

to continue on the path of international law; and for that purpose it would in the future use every means ensured it under the Covenant and the Treaty of Trianon.

In answer to the replies of Antoniadé, Fotitch and Benesh *Eckhardt* expressed his gratitude to Baron Aloisi and to Mr. Eden, whose speech made during the debate on the generalisation motion of Poland had in his opinion once more shown that the great British nation was a disinterested champion of all just causes. The breach of *all* the provisions of a treaty placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations — he continued — was without doubt a matter to be included in the general discussion of the minority question. The "*droit de regard*" to which Hungary is entitled under Articles 44 and 47 of the Treaty of Trianon does not mean that Hungary desires to interfere direct in the work of controlling the protection accorded the Magyar minorities; it means that, as acknowledged in the treaties, it is the peculiar interest of Hungary that she should be able to control through the League of Nations the manner in which this protection is effected in practice. As against Antoniadé, the speaker showed that the fact that the Magyar minority living in Rumania has submitted only a few memorandums — and Hungary not a single memorandum — does not by any means involve the tacit acknowledgment of the satisfactory character of the present

state of things; for the reason why Hungary had so far abstained from doing so was that she did not desire to add to the sufferings of our racial brethren. The Hungarian Delegate was of the opinion that an honourable and loyal settlement of the problem was not only desirable for the purpose of doing justice to the cause of the Magyar minorities, but also a *sine qua non* of peace. "Can we ever achieve a solution of the Danube problem" — he asked — "in this atmosphere — I might even say, climate — in which we are living and which is heavy from all the clouds overhanging the illstarred Danube Valley?" *Eckhardt* finally accepted Benesh's proposal based on the principles of reciprocity, equality and relativity and declared that he would be delighted if an arrangement could be brought about on that basis between Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia and the other two States of the Little Entente respectively. In respect of procedure he suggested that both sides should request the Council of the League to delegate a commission of enquiry (*commission d'enquete*) to study the situation of minorities on the spot in all four countries and to present to the Council a report on the matter which should enable the Council to take such measures as it considered useful and necessary for the purpose of bringing about an adjustment of the minority question of Danubian Europe satisfactory to all parties alike.

HUNGARIAN PROTESTANTS AND ENGLAND IN THE SIXTEENTH, SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

Országos Széchenyi Könyvtár

by
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The Reformation impelled the Hungarian Calvinists to take an interest in England, which had become Protestant too.

As early as the sixteenth century we find a record of a theologian who in the course of his journey visited England too. It is recorded by Peter Bod that in 1571 *Matthew Skaritz*a travelled to distant "England and her most famous towns". However, it was not until the third decennium of the seventeenth century that our Protestant theologians began systematically to frequent the universities of England. The political connections between Transylvania and England strengthened the ties brought into being by the community of religious interests. And our students had no difficulty in making their way from Holland to England. It would appear that the habit of doing so first became fashionable early in the seventeenth century.

Paul Medgyesi and *John Tolnai de Dal* were the founders of the Puritan movement in Hungary; they had become acquainted with the movement in England. Since the days of that movement it has

been a tradition that our Protestant theologians should study in England. *Medgyesi, Susan* (*Zsuzsanna*) *Lorántffy's* chaplain-in-ordinary, fought by word and in writing for the presbyterian or rather puritan ideas; he translated several English theological works into Hungarian, and by his personal influence was able to revive the movement when its powerful enemies were about to completely suppress it.

However, the work done by *John Tolnai de Dal* was more important still. On February 9th., 1638, he and nine other Hungarians — who with the exception of *John Molnár* had all reached England by way of Holland — made a formal contract for the propagation of puritan ideas. For the introduction and popularisation of the new ideas no one did so much as *Tolnai*, who during his stay in England, which lasted several years, thoroughly imbibed the puritan spirit. And after his return, in the teeth of the opposition of the ecclesiastical and secular powers, he propagated these ideas in Transylvania and in Hungary proper. Prince *George Rákóczi I*

sent the daring reformer to Sárospatak; but Tolnai could not remain there long. His teachings were regarded as dangerous; and he himself was persecuted in terms of resolutions of several synods. He hastened back to Transylvania, where he found patrons in the persons of Medgyesi, Bisterfeld and András, who had been invited there by the Prince. Apparently, however, the cause of the new reformers was lost. The Szatmárnémet Synod, convened in 1646 by Stephen Katona de Gelej, the powerful Bishop of Transylvania, put the reforms of Tolnai under a ban, and unfrocked the reformer himself. The Church had triumphed over the new teachings introduced from England, which were later suppressed also by the secular power. The Prince was well aware of the part played by the puritan movement in bringing about the civil war; and George Rákóczy II. was horrified when he heard of the events in England and of the execution of Charles I. The Conservatives had no difficulty in winning him over to their cause.

