measure, a standing committee was appointed by each of the three confessions, to be in constant communication with the minister.

This important conference was now brought to a close. The Churches had approached nearer to each other. They had united in an act of self-denial, rejecting Esau's pottage, and retaining their birthright as free and independent Churches. Events showed how prudently they had acted, for dark and gloomy days were coming over the Church and the land.

The danger was very near. The Croats had already broken into Hungary, and the Banus* Jellachich, who had been declared guilty of high treason, was marching towards Pesth. A deputation was sent to Vienna to seek a mediation, but without effect. On the 9th and 10th of September, 1848, many of the citizens were flying from Pesth. On the 21st, the imperial commissioner, Count Lambert, was murdered on the bridge between Pesth and Ofen. Jellachich entered

* Ban or Banus means Governor.

Stuhlweissenburg without opposition, and was solemnly received by the bishop.

Louis Kossuth issued a proclamation, and thousands, armed with scythes and such weapons as the occasion offered, hastened to the Hungarian army.

The palatine had an interview with the Banus Jellachich at the Platten-See, but without effect; but although his office and his oath obliged him to place himself at the head of the Hungarian army under such circumstances, yet, by the command of the king, he was called away from his post. In spite of the king's orders, an engagement took place between the two armies in the neighborhood of Paroyd, and the Hungarians, though inferior in numbers, had an advantage.

Jellachich begged a truce for two days, and made use of the time to march the flank of his army towards Raab and the Austrian frontier. His company of ten thousand men was thus given into the hands of Görgey, who took them prisoners.

The Diet in the mean time declared itself permanent. Louis Kossuth was proclaimed governor of Hungary, and, as such, made extraordinary efforts to save the country. The pastors were ordered to read from all the pulpits a statement of the wrongs and grievances which threatened the land, and, under threats, they were obliged to submit.

Vienna was now besieged and taken by Prince Windischgrätz, and, to the astonishment of all, he now, with a select army, in the middle of a severe winter, hastened down to Hungary. Almost without opposition he took possession of Pesth and Ofen, for the Diet had removed, with all its papers and Archives, to Debrécsin.

We are obliged to take this glance of the political and military transactions, for the sake of explaining the persecutions to which the pastors and schoolmasters were now exposed. The pastors were tried by court-martial for having read Kossuth's proclamation from the pulpit, and were visited

with condign punishment. Many of the leaders of the troops were punished on mere informers' evidence, and without a trial. At the same time that the severest punishment was being inflicted on the pastors for reading proclamations which the temporary authorities had compelled them to read, the Prince Windishgrätz was compelling them to read other documents of a most extraordinary nature with reference to the so-called rebels.

As a matter of course, when the imperial troops were obliged to retire, those who had read the imperial proclamations were, in their turn, regarded as guilty of high treason, and some of them were condemned to be shot.

The clergy complained bitterly that their bishops and superintendents gave them no directions how to act. Some of the bishops issued pastoral letters. The superintendent, Matthew Heubner, did the same ; and though these letters contained nothing against the dynasty, still Heubner was condemned to six years' imprisonment in chains, with hard labor. After he had spent two of the years in his heavy imprisonment, he obtained his freedom by the grace of the young emperor.

His case was not solitary ; for, when the cause of Hungary seemed victorious, many priests and Protestant clergy openly took the part of the conquerors, and zealously supported their cause.

Haynau's approach, the Russian aid, and Görgey's treachery at Világos, prepared a dark and terrible day for all who were thus involved in the war.

The story of Haynau's cruelty preceded him ; and when it was told how he was shooting supposed delinquents without trial, and in such numbers, many who were involved fled from the country. In this way, however, many innocent parties became suspected, and it was no easy matter to find proof of their innocence. In one month after the surrender at Világos, the prisons were filled to suffocation ; and men of high honors, to whom the reigning house in Austria was

much indebted, often pined for months in prison before they could be brought to trial. Many were, after months of confinement, set free, because no charge could be brought against them.

