

**The History of the Free Church of Scotland's Mission to
the Jews in Budapest, and its Impact on the Hungarian
Reformed Church: 1841-1914**

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Declaration

I, Ábrahám Kovács hereby declare that the present thesis is my own work composed in order to obtain the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Edinburgh, July 2003.

Ábrahám Kovács

Abstract

In the absence of a thorough historical study of the Church of Scotland's mission to the Jews in Budapest - mainly under the auspices of the Free Church of Scotland - this thesis presents a comprehensive analysis of the Mission's history in terms its dealings with the Hungarian Jews and the Hungarian Reformed Church. The thesis describes the encounter between the Scottish Evangelical-Pietist missionaries and the Jewish community of Hungary, particularly in the capital city of Pest, and explores the impact that the missionaries had on the development of Home Mission movement of the Hungarian Reformed Church. It will be demonstrated that, from the inception of its Mission to the Hungarian Jews, the intention of the Church of Scotland was both to convert the Jews and to revive the Hungarian Reformed Church with a view to its participating in the work of Jewish evangelism.

The study begins in 1841, the year in which the Pest Mission Station was created, and continues to 1914 when the outbreak of the First World War forced the Scottish missionaries to withdraw, by which time - as the thesis will show - the Hungarian Reformed Church was sufficiently strong to continue the Home Mission movement independently of the Church of Scotland.

Being a Hungarian himself, the author of the thesis has been particularly concerned to clarify the contextual framework in which the thinking and activities of the Scottish Mission need to be read.

Chapter 1 introduces the three main constituents of the history: the Hungarian Reformed Church that, in the 19th century, was struggling to express itself under the pressure of the Catholic Habsburg Empire; the Jewish community that was gaining significance with the growth of Pest as the Hungarian capital; and the genesis of the Scottish missionary commitment to the Jews. Chapters 2 to 8 are written on the basis of primary documents. Chapter 2 examines how the Scottish Mission took root in Hungary in the initial period of its work, prior to expulsion in 1852. Chapters 3 and 4 examine the re-establishment of the Mission in 1857, and the development of its principal agencies: school, congregation, hospital, colportage, and the bursary programme that enabled Hungarian Reformed students to study in Edinburgh. Chapter 5 deals with the emergence of home mission organisations in Pest, the impact of the bursary programme, and the contribution of Alexander Somerville to the evangelisation of both Jews and Gentiles in Hungary; while this material has been previously examined by Hungarian scholars, this thesis brings original insights through the incorporation of archival evidence from the Free Church of Scotland. Chapter 6 moves the focus of the thesis to the first decades of the 20th century, and demonstrates how the Scottish-initiated home missionary organisations were adopted on a national scale by the Hungarian Reformed Church. The final chapters, 7 and 8, are of a thematic nature, that examine selected issues relating to the evangelisation of the Jews, and the major forces effecting the work of the Scottish Mission.

Dedicated to the memory of my mother and father
Édesanyám emlékének és édesapámnak

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endangered

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This doctoral dissertation was written with a view of building bridges between faith communities. I have often experienced what it means to be deeply attached to a particular culture and at the same time be entirely at home in other cultures other than one's own. This was true also for the faith communities that often comprise a subculture as well as the very same time an international culture. Such has been the context of life into which my 'predestination' had set me from my childhood. I often encountered the 'other' throughout my life with an open mind, which was instilled in me by my mother. My teachers such as professor Ildikó Puskás in Hungary and the 'Edinburgh school of Religion' like professors Nick Wyatt, Frank Whaling and Dr. James Cox had shaped the mental map of my mind through their engaging lectures although they often took rather different approach to presenting religion. Despite the fact that this doctoral dissertation clearly stands within the realm of ecclesiastical history, the 'encountering the other' aspect from 'Religious Studies' is a valuable element of it about which I could write concisely due to the nature of the dissertation and the lack of sufficient material. Jewish – Christian relations has always been passionately debated therefore, dealing with any aspect of it requires a great care and 'objective subjectivism'. This is particularly true for an issue that I have chosen to write about, the mission to the Jews.

The experience I gained throughout my research has only convinced me about that even scholars; Jewish, Christians and 'secular' are often very biased when dealing with Jewish Christian issues. I regard it as natural since humans are subjective and we all have conscious or subconscious biases. I particularly like Dr. James Cox's meticulous approach to methodological issues to which I owe a lot. Trying to be objective is an evergreen topic among scholars of various academic fields. In my research I tried to distance myself from the biases I was aware, and present the story objectively by carefully introducing Jewish and Christian, ecclesiastical and secular sources, and describing various stances to the issue of Jewish mission.

The sensitive topic, mission to the Jews was not my own idea to pursue. Rather, I was reluctant to move into this direction, which always interested me historically and theologically. Perhaps being absolutely aware of the difficulty of writing about any aspect of proselytising among the Jews I initially refused the idea that I would work my way into this topic. However, due to the encouragement of Professors János Bütösi and Andrew F. Walls I started a journey of great discoveries.

It was always known for ecclesiastical historians in Hungary how instrumental the Scottish Mission was in changing Hungarian Reformed spirituality but it has never been studied in-depth. Also mission to the Jews has never been addressed before in Hungary in the academic field. The pioneering task has been overwhelming and difficult but at the same time rewarding. To gain a deep insight into both communities through friends and scholars besides the research materials was revealing, entertaining and highly engaging.

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Ironically, in spite of the fact that my dissertation contains a great deal of new research findings about the impact of the (Free) Church of Scotland bursars in Hungary, I cannot regard myself as a bursar. Although, the bursary programme came to a halt after 132 years in 1997 the grassroots level of the Church of Scotland showed a keen interest in my research topic. A very special thanks goes in the first place to Rev. Susan Cowell who has been supportive in many ways throughout my stay in Scotland. She often drew revealing parallels to her experience as a Scottish missionary in Budapest to my research findings. I was glad to receive the friendly criticism of my friend Chris Brandie on the earlier manuscripts of the dissertation.

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Deepest gratitude goes to my parents for bringing me up and supporting me to have an excellent education during the harsh years of Communism that enabled me to receive scholarships in the western world at such places as Princeton and Edinburgh. Finally I express my warmest gratitude to my brothers and sister whose love and encouragement was and is the most important to me.

Edinburgh, July 2003.

Ábrahám Kovács

List of Abbreviations

Archives and libraries in Hungary

<i>BOL</i>	Baptista Országos Levéltár
<i>DREL</i>	Dunántúli Református Egyházkerület Levéltára, Pápa
<i>EOK</i>	Evangélikus Országos Könyvtár
<i>EOL</i>	Evangélikus Országos Levéltár
<i>FSZEK BGy</i>	Fővárosi Szabó Ervin Könyvtár, Budapest Gyűjtemény, Budapest
<i>FL</i>	Fővárosi Levéltár, Budapest
<i>KLTE Kt.</i>	Kossuth Lajos Tudományegyetem (Debreceni Egyetem) Kézirattára
<i>MZsL</i>	Magyar Zsidó Levéltár
<i>MOL</i>	Magyar Országos Levéltár, Budapest
<i>PRGy</i>	Pápai Református Gyűjtemény
<i>RL</i>	Ráday Levéltár, Budapest
<i>RK</i>	Ráday Könyvtár, Budapest
<i>TiREK</i>	Tiszántúli Református Egyház (nagy) Könyvtára, Debrecen
<i>TiREL</i>	Tiszántúli Református Egyház Levéltára, Debrecen
<i>SpLt</i>	Sárospataki Levéltár
<i>ZsL</i>	A Magyarországi Református Egyház Zsinati Levéltára, Budapest

Hungarian periodicals

<i>BT</i>	Budapester Tageblatt
<i>EPL</i>	Evangeliumi Protestáns Lap
<i>Ea</i>	Evangeliumlista
<i>DePL</i>	Debreceni Protestáns Lap
<i>Dg.</i>	Diákvilág (MEKDSz)

<i>DuPL</i>	Dunántúli Protestáns Lap
<i>EvC</i>	Der Evangelische Christ
<i>EPK</i>	Erdélyi Protestáns Közlöny
<i>EW</i>	Ewangelisches Wochenblatt
<i>Éb</i>	Ébresztő
<i>ÉM</i>	Élet és Munka
<i>Hj</i>	Hajnal
<i>Hu</i>	Hungary
<i>JbDRF</i>	Jahresbericht Der Deutschen Reformierten Filialgemeinde in Budapest
<i>JPÖ</i>	Jahrbuch für die Geschichte des Protestantismus in Österreich
<i>Ke</i>	Keresztyén
<i>KeEv</i>	Keresztyén Evangyélista
<i>Kny</i>	Közlöny
<i>MEKDSz</i>	Magyar Evangéliumi Keresztyén Diákszövetség (Hungarian Evangelical Christian Student Federation)
<i>MEKMSz</i>	Magyar Evangéliumi Keresztyén Missziói Szövetség (Hungarian Evangelical Christian Mission Society)
<i>MÖMM</i>	Magyar Önkéntes Missziói Mozgalom
<i>Og</i>	Olajág
<i>PCsK</i>	Protestáns Családi Könyvtár (Koszorú)
<i>PEIL</i>	Protestáns Egyházi és Iskolai Lap
<i>PH</i>	Pesti Hírlap
<i>RE</i>	Református Egyház
<i>MPEIFRv</i>	Magyar Protestáns Egyházi és Iskolai Figyelmező
<i>SF</i>	Sárospataki Füzetek
<i>ThSz</i>	Theológiai Szemle

<i>YMCA</i>	Young Men's Christian Association
<i>YWCA</i>	Young Women's Christian Association

Scottish and English periodicals and sources

<i>BFBS</i>	British and Foreign Bible Society
<i>CofSM</i>	Church of Scotland Magazine
<i>Dep.</i>	Deposit
<i>EC</i>	Evangelical Christendom
<i>IW</i>	Israel's Watchman and Prophetic Expositor
<i>JH</i>	Jewish Herald
<i>LMS</i>	London Missionary Society
<i>LTS</i>	London Tract Society
<i>FCofSWR</i>	The Free Church of Scotland Weekly Record
<i>FCofSMR</i>	Free Church of Scotland Monthly Record
<i>FCofSMM</i>	The Free Church Monthly and Missionary Record
<i>FCofSM</i>	The Free Church of Scotland Monthly [or Home and Foreign Missionary Record]
<i>HFMRCofS</i>	Home and Foreign Missionary Record of the Church of Scotland
<i>HFMRFCofS</i>	Home and Foreign Missionary Record of the Free Church of Scotland
<i>HFRFCofS</i>	Home and Foreign Record of the Free Church of Scotland
<i>MMRPCofE</i>	The Messenger and Missionary Record of the Presbyterian Church of England
<i>MRUFCofS</i>	The Missionary Record of the United Free Church of Scotland
<i>MSS</i>	Manuscript
<i>NBSC</i>	National Bible Society of Scotland

NLS

National Library of Scotland

RCJ

Report on the Conversion of the Jews



Rev. Dr. Keith Adolf Saphir "Rabbi" Duncan Rev. Dr. Black

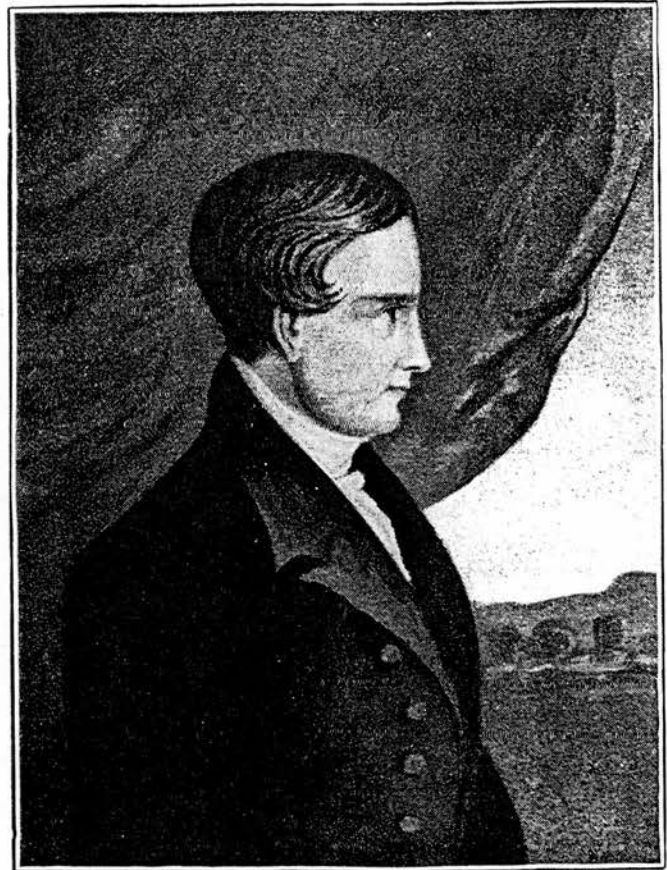
GROUP FROM THE DISRUPTION PICTURE
(Portraying the above-named in the foreground)

Group from the Disruption



THE ARCHDUCHESS MARIE.

Archduchess Maria Dorothea



Alexander Keith and Robert M. McCheyne

Introduction

1. Importance of the study

This study intends to fill a long neglected gap in Hungarian ecclesiastical and social history. The (Free) Church of Scotland¹ mission to the Jews and to the Hungarian Reformed Church from 1841 to 1914 was a unique initiative in Hungary, the like of which Hungary had never previously experienced. The dissertation addresses two related aspects of this history: the Free Church's mission to evangelise the Hungarian Jews; and the Scottish Mission's desire to revive the Hungarian Reformed Church according to the Evangelicalism with which the missionaries were familiar in Scotland. These two goals were connected in that that the Scottish Mission envisaged that an evangelically revived Hungarian Reformed Church would itself be motivated to take over responsibility for Jewish evangelism in Hungary.

2. The Aim of the Research

The purpose of the study is to analyse, from a Hungarian perspective, the work of Scottish Mission in Hungary among the Jews and with the Hungarian Reformed Church, and assess its impact on both subjects. To achieve this end, the study will investigate the history of the Scottish Mission to the Jews to demonstrate how its various means of outreach (school, colportage, the hospital, its congregation, and the bursars) interfaced with the Jewish community, and to examine the Jewish responses to Christian missionary proselytism. Secondly, the study will scrutinise the influence that the Mission exerted on the missionary awakening of the Hungarian Reformed Church, and assess the degree to which it initiated Evangelical revival in the Church.

3. The Political-Social Context of the Research

The context of the Scottish Mission was shaped by three elements: the Hungarian Kingdom that was at this time part of the Catholic Habsburg² Empire; its capital city of Pest (later Budapest) that was going through a process of urban and industrial expansion in the nineteenth century that had a far-reaching social and economic impact on Hungarian

¹ The official sending bodies were: Church of Scotland (1841-43), Free Church of Scotland (1843-1899), United Free Church of Scotland (1900-1914).

² Although some English-speaking historians sometimes spell Hapsburg with a 'p', this thesis will use the spelling "Habsburg" respecting the Austro-Hungarian convention.

society; and the respective Protestant and Jewish communities, each of which shared a strong patriotic commitment to the emergence of Hungary as an independent nation.

During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the Habsburg Empire was one of the great Catholic powers of Europe. At its fullest extent it ruled much of Central Europe corresponding with the modern states of Austria, Hungary, Czech Republic, Slovakia, southern part of Poland, western part of Ukraine, Romania, Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia and parts of northern Italy. Hungary lived under the political hegemony of the Austrian Monarch and his Austrian nobility until the *Ausgleich* [Agreement]³ of 1867 when the Hungarian noblemen - the second most powerful group in the Empire – won a significant degree of civil and legal autonomy for the Hungarian nation, freeing it from the oppression of absolutist Austrian Habsburg rule. Within this framework, the research will focus mainly on the Hungarian towns of Pest and Buda that were in process of uniting as the capital of Hungary. From 1841 they provided the *locus operandi* of the Scottish Mission.

4. Periods of Hungarian History as a Contextual Background (1841-1914)

In order to understand the political and social forces that impacted the Mission, it is important to identify the main periods of the nineteenth and early twentieth century Hungarian history against which the story of the Scottish Mission must be read. Historians customarily divide Hungarian history of this era into large units corresponding to the political events of the time. The period from 1825 to 1848 is known as the ‘Reform Era’ that was followed by the War of Independence in 1848/49. After the defeat of the Hungarian armies, the Habsburg rule attempted to eliminate Hungarian resistance by imposing what was known as ‘Neo-Absolutism’ (1850-1867). Political events in Hungary as well as in the rest of Europe compelled the Habsburg Emperor to revise this policy and to make a special treaty with the Hungarian ruling class, known simply as the ‘Agreement’ of 1867. This introduced the era of ‘Dualism’ (1867-1914/18), when political power was shared between the Austrian and the Hungarian Parliaments until the end of the First World War.⁴

³ György Szabad, *Az önkényuralom kora (1849-1867): A kiegyezés (1865-67)*, ed. by Zsigmond Pál Pach, Endre Kovács and László Katus, 2nd edn, 10 vols (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987), VI/1: *Magyarország története*. See also: C. A. McCartney, *Hungary. A Short History* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Publication, History, Philosophy and Economics, no. 13, 1962).

⁴ *Magyarország története*, ed. by Zsigmond Pál Pach, Endre Kovács and László Katus, 2nd edn, 10 vols (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987).

5. Chapters and Periods of the Research Topic (1841-1914)

This research will examine the period of 73 years between the foundation of the Mission in 1841 and the outbreak of First World War in 1914. The latter will mark the *terminus ad quem* of this dissertation. The consequences of the First World War saw the imposition of a Soviet Communist dictatorship that changed all aspects of national life. Since many of the Communist leaders were people of Jewish background, the character of Jewish-Christian relations was profoundly changed by the revolution, so much so that it would require another thesis to examine these developments of Hungarian Christian Jewish relations on an entirely different plane.⁵

The thesis is organised on a chronological basis of six chapters that deal with different aspects of the historical development of the Scottish Mission, followed by two thematic chapters that assess the degree to which the Mission can be considered to have achieved its goals of Jewish evangelism and the evangelical revival of the Hungarian Reformed Church.

Chapter 1 will offer a short overview of Hungarian history with a reference to the place of Protestantism and the Jews therein; and a brief discussion of the antecedents of Scottish missionary interest in the Jews, and the decision to evangelise the Jews of Hungary. Hungarian Protestantism will be discussed in relation to such major issues as confessionalism, antagonism between Protestants and Catholics, and nationalism.⁶ The Jewish community will be introduced through examining the impact of nationalism, and liberalism. Finally, the rise of mission to the Jews will be studied in Scotland, where clearly the Evangelicals took the lead to promote such a new form of mission.

Chapter 2 (1841-52/7) will deal with the foundation of the Mission through its activities that centred on the work of the newly established English-speaking congregation, the 'conferences' with Hungarian Protestant ministers, the Mission school and colportage among the Jewish community. The chapter will scrutinise how the Scots adapted their means of mission to the Hungarian situation, with critical analysis of the developments and the missionaries' reactions to the challenges.

This chapter will close with the year 1852 when the missionaries were expelled from the Empire, and most of the fledgling Scottish missionary initiatives in Pest were

⁵ János Gyurgyák, *A zsidókérdés Magyarországon* (Budapest: Osiris Kiadó, 2001), pp. 102-109. This book is the best non-partial treatment about the hotly debated 'Jewish issue'.

suspended. Nevertheless, in the absence of the Scottish missionaries, the Mission survived through its school and the tiny Jewish congregation until the arrival in late 1857 of the new missionary, the Dutchman Adrian van Andel, who was employed by the Scottish Mission.

Chapter 3 (1858-70) will examine how van Andel revitalised the work of the Scottish Mission after it has withered in the absence of the Scots. The re-organisation of the school and colportage created a sense of continuity in the missionary enterprise. However, the establishment of a new German-speaking congregation clearly marked a change that had profound consequence for the development of the Mission's work in the smaller context of the Pest Reformed Church. Through the congregation a new form of Christian outreach, the medical mission of the Bethesda hospital entered the scene of Hungarian Protestantism. The Hungarian Reformed churches were also exposed to Scottish Evangelicalism through the implementation of another means of mission in the bursary programme that was inaugurated by the Mission, in agreement with the Jewish Committee in Scotland, to enable Hungarian Reformed students to study in New College, Edinburgh.

Chapter 4 (1871-1881) will focus on the policy of Magyarisation that was introduced during the era 'Dualism' as part of the modernisation of the Hungarian state. The chapter will be particularly concerned with the impact of this policy on the cultural evolution of the Scottish Mission from its German-speaking past to a Hungarian-speaking future. This transformation was not without its tensions among the missionary staff, and between the Mission and the German-speaking congregation that it had been instrumental in creating. The chapter will scrutinise how Magyarisation and modernisation gave a rise to these conflicts, and the impact that they had on the Mission's outreach to the Jews on the one hand, and the Hungarian Reformed Church on the other, especially as the early Edinburgh-trained bursars began to disseminate the spirit and insights of Scottish Evangelicalism through the Hungarian language.

Chapter 5 (1882 –1902) will follow the course of the Mission's transition from a German to Hungarian language policy, the expansion of its educational work, its increasing effort to evangelise the Hungarian Jews and to revive the Reformed Church. Special attention will be given to the Mission's initiative, in co-operation with the bursars and other Hungarians who participated in the Mission's network, in founding the first Hungarian-speaking home mission organisations in Pest, led by the Sunday school

⁶ The author uses the term 'nationalism' in a positive sense, which had a progressive meaning from the time of the Reform Era up to the World War I.

movement from 1882. Attention will be drawn to the correspondence between the Mission's shift to the Hungarian language and the emergence of missionary awareness within the Hungarian Reformed Church.

Chapter 6 (1903-1914) will examine the period of the Scottish Mission in Hungary leading up to the outbreak of the First World War when the Scottish missionaries were forced to withdraw from Pest. These were the decades in which the foundational work of the Mission during the second half of the nineteenth century bore fruit with the emerging commitment of members of the Hungarian Reformed Church to take responsibility for mission in the two dimensions of "home" mission within Hungary itself, and "foreign" mission in other parts of the Europe. The chapter will examine a decisive conflict that occurred among Hungarian mission leaders in 1903 that can be explained, in part at least, as a clash between radical Evangelical and Moderate revivalist- nationalist approaches to mission. This resulted in the dominance of the Evangelical approach that shaped the Hungarian home mission associations, generated interest in foreign missions, and consolidated the study of evangelism and mission in the seminaries of the Hungarian Reformed Church. Although the First World War and its consequences for Hungary lie outwith the scope of this thesis, the chapter will suggest that it was because the Hungarian Reformed Church grasped the importance of mission in terms of the internal renewal of the church – the credit for which must be attributed significantly to the Scottish Mission – that the Church was able to survive the upheaval of the First World War and its aftermath.