The puritans had not much to hope for in Transylvania. However, there was all the more to be expected from the Dowager Princess, Susan Lorántffy, who after the death of her husband became the most zealous patron of the followers of the new spirit. Medgyesi's influence was as strong as ever; he won over to his teachings also Zsigmond (Sigismund), the Dowager Princess's younger son. Tolnai was again teaching in the Sárospatak college; while the endowments established by Susan Lorántffy facilitated the journey to England of the Protestant theologians. It was at Sárospatak that puritanism first struck deep root; and — for a time — it was the Sárospatak College that fostered the Anglo-Hungarian connections.

The new spirit made headway however also in the trans-Tisza region. In 1662 *George Csipkés de Komárom*, minister in Debrecen, translated the work by Amesius on "English Puritanism", which had been translated into Hungarian eight years previously by Telekibányai. Then Debrecen also began to yield to the new teachings. Debrecen theologians also followed the example of those from Sárospatak in visiting the English universities.

Thus the connection between the Protestant Churches of England and Hungary, which down to the Puritan movement had been merely sporadic and fortuitous, about the middle — and still more in the second half — of the seventeenth century became a tradition. That is the importance from our point of view of the puritanism of Hungary. The tradition was carried on — also after the collapse of the movement — by the Reformed theologians of Sárospatak, Debrecen and Transylvania. Hun-

garian students were at home in London and Oxford and occasionally in Cambridge too. Scholarships were given exclusively for students to visit English universities; while on the other hand the English Church repeatedly showed the greatest readiness to assist the sister Church of Hungary. It was puritanism that brought the two Churches into close touch; their connection was strengthened and made more intimate by a community of interests.

It was Transylvania in particular that strove to widen the connection. "Serious-minded and frugal Transylvania sent us, not her youths, but her men, to learn our language and our theological science. This intercourse was without doubt due to a large extent to the policy pursued by Transylvania. With the change of political conditions the connection became less and less close; but it has never been completely severed".

A characteristic record of the political and church intercourse between England and Transylvania is contained in the anecdote told by *Michael Cserei*: "The same year there came back from Constantinople the famous English orator Vilhelmus Baron Paget, who after seven years of untiring labour as between the German and Turkish Emperors had at Karlovitz made peace; who on his journey through the Turkish provinces and through Transylvania, through Hungary and in Vienna and throughout the whole Empire until he reached England, was everywhere received with great pomp and with salutes of cannon. On reaching Transylvania, clever man as he was, he studied the Papist persecution of the Protestants and having put all his experiences in writing presented the matter to the Emperor in Vienna, saying openly: "Unless Your Majesty redress these matters or if You continue to allow the Papists to persecute the Protestants of Transylvania, I can assure You that England will never fight again on Your Majesty's side against the French". The Emperor promised to do everything in his power . . . When he arrived in Fejérvár, the orator sent his younger brother to the Governor's residence to greet the Governor, who begged him to stay to dinner, Nicholas Bethlen, Stephen Apor, and the "cameralis commissio", Count Sceau, also being present. The "commissio" having toasted the Queen of England, the next toast was that of Stephen Apor, who, seeing that the Cardinal was his chief patron, began to toast Cardinal Kollonitch. Count Sceau stopped him, saying: — "*Domine Comes, quid facit? quid nobis cum Cardinale Collonics? Vivat Serenissima Angliae Regina! nam salus nostra est ex Anglia*". Poor Stephen Apor was alarmed, and asking for another glass drank both to the health of the Queen of England. Then it occurred to him

that she was better even than Kollonitch". The Lord Paget spoken of above, in Hungary — though more particularly in Transylvania — met several Protestant theologians who had been to England.