Of the three thousand Protestant pastors in Hungary, there may have been some fifteen condemned to more or less severe punishment ; and yet the commander-in-chief, General Haynau, and the civil governor, Baron Gehringer, published the following edict, under date of 10th of February, 1850, threatening disgrace and annihilation to the Protestant Church in Hungary :—

Directions to the Commanders of the several Military Districts in Hungary.

For the sake of relieving the Protestant Church from the miserable state into which it has been brought by the abuse of power on the part of some of its office-bearers, to serve party purposes, and for the sake of securing to the said Church its rights and privileges, during the continuance of the martial law, I have, after consultation with the civil governor, found it desirable to publish the following regulations :—

§ 1. The offices of general inspector and district inspector in the Lutheran Church, and of curator in the Reformed Church, are to be considered as extinct.

§ 2. Inasmuch as the free election of superintendents to the vacant offices, as also all enactments, are forbidden during the continuance of martial law ; inasmuch as men must be found who will bring the clergy and the people back to a state of submission to constituted authority, the government shall select suitable persons to supply the place of the superintendents, and shall appoint seniors and laymen who possess the confidence of the governor to assist them in their work.

§ 3. These superintendents shall also discharge the duties of district inspectors and curators, and shall convey the wishes of the individual churches to the military commander. For

managing the Church and school fund, they shall, with the advice of the seniors and lay assistants (section 2), give in a report of what they consider to be the best way of managing that fund.

§ 4. By these deliberations, a royal commissioner, appointed by the military governor of the district, shall always be present, and in like manner no local Church court shall be held without the presence of such a commissioner.

§ 5. As the clergy of the Protestant Church are badly paid, and as it is necessary that these temporary officers of the Church, as appointed by section 2, have a position free from worldly care, I shall endeavor to provide for them an endowment from the state.*

§ 6. The new administrators shall enter immediately on their duties, and, at the same time, the functions of the former office-bearers shall cease. Every assistance shall be given by the civil and military authorities to the new office-bearers, in the discharge of their duty.

§ 7. The superintendents who are thus degraded remain, in so far as their conduct in political matters is irreproachable, in the position which they held previous to their appointment to this office.

§ 8. All possible exertions shall be made to have the boundaries of the dioceses made to correspond with the military districts. The superintendents and administrators may be sure of a friendly reception to *every proposal which tends to bind the Protestant Church closer to the state.*

The 9th section appoints the new administrators, and the document closes with requiring them to enter at once on their office by accepting the necessary oath in the presence of the military commanders of the district. A report was required, to state that all this had been complied with, and the document was signed "HAYNAU."

* Each received twenty-four hundred florins annually of Judas money

CONCLUSION.

SORROW, astonishment, and detestation, were the feelings awakened in the minds of the Protestants on the publication of this edict. They knew the extent to which this would soon lead, and they knew the motives which dictated the decree.

The edict was not originally the work of Haynau, but bore evidence of proceeding from the same workshop which for three hundred years had not ceased to forge chains for the Protestant Church in this country.

In spite of the danger attending the step, private meetings were held to discuss the best method of averting the impending evil.* No way, however, appeared open for providing relief.

A few of the clergy then resolved to present a petition to the widow of the palatine, the Archduchess Maria Dorothea, to request her to use her influence with the emperor on behalf of the Church. It was resolved, partly for the sake of keeping the matter quiet, partly for other reasons, not to ask the lay representatives of the Church to join in the petition, and the results showed the prudence of the step.

This was the origin of the address which will be found in Appendix, No. IV., which gives the reader a view of the state of the Church at the present time. The address was signed by upwards of eighty pastors, particularly Slavonians, and

* See the little pamphlet, "The Protestant Church of Hungary during the Continuance of Martial Law," published by Brockhaus. Leipzig. 1850.

presented to her Royal Imperial Highness in the beginning of June. Melting into tears, she promised the Church all possible assistance; and after the emperor had read the paper carefully, he expressed a wish that it might be shown to the minister of public instruction.