Chapter 7, the first of the two thematic chapters that deal with the goals of the Scottish Mission, offers an assessment of its achievement in the field of evangelism in relation to the Hungarian Jews. The chapter will clarify the theological foundations that underlay this enterprise, showing how they formed an intrinsic part of the Free Church of Scotland's understanding of mission and renewal. The degree to which the Mission succeeded in maintaining this theology amid the evolving mission situation in Scotland and the changing circumstances of the Jewish community in Hungary, will be discussed, as the framework in which an assessment will be made of its effectiveness in winning Hungarian Jews to the Gospel, and implanting missionary awareness in the Hungarian Reformed Church in relation to its Jewish neighbours.

Chapter 8 will return to the Mission's second goal of reviving the Hungarian Reformed Church, and assess the degree in which it can be considered to have succeeded in infusing an Evangelical-Pietist understanding of Christian faith and living in a Church whose identity, in the nineteenth century, was shaped by a fusion of confessionalism and

nationalism. It will be suggested that, over the 73 years that this research has examined, the Scottish Mission, while exemplifying its understanding of mission primarily through its commitment of Jewish evangelism, was in fact more successful in stimulating Evangelical revival within the Hungarian Reformed Church, with the result that, by the early twentieth century, the latter was effectively engaged in a range of home mission activities, and was on the threshold of embracing overseas mission when the outbreak of the First World War interrupted such development.

6. Specific Aims of the Research

In examining the work of the Scottish Mission through these periods, the research has three specific aims. First, it will examine the socio-political context of the Hungarian Kingdom in which the Mission was situated, and which, it will be argued, affected the achievements of the Mission. Second, the thesis will analyse the Scottish Mission's impact on the Hungarian Jewish converts and the Hungarian Reformed Church. Third, the research will seek to draw out the theological ideas and motivations, which underlay the mission, with attention to the evolving theological interaction among the subject groups and partners in the mission.

Regarding the social-political impact of Hungarian society on the Mission, it is essential to unravel the forces that influenced its work in Pest. To this end the research will include relevant aspects of the political, social and intellectual climate of the Hungarian society in relation to the Jews. The implementation of religious freedom, both in terms of the recognition of Protestant legal equality with Hungarian Catholicism, and Jewish Emancipation, were undercurrent themes throughout the decades. Liberalism with its manifestations in both the political and religious life of the Protestant and Jewish communities was the driving force of modernisation that influenced the work and effectiveness of the Scottish missionary enterprise. The changing political climate set by the liberal Reform Era, the intolerant years of Neo-Absolutism, and the rapid advances toward modernisation that marked the era of Dualism (1867-1914) affected the Mission, the Hungarian Reformed Church and the Jewish community, and issues such as Magyarization versus Germanisation, confessionalism and feudal-capitalism provided challenges and opportunities for the Mission.

Within the rubric of social history, the thesis will examine church-related organisations and institutions, which – in the Hungarian tradition of scholarship – are normally discussed under the discipline of ecclesiastical history. The Church of Scotland's

mission to the Jews was the very first mission of its kind rising out of the mental world of Scottish Evangelical Christianity. The Pest mission station was seen through the eye of the Scots as the most fruitful and rewarding missionary effort made to the Jews, and it enjoyed a certain pre-eminence among other nineteenth century Jewish mission stations in Europe and the Near East. The thesis will give due attention, therefore, to the various institutional means through which the Mission pursued its goal: the Mission school, colportage, the Evangelical-Pietist congregation, the hospital and the bursars. While allowing for the optimism with which both the Free Church of Scotland's Jewish Committee and the missionaries in Pest viewed the achievement of these initiatives, this thesis will also consider them from the Hungarian perspective, with the intention of balancing the Scottish estimation of their success with a contextual assessment of their influence in reaching the Hungarian Jews.

The thesis will also examine and assess the ways by which the Scottish Mission pursued its second and complementary goal of reviving the Hungarian Reformed Church. Just as the Mission constituted the first initiative in Jewish evangelism in Hungarian history, so it was the first institution representing the character of British Evangelicalism to establish contact with the Hungarian Reformed Church within Hungary itself. The thesis will feature the means by which the Mission exemplified and implanted Evangelicalism in Hungary through a range of home mission organisations. By the turn of the century, these organisations included Sunday schools, the YMCA and YWCA, and various student movements that flourished not only in the Pest Reformed Church but also in the Hungarian Reformed Church as a whole. These associations enabled the Scottish Mission to influence the spiritual life of the Hungarian Church in ways that were seen to be of practical effect, and contributed to an awakening in the Church itself of a new vision of mission. This resulted in the Hungarian Reformed Church initiating its own programmes of home and foreign mission.

The thesis will also explore the theological-missiological concepts that underlay and motivated the work of the Scottish Mission. Its theological stance will be scrutinized in order to show how the founders of the Mission understood the relationship between Jewish evangelism and the renewal of the Church. Attention will be given to ways in which the theology of the Mission evolved during the period of research, not least in response to reactions within the Pest Jewish community to missionary evangelism. The theological-missiological dimension of the thesis will also compare the understanding of mission in the milieu of the Hungarian Reformed Church before the arrival of the Scottish Mission with

the concepts that developed subsequently. This entailed a clash between a nationalistic approach to mission that defined evangelism in terms of the national interest, and the radically Evangelical understanding of mission that began with the transformation of the individual and community as nuclei from which the Gospel could influence the nation at large. The thesis will show that the latter approach to mission prevailed by the early twentieth century, evidencing the impact of the Scottish Mission, though it will be recognised that the Hungarian Church was slower in embracing the Mission's understanding of the connection between Christian renewal and Jewish evangelism.

7. A Survey of the Research Resources

7.1. The state of research on the Scottish Mission to the Jews: secondary sources

Very little has been written on the history of Scottish Mission to the Jews in Hungary. Nor is there any modern comprehensive scholarly study of any of the mission stations that were created under of the Jewish Mission scheme of the Church of Scotland. Thus, a proper investigation of the Scottish Mission in Pest that includes all the three parties - the Scots, Hungarian Reformed Church and the Jews - is a field that invites original scholarship. The following literature survey includes the Scottish sources as well as materials written in Hungarian, German, Hebrew and Latin from the perspectives both of the Hungarian Reformed Church and the Hungarian Jewry.

In Scotland, the state of research about Jewish mission leaves much room for improvement. There are a few preliminary essays of the origins of this scheme of the Church of Scotland.⁷ These include John Hall's book entitled *Israel in Europe* (1914), and David McDougall's *In search of Israel* (1941), but neither of which gives more than a sketchy overview of the Jewish mission stations of the Free Church of Scotland.⁸ Other books have been written on the lives of some of the missionaries to Jews, but these tend to be popularising hagiographies, which, while containing useful information, do not meet the criteria of critical studies.⁹ Such are the published biographies of the first two missionaries

⁷ Don Chambers, 'Prelude to the Last Things the Church of Scotland's Mission to the Jews', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, 19 (1977), pp.43-58; See: Fraser, A. Shirley, *The Origins of Scottish Interest in Mission to the Jews* (Aberdeen: Gilcomston South Church, 1990); and Gavin White, ' "Highly Preposterous": Origins of Scottish Missions' (*Records Scottish Church History Society*, 19, 1977).

⁸ McDougall, David, *In search of Israel: a Chronicle of the Jewish Missions of the Church of Scotland*, (London: T. Nelson and Sons, 1941), See also: Hall, John, *Israel in Europe: Our Jewish Mission*, 3 vols. (Edinburgh, United Free Church 1914) II.

⁹ Eibner, John V., 'British Evangelicals and Hungary 1800-1852', *The Journal of the United Reformed Church History Society*, 3/2 (1983), pp. 45-54.

in Pest: ‘Rabbi’ Duncan, and William Wingate.¹⁰ These aforementioned books and essays comprise the only available secondary sources. Three other observations have to be made. First, it is unfortunate that there is not a comprehensive and detailed study of the history of the missions of Church of Scotland up to the present day. There has been much research done on the mission history of the Scottish Churches with the exception of mission to the Jews. The contrast is striking when one compares Jewish mission with the thoroughly researched missionary areas of Africa, India and other parts of world. Second, the state of research conducted on Jewish mission is not much better in England. The first society for Jewish mission, the London Society for the Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews – often called as London Jewish Society – is the most comprehensively studied in the entire British field of Jewish missions in the early twentieth century.¹¹ However, other London based Jewish societies – the Mildmay, Barbican, East London and London City missions – hardly received any attention, the only exception being the British Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Jews.¹² There are only very few modern contemporary reassessments of even the London Jewish Society’s work. One of them is Mel Scult’s opus, *Millennial Expectations and Jewish Liberties*.¹³ Also Roger Martin’s work, *Evangelicals United* contains a chapter on the society.¹⁴ Finally, there are some valuable books, though different in academic approach about mission to the Jews in the nineteenth century, which add to the larger context of Jewish Missions in general. Kjaer-Hansen’s book entitled *Joseph Rabinowitz and the Messianic Movement* and Ariel Yaakov’s book *Mission to the Jews in America* are excellent treatments of their respective topics, though using rather different methods.¹⁵ Kjaer-Hansen’s book clearly qualifies as a scientific work in mission history, using historical methods to elucidate Rabinowitz’s life and the movement that he originated, whereas Yaakov is more interested in the social-religious context that shaped mission to the Jews in the States. Taking all into consideration, it can be said that little has been written on Jewish mission in general and less on the Scots’ initiative. Therefore, a

¹⁰ Brown, David, *Life of the Late John Duncan*, (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1872). 1872); Carlyle, Gavin, *Life and Work of the Rev. William Wingate, Missionary to the Jews*, (London: A. Holness, 1900).

¹¹ W. T. Gidney, *The Jews and Their Evangelisation* (London: Student Voluntary Missionary Union, 1899); George Henry Stevens, ‘Go, and Tell my Brethren’. *A Short Popular History of Church Missions to the Jews (1809-1959)* (London: The Olive Press, 1959).

¹² Dunlop, John, *Memories of Gospel Triumphs among the Jews* (London: Partridge, S. W. & John Snow & CO., 1894).

¹³ Melt Scult, *Millennial Expectations and Jewish Liberties*, ed. by Neuser, Jacob, *Studies in Judaism in Modern Times*, (Leiden: E. J Brill, 1978).

¹⁴ Roger H. Martin, *Evangelicals United: Ecumenical Stirrings in Pre Victorian Britain 1795-1830* (Metuchen N. J: Scarecrow, 1983). Ch. 9.

comprehensive study of the Scottish Mission is much needed, based on critical use of archival research data.

All the main Hungarian language studies of modern Hungarian Protestant ecclesiastical history refer to the influence of Scottish Evangelicalism on the Hungarian Reformed Church.¹⁶ Hungarian church historians of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries¹⁷ addressed different aspects of the Scottish Mission. They realised how crucial a role it played in originating a revival and missionary awareness in the Hungarian Reformed Church, but none of these deal with the history of the Mission as a whole, and therefore fail to offer a comprehensive account of interpretation of its influence. Nor was it possible for any of these scholars to have access to the Scottish primary sources. Thus, an ecclesiastical history was produced that lacked balance and critical assessment. Another aspect that is missing from these works is that the history of the Scottish Mission was not studied with reference to the wider political-social context of Hungary. This resulted in a rather narrow focus on ecclesiastical issues, and little attention was paid to the work of Jewish evangelism itself. Regarding this, some articles deal with the role of Hungarians in mission to Jews, but these were written with the purpose of generating interest in Jewish mission among the general public.¹⁸ More specific works such as Gyula Forgács's booklet on the history of the Scottish Mission is useful but very short.¹⁹ József Farkas's book about the Pest Reformed Church also touches on aspects of the Mission's history, but only briefly and within the limits of only six years.²⁰ None of these works was written with an academic audience in mind, and therefore made no use of primary sources.

¹⁵ Kai Kjaer-Hansen, *Joseph Rabinowitz and the Messianic Movement* (Edinburgh: The Handsel Press, 1995). See also: Ariel Yaakov, *Mission to the Jews in America* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Caroline, 2000).

¹⁶ József Farkas, Sándor Kovács, József Pokoly, Mihály Zsilinszky, *A Magyarhoni Protestáns Egyház története*, ed. by Zsilinszky Mihály (Budapest: Atheneum, 1907), Mihály Bucsay, *A protestantizmus története Magyarországon 1521-1945* (Budapest: Gondolat, 1985), See also: *A Magyar Református Egyház története*, ed. by Bíró Sándor and Szilágyi István, *Egyháztörténeti tanszék Kiadványa* (Sárospatak: 1949; repr. Sárospataki Református Kollégium Theológiai Akadémiája, 1995).

¹⁷ There has been no major comprehensive reassessment of the modern church history of the Reformed Church written dealing the 19th and early 20th centuries during the last fifty years. The former major opuses do not cite primary sources due to the genre it was written. Consequently, little can be inferred from their observation on the Scottish Mission as they do not offer evidence on their respective claims about the Mission.

¹⁸ Frederick W. Metzger, 'Hungary, The Jews and the Gospel 150 A.D. to 1950 A.D.', *Miskhan*, 14, 1991/1, pp. 15-30. Metzger work offers a rudimentary overview of mission to the Jews in Hungary.

¹⁹ Gyula Forgács, 'A Száz éves Skót Misszió', in *És Lőn Világosság. Ravasz László Hatvanadik életéve és a Dunamelléki Püspökségének Huszonadik évfordulója Alkalmából* (Budapest: Klny, 1941).

²⁰ József Farkas, *A Pesti Református Egyház 101 éves története* (Kecskemét: A Budapesti Evangéliumi Reformált Egyház, 1898).

Two recent research publications by Hungarian scholars deal with some aspects of the Scottish Mission in Pest. Anne Marie Kool's dissertation on foreign mission movements of Hungary offers the first critical assessment of the role of the Scottish Mission, though it was not the main foci of her research.²¹ The only Hungarian scholar who has examined the archival sources in Scotland is Richard Hörcsik, in the preparation of his published study of the foundation of the bursary programme written in the Hungarian language.²² While these two studies signal the beginning of a positive interest among contemporary Hungarian scholars in the work of Scottish Mission, the limited focus of each underscores the need for a comprehensive study of the history of Scottish Mission as part of the modern historiography of the Hungarian Reformed Church.

The impact of the twentieth century Holocaust has a indirect influence on the scholarly literature dealing with the nineteenth-century mission to the Jews. Doubtless some scholars may have felt uncomfortable in researching and writing on the sensitive issue of Christian efforts to convert the Jews. This has probably been a factor accounting for the relative lack of scholarly studies of the Scottish mission to the Jews both in Scotland and abroad. It must be underlined that only very few recent studies addressed the question of Jewish proselytism in Hungary. William McCagg's essay on the topic is one of the most notable efforts, but it is not meant to be an in-depth analysis of the topic.²³ Other studies only make passing reference to conversion issues up to 1890. This is the case with Aladár Komlós' work on 'Hungarian-Jewish History of Ideas',²⁴ and Viktor Karády's more sociological analysis of post-1890 Jewish conversions contains no information about the Scottish Mission's converts.²⁵

²¹ Anne-Marie Kool, *God Moves in a Mysterious Way: the Hungarian Protestant Foreign Mission Movement 1756-1951* (Zoetermeer: Uitgeverij Boekencentrum B.V., 1993). She has made an original contribution to the wider subject of mission; however her research could not go into the details of the Scottish Mission as this present research could allow itself.

²² Richárd Hörcsik, 'The History of the Scottish Hungarian Bursary programme', Manuscript, unpublished version, New College, 1989. Cf. Hörcsik, Richárd, 'Az edinburghi magyar peregináció rövid története' in *Tovább. Emlékkönyv Makkai Sándor 75 születésének évfordulójára*, ed. by József Barcza (Debrecen: Debreceni Református Kollégium Nyomdája, 1988), pp. 161-182.

²³ O. William Jr. McCagg, 'Jewish Conversion in Hungary' in *Jewish Apostasy in the Modern World*, ed. by Todd Endelmann (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1987), pp. 142-164.

²⁴ Aladár Komlós, *Magyar-zsidó szellemi történet a Reformkortól a Holokausztig*, 2 vols (Budapest: Múlt és Jövő, 1997).

²⁵ Viktor Karády, *Zsidóság, polgárosodás, asszimiláció* (Budapest: Cserépfalvi Kiadó, 1997).

7.2. Primary materials: Archival sources

7.2.1. Archival material in Britain, Germany and Austria

The primary research data presented in this thesis has been gathered from archival sources in Scotland, England, Germany, Austria and Hungary. The primary sources comprise letters, minutes, reports, articles, statements, registers of baptism and rare books.

In Scotland, the researcher read all the minutes of the Edinburgh Jewish Mission Committee, and its correspondence with the missionaries in Hungary. These are available at the National Library of Scotland. The research library of the Centre for Christianity in the Non Western World, New College, Edinburgh University, holds most of the published missionary reports from Hungary, together with reports from other mission areas. These appear in the *Missionary Records of the Free Church of Scotland*, or in separate volumes of Jewish Reports. New College Library holds all the Annual Reports of the Jewish Mission Committee. The Library's Manuscript Collection and Special Collection include some of the letters and writings of Rabbi Duncan as well as essential nineteenth century works of relevant Scottish theology, such as Alexander Keith's book on prophecy entitled *Sketch of Evidence from Prophecy*.²⁶ The Special Collection of the main Library of the University of Edinburgh saved some rarely available books such as John Duncan's biography. The minutes and periodicals of Scottish Bible Society, the former National Bible Society of Scotland, were also available to the author providing useful information on colportage. Finally, the National Archives of Scotland also provided some data for the general background to the research.

In England, the researcher consulted all the relevant materials on the work of the British and Foreign Bible Society. The Annual Reports and correspondence of colporteurs such as August Gottlieb Wimmer were collected. In Oxford, materials relating to the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews and the British Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Jews were consulted for a fuller picture of the national context of British Jewish mission. Finally, rare documents and periodicals were accessed in the British Library that shed light on the lives of Jewish converts, and give an insight into their thinking through their writings.

In Germany, *Hauptstaatsarchiv* in Stuttgart, and in Austria the *Haus- Hof und Staatsarchiv* located in Vienna were accessed to gain information on the early period of the first settlement of the Scottish Mission. Data relating to the activity of the Archduchess Maria Dorothea was studied with regard to her crucial role in facilitating the establishment of the Scottish Mission in 1841.

7.2.2. Archival data in Hungary

In Hungary, the archives of the Protestant churches hold valuable data on Hungarian Christians who were involved in the work of the Scottish Mission, either as ministers and bishops (e.g. Török and Székács), or former bursars who were appointed to professorships in the Reformed theological colleges (e.g. Balogh and Pongrácz.) The researcher was able to review all the materials relating to the Scottish Mission held at the Archive of the Synod of Hungarian Reformed Church, as well as the archives of each the four Reformed Church Provinces, Transdanubian, Danubian, Transtibiscan, Cistibiscan. Additional data was gathered from the Archive of the Lutheran Church of Hungary, and the Hungarian Baptist Church. In Debrecen the manuscript collection of the Lajos Kossuth University proved to be helpful regarding the life of Ferenc Balogh, particularly his diary. The National Archives of Hungary had some sources on Mór Ballagi's life and about the Scottish Mission. The Archives of Budapest Capital offered good sources on the later development of the Scottish Mission, especially from the aspect of education. The manuscript collection of Budapest Ervin Szabó Library shed light on the early settlement of the Mission as well as on the history of the German Affiliated Congregation of the Mission. Finally, the Jewish archival resources were consulted in Budapest. Use of these archives has to cope with the fact that they were severely damaged during the Second World War, with the result that much of the data is now missing. Finding relevant information was like 'searching for a needle in a haystack', but the researcher found it beneficial to integrate such information as is available which, with help of supplementary articles written in German, in both Hungarian and German periodicals, published in Pest, or in Leipzig, made it possible to piece together a picture of some key aspects of the religious-social history of Jewish-Christian relations in nineteenth century Pest. Besides, the two major Hungarian Jewish journals, *Egyenlőség* and *Magyar Zsidó Szemle*, offer an indispensable insight into the

²⁶ Keith, Alexander, *Sketch of the evidence from prophecy: containing an account of those prophecies which were distinctly foretold, and which have been clearly or literally fulfilled with an appendix, extracted from Sir Isaac Newton's observations on the prophecies*, (Edinburgh: Waugh and Innes, 1823).

Jewish views of the proselytising efforts of the Scottish Mission.²⁷ In obtaining Jewish sources the Library of Hungarian Jewish Rabbinical Theological University and the Hungarian National Széchenyi Library were very helpful.

In summary, there has been very little published on the history of the Scottish Mission. Less had been done to integrate the social history of Pest Jewry and the history of the Hungarian Reformed Church into the study of the Scottish Mission to the Jews. This thesis seeks to redress this situation by offering a comprehensive account of the Scottish Mission from its foundation (1841) to the outbreak of the First World War (1914), that draws on all available primary resources in the English, German and Hungarian languages, obtained from church, state or Jewish archives. On this basis, the researcher hopes to present a carefully reasoned interpretation and assessment of the Scottish Mission's success in inaugurating Jewish evangelism in Hungary as part of the revival of the Hungarian Reformed Church, and shed light on the character of Christian-Jewish relations in nineteenth century Hungary that represents an important, if debated heritage shared by Christians and Jews in Hungary today.

²⁷ For example: Eleázár Szántó, 'Az angol hittérítők Budapesten', *Magyar Zsidó Szemle*, 2. 6 füzet (1885), pp. 372-78.