As we see, the community of religious interests created a very strong tie between the Churches of England and Hungary. Reformed theologians were the first initiators of that uninterrupted connection which during the seventeenth century became a tradition; at first that connection remained isolated in character, confined to church matters; but the political intercourse later on — particularly in Transylvania — proved able to deepen and strengthen it. Of these early connections we have numerous records in addition to those dealt with in outline above. We have descriptions of the London of those days by Hungarian young men which are of value also as illustrating the history of English culture. In 1618 and 1619 *Martin Csombor de Szepes* travelled over the whole of Western Europe. What he tells us of the life and Capital of the English, shows that he possessed the sense of observation and a sound judgment. Noteworthy is the Latin verse of *John Adami* on the sights and wonders of London, which was later translated into English. Particularly eminent among the Hungarians who settled in London was *John Hunyadi*, who taught in Gresham College, and *Paul Jászberényi*, in whose school the English king himself took a personal interest. We have records also of two Transylvanian magnates who — like the majority of the theological students — crossed over to England from Holland. In 1632 *Gabriel Haller* spent a few weeks in London; while *Nicholas Bethlen* was in London in 1663, in the company of his younger brother and his tutor.

So far this continuous intercourse did not produce any cultural effects, seeing that the Hungarian theologians who visited England concentrated their interest solely on ecclesiastical matters. Nevertheless these early connections were not without their significance. During the next century, indeed, the threads become thinner, but the weaving still goes on. We shall later on show how these connections subsequently came under the influence of English intellectual life, of English science and literature.

During the eighteenth century severe restrictions were put on foreign travel, which was at times rendered almost impossible. But it was no longer possible to shut Hungarian students out from foreign countries. Though the number of "peregrinating" theologians declined considerably, and the majority made their way to Germany, many nevertheless reached England. In Transylvania the cause of the Reformed theologians was espoused by the Telekis. In the dedication of Peter Bod's "Hungarian Athe-

nias" we are informed that *Michael Teleki*, Chancellor under Michael Apaffy, the last of the independent Princes of Transylvania, had during a period of 18 years sent 18 students "to the schools of Belgium and England, for the object of seeing, hearing and learning, providing them with eighteen thousand florins as travelling expenses". And his son, Alexander Teleki, in 1704 applied to the King for permission to beg for assistance from "our co-religionists in England" to rebuild the College at Nagyenyed which had been burned down. The name of the Telekis was inseparably connected with the fate of the Reformed Church of Transylvania. They always interested themselves in church and school; and many young men visited foreign universities under their patronage and with their material assistance. As we have seen, their attention was diverted very early by the church connections to England; but they too waited until the close of the eighteenth century to establish a cultural connection with that country — that being the period when the intellectual life of Hungary became open also to the more general influences of English culture.

During the course of the eighteenth century — though more particularly during the second half — individual Reformed students made pilgrimages to England from Transylvania and Hungary — mostly from Debrecen. In 1793 Robert Townson while in Debrecen met four or five Hungarians who had studied in English universities. He too had heard of the practice followed by Reformed theologians of travelling to Holland, Switzerland or England to complete their studies. It will perhaps suffice — instead of a long list of names and data — to mention the most eminent of the theologians who visited England. Of those from Debrecen special mention is due to *Nicholas Sinai*, *Samuel Szilágyi*, *Michael Benedek* and *Isaiah Budai*; the best known of those from Sárospatak being *Joseph Rozgonyi*, a friend of the grengarat Huian poet *Csokonai*, of whom Kazinczy tells us that "he imbibed the air of true freedom in England." We must make special mention of *John Uri*, the famous orientalist who went from Leyden to Oxford, where for fifteen years (from 1770) he was engaged in arranging the oriental manuscripts of the Bodleian Library. In other words, the traditional connections between the English and Hungarian Churches did not come to an end even at the close of the eighteenth century. Our Reformed theologians visited the universities of Oxford and Cambridge (and occasionally that of Edinburgh) at a period when the attention of the leading Hungarians was being concentrated on the culture of England.

It goes without saying that the attention of the theologians was concentrated on the products of