The interview with Count Thun, and the influence of the Archduchess Maria Dorothea, brought matters to such a desirable state, that a constitution of the Church, which had already been drawn up and printed, consisting of one hundred and one paragraphs, was set aside. According to this constitution, it was determined to place a council, consisting of nine persons, as a kind of pope, even over the general synods. This council should be nominated for life by the emperor, and should have such fundamental principles and lines of conduct as would soon destroy all evangelical freedom.

The request that the edict of Haynau should be recalled was not granted; and though upwards of ten deputations in succession appeared before the throne, begging for relief in this respect, and urging as reasons, both the state of feeling of the Protestants, and the intrigues at the Panslavonians, yet it was all in vain. Instead of granting relief, the Church was reduced pretty much to the state in which she was under Maria Theresa.

The high schools which could not at once adopt the expressive plans of the government, were declared to be private institutions, and placed accordingly under the inspection of royal visitors; at the same time, the only means of help were cut off, for the Church was prevented from electing the office-bearers who alone could carry out the schemes which the government required.

Frequently were weeks allowed to pass before leave could be obtained to hold an ecclesiastical court, and even then the subjects of discussion were prescribed. The sale of Bibles was once more subjected to limitations; the Bible depositories closed; superintendents were suspended on mere suspi-

cion ; clergy were summoned before the law courts, and punished simply for a faithful discharge of their duty. The censorship was restored with all its evils, and the Roman Catholic Church took up its old persecuting position.

The Lutheran Church was charged with being alone in its opposition to the edict of Haynau ; but if the Reformed Church seemed somewhat indifferent, it was because she had suffered less severely, and because she saw how fruitless assistance would be for the present.

In the year 1851, the Church wished to hold several meetings, and sent deputations to Vienna to state their wishes ; but their meetings were prohibited, and the deputations were refused permission to go to Vienna.*

And the sting of all is, that in the constitution, and in the mouths of the rulers, one constantly hears of " perfect equality of the different confessions ; perfect freedom of faith and conscience ; complete independence of the Church courts within the limits of the law."

Poor Church of Hungary ! torn and bleeding for three hundred years !

Will none of the distinguished men who now surround the throne of our young king listen to a faithful statement of the freedoms and of the constitution now guaranteed by the oath of the king, — by treaties of peace, — by the principles of the Word of God, and by the sacred laws of the land ? Shall the old persecution and intolerance of the dark ages return in the second half of the nineteenth century, — the days which we have described with a bleeding heart, as a warning for all future ages ? Shall the hope be still entertained that the law of God shall cease to visit with divine retribution those who transgress its enactments ?

Shall the time never come when statesmen shall open their eyes to the falsehood of the statement which passes current

* See Appendix, No. IV.

at every Popish court, that the Protestant religion is the cause of revolution? Will the statesmen never learn that, though the Protestants have raised their voice against the Pope, and against tyranny, yet they subscribe with all their heart to the command, "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's?" Is it not the Church of Rome which is subject to that foreign power, which, to gain its own ambitious ends, never hesitated to bathe lands in blood, to cast kings from their rightful thrones, and, in the spirit of arch-rebellion, set up others in their place? Were not Rome and Popish France first in the ranks of the rebels in these last years? and were not the leading Protestant countries completely quiet?

May the Almighty God preserve the house of Hapsburg Lutringin from the snares laid for it by the Jesuits! may the deceitful schemes of these heartless men and their tools be found powerless! May Francis Joseph I., like his illustrious predecessor Joseph II., raise himself above squabbles and mere national strife, and stand as the distributor of justice, of impartial equity to all his subjects! May he so live and reign that history shall delight to gather up such facts from his reign as shall tend to show,—

"That, as king and emperor by the grace of God, he has not only struggled to represent the power, but also the justice and goodness of that Being by whom kings reigns and princes decree justice."

APPENDIX.

I.