Chapter 1: Hungarian Protestantism, Hungarian Jews and the Scottish Mission to the Jews

Introduction

This chapter aims to provide a political, social and religious overview of mid-nineteenth century Hungary as the context within which the history of the Scottish Mission to the Jews has to be read. In doing so, the chapter will introduce the three major constituents of the research: Hungarian Protestantism in the form of the Hungarian Reformed Church, the Jews in Hungary, and the (Free) Church of Scotland to which the Scottish Mission belonged, and to which it was accountable through the Jewish Committee in Edinburgh.

The culture of Hungarian Protestantism will be analysed with reference to three issues that shaped nineteenth century Hungarian society: the growth of Hungarian nationalism, the confessionalism of the Hungarian Reformed Church that was inseparable from the nationalist movement, and antagonism between Hungarian Protestants and Roman Catholics not over doctrinal issues, but over the religious emancipation of the Hungarian Protestants, which the Catholics, being identified with the Habsburg Empire, fiercely opposed with the backing the imperial power for a long time.

Regarding the Jewish community the chapter will discuss the main social and political forces that shaped Hungarian Jewish identity in the nineteenth century. The migration of Jews from abroad and rural Hungary to the growing urban centres of Pest and Buda reflected a socio-economic shift toward an emergent capitalist economy, the growth of a middle class in Buda and Pest, in which the Jews played a significant part. This was expressed in growing pressure for their emancipation within the Hungarian state, and within the community's internal life, where a split between Orthodox and Neolog, or Reformist, factions occurred.

It is into this situation that the Scottish Mission arrived in 1841. The establishment of the Mission station will be examined in Chapter 2. This chapter will introduce the background of the Mission in the early nineteenth century Scottish thinking about Jewish evangelism that led to the decision of the Church of Scotland General Assembly to adopt a Jewish mission scheme, that eventuated in the choice of Pest as the location of the Mission itself.

While each of these research subjects will be dealt with separately, the chapter will seek to show that there was a significant overlap in the issues with which each was concerned. This produced a fluidity of relationship especially among the Reformed Christians, the Jewish community, and the independence movement. It was into this complex that the Mission undertook to introduce the Scottish Evangelical understanding of the nature and purpose of mission, with respect to both the conversion of Jews and the renewal of the Reformed Church.

I. Hungarian Protestantism (1526-1848)

1. Hungary: A Historical Overview of Protestantism (1526-1824)

Since the Reformation, Hungarian Protestants have regarded themselves as a bulwark of Christendom.¹ This reflects a unique self-understanding on the part of Hungarian Protestants. The historical beginnings of Hungarian Protestantism coincided with the collapse of the medieval Hungarian state due to the conquest by the Ottoman Empire.² For several decades the Hungarians withstood the severe pressure of the giant Muslim world power from the fifteenth century onwards. However, the ill-fated battle of Mohács, when the Hungarian army encountered the Ottomans in 1526, meant the loss of the country and marked a very tragic episode in Hungarian history. After the death of the king and many noblemen, there was an interregnum and the kingdom was also prey to her neighbours. In spite of their decisive victory, the Ottomans were not able to conquer the whole kingdom and this resulted in the country being divided into three parts. Two powers shared the loot. Catholic Habsburg Austria soon conquered the western, northern and northeast parts of the kingdom. The Turks occupied the middle part of Hungary with Buda as their capital. The Transylvanian principality, which lay to the east, some 100 miles from River Tisza, was semi-independent of Ottoman Empire for 150 years. Thus, for some decades after the Reformation, the principality owed its very existence to this historical situation.

It is an irony of Protestant history in Hungary that defeat at the battle of Mohács enabled the Protestant faith to spread across the country. By the last decades of the

¹ Domokos Kosáry, *A History of Hungary* (Budapest: Franklin, 1941), p. 117.

² Graham Murdock, *Calvinism on the Frontier 1600-1660: International Calvinism and the Reformed Church in Hungary and Transylvania* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), p. 10. See also his chapter on Hungarian Reformation, pp. 10-45.

sixteenth century 80-90 percent of the population of Hungary was Protestant.³ All the main emerging forms of Protestantism were present in Hungary from this time: Lutheranism among the German burghers and the Slovaks, Calvinism and Unitarianism among the Hungarians. The nation was divided along religious as well as political lines. Catholics and Protestants accused each other of infidelity and apostasy and each saw in the current situation the wrath and punishment of God.⁴ While the new Roman Catholic rulers of Northeast Hungary were intolerant, the Turks often showed great tolerance, if not sympathy, for the spread of the Protestant religion. Certainly, it also corresponded with their political interest. In consequence, the land occupied and controlled by the Ottomans had a high number of Protestants and this set the scene for the religious map of Hungary which has existed ever since. Since the Habsburgs were not fully able to control their northeast areas, Protestantism was also established there.

The Hungarians fought for many subsequent years for their independence against the Catholic Habsburgs and the Ottoman Turks. The uprisings against the Habsburgs often had a political-religious cause and sought to resist the Counter Reformation (1608-1715). From the early 1600s onwards, it was Hungarian Protestantism, which fought for religious freedom and national independence under the leaderships of Calvinist Transylvanian princes such as Bocskai, Bethlen, and later Thököly. These severe wars waged against the Catholic Habsburgs naturally offered a separate identity for Calvinist Hungarians who were ethnic Magyars. The wars against the Ottomans were political in character and Hungarians either under Turkish or Austrian control hoped to free the country from Muslim occupation first. The rule of the Ottomans started to decline in 1686 when Buda castle was conquered by the united Christian armies of European countries in which the Catholic Habsburgs played a crucial role. By 1699 the Habsburg *Kaiser*⁵ became the sovereign king of all the Hungarians of the occupied areas and the Transylvanian

³ Mihály Bucsay, *A protestantizmus története Magyarországon 1521-1945*, trans. by Auer Kálmán, Ádámné Révész Gabriella (Budapest: Gondolat, 1985), p. 23.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22. It is an interesting aspect that during this era a distinctive, colourful and telling Protestant theology of lamentation was developed which drew parallels between the fate of the Jewish nation and the Hungarian in spite of the fact that the Jewry in medieval Hungary was insignificant. However, mission to the Jews never appeared in Hungarian Protestantism till the nineteenth century arrival of the Scottish Mission in Hungary. As for the sixteenth century See: János L. Györi, *A magyar reformáció irodalmi hagyományai* (Budapest: Református Pedagógiai Intézet Kiadó, 1998), p. 38.

⁵ After the treaty with the Ottoman at Karlóca, the Habsburg Emperor became the sovereign all over Hungary. However, the Habsburg Emperor was only King of Hungary but not *Kaiser*, that is Emperor. The significance of this lies in the legal status of the Hungarian Kingdom, which was not part of the hereditary counties of the Habsburg Crown. Therefore, each successive ruler had to be "freely" elected by the Hungarian noblemen of the parliament. Upon their consent the Emperor was not only recognised as ruler of Hungary, but also crowned as the king of Hungary.

Principality also ceased to exist. After the expulsion of the Ottoman Turks, the Catholic rulers were eager to suppress and severely limit the rights and religious liberty of the Protestant Hungarian churches. The Protestants often suffered incessant cruel persecution from the Habsburgs. The decade 1671-1681 lives as a painful memory for Protestants. During this period pastors of the Reformed Church were imprisoned, tortured and sold as slaves for galleys by the Catholic Habsburg.⁶ The Counter-Reformation left its imprint on Hungarian Protestant Church people, clergy and nobility. Protestant or Magyar and rebel were synonymous in the eyes of the Habsburgs and the higher Roman Catholic clergy.⁷ The Catholic Austrian rulers hoped to uproot the anti-Habsburg '*rebellio*' as well as eliminate the leaders of anti-Rome '*religio*'.⁸

After being freed from the Muslim power the Hungarians again fought a war, the First War of Liberation (1703-1711) led by Ferenc Rákóczi II for their national independence against the Catholic Habsburg. For some time after the peace treaty of Szatmár in 1711 the Catholic Habsburg ruler, Charles III (1711-1740) continued to persecute Protestants. The period from 1715-1780 was named as the 'quiet Counter Reformation' when the religious life of Protestants was severely restricted through the *Carolina Resolutio* issued by the Emperor. Beside political and religious restrictions, the Habsburgs were also intent on changing the religious map of the country. The succession of wars for the liberation of the country from Ottoman and Habsburg rule resulted in a sharp decline in the Hungarian-speaking population. The Austrian Court followed the policy of '*divide et impera*' and allowed the Orthodox Serbs to settle in the southern part of Hungary shortly after the expulsion of the Ottoman Turks from Buda. Macartney says, '...in the Serbs they saw serviceable tools to be used against Hungarian factiousness'.⁹ Charles III's daughter, Maria Theresa (1740-1780) settled many Roman Catholic Germans, especially Swabian people in the lands from which the former Hungarian, mainly Protestant population simply vanished due to the constant wars against the Ottoman Turks.¹⁰ The settlement of Catholic and Orthodox subjects indicated a policy of

⁶ *A Magyarhoni Protestáns Egyház története* ed. by Mihály Zsilinszky, (Budapest: Atheneum, 1907), p. 205; See also: Bucsay, *A protestantizmus története*, pp. 110-118.

⁷ George Barany, 'Hungary: From Aristocratic to Proletarian Nationalism' in *Nationalism in Eastern Europe*, ed. by Sugar F. Peter and Lederer J. Ivo (Seattle & London: University of Washington Press, 1971), pp. 259-309. (p. 261). See also: C. A. Macartney, *Hungary* (London: E. Benn, 1934), pp. 149-162.

⁸ Tibor Fabiny, 'Evangelische Kirche Ungarns', in *Rebellion Oder Religion*, ed. by Barton, F. Peter and László Makkai, *Studia Ecclesiastica Nova Series III* (Budapest: Református Zsinati Iroda Sajtóosztálya, 1977), pp. 37-46.

⁹ C. A. Macartney, *The Habsburg Empire 1790-1918* (London and Edinburgh: Morrison and Gibb Limited, 1968), p. 92

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 9, 45.

intolerance, which made its presence felt again upon the religious liberty of the Protestants. Each foreign ethnic group brought their religion with them, and thereby weakened the opposing Hungarian Protestantism within the country. A considerable change came when Joseph II (1781-1790) ascended the throne. One of his first deeds was to issue the Edict of Toleration in 1781.¹¹ Révész remarked that though the Edict 'did not give complete freedom for the exercise of religion in Hungary, it at least, put an end to the worst civil disabilities' of the Protestants.¹² This era of openness was very short however. Joseph died in 1790 and was followed by Leopold II (1790-92), whose short-term rule considerably improved a freer practice of Protestant religion. The rule of Francis I (1792-1835) was best summarised by the notorious saying of his brother Alexander Leopold: '[...] enlightenment and the widening of knowledge are of no benefit to the common people'.¹³ His absolutist rule was plainly arbitrary and Protestantism was again disadvantaged. Yet it was towards the end of his rule that a new era commenced allowing place for the new political developments.

2. Nationalism in the Reform Era (1825-1848)

2.1. Changing forms of Nationalism: the interplay of Ethnicity, Class, and Religion

Throughout the medieval history of Hungary, the Hungarian ruling class, consisting of ethnic Hungarians, Croats, Germans and Rumanians, perceived itself as *Hungarus*. Similarly, the lower classes of the Hungarian Kingdom had many ethnic groups; Slavs, Germans and Rumanians but the marginal majority was Hungarian. However, the political hegemony was in the hand of the Hungarian ruling classes. The aristocracy and the gentry, mostly Hungarian-speaking regarded themselves as the sole representatives of the Hungarian nation that constituted the only *natio* of the country.¹⁴ This implied that other layers of the society regardless of their national and religious background were not taken into consideration. Three main characteristics of seventeenth and eighteenth century nationalism have to be delineated. First, Magyars and non-Magyars fought numerous wars led by feudal Hungarian Protestant noblemen against the Habsburgs from the early

¹¹ Imre Révész, *History of Hungarian Reformed Church*, trans. by George A. F. Knight, (Washington D.C.: The Hungarian Reformed Federation of America, 1956) p. 99. See also: A. Kool, *God Moves in Mysterious Ways*, (Zoetmeer: Uitgeverij Boekencentrum, 1995), p. 30. n. 37.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 101.

¹³ Kosáry, p. 177.

¹⁴ Out of Hungary's eleven million population more than 500 000 people belonged to the nobility. Four-fifths of this figure was Hungarians leaving the rest for Slavs, Germans and Rumanians. See Elek Fényes, *Magyarország Statisztikája*, 3 vols (Pest: Trattner-Károlyi, 1842), I, pp. 64, 118.

seventeenth century. This created a common identity for the people, and ethnicity became secondary. Second, *natio* was a concept of the ruling class and applied to themselves. Third, confessionalism of Protestants was identical with national liberty.

Throughout the course of modern Hungarian history, Protestantism often became the dominating force for Hungarian nationalism. As the church historian, Tibor Fabiny observed, fighting for religious as well as national freedom was a decisive trait in the development of Hungarian Protestantism and did not change during the Reform Era.¹⁵ The Hungarian proverb, ‘the Protestants were forced to use the sword more often than the Bible’, succinctly summarises the character of Hungarian Protestantism.¹⁶ Nonetheless a point has to be underlined that Calvinism was far more powerful and significant in the political arena than Lutheranism since many noblemen including the Transylvanian princes were adherers of the Reformed faith.¹⁷ The gentry, who constituted the Lower House of the Hungarian Diet, had a significant number of ethnic Hungarian Reformed people. Imre Révész junior observed that it came as no surprise that ‘the concept of nationalism was largely to be found entertained by Reformed Church people. The Reformed Church at that time was some 99.8% of pure Hungarian stock...’¹⁸ Thus, it is not surprising that the interwoven nature of religion and national identity provided the ground for Hungarian nationalism often led by the Reformed noblemen and was supported by the gentry.

During the Romantic period of the nineteenth century, the aforementioned characteristics faced a serious challenge. First, the nationalities¹⁹ of the Hungarian Kingdom began to identify themselves increasingly by culture and language, breaking the former identity of *Hungarus*. Second, the social changes demanded that other layers of society be taken into consideration as constituents of the nation. The problem of the changing concept of *natio* partly lay in the fact that modern nationalism broke out of the framework of the class system and slowly but steadily began to incorporate a much wider

¹⁵ Tibor Fabiny, ‘Mária Dorottya Und Der Ungarische Protestantismus’, *Jahrbuch Für Die Geschichte Des Protestantismus in Österreich*, 96 (1980), 333–351 (p. 337).

¹⁶ *Monthly Record of United Free Church of Scotland [MRUFofCS]* 4. 42. (June 1904), p. 246. It was precisely this trait of Protestantism that the Scots were to discover upon their arrival. The later James Webster cited these words spoken by the missionary, John Duncan at the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland. He observed the same, as we shall see.

¹⁷ In Hungary Reformed, often called Calvinist, equates to the Presbyterians among the Western Protestants, whose religious origins can also be traced to John Calvin of Geneva.

¹⁸ Révész, *History*, p. 109.

¹⁹ Nationalities that is, *nemzetiségek* in the Hungarian language used to describe the non-Hungarian speaking ethnic groups of Hungary, which were regarded as Hungarian in spite of the fact that their native tongue was different from Hungarian.

layer of society on the basis of language, religion and culture.²⁰ In this context, the core problem of Hungarian nationalism was that while it fought for more freedom from the Habsburgs it did not realize that other nationalities such as Croats, Slovaks, Rumanians and Serbs should have received more and more political freedom within the Hungarian Kingdom. However, some leaders earnestly believed that other nationalities would happily join the Magyar cause, and remain *Hungarus*. This expectation had a rightful historical experience since one sees also some non-ethnic Hungarians as the great heroes of Hungarian national interest such as Miklós Zrínyi who was of Croatian origin. Finally, the former 'Protestant-dominated' national identity did not, and could not include other denominational stances of ethnic groups such as the Serb Orthodox and alike. Religion and ethnic identity were accentuated more due to romanticism. These challenges reflected the changes that Hungary had to face during the course of the nineteenth century. The Reform Era ended with the Second War of Independence (1848-49) when the most faithful supporters of the Hungarian national cause were the newly arrived Jews, and the Slovaks, which clearly indicates the concepts of nationalism were being formed. They were often ready to assimilate to the Hungarian nation. On the other hand Rumanians and Croats fought alongside the Austrians. Germans of Hungary took stance on both sides depending on what they considered themselves. Though nationalism of various nationalities presented a challenge to the Habsburgs, it also at the same time offered them a means to control Hungarian nationalism. They knew well how to apply *Divide et impera*.

2.2. Nationalism of István Széchenyi and Lajos Kossuth

In Hungarian historiography the period of 1825-1848 is often referred to as the Reform Era. This was the time when liberalism and nationalism existed side by side. There were two main persons of significance during this era: Count István Széchenyi, himself a Roman Catholic, and the Lutheran, Lajos Kossuth, representing two differing concepts of nationalism. Széchenyi sought to reform the country from above since he was part of the ruling aristocracy and was supportive of a slow change achieved by cultural, and economic reforms. In contrast to him, Kossuth lobbied for a nationalism, which tried to base itself upon a wider class of the modern and changing society with a more radical tone.

Concerning the nationalism of the Reform Era the historian A. J. P. Taylor remarked, 'the great aristocracy in Hungary saw the menace of liberalism and of nationalism; but instead of seeking Habsburg protection, they found safety by putting

²⁰ Barany, pp. 259-62

themselves at the head of the national movement and so won the support of the lesser nobility and of the German town-dwellers'.²¹ The pioneer of this change was Széchenyi, a great landowner, who had penetrated the secret of Whig success in England in a gesture, which founded modern Hungary. He offered a year's income from his estates to found a Hungarian Academy. The great aristocracy became patriotic and, at the same time, patriotism became a national phenomenon. The first demands for the 'national' tongue, Magyar, instead of Latin, was made in 1825; they were made still more insistently in the Diet of 1830.²² Hungary had previously been distinguished from the rest of the Empire only by her antiquated privileges, henceforth she appeared as a distinct national state. Yet, it took many decades for the Hungarians to change the language of the administration from German and Latin to Hungarian. It was only at the Diet in 1844 that the royal court was persuaded to give consent to Magyar claims.

Széchenyi's activities were indirectly but closely related to the origin of the Scottish Mission, as will be seen. He visited England four times and the country became a role model of a democratic country for him.²³ His third trip to England in 1832 was dedicated to the study of the technique of ship and bridge building. During this trip he saw the newly built Hammersmith Bridge in London, which was planned by William Tierney Clark. Due to Széchenyi's invitation, he later became the architect of the Chain Bridge in Budapest.²⁴ Széchenyi often refers to him as "Old Clark" to differentiate him from the young Scottish architect, Adam Clark, named as "Young Clark". Count Széchenyi was the driving force behind many other initiatives and developments in contemporary Hungary. He pressed hard for shipbuilding and for this reason invited Mr. Fowles, a shipwright, who built the *Árpád*, *Mária Dorottya* and *Ferdinánd* ships and later worked for the Danube Steamship Company.²⁵ Apart from engineers, professionals and skilled workers, who facilitated modernisation and industrialisation, Széchenyi invited many other English and Scottish people to Hungary. Among the many travellers visiting him we find Miss Pardoe²⁶ who

²¹ A. J. P. Taylor, *The Habsburg Monarchy 1809-1918* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1948), pp. 44-5.

²² The Hungarian Diet consisted of an Upper House where most of the nobility was Catholic, and a Lower House where the Counties send their delegates who were mainly Protestant middle-class noblemen.

²³ Antal Csengery, *Magyar szónokok és statusférjak*, (Pesten: Heckenast Gusztáv, 1851), pp. 333 ff. Baron Zsigmond Kemény wrote that he was there sixteen times.

²⁴ Lajos Kropf, 'Gróf Széchenyi István angol ismerősei', *Budapesti Szemle*, 115 (1903), 321-350 (p. 328).

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 334.

²⁶ 'Pardoe, S H. Julia', *Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by Sidney Lee, 50 vols (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1895), 43 Owens-Passelewe, p. 201. She was a celebrated writer who published many books on other countries. The book that brought fame to her was 'The City of the Sultan and Domestic Manners of the Turks' published in 1837 then reprinted three times.

wrote a popular book on Hungary including a description of the work of British workers on the Chain Bridge. His book became the standard reference to Hungary for the British.²⁷

Both Széchenyi and Kossuth were liberal, but the former was moderate whereas the latter more radical. There was a difference of opinion between them about political issues such as democratisation of the country. Taylor makes an apt observation, ‘where Széchenyi learnt Whiggism, Kossuth learnt nationalism’.²⁸ Lajos Kossuth was a lawyer who distributed news of the proceedings of the parliamentary debates called Diets in Pozsony.²⁹ Later he became the editor of the highly influential *Pesti Hírlap*. Like Széchenyi, he fought for the abolition of the feudal privileges of the noblemen and church, and the equality of all citizens before the law. When, in 1848, after the ‘April Laws’, the Habsburg ruler instigated the Croatian Baron Jellasics to march against the new Hungarian Government (April 1848-August 1849) it was Kossuth who called upon the nation to take arms and fight the intruders, thus leading to the War of Liberation of 1848/49. The Habsburgs incited some nationalities living in Hungary against the Magyars and sent their own troops against the Hungarian government. Yet this was not enough to overthrow the uprising; on the contrary the Hungarian army forces advanced almost to Vienna. This development naturally elevated Kossuth to become the leader of the nation in the war. The Hungarians fought for a year and were overcome only by the Russian troops, who came to help the Austrians subjugate a nation fighting for her freedom. After the loss of the war, the nation was not only defeated but also humiliated. For the years after 1850, Hungary was under martial law, which was introduced by General Haynau, the commander-in-chief of the Austrian Army.³⁰ Haynau issued a decree to regulate and limit severely the work of the Protestant Churches.³¹ This state of persecution lasted for more than a decade under what has been called Neo-absolutism (1849-1867). The changes in the political climate had serious consequences on the life of the Protestant churches.

²⁷ Julia Pardoe, ‘Mr. Tierney Clark’s Bridge’ in *The City of the Magyar, 3 vols* (Budapest: Virtue Books Ltd, 1840), I, pp. 310-11. See also: John Duncan, ‘Extract Letter from Rev. Dr. Duncan Dr. Candlish Pesth, John Duncan, ‘January 24, 1842’, *Home and Foreign Missionary Record of the Church of Scotland* [Thereafter *FMRCofS*] 2. 4 (1 April, 1842), 45-46 (p. 45). John Duncan, the missionary also uses her book as an authority on Hungary.