religious literature. As early as the seventeenth century English ecclesiastical works began to be translated into Hungarian, mostly from the original English text. The translators included *Paul Medgyesi*, *George Kórocz*, *John T. Iratosi*, *Stephen T. Debreczeni*, *Matthias Diószegi*, *Samuel Köleséri*, *Stephen Lovász de Nánás*, *John Petkó*, *John (Patai) Balogh*, etc. Later on too our theologians were only too ready to translate from the works of "English doctors". The works of Doddridge were translated by *Francis Tatai* (1761), and *Samuel Némethy* (1783); one of Mason's works was translated by *Gabriel Fulöp de Ór* (1792), while *Joseph Péczeli*, the first of our poets who knew English, and *Samuel Mindszenti*, a member of Péczeli's intimate circle, also translated from English. Bunyan's great work, the famous product of English puritanism, appeared in Hungarian relatively late. These few examples suffice to show that there was a certain productivity in evidence in the translation of ecclesiastical works. All the more surprising is the indifference shown towards secular literature and *belles lettres*. We have no trace of that literature having been known to the students who visited England. Many persons must have read Milton's famous polemical 'toets; this is proved by the large numbers of the uViefensio' preserved in our libraries; but certainly vDy few knew the poet of "Paradise Lost". It was etfarmil the current of thought reaching Hungary np ortenna had drawn the attention of our poets

and writers to the works of Pope, Young, and Milton, that our Reformed theologians began to interest themselves in English literature proper. Then they began to read the works of English writers — often in the original.

Samuel Szilágyi and others record of *Stephen Fazekas* that he too translated from Young's "Night Thoughts"; while *Francis Hunyadi (Szabó)*, Bishop of Debrecen, translated a work of Milton's ("The Sale of Joseph", Pozsony, 1795). Robertson was translated into Hungarian by *John Tanárky*, etc.

All these circumstances to a certain extent prepared the soil to receive English cultural and literary influences. In our opinion the traditions of the Reformed Church of Transylvania must have merged with peculiar ease in the current of thought of the age of enlightenment. The Telekis had long shown an interest in the connection between the Churches of England and Hungary, and it is probably not a mere accident that three brothers belonging to that family should have visited England when foreign travel became a tradition with our magnates. And we have records of another Transylvanian magnate — *Adam Székely, Count of Borosjenő*, superintendent of the Reformed schools of Transylvania — having also been in England. It may be that the later anglo-mania ("anglolatry") prevailing in Transylvania, which originated principally among the magnates, was to a certain extent rooted in the older church connections and in the still older political connections too.

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P O L I T I C A L M O S A I C

ROYAL VISIT TO SOFIA

The visit to Sofia of the late Yugoslav King did not result in bringing about the great sensation regarded as inevitable by certain quarters — viz. the adherence of Bulgaria to the Balkan Pact. The Belgrade "Pravda" (Oct. 2) endeavours to explain away the non-fulfilment of the ardent wishes of those who expected this event by pretending that during the negotiations political questions were not even broached. It may possibly be so, seeing that during the diplomatic pourparlers preliminary to the visit it transpired that Yugoslavia has so far declined to comply with even the most insignificant of the political conditions stipulated by Bulgaria — viz. that demanding the acknowledgment of the Macedo-Bulgarian minority numbering some 6—700,000 souls, as also the enforcement of their elementary rights. In addition to this negative point the economic, transport and cultural "results" already made public by the official report include some deserving to be specially referred to — e. g. the agreement relating to the railway connections between Vidin and Negotin and between Gyusevo and Kumanovo, which agreement however is of importance for the present only in point of principle, seeing that according to a statement made on October 1st. by Foreign Minister Batolov the question of the opening of new lines of communication between the two countries involves protracted financial and technical investigations deferring the solution of that question for years. This

statement allows of many interesting inferences, seeing that it is only a question of the building of short sections of lines in both cases — of the section only 30 kilometres long between Vidin and Negotin and of the equally short section from Kumanov to the Bulgarian frontier!!!! It would seem that under given conditions the Balkan mills grind exceeding slowly!! Yet hitches of this kind do not in any way act to the prejudice of the fact that during the past twelve months the indubitably difficult and delicate question of a peaceful settlement by conciliation on both sides of the antagonism between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia which had previously been regarded as beyond repair, has been treated as the most important point in the policy of the two countries, the negotiations in Sofia having brought that question nearer to a solution. Should it prove possible in the future to reconcile the diplomatic interests of the two Slav countries with the promise of an eventual territorial compensation to be granted to Bulgaria elsewhere, and to reduce those interests to a common denominator, the result must be ultimately to endanger the European possessions of Turkey, as also the Greek possessions in Thrace and Macedonia (Saloniki!), to dissolve the Balkan Pact and to establish a Southern Slav hegemony throughout the Balkan Peninsula. In its October 3rd. issue, the "Národni Listy", M. Kramar's organ, emphasising the exceptional importance of the royal visit to Sofia, adopted a tone of jubilation while declaring that „the fate of the Balkans is in the hands of the Slavs”.