LIST OF THE SCHOLARSHIPS AND FOUNDATIONS FOR THE BENEFIT OF HUNGARIAN STUDENTS AT FOR- EIGN UNIVERSITIES.

(Extract presented to a General Assembly in 1836.)

(A.) FOR LUTHERAN STUDENTS.

1. The Pelmis foundation, of 16,000 florins, in the Bank of Vienna, may be applied to any foreign university.
2. In Tübingen, a free table for twelve students of theology, established in 1668.
3. In Tübingen, the Fiffertis foundation, for two Hungarians and two Transylvanians.
4. In Wittenberg, the Kassay foundation of 7,641 florins.
5. Also the Poldis foundation of 2,000 florins.
6. The Emperor Leopold II., in the year 1791, gave 1,000 ducats for the support of two clergymen's sons, the one to study at Leipzig, the other at Wittenberg.
7. In Greifswalde, the gift of Charles XII. for four Hungarians.
8. Also Szirmay's gift of 3,000 florins for the benefit of Hungarian students.
9. In Göttingen, Burgstaller's foundation of 1,500 florins.
10. In Jena and Wittenberg, all Hungarian students are received for eighteen dollars annually.
11. In each of the three universities, Göttingen, Leipzig, and Erlangen, three students have a free table.

12. In Halle, a free table for all Hungarian students who teach two hours each day in the orphan-house.

13. The foundation at Altdorf, for three students, was removed, with the university, to Erlangen.

14. In like manner, three foundations at Helmstadt were removed to three other universities.

15. In the schoolmasters' seminary in Halle, some of the more distinguished students receive, besides free board and lodging, also a small sum of money.

16. In Gröningen, all Hungarian students have free dinner and supper.

(B.) STUDENTS OF THE REFORMED CHURCH ENJOY

1. In Cambridge, three foundations.

2. In Oxford, also three.

3. In Utrecht, the interest of 2,400 florins.

4. In Francker, 1,708 florins annually, to be divided.

5. In Gröningen, all who come have free dinner and supper.

6. In Harderoyk, and

7. In Deventer, two students have board and lodging.

8. In Zürich, three students may receive each 102 florins annually, and 30 florins travelling expenses on leaving.

9. In Berne, four students may receive on their arrival 94 florins for clothes and books, 144 florins annually, and 30 as a viaticum on leaving.

10. In Geneva, two Hungarian students receive each a complete suit of clothes on his arrival, 15 florins per month during his stay, and 5 louis-d'ors, or 52 florins, on leaving.

11. In Basle, two students have free board and lodging.

12. In Heidelberg, one has the same.

13. In Herborn Academy, every student who sings on the streets receives 30 dollars.

14. In Bremen, every Hungarian student has free board and lodging.

15. In Frankfort-on-the-Oder, a free table for ten students.

16. In Halle, in the Reformed Gymnasium, two enjoyed free board and lodging.

17. In the Joachim College in Berlin are said to be two free tables for Hungarian students.

II.

POPULATION OF HUNGARY.

(A.) ACCORDING TO RELIGION.

Roman Catholics,	6,130,188
United Greek Church,	1,322,344
Lutherans,	1,006,282
Reformed Church,	1,846,844
Unitarians,	47,208
Greek Church (not united),	2,283,505
Jews,	244,035
Total,	<u>12,880,406</u>

(B.) ACCORDING TO LANGUAGES.

Hungarian,	4,812,759
Slavonian,	1,687,256
German,	1,273,677
Wallachians,	2,202,542
Croatians,	886,079
Raitzians,	828,365
Shohatzians,	429,868
Wends,	40,864
Russniaks,	442,903
Bulgarians,	12,000
French,	6,150
Greeks,	5,680
Armenians,	3,798
Montenegrians,	2,830
Clementines,	1,600
Jews,	244,035
Total,	<u>12,880,406</u>

III.