²⁸ Taylor, pp. 51-2.

²⁹ János Veliky, *Polgárosodás és szabadság* (Budapest: Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó, 1999), p. 91. Pozsony is called Pressburg in German and today Bratislava in Slovakia.

³⁰ George Bauhofer, *History of the Protestant Church in Hungary from the Beginning of the Reformation to 1850 with Reference Also to Transylvania*, trans. by Craig, J (London: James Nisbet and Co., 1854), p. 450.

³¹ János Csohány, *A magyarországi protestánsok abszolútizmuskori bécsi kormányzatok tükrében* (Budapest: A Magyar Református Egyház Zsinati Irodája, 1979), p. 42.

3. Emancipation of Protestantism: Antagonism between Catholics and Protestants

For the Habsburgs, the Catholic Church seemed to be the right means of unifying the country. Catholic propaganda promoted the idea that the Habsburg Monarchy needed to have one religion, one constitution and one national language.³² By law, since *Carolina Resolutio* of 1731, the Protestants had many 'vexatious restrictions' imposed on them.³³ They were forced to observe Catholic feast-days, conversion from Catholicism to any form of Protestantism was prohibited, their clergy were subject to visitations by Catholic priests, a Catholic oath was required of all persons entering the public service. Thus, Protestants were excluded from such careers since the taking of the oath would have required a change of religion.³⁴ This resulted in a completely Catholic control of state affairs. Religious liberty was severely restricted, in fact, abused.

It was only sixty years later that the Protestant received protection through the law of 1791, article 26. This law was incorporated in the *Corpus Iuris* of the Monarchy. The legal status of Protestant faiths as *religio recepta*, 'accepted religion', was granted along with the Catholics. Nonetheless, the law also affirmed the superiority of Catholicism, '*religio praedominas*' but declared for the Calvinist and Lutheran the right to exercise freely their religion.³⁵ The article had seventeen clauses, with the ninth clause being the most important. It allowed Protestants to enter state offices. They were not forced to take a Catholic oath pronouncing belief in the Holy Virgin. In addition, the thirteenth clause allowed Roman Catholics, with the consent of the king, to change religious allegiance to Protestant faith *after six weeks of religious education conducted by the Catholics priest* [italics added].³⁶ Finally the sixteenth clause allowed mixed marriages which was advantageous to the Catholics since such marriages could only be solemnised by Roman Catholic clergy. The importance of the law lay in the recognition of Protestant religion (Calvinism and Lutheranism), but as it is apparent all concessions made were still to the serious detriment of the Protestant Churches. Conversion from the Roman Catholicism to the Protestant faith, either that of an adult, or through the baptism of children, was subject

³² Révész, *History*, p. 109.

³³ On other 'tolerated religions' such as Greek orthodox, Uniate Church See: Macartney, *The Habsburg Empire*, pp. 107-108.

³⁴ Bucsay, *A protestantizmus története*, p. 144.

³⁵ Bauhofer, p. 388.

³⁶ Ibid.

to formidable hindrances. The law was not by any means reciprocal, a fact that the Protestants greatly resented.

The religious scene after the law was recognised by the Emperor often became tense during the following four decades. The most sensitive issue between Protestants and Catholics was the article fifteen that regulated the religion of children of mixed marriages.³⁷ It declared that '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 confession'.³⁸ However, what often happened was that on the event of proposed marriages between Protestants and Catholics a promise was extracted from the Protestant person to give a written consent in a form of a letter, came to be known as 'reversal' that *all* children would be raised in the Catholic faith. This way the Roman Catholic clergy abused the law and the state turned a blind eye to their legal transgressions.

It was not until the Diet of 1832-1836 that this practise was questioned. There were a considerable number of Roman Catholic members of the Hungarian Diet who stood firmly in favour of the Protestants and often opposed the appeals of the Catholic hierarchy and state ministers.³⁹ In spite of the fact that the Lower House, by a great majority, had accepted a Bill during the Diets of 1832-36, which would have overruled all the discriminatory acts of the standing Religious Law, the Upper House consisting of mainly Roman Catholic aristocracy and the priestly hierarchy rejected it.⁴⁰ The Diet of 1839-40 was very determined to discuss properly the crucial issues of mixed marriages and proselytising but achieved no satisfactory results. In trying to solve the problem, the bureaucratic state governing system worked out a royal resolution that was issued on 5 July 1843.⁴¹ This resolution pleased neither the Protestants nor the Catholics although it restored some rights to Protestants at least on paper. Marriage performed in the presence of a Protestant minister and conversion from Roman Catholicism to the Protestant faith with less hindrance was allowed. The contemporary church historian, Bauhofer underscored that

³⁷ This technical term comes from Latin. In practice it meant that the Protestants were severely disadvantaged since the children of mixed marriages, or in the other case the spouse had to change religion. There were many altered forms of the laws regulating affairs between Protestants and Catholics always favouring the latter.

³⁸ Bauhofer, p. 388.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 431. See also: Révész, *History*, p. 111.

⁴⁰ Bucsay, *A protestantizmus története*, p. 182. Such discrimination was as the law relating to the mixed marriages, when a reversal had to be made to the detriment of the Protestants.

⁴¹ Révész, *History*, p. 112.

the Protestants still remained suspicious.⁴² Yet the achievements of the Law should be considered a great step as it eased most of the grievances of the Protestants though it did not officially declare equal rights for Protestants in all civil affairs.⁴³

Clearly, the issue of the non-acceptance of conversion from Catholicism to the Protestant faith by the Roman Church despite the law, remained for many centuries, even up to the end of the nineteenth century, a grievance for Calvinists and Lutherans alike. Religious, and consequently civil rights of the Protestants were restricted to the advantage of the Catholics. Therefore, the conflict was not by any means only a religious one but also a socio-political one, affecting the life of the Hungarian nation. In the eyes of the Calvinists, the Austrians, who controlled the State, were a 'foreign' people and had a 'foreign' religion, namely Catholicism. Naturally, Protestantism became deeply imbued with national sentiments. Nationalism and confessionality converged and the socio-political problems of society presented a challenge for the ruling class from the mid nineteenth century. These three elements: nationalism, confessionality and the socio-political changes were to become the driving forces in Hungary.⁴⁴ Such was the extremely sensitive scene when the first Scots were to enter with a view of proselytising. However, before our attention turns to the history of the Scottish Mission in Pest, the other constituent of the story, the social-religious life of the Hungarian Jewish community has to be outlined.

II. Pest: Religion and Nationality with special reference to the Jews

1. The Religious-Ethnic map in the wider context

To understand the situation to which the missionaries came one must map the ethnicity of Pest and Buda. During the period studied, Pest and Buda were to become a melting pot of the nationalities living in the Hungarian Kingdom. While Hungary had a considerable German speaking population, there were other ethnic groups residing in the Hungarian Kingdom including Slovaks in northern Hungary, Croats in Croatia, and Rumanians in some areas of Transylvania. The peculiarity of the Hungarian Kingdom was that neither

⁴² Bauhofer, p. 437. Bauhofer wrote, '...the Protestant knew too well the secret power of the confessionality to feel at ease respecting the influence of Roman Catholic parent in mixed marriages'.

⁴³ Bucsay, *A protestantizmus története*, p. 182.

⁴⁴ Though the forces for social change were oppressed after the loss of the War of Liberation in 1849 and kept oppressed during the Bach era of neo-Absolutism (1851-1867) it resurfaced that became a strong force at its fullest strength to shape the society.

the Magyars nor the other ethnic groups altogether constituted a clear majority.⁴⁵ In the nineteenth century religion and ethnicity overlapped to a great extent. Hungarians were mainly Calvinist and some were Roman Catholic. Croats were Roman Catholic, Slovaks either Catholic or Lutheran, Swabian Roman Catholic, the *Zipsers* of northern Hungary and Transylvanian Saxons were Lutheran, Rumanians were Orthodox and finally there was an increasing number of Jews from the 1830s onwards. As the Hungarian Kingdom was ruled by the absolutist power of the Habsburgs, the Hungarian response to it was a rise of nationalism. The change of a German dominated culture to a Hungarian one in Pest and Buda can be observed throughout the 1840s. Magyarisation versus Germanisation was one of the main characteristics of events taking place in Hungary.

2. Religion and Nationality in Pest and Buda in the Reform Era (1825-48)

2.1. The Catholics, The Reformed, The Lutheran and the Orthodox

The Catholic Church was the largest denomination in both cities, Buda and Pest, their members occupying most of the administrative jobs. Many of them were civil servants, judges, lawyers as well as teachers and professionals of trades. A significant part of the Hungarian aristocracy was Catholic in both cities and they held the highest offices of administrative power. The Catholics in terms of ethnicity were Hungarian, Austrian or German, the latter being traditionally more influential. They had many schools and the university of Pest was under their control. Furthermore they enjoyed the privilege of state support as the dominant one among the officially 'accepted religions'. Nonetheless, the Protestant churches were still disadvantaged in many ways in practice.

Both Protestant denominations, Reformed and Lutheran (Evangelical),⁴⁶ took root in Hungary and were regarded as part of Hungarian Protestantism. However, the Reformed

⁴⁵ László Katus, 'Multinational Hungary in the Light of Statistics', in *Ethnicity and Society in Hungary*, ed. by Ferenz Glatz, (Budapest: Institute of History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1990), pp. 111-130 (p. 117), table 2.

⁴⁶ The usage of the term could easily be misleading for the modern English-speaking reader. There were three distinct words, which were translated into the same English word. First, 'Evangelical' can be the literal translation of the Hungarian word '*evangélikus*', meaning Lutheran. Second, German *Evangelisches* which simply means the same as the former, adherents of the Lutheran Church was rendered as Evangelical. The missionaries and German Pietist members of their congregation (a topic to be discussed later) often translated *Evangelisches* into English as 'Evangelical', thereby it had a dubious meaning for the unlearned readers of their reports. The third word, *evangéliumi*, another Hungarian word was also translated as Evangelical but it does not convey the same meaning as it has in the Hungarian language. *Evangéliumi*, an adjective literally meant 'gospel-like'. This word was used in the official name of the Hungarian Reformed Church, *Evangélium szerint Reformált Helvét Egyház* in the nineteenth century. The problem was that the term 'Evangelical' denoted the distinct Anglo-Saxon usage of the English term which is applied as a descriptive word for the fervent and committed followers of Christ. These people were labelled Evangelicals in Britain.

tradition was the 'Magyar religion'.⁴⁷ As we have seen, most of the adherents of that religious tradition lived in the eastern part of the country but there were also some Reformed people in the western and middle part of the country. People had migrated mainly to Pest from the latter areas, but the cities of Pest and Buda still had a very small population of Hungarian Reformed during the 1840s. The cities together had only 100.000 inhabitants by the late 1840s.⁴⁸ Out of this number there were only 600 Reformed persons in Buda in 1851.⁴⁹ Pest had a higher number, totalling 3691 by 1854.⁵⁰

Though very small in number they had the significant support of a person of the highest rank of nobility in Hungary. Hermina, the second wife of Archduke Joseph, the Palatine of Hungary,⁵¹ was Reformed. To please her a new German pastor, Charles Cleynmann, was elected as an assistant minister to Gábor Báthori, the Hungarian Reformed superintendent in 1816.⁵² Consequently the Hungarians and the very few German-speaking Reformed families shared the same *Széna tér* church. Kósa remarks, 'the Reformed Hungarians [in Pest] favoured dynasticism much more than nationalism and the entire Hungarian congregation was willing and happy to listen to a German sermon for the sake of the Palatine's wife, Hermina'.⁵³ From that time on every alternate Sunday, the sermon was in German at the Széna tér Reformed Church. In 1839 Báthori was succeeded by Pál Török, a person of great importance who was to rise to prominence in the history of the Scottish Mission. Török was an outstanding organiser, which was a quality that the very poor Pest Reformed Church needed to have after the Flood of Danube in 1838. He also spoke German which was essential for communication in Pest. He was politically

Therefore, an educated reader of a translated text or report had to find out which one of the meanings was implied in the given context.

⁴⁷ Macartney, *Hungary*, p. 149. Cf. Murdock, p. 302.

⁴⁸ Smith Robert, 'A Personal Narrative of Ten Years' Mission in Hungary', *Sunday at Home*, 13. 656 (1866), 737-42 (p. 741). Smith has obviously Pest in mind as Buda and Pest were not yet united in 1841. See also: Taylor, p. 58. Taylor said: 'The inhabitant of Pest and Buda were just under 100 000... The old-established inhabitants therefore still predominated, and there were Germans - two third of the population in Budapest [an anachronism it is better to use Pest and Buda]... but the university students in Budapest were mostly Magyars'.

⁴⁹ Elek Fényes, *Az Ausztria Birodalom statisztikája és földrajzi leírása*, 2 vols (Pest: Landerer-Heckenast, 1857), I. p. 266.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 268. In comparison with the 4000 inhabitants of Pest out of which a tiny minority was Reformed, there were 47, 000 people in Debrecen who were almost exclusively Reformed. Cf. Révész, *History*, p. 138.

⁵¹ The highest official representing the Austrian Emperor was called *nádor* in Hungarian that is Palatine. His wife was the Palatinat meaning *nádorné*, that is the wife of 'nádor'.

⁵² Zoványi, Jenő, *Magyarországi protestáns egyháztörténeti lexikon*, ed. by Ladányi, Sándor, 3 enlarged edn (Budapest: A Magyarországi Református Egyház Zsinati Irodájának Sajtóosztálya, 1977), pp. 56, 112.

⁵³ János Kósa, *Pest és Buda elmagyarosodása 1848 ig* (Budapest: Általános Nyomda Könyv és Lapkiadó Rt, 1937), p. 88.

liberal orientated and formed a good working relationship with like-minded Lutherans.⁵⁴ By and large, Török's ministerial work and that of the Scots began at the same time in Pest.

The Lutheran Church in Pest and Buda consisted of three ethnic elements. Most were Slovaks and Germans with only a very few ethnic Hungarians. There were 752 Lutherans in Buda by 1851. Their number by 1854 was 6501 in Pest.⁵⁵ The elders of the congregation were Hungarian magnates such as the Prónay, Péchy, Balogh, and Podmaniczky families. The liberal minded noblemen and the mainly German speaking middle class bourgeoisie opted for Magyarization just as the Jews did. Such people preferred the German pastor, Michael Lang, to Jan Kollar. Kollar was the minister of the lower class people such as workers in industry and household servants who were mostly Slovaks.

During the 1840s a considerable shift began to take place. As the number of Hungarians increased, due to the growth of the city a minister, József Székács was elected for the Hungarian-speaking members of the congregation.⁵⁶ Székács' personal story represents the process of Magyarization. He came from a family of Slovakian origin, which absorbed Hungarian culture and language during the course of the eighteenth century. Székács studied for many years and was a tutor for noble families before being invited to preach at Pest Szén-tér church in 1838.⁵⁷ There he became one of the leading champions of Magyarization of the Lutheran Slovaks and Germans. He integrated with the Hungarian elite and worked closely with Török. To this circle of eminent Protestants, who exerted great public influence, belonged the most prestigious person of the Lutheran Church, Maria Dorothea, who was the third wife of Palatine Joseph. The three Lutheran ministers took three different stances. Kollar was pan-Slavic and anti-Hungarian; Székács opted for Magyarization and happily worked with the Pietist Maria Dorothea and the liberals of the Reform Party. Lang was a faithful adherent of the dynasty and a rationalist. Such was the colourful spectrum of the Lutheran faith in Pest and Buda.

In addition to the Protestants, there was a small Greek and Serbian population, who adhered to Orthodoxy but their numbers decreased as the city grew. A massive assimilation

⁵⁴ Áron Kiss, *Török Pál élete*, ed. by Szóts Farkas, A Magyar Irodalmi Társaság Kiadványai, 18 (Budapest: Hornyánszky Viktor Cs. és Kir. udv. könyvnyomdája, 1904).

⁵⁵ Kósa, p. 88.

⁵⁶ Pál Patay, *Székács József* (Budapest: M.O.B. Nyomda, 1914), pp. 15-6.

⁵⁷ Sz. Károly Kiss, *Új Magyar Athénas Újabbkori Magyar Protestáns Egyházi Írók Életrajzgyűjteménye*, ed. by Sz. Károly Kiss, Kálmán Farkas, Gusztáv Bierbrunner (Budapest: Aigner Lajos, 1887), p. 393.

took place among them due to entering military service and holding state offices that required a change of religion from Orthodoxy to Greek Catholicism. Thus, by the time nationalism became an issue in the mid 1800s their numbers were low. Traditionally, they were the merchants of the Ottoman Turks in Buda trading with the Habsburg.⁵⁸ However, with the increasing number of Jews in retail business their trading significance diminished, especially from the 1820s. The Vienna government supported the Jews of Hungary as it decided to exclude 'foreigners', that is Greeks involved in the Empire's domestic commerce.⁵⁹ Up until the late 1830s class, society, and religion remained intact in Pest, therefore ethnic boundaries as well. When ideas of enlightenment and liberalism began to imbue the city dwellers' life from the 1840s, the strong boundaries of religion were weakened. Assimilation, the Magyarization of various ethnic groups to the Hungarian nation was to show its first signs. This was particularly true for the life of Pest and Buda Jewry.

2.2. The Jewish community

2.2.1. Migration and Society

In studying the main patterns of Jewish migration in Pest one notices similar trends to that of Hungary.⁶⁰ There were two areas from which Jews migrated into Hungary; one direction was the western part of the Monarchy such as the Austrian provinces, Moravia, Bohemia, and the other, Galicia.⁶¹ The first Jewish settlers of Buda and Old-Buda came mainly from the aforementioned German-speaking areas.⁶² These so-called 'German Jews' of Old Buda, living on the property of Count Zichy, were the first to move into Pest.⁶³ The other Jewish

⁵⁸ Kósa, pp. 91-2. See also: István Pirigyi, *A magyarországi görög katolikusok története*, 2 vols (Nyíregyháza: Nyírségi Nyomda, 1990), I, pp. 74 ff. Greek Catholics were under the jurisdiction of Rome yet had their independence in terms of liturgy.

⁵⁹ William C. McCagg Jr., *A History of the Habsburg Jews, 1670-1918* (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1989), p. 132.

⁶⁰ György Haraszti, 'The Return of the Jews to Hungary in the 18th century', *Rivista di Studi Ungheresi* 12 (Rome, 1988) pp. 37-53. The author extends his research way into the 19th century. For the general context of Jewry in the Reform Era see: László Simon, *A zsidók a magyar reformkorban* (Debrecen: Bertók Lajos kiadása, 1936), pp. 23-75. See also: Anikó Prepuk, *A zsidóság Közép és Kelet-Európában a 19-20. században*, ed. by Irén Simándi, János Barta Jr., *Történelmi Kézikönyvtár* (Debrecen: Csokonai Kiadó, 1997), pp. 63-73. This is a good concise overview of the issue.

⁶¹ János Gyurgyák, *A zsidókérdés Magyarországon* (Budapest: Osiris Kiadó, 2001), pp. 26-29.

⁶² László Csorba, 'Transition from Pest-Buda to Budapest 1815-1873', in *Budapest: A History from Its Beginnings to 1998*, ed. by András Gerő, and János Poór, trans. by Judit Zinner, Professors Cecil D. Eland Nóra Arató (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), pp. 90-91. Cf. Kósa, p. 98. See also: Lajos Venetianer, *A magyar zsidóság története* (Budapest: Fővárosi Nyomda, 1922), pp. 58 ff.

⁶³ Kósa, p. 104. The term 'German Jews' denotes Jewish people mainly coming from German speaking areas.

migration from Galicia reached at first the eastern counties of Hungary, then moved to Pest and other cities.⁶⁴

László Kósa pointed out that the 1840s saw the first great influx of Jews into Pest and Buda.⁶⁵ The numbers of Pest Jewry had doubled from 6031 in 1835 to 12800 by 1844.⁶⁶ In Buda by 1851 their number rose to 4976 together with Old Buda⁶⁷ from 1063 in 1839.⁶⁸ These figures continued to increase during the 1850s especially as Galician Jews arrived in Hungary due to pogroms in Slavic speaking areas.⁶⁹ The heterogeneous Pest Jewish community was becoming economically more significant in the 1840s and 1850s, in addition to gaining population, which had profound consequence for the development of Pest and Buda.

Jews were divided into three major societal layers in the towns. At the top stood the 'Jewish aristocracy', wholesalers, bankers and emerging industrialists; below them the artisans, tradesmen and from the 1840s, a newly opening social stratum of intelligentsia; journalists, medical doctors, lawyers and other occupations.⁷⁰ Jews, from this layer of society often managed to obtain a letter of permission to settle in cities on an individual basis. Finally, there were those hawkers and workers who did not manage to obtain permission to settle.⁷¹ Since Mohács many Free Royal Boroughs had obtained the privilege of *ius non tolerandi Judeorum*, that is the city council could decide not to allow Jews to settle in the town.⁷² The German mining Boroughs of northern Hungary took advantage of the law, however, in the 1840s more and more Jews settled in Pest, which was more relaxed in its attitude towards Jews. William McCagg pointed out that 'the sudden arrival

⁶⁴ Walter Pietsch, 'A zsidók bevándorlása Galiciából és a magyarországi zsidóság', *Valóság*, 11. 55 (1988), pp. 46-58. See also: László Gonda, *A zsidóság Magyarországon 1526-1945* (Budapest: Századvég Kiadó, 1992), pp. 57-59; See also: Macartney, *The Habsburg Empire*, pp. 710-11.

⁶⁵ Kósa, p. 104. Cf. László Csorba, 'Transition from Pest-Buda to Budapest 1815-1873', in *Budapest: A History from Its Beginnings to 1998*, ed. by András Gerő, and János Poór, trans. by Judit Zinner, Professors Cecil D. Eland Nóra Arató (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), p. 90. Csorba points out that the Act 29 of 1840 removed the some hindrances for the Jews to settle in the city.

⁶⁶ Kósa, p. 104. n. 20.

⁶⁷ János Hunfalvy, *Budapest és környéke*, (Pest: [n. pub.], 1859. p. 69.

⁶⁸ Kósa, p. 101. n. 9. cites Scham, *Beschreibung Ofen.*, p. 249. The Pest magistrate obliged the Jews after the 1838 Flood of Pest to keep an official record of birth, marriages and death.