PETITION OF THE PROTESTANT CLERGY OF HUNGARY, ASSEMBLED IN 1851, NEAR THE DANUBE, AND ADDRESSED TO THE EMPEROR FRANCIS JOSEPH I.

MOST GRACIOUS SIRE,

Out of the fulness of the heart the mouth speaketh ; and as our heart is full of sorrow and trouble, our lips can give utterance only to painful complaints. We pour out our complaint, however, before your Majesty, believing that your Majesty is called to that high post by Him by whom kings reign and princes decree justice, and who setteth up whomsoever he will. We pour out our complaint with confidence in your Majesty, and with hope ; for we believe that your Majesty both can and will assist us.

We do not ask for ease, for this is not the place of our rest ; nor for outward good, which vanisheth ; but we beg for that liberty of conscience which is denied us by the civil power in Hungary.

The cause of our sufferings is to be found in the edict of His Excellence Baron Haynau, of the 10th of February, 1850, by which the rights of the Protestant Church, which she has enjoyed for three hundred years, are, with one stroke of the pen, annihilated.

Our Reformed Church, in the constitution which has been acknowledged for three hundred years, declares that the apostolical form of Church government is the model which we follow ; and yet here have we seen the day when, by military power, another form of government is forced upon us, as if neither the apostolical pattern nor the experience of three hundred years were sufficient to teach our Church how she ought to be governed. The alleged cause of this edict, however, is a ground of deep sorrow, for it takes for granted, what has not been proved, that the Protestant Church, as such, was deeply involved in the late troubles, and has thus forfeited her rights. We acknowledge that individuals have been borne away by the storm and the stream, — and we beg your Majesty's gracious consideration of their case ; but the Church, as such, has never spoken or acted against the properly constituted authorities. In our ecclesiastical assemblies, which were publicly held, and of which the minutes were always forwarded to our sovereign, it may be seen that we were engaged in building up the walls of Zion, in strengthening the Redeemer's kingdom, and it would be beneath the dignity of our office to stoop to discuss mere political matters. With the minutes of our meetings before the government, when did we ever receive reproof for interfering with political matters ? When individuals and office-bear-

ers of another Church, which is not Protestant, sin against the state, their transgression is not laid on their Church, nor is she compelled to accept of another constitution on that account; wherefore we may well expect that the same measure of justice may be granted to the Evangelical Church.

When we now look at this new constitution, we are deeply concerned; for one part of the Reformation was an escape from the tyranny of the hierarchy, and the remedy was found in establishing a proper balance between the clerical and the lay element in the Church; by this constitution, however, all the power of the Church is placed in the hands of the superintendents and seniors; and if laymen take part, they are appointed by government, and not, as our Church requires, chosen by the people.

The limitation of the power of the bishop was one of the great works of the Reformation, but this newly constituted Church government gives an unlimited power to men chosen by the superintendents, to interpret their principles and to carry out their plans; thus overturning completely our Presbyterian form of Church government.

Further still, the greatest difficulties are laid in our way to prevent us holding our ecclesiastical assemblies; and being thus hampered in our usefulness as a Church of Christ, we cannot develop that activity for comforting the distressed, for recalling the wanderers, and for building up the Church, which our great Master may well expect.

Not only are we deprived of the right of guiding the affairs of the Church, but the schools are also threatened with ruin; for the changes which are taking place are not in accordance with our wishes or the requirements of the time. We have hitherto supported our own educational establishments, and we do not want any endowment from the state, if we must pay the price of surrendering our independence. Another power is making plans and regulations for the schools, and that without due consideration, and without reference to the necessary economy in the present exhausted state of the country. As an evidence of this, we need only refer to the fact that, while no arrangements are as yet made for *elementary* schools, all possible exertions are being made to have the high schools opened. This is like putting the roof on the building while the walls are not yet erected. According to the government plan for the Upper Gymnasia, there are eight classes; there are one hundred and eighty-six lessons weekly appointed; each professor is required to give twenty lessons weekly. Now, ten professors would be more than sufficient for this work, and yet we are required to call and support twelve ordinary professors, notwithstanding that the means of private individuals and also of corporations has been by late circumstances so far

reduced. We are also required to act with such haste, that no time is allowed us for properly estimating our resources. The schools are the principal hope of the Protestant Church, and yet we are not permitted to discuss and consult respecting them according to the Presbyterian form of Church government, which alone we recognize as Scriptural and legal.