⁶⁹ Zoltán Szász, 'A magyarországi tőkés fejlődés társadalmi-politikai következményei', *A konzervatív liberalizmus kora. A dualista rendszer konszolidált időszakosa 1875-1890*, ed. by Zsigmond Pál Pach, Endre Kovács and László Katus, 2nd edn, 10 vols (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987), VI/2 pt. 3 ch. 5: *Magyarország története 1848-1890, 1257-1277.* (p. 1269).

⁷⁰ Péter Hanák, *The Garden and the Workshop*, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1998), pp. 58-9. Cf. Kósa, p. 118.

⁷¹ György Szabad, 'A társadalmi átrétegződés folyamatának előrehaladása', *Az önkényuralom kora (1849-1867): A kiegyezés (1865-67)*, ed. by Zsigmond Pál Pach, Endre Kovács and László Katus, 2nd edn, 10 vols (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987), VI/1 pt 2 ch. 5: *Magyarország története, 581-608* (pp. 591-2)

⁷² István Virág, *A zsidók jogállása Magyarországon, 1657-1780* (Budapest: Sárkány Nyomda, 1935), p. 21.

of literally thousands of provincial Jews put an unprecedented strain on the community facilities of the Pest Jews'.⁷³ This certainly challenged the religious community in many ways.

2.2.2. Religious Community, Emancipation and Liberalism

While the 'western' Jews tended to be rich, their Galician counterparts were often very poor.⁷⁴ The Jewry of western origin was more apt to assimilate into local society and some of the leaders of the Pest community favoured Reform Judaism.⁷⁵ In contrast to this, most of the Galician Jews were not as open to change and were biased toward a stricter Orthodoxy.⁷⁶ At the genesis of the Pest Jewish community, it was orthodox in its outlook, but the leaders were enlightened and receptive of the changes that Moses Mendelssohn promoted. Due to demands of the Reform-minded Jewish elite, there was a disruption in the Jewish community in Pest after the death of rabbi Israel Wallman in 1826. Gábor Ullmann, the president of the religious community influenced a significant body of rich Jews to introduce a new style of worship similar to that of the Reform Jews in Vienna.⁷⁷ For this reason they elected a religious orator, Joseph Bach, who spoke fluent German instead of Yiddish.⁷⁸ Soon the endeavour of the Reform-minded Jews resulted in the foundation of the *Cultus Tempel* in 1830.⁷⁹ The decisive year for the Pest Jewish community was 1833 when the election of a new rabbi emerged as an issue. In 1836, after long and careful considerations rabbi Löw Schwab was chosen to be the rabbi in Pest as a compromise between the Orthodox and the Reform trends.⁸⁰ Schwab is described as having an integrating personality that avoided both radical orthodoxy and overzealous reforms. Nonetheless, his open-mindedness allowed Jewry to move out from its former

⁷³ McCagg, *A History of the Habsburg Jews*, p. 124.

⁷⁴ Pietsch, pp. 46-58.

⁷⁵ McCagg, *A History of the Habsburg Jews*, p. 137.

⁷⁶ György Haraszi, *Két világ határában* (Budapest: Múlt és Jövő Kiadó, 1999), p. 139. On Hasidism see: 'Hasidism', *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, ed. by Cecil Roth and Geoffrey Wigoder, 16 vols (Jerusalem, Israel: Keter Publishing House, 1971), 7 Fra-Ha, pp. 1391-1432. However, it has to be underlined that there were Orthodox with a considerable economic power and education among the Western origin Jewry settled in the *Dunántúl* Region of Hungary. See: Karády, Victor, 'Religious Divisions, Socio-Economic Stratification and the Modernization of Hungarian Jewry After the Emancipation', in *Jews in the Hungarian Economy 1760-1945*, ed. by Michael K. Silber (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, The Hebrew University, 1992), pp. 161-186.

⁷⁷ Haraszi, *Két világ*, p. 152.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 174-75. n. 15. See also: Kósa, p. 109.

⁷⁹ *Jewish Budapest*, ed. by Géza Komoróczy, trans. by Vera Szabó (Budapest: Central European University Press, 1999), p.79. See also: Gonda, p. 74. Cf. Haraszi, *Két világ*, pp. 152, 175. Gonda dates its beginning to 1828. The other date, 1830 meant the official recognition of the Reformed worship and the worship place for the *Cult Temple* was moved to the 'Orczy house'.

⁸⁰ Sándor Büchler, *A zsidóság története Budapesten* (Budapest: Izraelita Magyar Irodalmi Társulat, 1901), pp. 415-20. cf. Haraszi, *Két világ*, pp. 154-5.

religious framework. His twenty-four years of work proved to be highly influential. During his time Pest became the leading political, religious and economical centre of Hungarian Jewry.⁸¹ The Jews of Hungary realized that only together could they achieve more rights and the political situation seemed favourable for gaining emancipation.

The Jews tried to take advantage of the propitious climate of the Hungarian Diet of 1839/40 and sent a deputation to Pozsony to appeal for the removal of the civil disabilities of the Jews. They were not allowed to settle in certain cities, own properties, or take jobs of state administration. In addition, they were banned from buying land and they had to pay a Patient Tax⁸² to the King, which was the most resented. There were many liberal Protestants in Pest advocating the removal of the aforementioned disabilities of the Jews. Such persons were Lajos Kossuth and Pál Török, the Reformed minister of *Széna tér*⁸³ who preached a sermon on the fourth Sunday of Advent in 1839 on the necessity of the emancipation of the Jews.⁸⁴ Nonetheless, the high expectation of the Jews was in vain at the Diet of 1839/40.⁸⁵ There was fierce opposition from the Royal Free Boroughs⁸⁶ whose commercial interests were against Jewish settlements in their towns. Lajos Kossuth commented on the Diet saying 'it was a diet of great and turgid words but with tiny results'.⁸⁷ However, the Jews were not discouraged by the failure of their petition since the vast majority of the county delegates of the Lower House from all over the country assured them of their support.⁸⁸ Through the entire decade of the 1840s, Jewish emancipation was discussed several times but without really much success.⁸⁹ However, the hope of being emancipated created a willingness on the part of Jews favouring reforms, especially in Pest, to adopt the Magyar culture and language. Emancipation stood in correlation with Magyarisation, thereby initiating reforms that often developed further, resulting in conversions.

⁸¹ Gonda, pp. 74-5.

⁸² Büchler, pp. 432-34. As Jews could not be recruited to the army they had to pay tax instead introduced by Josef II in 1787. During the Diet of 1839-40, the Lower House [House of Common] and the Upper House [House of the Lords] condemned the Patient Tax yet the King did not cease the tax. By 1846 the Jews made a deal with the Crown paying half of the tax in arrears of the Jews in the next five years. On 24 June 1846 the Tax ceased to be once for all. See also: Gonda, pp. 66-67, 75.

⁸³ Today's Kálvin square.

⁸⁴ Pál Török, *Mindnyájan egy vagyunk* (Pest: Trattner, 1841).

⁸⁵ Prebuk, p. 66.

⁸⁶ Especially the mostly German speaking Free Royal mining Boroughs were against, it taking advantage of the aforementioned *ius non toleradni Judeorum*. These cities were under the direct control of the Royal Court as they produced enormous economic income for the Monarch but had been given a status of self-government. See: C. A. MacCartney, *The Habsburg Empire 1790-1918*, pp. 44-5.

⁸⁷ *Pesti Hírlap*, 1. 33. (24 April 1841), pp. 267-76.

⁸⁸ Büchler, p. 431.

⁸⁹ Gyurgyák, pp. 44-50.

2.2.3. *Interrelation between Modernisation, Magyarisation and Jewish conversion: forming an alliance*

A significant degree of urbanization prompted by modernisation was taking place in Hungary from the 1840s forming new social classes in the cities of Hungary, except those of the Free Royal Borough of northern Hungary. Traditionally, people of German origin settled mainly in the Hungarian cities for many centuries. This led to an idiosyncratic development of the Hungarian middle class where ethnic Hungarians were small in numbers. This continued to be so since it was not Hungarians but the Jews who moved to the cities in greater numbers than any other ethnic group from the 1840s. The Jews, especially in Pest, made an indelible imprint on the process of forming a bourgeoisie and a modern middle class that was fairly late in coming into being in comparison with the West. They presented a challenge to the German-speaking element of the cities as their economic significance grew. It did not come as a surprise that, when the war broke out in 1848, there was an increase in the anti-Jewish feelings of the German burghers, workers and guilds, due to commercial rivalry.⁹⁰ This was strongly condemned by Petöfi, the famous Hungarian poet.⁹¹ Though there were lines of division between different ethnic groups, and amongst themselves similar social processes began to surface facilitating assimilation.

The German-speaking burghers of the Free Royal Boroughs, who were mostly Lutherans, were increasingly becoming pro-Hungarian during the Reform Era.⁹² The same was true for the Jewry of Pest. Both supported the fight of the Hungarian parliament against the absolutist control of the Catholic Habsburgs for their civil and religious rights. The Lutheran Germans, named Zipsers in the Free Royal Boroughs, and Germans of other cities together with the Jews shared the common interest of gaining more religious freedom, which was inseparably linked to civil rights. This interest created a broad scale political consensus between these peoples and the Hungarians. Out of the two ‘alliances’; between Germans and Hungarians and that of Jews and Hungarians, the latter was the stronger one. The Hungarian ruling class; the aristocracy and the gentry, and the Jewry were mutually dependent on one another, which led to an alliance that was to last throughout the nineteenth century. On the one hand Hungarians hoped the Jewish assimilation would increase the numbers of the Magyar-speaking people, and on the other

⁹⁰ McCagg, *A History of the Habsburg Jews*, p. 134. He cited Béla Bernstein, *A negyvennyolcas magyar szabadságharc*, ch. 2. in Stern, ‘Die Politischen und kulturellen Kämpfe’, pp. 130. ff.

⁹¹ Kósa, p. 96.

⁹² Gonda, p. 72. These were German mining Royal Boroughs of the Hungarian Kingdom with great economic significance for the Monarchy.

the Jews hoped the Hungarian liberals would eventually emancipate them.⁹³ Owing to this 'social contract' Hungarian liberal politicians like József Eötvös, Ferenc Deák, and Lajos Kossuth offered hearty support to Jewish Emancipation expecting their assimilation to the Hungarian nation.⁹⁴ Their expectation found response among bankers and tradesmen, some rabbis, and middle class Jews especially those of Pest. In fact, the Jews were more ready to be assimilated than other ethnic groups in Pest and Buda. Thus, the Magyarisation of the Jewry began in the 1840s promoted by liberal minded Jews of the economical elite, the intelligentsia and religious leaders.

The major means for swaying public opinion were the pulpit, newspapers and education. First, some rabbis urged the use of the Hungarian language. Amongst them was Rabbi Schwab of Pest who, on the birthday of Ferdinánd 19 April 1840, encouraged his Jewish folk to acquire Hungarian language and culture.⁹⁵ His colleague, Bach gave a brilliant funeral oration in Hungarian in 1844 at the death of a university student. Kossuth's *Pesti Hírlap* was quick to express great appreciation of his act, which he interpreted as a sign of willingness to Magyarise.⁹⁶ Second, the young reform minded Jews like Mór Ballagi lobbied for assimilation through the means of literature.⁹⁷ His suggestion of establishing a Hungarian-Jewish Teacher Training College was published in several newspapers in 1841.⁹⁸ He also wrote a book to encourage Jews to integrate into Hungarian culture.⁹⁹ Baron Eötvös, and liberal Protestant clergymen such as József Székács greatly supported Ballagi's endeavour who devoted his literary erudition to the cause of Magyarisation. Third, education was regarded as a good means of adopting Hungarian culture. The first Jewish public school was opened in 1830. Some years later a kindergarten was established for the young children supported by Countess Brunswick.¹⁰⁰

⁹³ János Béri-Lichtner, *Együttélés. A zsidóság szerepe Magyarország legújabbkori történetében 1790-1918* (Budapest: Argumentum, 1995), pp. 24-30.

⁹⁴ Kósa, p. 96.

⁹⁵ Büchler, p. 432. Cf. Kósa, p. 110.

⁹⁶ *Pesti Hírlap*, 332 (7 March, 1844) pp. 150 ff.

⁹⁷ Sándor Csekey, 'A százéves Budapesti Teológiai Akadémia nagy professzorai: Ballagi Mór', *Református Egyház*, 7. 8 (15 April 1955), 174-182 (p. 174). Cf. Kósa, pp. 125-26.

⁹⁸ Moritz Bloch (Ballagi Mór), 'Felszólítás egy magyar-zsidó tanítókat képező intézet ügyében', *Pesti Hírlap*, Télutó, 6. 11 (1841), pp. 86-87. See also: Moritz Bloch (Ballagi Mór), 'Felszólítás egy magyar-zsidó tanítókat képező intézet ügyében', *Társalkodó*, 9 (30 January 1841), pp. 35-6.

⁹⁹ Moritz Bloch, *A zsidókról* (Pesten: Trattner-Károly betűivel, 1840). A preface was written by the liberal Péter Vajda, whose colleague Ballagi later became.

¹⁰⁰ Bernát Mandl, 'A pesti izr. hitközségi fiu-iskola monográfiája', *A magyar zsidó felekezeti elemi és polgári iskoláinak monográfiája*, ed. by Barna Jónás and Fülöp Csukási, 2 vols (Budapest: Corvina Irodalmi és Nyomdai Részvénytársaság Országos Izraelita Tanítóegyesület, 1896), I, pp. 32-3. The author inserted a lengthy appraisal from *Pesti Hírlap* of the visit paid by Endre Bajkay, a representative of the state at the half-yearly examination of the Jewish School on 31 March and 1 April 1841. Bajkay was pleased to see that 'the Jews are ready to become Hungarian'.

In the 1840s private schools were opened and the institutions spread rapidly by virtue of this fact they prepared the way to Magyarization.¹⁰¹

Magyarisation functioned as a driving force and began to shape the religious life of the Jewish community with a new impetus during the 1840s in Pest. There were three major ways of conversion, which may be regarded as various ways of adopting Hungarian culture. First, some of the richest and most influential leaders of the Jewish community converted to various Christian denominations. This category can be classified as 'sudden social conversion' consisting of Jews aiming at achieving their personal ends. Such were the conversions of the Wodianer, Ullmann and Chorin families, which had highly significant economic power. Practically these conversions meant that when the person left the religious community, at the baptismal ceremony he/she changed his or her name and gained more civil rights by becoming Christian.¹⁰² Second, there was the progressive reform trend in the community facilitating religious change, which was different from that of the 1830s initiated by the Jewish economic elite. The reform-minded younger generation of the 1840s, who were the first Jewish intelligentsia to develop, was susceptible to any change that promoted the better status of Jewry in society.¹⁰³ Initially, they favoured fast change within Judaism. To this end they founded the Magyarization Society with the aim of spreading knowledge of the Hungarian language, literature and history among their brethren.¹⁰⁴ This movement failed because Rabbi Schwab, who led the Pest community, rejected the aims of the society regarding it as too radical. Furthermore, the defeat of the Hungarian Army subsequently discouraged liberal reforms, which impacted on the life of the Society. Owing to the reasons cited above, leading figures gave up the idea of inner religious reform within the community and converted, for example Károly Hugó, Miska Falk, Gusztáv Zerffi, and Mór Ballagi who also belonged to this hub of young enthusiasts.¹⁰⁵ Finally, the third trend of promoting religious change was the moderate supporters of the reforms who also tried to renew Jewish religion from within but did not step out of their religious community. From the 1850s, this trend became the

¹⁰¹ Kósa, p. 113. Cf. McCagg, *A History of the Habsburg Jews*, p. 128. There were fifty Jewish schools in Hungary and out of this ten was in Pest.

¹⁰² Aladár Komlós, *Magyar-zsidó szellemtörténet a reformkortól a holocaustig*, 2 vols (Budapest: Múlt és Jövő Kiadó, 1997), I, p. 50. Only a very few person favoured this position, or more precisely dared to take this step regarded as apostasy. Nonetheless, the richest and most influential members of the community - Wodianer, Ullmann, Kánitz, Finaly, Chorin, families and Jónás Kunewald - could afford ignoring the resentment of their fellow people.

¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 50. See also: Büchler, p. 432.

¹⁰⁴ *Jewish Budapest*, ed. by Géza Komoróczy, trans. by Vera Szabó (Budapest: Central European University Press, 1999), pp. 96-100.

¹⁰⁵ Komlós, I, p. 50.

dominant force among the Jews of Pest and its religious innovations became the model for many synagogues in the countryside. As for Magyarisation, its main principle was that the Hungarian Jews could change language, and reform their religion but they did not need to become Christians to be true Hungarians. The first two categories resulted in conversion, but the latter did not.

During the Reform Era, especially in the 1840s liberal and progressive forces were driving towards the same end both on the Jewish as well as on the Hungarian side. The spectrum of supporting socio-cultural groups within the respective communities was wide and divergent. Yet there was a mutual and supportive interaction between the Hungarians and Jews regardless of whether they were moderate or radicals. The liberal Protestants of the Lower House, a significant number of liberal minded Catholic dignitaries of the Upper House, as well as the Pest Protestant elite not only the politicians, but also members of the clergy and noble classes heartily supported the Jewish assimilation and in consequence of this, their Christianisation as well. On this extraordinarily favourable stage appeared the Scottish missionaries.

III. Scotland: Rise of Missionary Interest and Jewish Mission

1. The main features of British Evangelicalism

The nineteenth century marked a decisive point not only in the history of Britain and her colonial Empire but also in mission history. The Victorian era was the heyday of missionary enterprise.¹⁰⁶ The new discoveries of people and places, inventions and the excitement about the expansion of the Empire and Christianity made the British Protestants believe, similarly to their American counterparts, that they had a special errand to fulfil.¹⁰⁷ The economic booming of Britain, the sharp contrast between the educated and civilized West and the 'savages' of other places affirmed the English and Scottish people alike in their belief that they had a special place in history. This view prevailed throughout the nineteenth century. Evangelicals of the day were not exempt from the general climate of

¹⁰⁶ Ian Bradley, *The Call to Seriousness: The Evangelical Impact on the Victorians*, (London: Jonathan Cape, 1976), pp. 82-7.; Cf. Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Missions* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1966) pp. 273-334. Neill regards the period between 1858-1914 as the heyday of Colonialism that was also the time of missionary expansion.

¹⁰⁷ Van den Berg, Johannes, *Constrained by Jesus' Love: An Enquiry Into the Motives of the Missionary Awakening in Great Britain in the Period Between 1698 and 1815* (Kampen: Kok, 1956) p. 21; See also: William R. Hutchinson, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Missionary Thought And Foreign Missions* (Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 1987), pp. 8-9.; and James H. Moorhead, 'Searching for the Millennium in America', *Princeton Theological Bulletin*, 9. (1988), 17-33 (p. 26).

thought and they developed their own agendas to interpret current history in the aforementioned context. Contemporary events were explained and seen by many Evangelicals according to their view of the millennial perception of history.¹⁰⁸ One agrees with David Bosch that ‘among the Anglo-Saxons... the notion of “Manifest Destiny” was at a profound level linked to millennial expectations’.¹⁰⁹ World history was connected to, if not entirely identical with their biblical view of history, which drew heavily upon prophecies as the normative form of guidance for Christians to interpret the course of history. After the end of the Napoleonic wars, Protestant Britain’s victory over Catholic France was hailed naively as the beginning of the fall of the Antichrist but also as confirmation of Britain’s providential destiny in world history.¹¹⁰

With this observation we arrive at the first characteristic of Evangelicalism: the belief of God’s providence in which the Protestant Anglo-Saxon world had a special role to play. This was strongly related to the conviction that the Puritans of England as well as the Presbyterians of Scotland were the covenant people of God.¹¹¹ The third feature of British Evangelicalism was a fierce Anti-Romanism that can also be traced back to its Puritan origin.¹¹² Again, another feature millennialism was a dominating factor in Evangelicalism.¹¹³ Besides the four former motifs; belief in Providence, the covenant of the elected, Anti-Catholicism and millennialism, David Bebbington mentioned four additional characteristics; conversion, biblicism, activism and crucicentrism. These all resurfaced in the history of the Scottish Mission. The practical implication of bringing the gospel to the Gentiles and Jews manifested itself through the voluntary activities of the Scottish Evangelicals as will be argued.¹¹⁴ Wherever they went they established churches, schools, and places for medical treatment with a view to manifesting God’s love and converting the people living outside God’s grace.

¹⁰⁸ Mel Scult, *Millennial Expectations and Jewish Liberties*, ed. by Neuser, Jacob, Studies in Judaism in Modern Times, 2 (Leiden: E. J Brill, 1978), p. 71. ff.

¹⁰⁹ David Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm shift in theology of mission* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis, 1991) p. 300. Bosch has extended this traditionally American notion to the Anglo-Saxon people at large although the term ‘Manifest Destiny’ is a distinct American notion.

¹¹⁰ De Jong, J. A., *As the Waters Cover the Sea: Millennial Expectations in the Rise of Anglo-American Missions 1640-1810* (Kampen: Kok, 1970), pp. 159-198.

¹¹¹ William Storrar, *Scottish Identity* (Edinburgh: The Handsel Press, 1990), pp. 33-39.

¹¹² J. B. A. Kessler, *A Study of the Evangelical Alliance in Great Britain* (Goes: Oosterbaan & Le Cointre N. V., 1968), pp. 30, 33. See also: *Evangelical Pamphlets 1845-1848*. p. 719. Kessler quoted Thomas Chalmers championing for an Anti-Popish association.

¹¹³ On millennialism see: Stanley J. Grenz, *The Millennial Maze* (Downers Grove, Illinois: Intervarsity Press, 1992), See also: N. R. Needham, ‘Millennialism’, in *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology*, ed. by Cameron, Nigel M. de S. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1993), pp. 562-64.

¹¹⁴ David W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), pp. 2-17.

2. Missionary Development in the Church of Scotland

The Scots were among the first to realize the importance of mission.¹¹⁵ As early as 1723 we read of Robert Millar of Paisley Abbey, who prepared a comprehensive missionary programme.¹¹⁶ However, one must point out that there was missionary activity in Scotland by 1709; that is, the Scottish Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge (SSPCK).¹¹⁷ It was run by members of the Established Church, unlike some of the later non-denominational societies, with the intent of educating the highlanders and combating Roman Catholicism. When the era of wider missionary activity was launched, the Scots were quick to follow the pattern of non-denominational societies as well. Thus as early as February 1796, they formed the Glasgow Missionary Society and the Edinburgh Missionary Society, later to be named the Scottish Missionary Society.¹¹⁸ There was a notorious clash between the Evangelicals and Moderates especially in relation to the issue of mission in 1796. This became a decisive point in Scottish mission history. A. F. Walls said of the 1796 General Assembly that it was the societies, not any projected mission activity on the part of the Church of Scotland, which lay at the heart of the debate. He concluded that its outcome kept the topic of overseas mission off the Assembly's agenda for almost two decades, and left the societies as the only organ of Scottish missions.¹¹⁹ By the same token, missionary activity remained the main concern of Evangelicals in Scotland just as it was in Britain.

There were three main lines of argument against the missions of the missionary societies. First, proponents of natural theology claimed that civilization must be a precondition of evangelisation to enable rational assent to the demonstrable truths of the gospel. Second, champions of the political order feared the radical opinions of many of the friends of missions such as the Haldanes,¹²⁰ who represented the extreme side of the

¹¹⁵ Gavin White, '“Highly Preposterous”: Origins of Scottish Missions', *Records Scottish Church History Society*, (Edinburgh, 1977) 19. (111-124), pp. 114-16. See also: Andrew F. Walls, 'Missions', in *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology*, ed. by Cameron, Nigel M. de S (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1993), 567-94 (p. 570); A. L. Drummond, *The Kirk and the Continent (Chalmers Lectures)* (Edinburgh: The Saint Andrew Press, 1956), p. 187.; Stuart Piggin, and Roxborough John, *The St. Andrew's Seven* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 1985).

¹¹⁶ Walls, 'Mission', p. 567.

¹¹⁷ Robert W. Weir, *Foreign Mission of the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh: R. & R. Clark, Ltd., 1900), p. 8.

¹¹⁸ Walls, 'Missions', p. 570. 1st column. To give a fuller picture it must be mentioned that there were other local missionary societies besides the Edinburgh and the Glasgow ones.

¹¹⁹ J. H. Morrison, *The Scottish Churches' Work Abroad* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1927), pp. 41-43. After the initial failure of 1797 mission to Sierra Leone and Karass in Russia, the societies resumed their work, first the Glasgow Society in 1821 in South Africa then 1822 the Edinburgh Society in India.

¹²⁰ On Robert Haldane see: Elisabeth G. K. Hewatt, *Vision and Achievement. A History of the Foreign Missions of the Churches United in the Churches of Scotland* (Edinburgh, Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1960), pp. 11-12. Strange enough, Hewatt completely misses the Jewish mission from her study. See also:

Evangelicals.¹²¹ Their fear was founded on the unpredicted and unprecedented upheavals of the French Revolution that had provoked a strong conservative reaction.¹²² Finally, guardians of ecclesiastical order feared the consequences of entrusting so much to societies that were not subject to the courts of the church and included in their leadership many who had seceded from the Established Church.¹²³

During the early nineteenth century the Glasgow and Edinburgh Missionary Societies played a key role in mission in Scotland but not with a spectacular success. In 1814 Thomas Chalmers complained about the lack of missionary support saying that the nobility, gentry and clergy regarded mission as a ‘mere dreg of sectarianism’, which was a ‘very low and drivelling concern’.¹²⁴ It was not until the 1820s that the societies succeeded in planting foreign mission stations. From this time onwards, the Church of Scotland started to play a more serious role in mission activity.¹²⁵ In 1824 the Church of Scotland resolved to embark on a policy of missionary enterprise.¹²⁶ This marked a decisive orientation, which by 1847 resulted in the fact that most of the missionary societies were taken over by churches in Scotland.¹²⁷ Furthermore, a comparison of Scottish missions with the English development reveals a salient feature of the former, that is, mission was the task of the Church and not that of voluntary societies.¹²⁸ Likewise, as a prominent contemporary churchman, Alexander Keith (1791-1880)¹²⁹ stated, mission to the Jews was

Weir, pp. 22-24. The most comprehensive work about Haldane is written by Alexander Haldane, *Memoirs of the Lives of Robert Haldane of Airthrey, and of His Brother, James Alexander Haldane* (London: Hamilton and Adams, 1852).

¹²¹ Timothy C. F. Stunt, *From Awakening to Secession: Radical Evangelicals in Switzerland and Britain, 1815-1833* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 2000).

¹²² Morrison, p. 36.

¹²³ Walls, *Missions*, p. 569. Cf. G. White, pp. 11, 116, and 118. White also suggests, in one accord with Walls that it is a wrong perception to say that the famous General Assembly was anti-mission. Rather, it was against mission societies for the reasons mentioned above. White clearly points out when by 1799 some key Evangelical voices, the Haldenes, Greville Ewing and David Bogue influenced by English Congregationalism left the Church of Scotland then they were rejected by most Evangelicals, their former allies and pursued their Evangelical endeavours within the framework of Church of Scotland. However this meant that the Church of Scotland had not really associated itself with mission as a church for some decades.

¹²⁴ Thomas Chalmers, *The Utility of Missions Ascertained by Experience*, (Edinburgh: W. Aitchison, 1816), p. 12. Chalmers preached this sermon about the work of the SSPCK in the Highland and Island of Scotland on 2 June 1814, Glasgow.

¹²⁵ Walls, *Missions*, p. 569. See also: White, p. 123.

¹²⁶ Morrison, p. 44.

¹²⁷ White, p. 123. The Free Church incorporated the Glasgow Missionary Society in 1844, and the other Glasgow Missionary Society with its Edinburgh equivalent was taken over by the newly formed United Presbyterian Church in 1847.

¹²⁸ Mackichan, D., *The Missionary Ideal in the Scottish Churches*, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1927), p. 100. See also: Morrison, p. 44. Morrison also provides a good overview of the mission societies of the Scottish churches.

¹²⁹ N. R. Needham, ‘Keith, Alexander’, in *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology*, ed. by Camerun, Nigel M.de S (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1993), pp. 451-2.

a new thing to be pursued by 'any church'.¹³⁰ A further observation can be made about the nature of Scottish missions. Don Chambers suggests that unlike the English Evangelicals these Scottish men thought in church-centred terms. This had a twofold reason. On one hand they were pragmatic in their approach when reckoning that only church-controlled mission would be effective.¹³¹ On the other hand their conviction had a theological ground since they believed that mission was the basic function of the church.¹³² Out of such conviction grew the mission to the Jews, which became one of the schemes of the Church of Scotland in 1839.¹³³ The following part will focus on the emergence of the mission to the Jews, which originated in England and then took root in Scotland.

3. Jewish Mission

3.1. The Emergence of Jewish Mission in Britain

Jewish mission grew out of the larger context of missionary fervour. The first missionary to the Jews was Joseph S. C. Frey.¹³⁴ He worked for London Missionary Society (LMS) after receiving some training at Gosport under David Bogue.¹³⁵ Soon Frey had a conflict with the leaders of LMS that convinced him to form a separate society in 1809.¹³⁶ The name of the new society was the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews, often called as the London Jewish Society. One might say his life and initiative embodied the non-denominational and trans-national character of a significant trend of

¹³⁰ Alexander Keith, 'Origin of the Mission to the Jews at Pesth', *Sunday at Home*, 14. 675, 676, 677, 678 (1867), pp. 212-216; 232-237; 245-248; 261-263 (p. 232).

¹³¹ Don Chambers, 'Prelude to the Last Things: the Church of Scotland's Mission to the Jews', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, 19 (1977), 43-58 (p. 53).

¹³² *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May 1839*, (Edinburgh: John Johnstone, 1839) p. 6. See also: W. J. Roxborough, *Thomas Chalmers and the Mission of the Church with Special Reference to the Rise of Missionary Movement in Scotland*. (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Centre for Studying Christianity, unpublished doctoral dissertation 1978).

¹³³ *HFMRCofS*, July 1839-December 1841, (Edinburgh: John Johnstone, 1841) pp. iv-v. in preface. There is an ambiguity here. Though the first overtures were made at the General Assembly in 1838, many of its originators regarded the date of Deputation to Palestine (1839) as the origin of the scheme, thereby the fiftieth anniversary was held in 1889.

¹³⁴ John Dunlop, *Memories of Gospel Triumphs among the Jews during the Victorian Era*, (London, S. W. Partridge & CO, John Snow & Co, 1894), pp. 8-11.

¹³⁵ A. L. Drummond, *Kirk and the Continent*, (Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 1956), p. 183. Drummond describes here how exceptionally influential Bogue was.

¹³⁶ Mel Scult, *Millennial Expectations and Jewish Liberties*, ed. by Neuser, Jacob, *Studies in Judaism in Modern Times*, II (Leiden: E. J Brill, 1978), pp. 93-97.

contemporary Evangelicalism.¹³⁷ But owing to the personal influence of Lewis Way, within less than a decade in 1815 it became a Church of England society.¹³⁸

Way produced several articles in the society's journal *The Jewish Expositor* under the name of 'Basilicus' about the future prospects of the Jews. He believed that Christ would soon return in person and was waiting for his second coming. His views spread to Henry Drummond who in 1823 became the vice-president of the 'London Jewish Society'. Drummond had a keen interest in interpreting biblical prophecy and together with Irving started the famous Albury meetings.¹³⁹ Ridley Herschell, Henry Drummond and Edward Irving¹⁴⁰ were the chief propagandists of the re-emerging pre-millennialist ideas.¹⁴¹ Through their influence, mission to the Jews had a pre-millennialist outlook. Their ideas influenced Horatius and Andrew A. Bonar¹⁴² (1810-1892) in Scotland.¹⁴³ Nonetheless, the Scottish development of mission to the Jews was rather different from the English. Not only was it a mission of a church, it was also post-millennialist in its character.

3.2. Emergence of the Scottish Mission to the Jews

The origins of Scottish interest in the mission to the Jews in some respects differed from other mission activities of the Established Church. Chambers argues that Scottish mission to the Jews 'stems from a different mental world from that of the urban mission of Thomas Chalmers, the Indian mission of John Inglis, or the Gaelic mission of George Baird'.¹⁴⁴ He pointed out that in contrast to other schemes of the Church of Scotland the roots of the mission originated in the grassroots level interest in the Jews. He is right in his assertion since many schemes of the Church of Scotland such as the Church Extension Scheme and

¹³⁷ R. H. Martin, *Evangelicals United: Ecumenical Stirrings in Pre Victorian Britain, 1795-1830*. (Methuchen N.J.: Scarecrow, 1983) chs 8 and 9. See also: M. Vrethe, 'The restoration of the Jews in English Protestant thought, 1790-1840', *Middle Eastern Studies* 8. 1. 1972.

¹³⁸ W. T. Gidney, *The Jews and Their Evangelisation* (London: Student Voluntary Missionary Union, 1899), p. 91.

¹³⁹ Thomas Carlyle, *Reminiscences*, ed. by Norton, C. E (London: Dent, 1972), p. 287. The conferences were held at Drummond's mansion Albury, Surrey between 1826-30.

¹⁴⁰ Bebbington, pp. 78. ff. Here one sees a good treatment of Irving's changing theological pilgrimage.

¹⁴¹ Binfield, Clyde. 'Jews in evangelical dissent; the British Society, the Herschell connection and the pre millenarian thread', *Prophecy and Eschatology* (1994) pp. 225-270.

¹⁴² K. R. Ross, 'Bonar, Andrew Alexander', in *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology*, ed. by Cameron, Nigel M.de S (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1993), pp. 83-4.

¹⁴³ Needham, N. R., 'Millennialism', p. 563. Needham says that the Bonars' theological stance was more of a "traditional historicist premillennialism rather than the new and more influential Darbyite dispensationalism".

¹⁴⁴ Chambers, p. 43. n.2. Cf. Don Chambers 'Mission and Party in the Church of Scotland, 1810-1843' (Unpublished doctoral thesis, Cambridge University, 1971).

the Foreign Mission Scheme were initiated by pastors of eminence.¹⁴⁵ However, the Jewish scheme to come on the stage was different.

As early as 1810 the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* contained regular articles on world Jewry and informed its readers on the activities of London Society.¹⁴⁶ The *Scottish Missionary Register* in the 1820s and the *Presbyterian Review* also published detailed articles on the work of the London Jewish Society from its inception.¹⁴⁷ There was an auxiliary of the London Society in Edinburgh and in Glasgow. This shows a constant interest of the members of the Scottish churches in the Jewish mission. Yet during the first four decades of the century, the Scots did not have their own mission to the Jews. The Jewish mission enterprise of the Church began with laymen in Glasgow and was taken over by prominent Evangelical clergymen.¹⁴⁸ These laymen were the merchants, intellectuals and industrialists of that rapidly growing city. Consequently, the Jewish mission was to come into being as an initiative of urban rather than rural Evangelicalism. The Glaswegians, especially the bourgeoisie, viewed Britain's role in trading as God's providential gift, as well as a pressing responsibility to evangelise the world. One of them talked in this vein, 'now let those who have any belief in *God's providence*, tell us if there is no discovery of *designing wisdom in the selection of this land as the main depository of Protestant Christianity* [*italics added*]'.¹⁴⁹ Another Glaswegian appealed to the ancient Scottish interest in the Jewish people. He directed the attention of the readers of the *Church of Scotland Magazine* to the fact that a century earlier the Scots had fasting days particularly set for the conversion of the Jewish people and he expressed, 'we trust that the period is not far away, when the Assembly may again appoint a fast day on behalf of Israel'.¹⁵⁰ In addition to the long neglected 'fast-day argument' we may point to an idiosyncratic fact that it was a long historical tradition in the Church of Scotland to pray for the conversion of the Jews as a part of the regular church service.¹⁵¹ Alongside the motifs

¹⁴⁵ *HFMRCofS*, (Edinburgh: John Johnstone, 1843), I, preface p. iv-v. The first volume of the *Record* knows of five schemes, Education, Propagation of the gospel in India (Foreign Mission Scheme, 1824), Church Extension Scheme (1828), Colonial Scheme (1836) and the fifth scheme was mission to the Jews.

¹⁴⁶ Shirley A. Fraser, *The Origins of Scottish Interest in Mission to the Jews* (Aberdeen: Gilcomston South Church, 1990), p. 7. See also: Chambers, p. 46.

¹⁴⁷ 'Germany: London Jewish Society', *Scottish Missionary and Philanthropic Register*, 6. 2 (1825), p. 71. Furthermore, in the same volume see also: pp. 3, 23, 352, 356, 359, 504, 506, 548; Cf. 'Report Propagation of the Christian Gospel to the Jews', *Presbyterian Review and Religious Journal*, 4. 15. (1833), pp. 426-433.

¹⁴⁸ Chambers, p. 47.

¹⁴⁹ 'The Next Assembly', *Church of Scotland Magazine*, (Thereafter *CofSM*) 5. 52. (1838) p. 138.

¹⁵⁰ 'The Last General Assembly', *CofSM*, 5. 55 (1838), 245-8 (p. 246).

¹⁵¹ *A Directory for the Publique Worship of God Throughout the Three Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Together with an Ordinance of Parliament for the Taking Away of the Book of Common Prayer: and*

of providence and mandate we also find that of the covenant, another theological reasoning for carrying out the mission to the Jews. There was a peculiar relation between the theological perception of the Presbyterian Scots and the Jews. The Scots, just like the Jews always regarded themselves as people of the covenant.¹⁵² Hence, for the Evangelicals of the Church, the analogy to be drawn was at hand. This covenant notion encouraged further missionary endeavours including the mission to the Jews.¹⁵³

Other factors should be considered as to what led to the emergence of the Jewish Mission. The events taking place in the Established Church cannot be separated from the emergence of the mission to the Jews. The tug of war between Evangelicals and Moderates was going on and there was a peculiar correlation between the fight for independence from state influence, the revivals of the late 1830s and the emergence of Jewish Mission.¹⁵⁴ For many people the revival of the Church and the Jewish mission were linked. One of the greatest revivalist preachers of that time, Robert M. McCheyne¹⁵⁵ (1813-1843) indicated that, 'the "revival" proper followed upon, rather than led to, the inauguration of Jewish Scheme'.¹⁵⁶ In the *Edinburgh Christian Witness* he said:

Is it not a remarkable fact, that in the very year in which God put it into the hearts of the church to send a mission of kind inquiry to Israel, ... God visited his people in Scotland by giving them bread in a way unknown since the days of Cambuslang and Moulin.¹⁵⁷

By accepting the opinion that mission to the Jews was the initiative of laymen, it is possible to talk about two groups of schemes. On the one hand schemes such as Education, Propagation of the gospel in India, the Church Extension Scheme, and the Colonial Scheme owe much to the astute churchmen like Chalmers, Inglis, Brunton, but on the other hand mission to the Jews, as indicated above, had close relation with the grassroots level of the revival in the Church.

for Establishing and Observing of This Present Directory Throughout the Kingdom of England, and Dominion of Wales (London: G.M. and I. F. for the Company of Stationers, 1645), p. 10.

¹⁵² Lynch, Michael, *Scotland A New History* (London: Pimlico, 2000), pp. 248-249, 252. See also: A. L. Drummond & James Bulloch, *The Church in Victorian Scotland 1843-1874* (Edinburgh: The Saint Andrew Press, 1975), p. 142. Cf. Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, p. 299. Bosch makes a telling remark on how nationalism was coated and absorbed unnoticed into missionary ideology for virtually every white nation.; See also: Chambers, pp. 49-50.

¹⁵³ Chambers, p. 51.

¹⁵⁴ Stewart J. Brown, 'The Ten Years' Conflict and the Disruption of 1843' in *Scotland in the Age of Disruption*, ed. by Stewart J. Brown and Michael Fry (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993), pp. 1-27. Here, Brown offers an excellent concise treatment of the issues leading to the Disruption.

¹⁵⁵ I. Hamilton, 'McCheyne, Robert Murray', in *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology*, ed. by Cameron, Nigel M. de S (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1993), pp. 504-5.

¹⁵⁶ Chambers, p. 55. n. 45. Cf. Anne-Marie Kool, *God Moves in a Mysterious Way: the Hungarian Protestant Foreign Mission Movement 1756-1951* (Zoetermeer: Uitgeverij Boekencentrum B.V., 1993), p. 99.

The first overtures in support of a church initiated Jewish mission came from the industrial areas of the Clyde in 1838.¹⁵⁸ At the same time the *Scottish Guardian* published several articles on the issue of Jewish mission.¹⁵⁹ These initiatives of laymen were taken up by several members of the Evangelical clergy, the most fervent being Rev. John Lorimer of Glasgow¹⁶⁰ and Rev. Robert Candlish of Edinburgh.¹⁶¹ Lorimer brought a 'Memorial for the establishment of a mission to the Jews' to the attention of the General Assembly written by a Glaswegian merchant, Robert Wodrow. The motion was unanimously adopted by the 1838 General Assembly.¹⁶² This was followed by the appointment of the first Jewish Committee¹⁶³ during the 1838 General Assembly that included two sub-committees: one in Glasgow, the other in Edinburgh.¹⁶⁴ The Glaswegian one was particularly active and included many of the original laymen who proposed the scheme. Thus, the work of the last scheme of the Church of Scotland began. Chambers argued that in comparison with the other schemes, 'only the Jewish mission arose in conflict atmosphere, and its "revivalist" associations constantly broke through in the Evangelical Press'.¹⁶⁵ The other schemes had already been in existence and mission to the Jews was the last scheme to appear in the mission stage of the Church. It was markedly an Evangelical initiative and the atmosphere of Evangelical excitement and the press propaganda pertaining to the Jewish Scheme alienated the Moderate leaders from immediate

¹⁵⁷ M. Robert McCheyne, 'Revival' *Edinburgh Christian Witness*, 23 (May 1840), p. 3.

¹⁵⁸ National Archives of Scotland, formerly Scottish Record Office (Thereafter SRO) SRO, CH 1/2/174., index. Greenock, Hamilton, Dumbarton and Glasgow Presbyteries sent separate overtures to 1838 General Assembly. Cited by Chambers, p. 47. n. 20.

¹⁵⁹ *Scottish Guardian*, 8 February 1838, p. 48; 12 Feb. 1838, p.53.; 2 April 1838, p. 110.; 30 April 1838, p. 142.

¹⁶⁰ John Gordon, Lorimer (1804-1868) Minister of the Free Church of Scotland. He was the second son of Robert Lorimer, a 'Disruption divine'. James A. Wylie, *Disruption Worthies. A Memorial of 1843* (Edinburgh: Grange Publishing Works, 1881), p. 341.

¹⁶¹ Henry Wellwood Moncrieff, 'Candlish, Robert Smith', in *Disruption Worthies*. pp. 139-146. Robert Candlish (1806-1873) Evangelical minister of the Free Church, Edinburgh and professor of Divinity New College, Edinburgh.

¹⁶² William Wingate, 'Reminiscences of Mission Work in Hungary', *The Messenger and Missionary Report*, 3.2 (1 February 1878), 33-34 (p. 33). See also: 'Overtures relative to the Conversion of the Jews', Supplementary Number of the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* containing a Digest of the Proceedings of the General Assembly, 1838 with Notes and observations, in *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* New series 1. Supplementary Number (1838), 4-6 (p. 4).

¹⁶³ This name sounds unfortunately misleading as it was a Committee for the Conversion of the Jews. However, because convention we are to use this form of citation 'Jewish Committee' meaning the mission board for Jewish conversion.

¹⁶⁴ 'Overture Relative to the Conversion of the Jews', *Edinburgh Christian Instructor*, New series 1. Supplementary Number of the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor* containing a Digest of the Proceedings of the General Assembly 1838 with notes and observations (1838), pp. 4-6.; See also: David Brown, *Life of the late John Duncan*, 2nd rev. edn (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1872), pp. 280-281. Brown is mistaken as he dated 1837 for the inception of the scheme.

¹⁶⁵ Chambers, p. 54.

participation.¹⁶⁶ The Evangelicals' participation in the scheme was weighty. They greatly outnumbered the Moderates who had only two people in the Committee appointed by the 1838 Assembly to deal with the overtures.¹⁶⁷ Nonetheless, this did not mean that the Moderates were reluctant to join the Jewish mission. They also carried on the Jewish mission scheme after the Disruption in spite of the fact that most of their missionaries adhered to the Free Church of Scotland.