Most gracious Emperor ! the Peace of Vienna and of Linz, as also the Treaty of Száthmar, which was guaranteed by the foreign powers of Holland and England, as also the coronation oath of your imperial Majesty's predecessors, have faithfully secured to us freedom of faith and conscience ; and yet our rights are so trampled on, that we must regard all these treaties as empty words.

And we can see no reason why the present "state of siege" or military rule should deprive us of the rights of conscience, for the kingdom of the Lord Jesus cannot suffer violence ; and we here remember the words of your Majesty's illustrious ancestor, Maximilian I. — "To rule over the conscience is to take forcible possession of heaven's citadel" ; and in his letter to General Lazarus Schwendt, he says, "Affairs of the Church can never be settled by the sword." It is also no comfort to us that this is only provisional, for the eternal truth of Christ can never be subjected to the provisional and temporary enactments of man.

We bow with the deepest submission before the throne, begging of your Majesty, —

First, That your Majesty would be graciously pleased to annul the edict of February ; for this edict is like an axe laid to the root of Protestantism, and so long as it remains in force, our feelings must be those of condemned criminals waiting for execution.

Second, That your Majesty would restore us our independence as a Church, and allow us to manage our ecclesiastical affairs in the Presbyterian form, which we regard as apostolical, and, therefore, as the only proper mode of Church government. We lay on the freedom of our Church courts the same stress which John Knox laid on it, when he said, "It is all one whether they take from us the freedom of the Church courts, or deprive us of the Gospel." We enter, then, a solemn protest against all limitation of the freedom of our Presbyterial Church courts, and declare ourselves unable to discharge our duty as a Church, either to God, or to your Majesty, or to our people, till such time as we have liberty fully and freely to exercise our ecclesiastical functions. We do not wish that amount of liberty which your Majesty has granted the Roman Catholic Church, by dispensing her from the imperial *placet* in her ecclesiastical acts ; no, we much rather desire that the government should have an opportunity of seeing how anxiously we strive after everything

which is for the honor of our king, for the good of the state, and for the well-being of the Church. We want freedom only in so far as will allow the representatives of the Protestant Church to carry out their principles.

Third, As we are threatened that if our gymnasia are not in the required form before the close of the present year, — and we have already shown that this is impossible, — we shall not be allowed to regard them as public institutions, and shall have no right to give certificates, but must regard them as mere private academies, — we beg that your Majesty will allow us the necessary time to improve our schools, and also permit us to do so in a legal, ecclesiastical manner.

Fourth, We beg that in cases of difference of opinion between the Church and the government, we may be allowed to place ourselves in immediate intercourse with your Majesty's ministers.

Most gracious Emperor! we Protestants adhere faithfully to the command, "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers"; and the more faithfully we observe the injunction, "Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's," do we demand the right of "rendering unto God the things that are His." We are ready to serve your Majesty with our property and our life, but we must serve our God with our heart and conscience.

May State and Church work together in the same great cause, and may your Majesty be the instrument for bringing about this desirable consummation, that your Majesty's name may be handed down to posterity with reverence and love!

Your Majesty's most obedient subjects, who were summoned to a deliberation by the Superintendent of the Reformed Church.

Pesth, 5th May, 1851.

IV.

ADDRESS TO HER IMPERIAL HIGHNESS MARIA DOROTHEA.

MOST GRACIOUS ARCHDUCHESS, &c.,

Your Imperial Highness knows well on what a firm foundation the rights and privileges of the Evangelical Church of Hungary rest.