3.3. Millennialism and its relation to the conversion of the Jews

Since the earliest days of the Puritans, such elements as the conversion of the Jews, and the "fullness of the Gentiles" gave rise to various millenarian ideas.¹⁶⁸ Allusion was made to the fact that the Scots always prayed for the Jews according to their liturgy. In the Westminster Assembly's Larger Catechism the answer to question 191 declares: '[...] we pray that the kingdom of sin and Satan may be destroyed, the gospel propagated throughout the world, the Jews called, the fullness of the Gentiles brought in ...'.¹⁶⁹ The Directory for the Public Worship of God also holds a similar view urging the ministers to pray publicly 'for the propagation of the Gospel and Kingdom of Christ to all Nations, for the conversion of the Jews, the fullness (sic!) of the Gentiles, the fall of AntiChrist, and the hastening of the second coming of our Lord'.¹⁷⁰ Grenz argues that the Puritans held a postmillennial view expressed by Daniel Whitby, a Puritan divine declaring that the millennium is not the reign of the people raised from death 'but the Church flourishing gloriously for a thousand years after the conversion of the Jews and the flowing -in of all nations to them thus converted to the Christian faith'.¹⁷¹ Mel Scult came to the conclusion that the belief in the national conversion of the Jews between 1660 and 1750 was commonly shared by all English people including John Locke and Sir Isaac Newton.¹⁷² This conviction, that he named 'conversionist belief' lingered on through centuries impacting Evangelicalism. When Joseph Frey came on the stage of Jewish mission,

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 56.

¹⁶⁷ SRO CH 1/1/86, p. 85. cited by Chambers, p. 55. The Committee consisted of ten ministers and eleven laymen. David Brown states in his book that a committee was appointed by the Assembly of 1837. It does not stand. The author has checked the materials and the date is 1838. Cf. Brown, *Life of Late John Duncan*, p. 280.

¹⁶⁸ Charles L. Chaney, *The Birth of Mission in America* (South Pasadena, California: William Carey Library 1976), pp. 271-274.; Mel Scult, *Millennial Expectations and Jewish Liberties*, ed. by Neuser, Jacob, *Studies in Judaism in Modern Times*, 2 (Leiden: E. J Brill, 1978), pp. 32-34. See also for theologies of mission: S. H. Rooy, *The Theology of Mission in Puritan Tradition* (Grand Rapids, MI: 1965).

¹⁶⁹ Needham, 'Millennialism', p. 562. For general discussion see also: Ian H. Murray, *The Puritan Hope* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 1971).

¹⁷⁰ *A Directory for the Publique Worship*, p. 10.

¹⁷¹ Daniel Whitby, *Paraphrase and Commentary on the New Testament*, cited by Grenz, p. 69

Evangelicalism that was imbued by the old Puritan agenda, turned with renewed interest to the conversion of the Jews. However, Frey took a different stance on millennialism and opted for pre-millennialism that was clearly not so wide-spread as its counterpart.¹⁷³

Postmillennialists, the majority of nineteenth century Evangelicals in Britain, expected the millennium to be attained through the preaching of the gospel.¹⁷⁴ They believed that transition to this stage would be smooth and only after this period of prosperity for the church would Christ come again.¹⁷⁵ In opposition to this, pre-millennialists believed that the present age would climax with a period of tribulation before Christ's second coming, which is not in the distant future but can be expected imminently. The reign of Christ, who is physically present, will begin with the judgement of the Antichrist and the resurrection of the righteous followed by the millennium.¹⁷⁶ During the *parousia* Satan will be bound and an era of righteousness will commence on the earth. After the millennium, Satan will be loosed to lead a brief rebellion.¹⁷⁷ Finally, the millennium closes by the general resurrection, the last judgement and the eternal state. Post and pre-millennialist views gave rise to discussions, however, Evangelicals in Scotland managed to maintain a careful and peaceful balance between them.

The leading evangelical voices in the Church of Scotland adhered to the postmillennialism of Puritan times. John Duncan (1796-1870),¹⁷⁸ a missionary to the Jews in Hungary, believed that the conversion of the Jews was dependent on the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, which was about to happen at his time as world history shifted into the final events. In the sermon preached in 1839, he articulated his belief that the future restoration of the Jews would be universal and permanent.¹⁷⁹ He thus believed in the 'national' conversion of the Jews as a people like early Puritans did.¹⁸⁰ He thought that the

¹⁷² Scult, p. 53.

¹⁷³ See: 3.1. The Emergence of Jewish Mission in Britain

¹⁷⁴ Roger H. Martin, *Evangelicals United: Ecumenical Stirrings in Pre Victorian Britain 1795-1830* (Metuchen N. J.: Scarecrow, 1983), p. 30.

¹⁷⁵ Loraine Boetter, *Millenium* (Philadelphia: Reformed, 1957), p. 4.

¹⁷⁶ Millar Erickson, *Contemporary Options in Eschatology: a Study of the Millennium* (Grand Rapids, Mich: Baker, 1977), p. 91-92.

¹⁷⁷ David Brown, *Christ's Second Coming: Will it be Premillennial?* (Edinburgh: Johnstone and Hunter, 1849), pp. 399-420.

¹⁷⁸ S. Isbell, 'Duncan, John', in *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology*, ed. by Cameron, Nigel M.de S (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1993), pp. 262-63.

¹⁷⁹ J. S. Sinclair, *Rich Gleanings After the Vintage from "Rabbi" Duncan with Biographical Sketch*, 2nd impr. edn (London: Chas. J. Thynne and Jarvis, 1925), p. 330.

¹⁸⁰ A. Stuart Moody, *Recollection of the Late John Duncan, LL.D.* (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1872), p. 205.

Jews 'feel themselves drawn especially to British Christianity (Evangelicalism) since it was tolerant, and defended civil and religious liberty'.¹⁸¹ Furthermore, he held the belief that the fullness of the Gentiles could not be completed because of the 'continuance of blindness to a part of Israel'.¹⁸² He argued that it was evident that the mission to the Jews had to be a priority, *a primus inter pares*. Duncan's theological views were heirs to the Puritans in other respects as well. For him the time he lived in was 'pregnant with mighty change'. The events of the world were connected to prophecies from the Bible, for instance he perceived the decline of Ottoman military power and stated that the 'lune of Islam is rapidly decrescent; and all things portend that the time when the fulness of the Gentiles shall come in is nigh—even at the door'.¹⁸³ Also he believed that 'decrepitude' of Popery, and 'idolatrous' religions of India and China, which were speedily to fall and all these would hasten the national conversions of the Jews. Interestingly, Duncan never sketched a scheme of detailed prophecy but dealt with the conversion of the Jewish more from 'the promise' aspect that God would bless those who reach out to the Jews.¹⁸⁴ Likewise Alexander Keith was far more preoccupied by producing a voluminous book on the 'physical restoration' of Israel to their land than giving a schedule for the events.¹⁸⁵ He went to inordinate length with his description of the 'fertile land' giving the exact latitudes of the restored Israel's territory.¹⁸⁶ Events of the world political arena were also perceived as fulfilling biblical prophecies in the 'literal' sense. Thus, he believed that the Jewish nation 'may be born in a day' like the Greek nation since the slow weakening of the Ottoman Empire 'prepares the way for the return of the Jews' which was a clear allusion to the political events of his time.¹⁸⁷ Scottish millennialist, like Duncan and Keith shared a few characteristics of millennialism of the Puritans at the dawn of mission to the Jews such

¹⁸¹ Brown, *Life of the Late John Duncan*, p. 438. It cites the speech of Duncan at the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland in 1862.

¹⁸² John Duncan, 'Addresses in the Free Church Assembly on the Mission to the Jews in Hungary, and on the Christian Future of the Jewish People 25 Monday, 1857' in *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May, 1857* (Edinburgh: James Nichol, 1857), pp. 44-48. Cf. S. Sinclair, *Rich Gleanings After the Vintage from "Rabbi" Duncan with Biographical Sketch*, 2nd impr. edn (London: Chas. J. Thynne and Jarvis, 1925), p. 360.

¹⁸³ John Duncan, 'Addresses in the Free Church Assembly on the Mission to the Jews in Hungary, and on the Christian Future of the Jewish People 21 May 1860' in *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May, 1860* (Edinburgh: James Nichol, 1860), pp. 39-42.

¹⁸⁴ A. Stuart Moody, *Recollection of the Late John Duncan, LL. D.* (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1872), p. 205.

¹⁸⁵ Alexander Keith, *The Land of Israel According to the Covenant with Abraham, with Isaac, and with Jacob* (Edinburgh: William Whyte, 1843).

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid*, p. 161.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 477, 479.

as the conversion of the Jews would be national, the gospel had to be preached 'first to the Jews' and the world events can be read in the light of biblical prophecies.

The real distinctiveness of Scottish enterprise of mission to the Jews was that it was the post-millennialist Evangelicals, like Duncan, who took the lead in the Scottish enterprise of Jewish Mission in comparison with their pre-millennialist English counterparts.¹⁸⁸ The other distinct feature was worded by a supporter of Jewish mission who argued at the General Assembly in 1838: 'mission to the Jews could be pursued more effectively by the church than by a society indicating the English societies were voluntary organisations'.¹⁸⁹ These two main features of Scottish mission to the Jews, post-millennialism and church mission gave a unique character to the Scottish enterprise.¹⁹⁰

Conclusion

While this chapter has introduced the three constituents of the Mission's history - Hungarian Protestantism, the Hungarian Jewish community, and the Church of Scotland's understanding of the relationship of Jewish mission and Christian renewal - as separate entities, it has also drawn attention to the interplay of the themes that defined the identities of the research subjects.

The growing strength of the Hungarian nationalist movement, and the determination of Habsburg government initially to suppress, and later to control it, were the dominant socio-political realities of the period. Nationalism played a crucial role in the identity of all Hungarian Protestants, and especially the great majority that belonged to the Reformed tradition. Confessionalism, in the sense of doctrinal adherence to the theological principles of Calvinism, was regarded by the Reformed people as an inalienable part of Hungarian nationalism. Calvinism was regarded as the 'national' religion that resisted 'foreign' Catholic rule. This made Protestantism the religious ally of the political liberalism that underlay the nationalist movement from the 1820s. Theological, or religious liberalism within the Reformed Church was the concomitant of the political liberalism of the nationalist movement, and it followed that many of the leading liberal figures in nationalist movement were members of the Reformed Church. Although it is better to talk

¹⁸⁸ For the Scottish postmillennial expectation the best example is that of David Brown, *Christ's Second Coming: Will it be Premillennial?* (Edinburgh: Johnstone and Hunter, 1849). See also a detailed treatment of pre-, post millennialism and amillennialism and dispensationalism is written by Stanley J. Grenz, *The Millennial Maze* (Downers Grove, Illinois: Intervarsity Press, 1992).

¹⁸⁹ 'The Last General Assembly', *CofSM*, 5. 55 (1838), 245-8 (p. 246).

about theological rationalism in the Reformed Church – for theological liberalism in the proper sense of the term developed later - this chapter has shown that the Protestant clergy were preoccupied with issues of national independence, and of religious freedom for the Protestant and Jewish communities, more than with theological discussions *per se*.

The chapter has shown that the mood of the Hungarian Jewish community, with the emerging leadership of Pest, was quite similar to that of the Protestants. Assimilation to the host culture was widely accepted as the way in which the Jewish community would identify itself with the nationalist movement. Many Jews, especially among the elite and emerging middle class of Pest and Buda, accepted that religious reform was an inherent part of assimilation. As with the Protestant Reformed community, however, the reform-minded Jews were motivated less by theological concerns than by the urgent demands for social change that liberal nationalism voiced. The main issue that concerned all Jews was emancipation, the demand for equality before the law, and full legal recognition of religious freedom and rights. Whereas, during the early decades of the nineteenth century, the Jewish reform leaders orientated themselves towards German culture and language, this being the dominant culture of the Habsburg Empire, from the 1840s they decided to identify with the Hungarian nation, and began to promote Magyarisation among their people.

Magyarisation, nationalism and the struggle for religious and civic freedom created the common ground on which, from the mid-nineteenth century, Hungarian Protestants and Hungarian Jews could stand, in an alliance created by political liberalism that demanded democratic reforms from the Habsburg monarch. This alliance, with changing emphasis in the course of the following decades, set the background for Hungarian politics until the First World War.

The policy of the Habsburg government was to stem the tide of Hungarian nationalism by ‘Germanising’ the Hungarian Kingdom, often with the assistance of the Catholic Church. It was against this form of cultural-linguistic hegemony that the Protestant-Jewish alliance struggled in support of Magyarisation that represented the underlying dynamic of the Reform Era and the following decades. As political liberalism gained increasing power in the Diets, under the influence of Széchenyi and Kossuth, the Hungarian nationalists looked to Britain as a model of a Protestant, liberal democracy.

¹⁹⁰ The London Jewish Society from 1814-15 became exclusively Anglican due to the financial help and condition of Lewis Way but in its origin it was non-denominational.

British engineers, architects and workers were invited to Hungary by Széchenyi to assist with the modernisation of Hungarian technology. Their Protestantism, albeit of different hues than the Hungarian, was welcomed on the grounds of its being reformist and non-Catholic. Theological considerations were quite secondary.

In many respects, therefore, Hungary offered a favourable arena for the Scottish Mission that was concerned with both Jewish evangelism and the revival of the Christian Church. But this chapter has also shown that, whereas the Protestant-Jewish alliance in Hungary was premised on nationalism and a rationalist approach to religious reform, the Church of Scotland had a much more definitely theological approach to reform. This was based on radical adherence to the Gospel, and – in respect of Jewish mission – on millennialist interpretations of Scripture that urgently sought the ‘incoming’ of the Jewish nation in order that the Church could be ready for ‘the end times’ through the reconciliation of Jews and Gentiles. While the evidence of this chapter suggests that there were good reasons for the Scottish Mission to look optimistically toward Hungary as a country with a rare tradition of harmony between Reformed Christians and Jews, it is equally clear that the theological expectations on which the Scottish Mission was created were at odds with the rationalist thinking of most Hungarian Reformed Christians and Jews themselves.



Chapter 2: The Prelude, Settlement and Early Achievements of the Scottish Mission (1839-1857)

Introduction

The arrival of the Scottish Mission in Pest in 1841 marked the beginning of the first stage of its missionary work in Hungary. In 1852 the Scottish missionaries were expelled, although the Mission as such managed to survive under local leadership until a new expatriate missionary was permitted to take up the leadership of the Mission in 1857. This chapter will examine this first period, beginning in 1839 with the ‘prelude’ of events in the Church of Scotland that led to the creation of the Mission.

The chapter will focus on the twofold purpose of what was styled as the Scottish Mission to the Jews, the first being to convert the Hungarian Jews, the second being to revive the Protestant Churches, especially the Hungarian Reformed Church. It will be shown that these two goals were of equal importance to the Mission, both theologically and ecclesiologically. The Mission’s millennialist theology interpreted Biblical scripture to teach that Christ’s second coming is inherently connected, either by way of preparation or fulfilment, with the ‘incoming’ of the nation of Israel into the Church whose mission is to reconcile both Jews and Gentiles. In addition to this theological justification of Jewish evangelism, the chapter will show that the founders of the Scottish Mission believed that mission is the vocation of the church in any particular locale. They therefore envisaged the Hungarian Reformed Church becoming the means of Jewish evangelism in Hungary, and saw the role of the Mission being to revive the evangelical faith of the Hungarian Church so that it would be motivated to take over the task of converting the Hungarian Jews.

This chapter will describe the series of unexpected events that led to the establishment of the Scottish Mission in Pest. This will explain the choice of Pest as the Mission station, and the alliance that the Scottish missionaries immediately struck with German Pietism, particularly as represented by the Palatine’s wife, the Archduchess Maria Dorothea, who enabled them to negotiate the potential hostilities of the Catholic-dominated Habsburg Monarchy that was hostile not only to Protestantism but to any kind of non-Catholic missionary activity.

Attention will also be given to the institutions that the Mission created as its initial means of outreach – a congregation, a school, and a network of colportage – since these were to continue as the main Mission agencies that guided its work until the First World

War. Through analysis of the Mission's work, the chapter will seek to profile the evangelical character of the first people to become associated with the Mission. This includes members of the expatriate British community in Pest, particularly the Rawlin family, the first Jewish converts in the Saphir family, and the first Hungarian Protestants who began to create links between the Mission and the Reformed Church.

The chapter will conclude with a discussion of the political changes of Hungary that led to the expulsion of the missionaries in 1852, and an assessment of the Mission's first stage of activity. Although the expulsion of the missionaries was a set-back in the progress of the Mission, it will be argued that its twin goals were significantly achieved by the fact that the missionary work was continued, in the absence of the Scottish missionaries, by some of the first Jewish converts and some of the ministers of the Pest Reformed Church.

I. A Common Concern of Evangelicalism and Pietism: the Revival of the Protestant Churches of Hungary

1. Keith's and Black's Mission of Inquiry at Pest

The 1839 General Assembly of the Church of Scotland endorsed the decision of the Jewish Committee to send a Deputation to Palestine with a goal of obtaining sufficient intelligence on the Jews there and in other places in Europe.¹ The idea of sending a Deputation to Palestine came from Robert Candlish while talking to Alexander Stuart Moody (1809-1898)² about Robert M. McCheyne's health.³ He thought that McCheyne's health would improve with a climate change and combined his idea with another, to send a Deputation to Palestine having the Jewish Scheme in mind. The selection of the members was uncomplicated except for A. A. Bonar, whose premillennialist views hindered his appointment until Candlish intervened.⁴ Originally, Robert Wodrow was appointed a

¹ Andrew Alexander Bonar, *Narrative of a Mission Inquiry to the Jews from the Church of Scotland in 1839* (Edinburgh: W. Whyte, 1848). See also: Alexander Keith, 'Origin of the Mission to the Jews at Pesth', *Sunday at Home*, 14. 675, (1867), 212-216 (pp. 212, 213.) The story of Keith' and Black' stay in Pest is left out of this massive and fascinating report for being afraid that the Habsburg may uncover their intention. cf. Brown, p. 289.

² K. R. Ross, 'Stuart, Alexander Moody', in *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology*, ed. by Cameron, Nigel M. de S (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1993), p. 803. Stuart-Moody was the Convenor of the Free Church Jewish Committee between 1847-1888.

³ Gavin Carlyle, *Life and Work of the Rev. William Wingate Missionary to the Jews* (London: Alfred Holness, [n.d.]), pp. 11-12.

⁴ A. N. Somerville, MS. Letter to McCheyne, 1 March 1839. Somerville informed McCheyne and Andrew Bonar's premillenarian view raised some doubt of his eligibility to join the Deputation saying '[...] As to

member of the Deputation but he withdrew due to illness.⁵ The final membership of the Deputation consisted of four ministers deeply imbued with millennial views: Professor Alexander Black⁶ of Aberdeen; Alexander Keith (1791-1880) of the parish of St. Cyrus, Kincardineshire; Robert M. McCheyne (1813-1843) of St. Peter's Dundee; and Andrew A. Bonar of Collace, Perthshire.⁷ All were heavily involved in interpreting biblical prophecy but it was Keith who was best known for his publications,⁸ especially his *Evidence of the Truth of the Christian Religion from the Literal Fulfilment of Prophecy particularly as Illustrated by the History of the Jews*,⁹ which appeared in thirty-seven editions and several translations.¹⁰ In this work he presented a polemic against A. P. Stanley's poetical interpretation of prophecy.¹¹ An evidence of the popularity of this book is that the Archduchess of Hungary, the Pietist Maria Dorothea, had read it.¹² Undoubtedly, his book, which first appeared in 1828, prepared the general public opinion of the church to be

Andrew, I feel his millenarianism will knock the prospect of his going upon the head'. Somerville – later playing a very influential role in the Hungarian revival – belonged to the core group of young people at the dawn of Disruption who were interested in mission and decided to study the scripture on a daily basis. For that purpose a 'brotherly agreement was drawn up by McCheyne on 24 May 1838 undersigned by such persons as A. A. Bonar, A. N. Somerville, G. Smeaton, Henry Moncreiff, Walter Wood and three other persons besides McCheyne. See in: Andrew A. Bonar, *Memoir and Remains of the Rev. Robert Murray McCheyne, Minister of St. Peter Church, Dundee* (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1844; repr. The Banner of Truth Trust, 1973), p. 186.

⁵ Chambers, 'Prelude', p. 55. See also: V. David Yeaworth, 'Robert Murray McCheyne (1813-1843). A Study of an Early Nineteenth Century Scottish Evangelical' (Ph.D. diss., Edinburgh University, 1957), p. 267.

⁶ 'Black, Alexander', *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae: the Succession of Ministers in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation (Synods of Aberdeen and Moray) the Church in England, Ireland and Overseas*, ed. by Ilew Scott, 10 vols (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1926), VI, p. 205. Black was appointed to the Chair of Divinity Marischal College, Aberdeen on 27 June 1832. No birth date or death given.

⁷ Gavin Carlyle, "Mighty in the Scriptures" *A Memoir of Adolph Saphir, D. D.* (London: John F. Shaw and Co, 1893), p. 430. Appendix A.

⁸ Letter from R. M. McCheyne 16 September 1840 Dundee. It is printed in Andrew A. Bonar, *Memoir and Remains of the Rev. Robert Murray McCheyne*, p. 292. Here McCheyne refers to him as an outstanding scholar on prophecy.

⁹ Shirley A. Fraser, *The Origins of Scottish Interest in Mission to the Jews* (Aberdeen: Gilcomston South Church, 1990), p. 9. This was translated into several languages since Maria Dorothea read it.

¹⁰ 'Overture', *Edinburgh Christian Instructor*, New series 1. Supplementary Number (1838), 4-6 (p.5.). Keith earliest publication on prophecy goes back to 1823. Carlyle, *Life and Work*, p. 12. 'Keith whose book on prophecy was universally read in Evangelical circles'. Amongst others, Robert Candlish was fascinated by his books. See: William Wilson, *Memorials of Robert Candlish D. D.* (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1880), p. 51. There a letter to Urquhart dated as of 3 February 1834 mentioned Keith as an authority.