The Peace of Vienna and of Linz, the Pragmatic Sanction guaranteed by foreign powers, and the oaths of our kings of the house of Hapsburg, — by which they solemnly bound their posterity, — secure to the Reformed Church of Hungary as firm a foundation as man can give. Among these fundamental rights are the privilege of electing her own office-bearers, of making her own laws, and educating her own children without foreign influence or interference.

This has all been violated by the edict of Baron Haynau of the 10th of February, and the evil will sink every day deeper if speedy relief is not obtained.

The four superintendents of the Lutheran Church, who had been constitutionally elected, are now deposed from office, and among them Superintendent Samuel Stromsky, who has never been charged with any crime against the State. In like manner, our general inspectors, and district and school inspectors, are deposed, and men put into their place of whom we do not know whether and how far they enjoy the confidence of the Church. Our dioceses are divided according to military districts, independent of the number of churches; our general assemblies are prohibited; our local church meetings tolerated only under very great limitations; and the whole Church government committed to the care of administrators, assisted by laymen of whom the Church knows nothing, and who render no account of their stewardship.

It is not difficult to see that with this culminating government we shall soon cease to be Protestants. A court appointed by the military commander, bound by an oath of which we know nothing, quite irresponsible to the Church, shall manage her affairs!

While his Majesty is giving the Roman Catholic Church privileges *which she never before enjoyed in the empire*, our very existence is threatened. It is the more astonishing that a kind of military consistorium should be here introduced just at the time that other sovereigns, recognizing the impracticability of the consistory, are everywhere introducing the Presbyterian form.

These measures are the more painful as they are based on a charge which can never be proved, namely, that our Church, as such, took part in the late unhappy movements. It is, on the contrary, evident, that when, in 1848, a proposal was made to pay the clergy and teachers out of the state funds, the Assembly of the Church refused to accept of the boon, but passed a resolution which reads as follows: — "According to the Treaties of Peace of 1608, 1647, and the laws of 1791, the Protestant Church demands her right of self-government, and claims, as her most precious jewel, the right of making her own laws, directing her own schools, and managing her own funds by persons freely elected for that

purpose." Thus the Protestant Church did not allow herself to be lured away from her legal basis by any promises, however great.

The measure is called provisional. But let us look at its working. How can one of the present administrators ordain a candidate of theology? How can he who is himself free from obligation to the Church bind another? Here is a dangerous breach in our constitution! And yet Roman Catholic administrators ordain Protestant clergy, and the bayonet requires us to be silent!

The edict wishes us to join more closely to the state; and yet, without becoming a mere police system, we cannot be bound closer than we are. We form no state within a state. We are subject to no foreign prince. Our Presbyterian system enables the most distinguished members of the government to sit with and assist us in our deliberations for the general good. Our meetings are open, our minutes are laid before the government, and if his Majesty object to any of our proceedings, the matter will be reconsidered, and due respect be paid to the suggestions offered,—that Church and State may still remain each in its own sphere, and both united.

No! the Protestant Church has no *foreign interests* to advance. She seeks only to educate faithful citizens and good Christians, and to instill deeply in the minds of her children the grand principles, "Honor all men; love the brotherhood; fear God; honor the king." (1 Peter ii. 17.)

Our wish is to be allowed to appear before our sovereign with our petition; and in the mean time we take courage to approach your Royal Highness, in grateful remembrance of the past, confidently expecting that your Royal Highness, as the zealous protectress of evangelical religion, will avail yourself of your position to lay before his Majesty a correct statement of our case.

Where we can serve our sovereign with our lives or property, we shall not be the last to do so; but, so long as the freedom of our Church is in danger, we cannot cease to petition that we and our children may continue to enjoy our inalienable rights, and for this purpose we raise our voices now to him who is appointed of God to fill the post of father of his country.

Committing ourselves and our cause to the kindly consideration and to the prayers of your Royal Highness, and with the assurance of unceasing respect and Christian love,

Your Royal Highness's obedient servants.

—, 1st June, 1850.

THE END.