¹¹ Surprisingly enough, it seems that Keith's immense literary output escaped the attention of many scholar in spite of his popularity on interpreting prophecy.

¹² K. Eberhard Oehler, 'Maria Dorothea, Prinzessin Von Württemberg Und Wohltäterin Ungarns 1797-1855', in *Lebensbilder Aus Baden-Württemberg*, ed. by Tadday, Gerhard and Fischer Joachim, 19 (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1998), 235-268 (p. 251.) He cited Maria Dorothea saying, ' "Ich kenne diesem Mann. Ich habe sein Buch, 'Fulfilled Prophecy' (Biblische Weissagungen) gelesen. Und jetzt muß ich ihn auch persönlich sehen".'. My translation: 'I have come to know this man. I have read his book, 'Fulfilled Prophecy'. Now, I must see him in person'. Keith came to know this fact when they accidentally met in Pest in 1839. This meant a quick dissemination of his ideas not only at home but abroad. Obviously there was a flowing web of networks between the Evangelicals of Britain and the Pietist tradition of the German principalities, notably that of Württemberg.

susceptible for Jewish mission. All the members believed in the national conversion of the Jews, and Keith was particularly involved in explaining the physical restoration of Israel to Palestine.¹³ McCheyne saw a strong bond between the revival of the Scottish churches and the conversion of the Jews. He believed that ‘the moment a man begins to take the statements of the Word of God as literally true, that moment he begins to care for Israel’.¹⁴ Both McCheyne and Andrew Bonar attributed a special place to the Jews in the salvation of the Gentiles. Bonar gave a speech at the General Assembly of Free Church of Scotland proclaiming ‘when we gave the Jews their proper place in our missionary work, we might look for special blessing at home, for, “Blessed is he who blesseth thee”’.¹⁵ Bonar did not miss the opportunity to underline that the Kilsyth revival was at the very same time when the deputation ‘was seeking out the scattered Jews’.¹⁶ John Duncan, who was to be the first missionary in Pest, shared this conviction, believing that revival of Protestant Churches was strongly linked with Jewish Mission.¹⁷ With such a theological intention the Deputation left Britain on the 12 April 1839.¹⁸

They wanted to approach Palestine via Alexandria but a plague broke out and they had to travel via land. In the course of travelling Black ‘having been lulled to sleep’ fell off his camel and was greatly stunned.¹⁹ This forced the two senior members of the Deputation, Black and Keith to return to Britain via the Danube. It was very much against their original plan as the Jewish Committee in Scotland was determined to keep the Deputation from ‘visiting any part of the Austrian Empire’.²⁰ They knew how inimical the Catholic countries were to Protestant mission and that strict laws prohibited such activities.

¹³ See: Chapter 1. Section 3.3. Millennialism and its relation to the conversion of the Jews.

¹⁴ McCheyne, MS. Sermon, 9 February, 1842, Notebook XIII. Cited by Yeaworth, p. 265. n. 3.

¹⁵ Andrew A. Bonar, *Memoir and Remains of the Rev. Robert Murray McCheyne, Minister of St. Peter Church, Dundee* (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1844) enlarged edition 1892, reprint of 1892 edition in 1966, p. 192. Cf. Yeaworth, p. 97. Yeaworth cites McCheyne’s word: ‘They shall prosper who love thee’. This indicates a theological consensus for evangelisation of the Jews.

¹⁶ Adolph Saphir’s speech. ‘The Jewish Evening at the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland 24th May 1889’, in *Report on the Conversion of the Jews to the General Assembly 1889*, Appendix IX, Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland held at Edinburgh May, 1889 (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1889), 1-31. (p. 21).

¹⁷ John Duncan, ‘Addresses in the Free Church Assembly on the Mission to the Jews in Hungary, and on the Christian Future of the Jewish People 21 May 1860’ in *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May, 1860* (Edinburgh: James Nichol, 1860), pp. 39-42. Sinclair, p. 369.

¹⁸ Brown, p. 290.

¹⁹ V. David Yeaworth, ‘Robert Murray McCheyne (1813-1843). A Study of an Early Nineteenth Century Scottish Evangelical’ (Ph.D. diss., Edinburgh University, 1957), p. 269. n. 3. It cites McCheyne’s letter to Family, 26 June 1839.; See also: Andrew Bonar, A., ‘The Jewish Evening at the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland 24th May 1889’, in *Report on the Conversion of the Jews to the General Assembly 1889*, Appendix IX, Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland held at Edinburgh May, 1889 (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1889), pp. 1-31 (p. 18).

²⁰ Alexander Keith, ‘Origin of the Mission to the Jews at Pesh’, *Sunday at Home*, 14. 675 (1867), 212-216 (p. 213. 2nd column.)

Yet instead of heading home by a steamer from Beirut to London they chose to traverse through Central Europe with the view to enquiring into the conditions of the Jews.²¹ At first Bucharest and Semlin seemed to be favourable spots for initiating mission stations since they were welcomed there. In addition, there was a British consulate there.²² They travelled on to Pest, where the journey took an unexpected turn. Originally Black and Keith intended to stay there only for three days but when they realized how prospective the field of 'Jewish mission' Pest was, they decided to stay and let the steamer, for which they had tickets, depart. While pursuing their inquiries both were smitten by an intermittent Danube fever and Keith exhibited some type of cholera symptoms. He became so ill that it was feared that he would die within days. Julia Pardoe, an English traveller and author of a book on Hungary, saw them and notified the Archduchess, Maria Dorothea – a devoted Württemberg Pietist – whom she had come to know.²³

The Archduchess, who was the wife of Palatine Joseph, intervened and offered to care for Keith. She sent immediate orders that everything possible should be done for his recovery.²⁴ She finally persuaded him to accept the most eminent physician in Hungary whom she recommended.²⁵ Besides these signs of imperial favour she sent hot dishes for Keith's daily main meal from the palace and attended on Keith herself, like a deaconess.²⁶ These unusual actions on the part of the wife of the Emperor's representative in Hungary excited the public of Pest. Soon rumours arose about her frequent visits. When Keith learned that there were spies at the hotel, he asked her to defer her visitations until the agitation subsided. She answered:

I know all that they are doing or can do. They can only send a complaint to Metternich, and all he can do is to present it to the Empress. But I have been

²¹ Ibid, p. 214.

²² Ibid.

²³ Julia Pardoe, 'Mr. Tierney Clark's Bridge' in *The City of the Magyar*, 3 vols (Budapest: Virtue Books Ltd, 1840), I, p. 321 and II, pp. 66-9, 91-97. Pardoe was a celebrated writer of the century her books on various European countries were widely read. Even the missionaries used them to inform themselves about the country. She produced a kind of 'Lonely Planet' like travel guide books introducing all aspects of life in a given country. As for the book on Hungary, the first volume indicates that the Archduke gave an audience to her and at the end suggested her to meet Maria Dorothea. In the second volume the reader is informed that Pardoe visited her and was deeply impressed by the simplicity of such a high dignity and her 'Puritan' manners.

²⁴ Keith, 'Origin', p. 215. 1st column. A further element shows how unusual care she took for a foreign person. Since Keith was a big man in stature she sent the longest bed from the palace. On one occasion when Keith was again taken by high fever she gave instructions to cover the street next to the hotel with straw and stationed soldiers at each end of the street to prevent any thoroughfare and to keep any carriage that stopped in at a walking pace.

²⁵ Alexander Keith, 'Origin of the Mission to the Jews at Pesh', *Sunday at Home*, 14. 677 (1867), 245-248 (p. 248. 1st column).

²⁶ Alexander Keith, 'Origin of the Mission to the Jews at Pesh', *Sunday at Home*, 14. 678 (1867), 261-263 (pp. 261. 2nd column, 262 1st column).

before hand with them, for I have already written to her, saying that I have seen you, and will see you, and nothing shall prevent me; so make yourself at ease about me.²⁷

Due to her position, Maria Dorothea dared to resist and ignore the disapproval of the formidable Imperial Chancellor Metternich, the most influential person in the whole Empire. During these visits the Archduchess developed a friendly and personal relationship with Keith, who became her confessional father.²⁸ She shared her sorrow, the loss of her most beloved son, Prince Alexander with him.²⁹ Although she enjoyed the highest status in the Hungarian society she experienced solitude and desired to have a Pietist community around her.

To understand her position as a Protestant, it has to be pointed out that the ruling class, the aristocracy of Hungary was mostly Catholic, as was her husband, the Austrian Archduke. The Habsburg family was hostile to the marriages of Palatine Josef, whose first wife was Russian Orthodox, and the second Calvinist. The fact that his third wife, Maria Dorothea was also a Protestant³⁰ was barely tolerated in the Habsburg Court. He needed to obtain a special permission from the Pope for the marriage.³¹ Although Maria Dorothea was granted personal religious freedom, her children had to be educated by Catholic priests.³² To her grievance they were taken from her for instruction. Moreover, she had no personal chaplain at her disposal at the Royal Court of Buda and her public actions were under the eyes of the imperial spies.³³ She was a deeply religious Pietist and was well informed of British Evangelicalism to Keith's surprise. It is evident that the meeting of Maria Dorothea and Keith was decisive in the history of the Scottish Mission in Pest. On the very last meeting she entreated that missionaries to the Jews should be sent to Pest "Send out missionaries here, and I will protect them".³⁴ Undoubtedly, she played a crucial role in offering a protection for the Church of Scotland missionary endeavour to the Jews.

²⁷ Alexander Keith, 'Origin of the Mission to the Jews at Pesh', *Sunday at Home*, 14. 677 (1867), pp. 247-8.

²⁸ Alexander Keith, 'Origin of the Mission to the Jews at Pesh', *Sunday at Home*, 14. 676 (1867), 232-237 (p. 236. 2nd column).

²⁹ As a matter of fact Miss Pardoe also makes a mention of how deeply the Archduchess felt about the early death of his son. See:

³⁰ Sándor Payr, 'Mária Dorotya nádorasszony', *Protestáns Szemle* (Thereafter *PSz*), 20. 1 (1908), 1-11, (p. 1.) His former marriages were to Alexandra Paulova, who was Russian Orthodox, died in 1801 and Hermina, a Calvinist who died in 1817.

³¹ K. Eberhard Oehler, 'Maria Dorothea, Prinzessin Von Württemberg Und Wohltäterin Ungarns 1797-1855', in *Lebensbilder Aus Baden-Württemberg*, ed. by Tadday, Gerhard and Fischer Joachim, 19 (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1998), pp. 241-2. See also: Archivalien Des Hauses Württemberg im Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart, G 285, fol. 35. Wedding of Maria Dorothea. A letter dated 20 August 1819. Here one finds the actual marriage contract and a letter from the Pope giving his consent to the marriage.

³² It was due to the Law of 1791. See Chapter 1. Section I.3. Emancipation of Protestantism.

³³ We have alluded to this and shall see it again in Chapter 2.

Her invitation was to change the original plan of the Committee to establish a mission station in Palestine.

2. An insight to Keith's Evangelicalism

This series of events reaffirmed Keith's belief that God manifested his providence in Pest in his dealing with them.³⁵ From Keith's perspective, the following proved to be 'pieces of evidence' for him to believe. First, Black's unexpected accident and its consequence proved to be a sign for him. Second, Keith and his companion were repeatedly baffled by the seeming fate of their Deputation in Pest. All things seemed to work against them. Then, what appeared to be the very deathbed for Keith became a turning point. A further 'sign' of God's providence was the fact that prior to their start on their Deputation, they had received a letter of recommendation from the same Miss Pardoe to the Pasha in Cairo. This Miss Pardoe was one among the many of the British public who were excited by the prospect of such a mission. Without knowing them in person, she had furnished the Deputation with letters of recommendation. Apparently, she knew the purpose of their visit and informed the Archduchess Maria Dorothea.³⁶ Another coincidence of a personal matter had occurred. The Archduke had just given his wife Maria Dorothea a book entitled *Illustrations to Keith's "Evidence of Prophecy"* before she met Keith accidentally through Miss Pardoe. The sequence of events was certainly extraordinary. It is no wonder that the participants were ready to see the hand of God in them.

To substantiate that this was their line of interpretation of God's providential act in their lives we cite two further examples. It was apparent that the Austrian authorities would hinder any mission activities. Upon his arrival to Pest, Keith concluded his view of the prospect of mission in the city:

As to the desirability of a mission there we were soon fully satisfied; but as to its possibility we saw no way. We knew that the Austrian government, the supreme in Hungary, would be dead against it. The dread object in our view was the grand palace of the Prince Palatine, and Austrian Archduke, the uncle of the Emperor. The first sight of it seemed to defy us, and to destroy all hope, if, hoping against hope, we had cherished any. However beautiful, when we thought of our object it had no beauty in our eyes; and it was the very last place to which we could have looked for help.³⁷

³⁴ Keith, 'Origin', p. 247, 2nd column.

³⁵ Keith, 'Origin', p. 215 2nd column.

³⁶ Keith, 'Origin', p. 234.

³⁷ Keith, 'Origin', p. 214, 2nd column.

He also admitted to Black ‘we may go when we like, we need never think of having a Jewish Mission under the eye of an Austrian Archduke’.³⁸ Keith mentioned that Maria Dorothea years later told him in Kirkheim, Württemberg, that she had awakened night after night for two weeks before she met Keith. She had an ‘irrepressible conviction’ that something was to happen to her, though she suspected the death of her mother. Upon receiving the tidings from Miss Pardoe she knew that ‘this is what was to happen to me’.³⁹ Needless to say, Maria Dorothea and Keith regarded it as an ‘evidence’ of God’s consent to set up a mission at Pest. Furthermore, Keith’s failure to leave the country due to the returning fever provided the final evidence. He said: ‘my detention, on the first and only attempt to depart, was the means of redoubling my conviction that Pesth⁴⁰ was a most eligible station for a mission’.⁴¹ All these pieces of ‘extraordinary evidence’ convinced both parties in favour of the mission in Pest. Providence as a characteristic feature of Evangelicalism had a vivid presence in the Scottish missionary endeavour.

3. Maria Dorothea’s Pietism and Scottish Evangelicalism

The threads of missionary interest met at the very heart of the central power of the Habsburg. William Wingate, one of the later missionaries claimed that Maria Dorothea had been waiting for seven years for a religious revival to occur before Keith and Black arrived in the autumn of 1839.⁴² She, just like Keith and McCheyne, hoped that the ‘Gentiles’, i.e. the nominal Christians of Hungary, would experience true conversion. Hence the revival of the Hungarian Protestantism became the first point of the convergence of interest of Scottish Presbyterian Evangelicalism and German Pietism that Keith and Maria Dorothea represented. Second, the Christian responsibility for the socially disadvantaged was a deep concern to both of them. Third, they laid an emphasis on Christian education starting with nursery to primary education. These three issues were to characterize the future work of the Scottish Mission.

³⁸ Keith, ‘Origin’, p. 234. 2nd column.

³⁹ Keith, ‘Origin’, p. 234. 1st column.

⁴⁰ The word ‘Pesth’ was used by the missionaries for ‘Pest’, one part of today’s Budapest. Therefore, if it is a quotation the original spelling is left. Otherwise, Pest is used.

⁴¹ Keith, ‘Origin’, p. 248.

⁴² William Wingate, ‘Reminiscences of Mission Work in Hungary’ *The Messenger and Missionary Record of the Presbyterian Church of England* (Thereafter *MMRPCofE*), 3.2 (1 February 1878), p. 34. See also: Draskóczy, 1940, pp. 67–70. Quoted by Anne Marie Kool, *God Moves in a Mysterious Way: the Hungarian Protestant Foreign Mission Movement 1756-1951* (Zoetermeer: Uitgeverij Boekencentrum B.V., 1993), Kool, p. 100. n 178.; It is telling for us to notice again that the biblical imagery reappears as the number of years happens to be the holy number of seven.

The fact that Maria Dorothea's piety was so close to that of the Scots was not by accident. She came from a Württemberg Pietist background, where Albrecht Bengel played an important role.⁴³ The piety of her mother, Duchess Henrietta of Württemberg, decisively influenced her life. The Duchess introduced her to the work of a disciple of Pestalozzi and did not let her daughter read the Bible until the age of thirteen due to the influence of Rousseau's school.⁴⁴ Maria Dorothea's mother had contact with the Swiss Réveil movement and notably César Malan.⁴⁵ It is truly fascinating to notice that the international character of 'evangelical' Christianity, because Malan was converted through the Scottish preacher Robert Haldane⁴⁶ at New Year in 1817.⁴⁷ In 1820 Malan built the 'Chapel of Testimony' in his own garden, where many distinguished people including Maria Dorothea, the Archduchess of Hungary, with her mother attended his devotional meetings.⁴⁸ To see how interactive continental Pietism and Scottish Evangelicalism were it is enough to mention that John Duncan, the first missionary to the Jews at Pest and later famous professor of Hebrew and Oriental languages, was converted through the Scottish influenced Swiss César Malan.⁴⁹ Both Maria Dorothea and John Duncan shared Malan's creed. His main tenet was 'there is only one God: the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit; man is born in sin out of which he can only be saved by being born again through the Holy

⁴³ Johannes Wallman, *Der Pietismus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990) pp. 123-143. About Bengel's Pietism see also: Martin Schmidt, *Pietismus* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1983), pp. 109-113.

⁴⁴ William Wingate, 'Reminiscences of Mission Work in Hungary' *MMRPCofE*, 3.2 (1 February 1878), p. 33.; Cf. Tibor Fabiny, 'Mária Dorottya és a magyar protestantizmus', *Theológiai Szemle*, 23. 6 (1980), 344-48 (p. 345); See also: Keith, 'Origin', p. 245. He comments on it condemning those very principles, 'though a Protestant, yet for the first thirteen years of her life, from an unwise theory, she had not been instructed in the Scriptures (not even to read them), or in any religious knowledge, till it was through her understanding should be matured; as if in the degenerate soil of human nature weeds would not spring up where good seed is not sown'.

⁴⁵ Solomon Caesar Malan, *The Life, Labours, and Writings of Caesar Malan* (London: Nisbet, 1869), p. 90.

⁴⁶ Robert Haldane initiated a mission to India which failed due to the lack of governmental support then he shifted his Evangelical enthusiasm and started the Home mission to the Highlands. See: Andrew F. Walls, 'Missions', in *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology*, ed. by Cameron, Nigel M. de S (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1993), 567-94 (pp. 568, 570).

⁴⁷ *Memoir of Robert Haldane and James Alexander Haldane; with Sketches of Their Friends and the Progress of Religion in Scotland* (New York: American Tract Society, [n.d.]), pp. 220-5. ; Solomon Caesar Malan, *The Life, Labours, and Writings of Caesar Malan* (London: Nisbet, 1869), p. 45.; See also: A. L. Drummond, 'Robert Haldane at Geneva 1816-17', *Records of Scottish Church History Society*, 9. 2 (1947) pp. 69-82.

⁴⁸ Malan, *The Life, Labours, and Writings of Caesar Malan*, p. 90. See also: A. L. Drummond, *The Kirk and the Continent* (Chalmers Lectures) (Edinburgh: The Saint Andrew Press, 1956), pp. 186-7. cf. Brown, p. 123.

⁴⁹ Brown, pp. 131-155. Here we find a highly interesting and detailed account of Duncan's conversion. It is said that the biographer David Brown was instrumental in introducing Duncan to Malan. It is acknowledged on pp. 72, and 131.

Spirit; the salvation of man is God's completely free gift of mercy'.⁵⁰ Apparently all the three trends of revivalists believed in the necessity of conversion of an individual.

It was this *Réveil* movement to which the famous Henri Merle d'Aubigné, professor of Church History in Geneva, a proponent of the teachings of this movement, belonged. He had cordial relationships with both Scottish Presbyterians and German Pietists of Hungary especially with George Bauhofer, who became chaplain to Maria Dorothea. Church historians have not yet pointed out this tripartite connexion of Scots, Swiss and Hungarians, but it is important to recognise the existence of this network of like-minded people across Europe: in Scotland, in Geneva and Württemberg and finally in Hungary by the early 1830s.⁵¹

3.1 Hungarian Protestantism and Maria Dorothea's wish

The theological and spiritual background of Hungarian Protestantism had not been profoundly influenced by any form of revivalist tendencies of the Western trends of Protestantism since the Reformation. Though there was a period of Puritan influence in Hungary for a while, it never came a nationwide movement and did not have lasting impact on the society at large like in England. There were some Pietists ministers in the Lutheran Church from the eighteenth century, but they were small in number.⁵² Also, German Pietism failed to reach the Reformed Church as a whole.⁵³ Escaping the impact of Western European revival movements, some Hungarian Reformed people developed a personal piety that could be likened to those in the West but these sporadic forms of individual piety never assumed a form of a movement. The Reformed Church did not have significant contacts with British Protestants until the early nineteenth century but with German rationalist theology that became a dominant feature in Hungary. The other important trait of Hungarian Protestantism was orthodox confessionism.⁵⁴ As to rationalism, Fabiny

⁵⁰ Tibor Fabiny, 'Maria Dorothea Und Der Ungarische Protestantismus', *Jahrbuch Für Die Geschichte Des Protestantismus in Österreich*, 96 (1980), 333–351 (p. 345.) Unfortunately he does not cite the proper location of the quotation!

⁵¹ Timothy C. F. Stunt, *From Awakening to Secession: Radical Evangelicals in Switzerland and Britain, 1815-1833* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 2000). It would be interesting to extend the results of Stunts' research to the Pietism of Württemberg and Hungary.

⁵² Béla Szent-Iványi, 'A pietizmus Magyarországon', *Századok*, 69. 1-4 (1935), pp. 1-38, 157-18, 321-333, 414-427.

⁵³ Imre Révész jun., *A magyar protestantizmus története* (Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1925), p. 58. Révész cited György Szikszai, *Keresztyén tanítások és imádságok a keresztyén embernek* (Pozsony: [n. pub.], 1796) as a justification that personal devotion and biblicist piety was present in the Reformed Church as well.

⁵⁴ Mihály Bucsay, *A protestantizmus története Magyarországon 1521-1945* (Budapest: Gondolat, 1985), pp. 192-5. See also: Fabinyi, p. 345. The liberal theology of Ferdinand Baur and David Strauss was only partially

cites an excellent example from a Lutheran teacher and writer at Szarvas, Péter Vajda whose 'moral lecture' on Protestantism around 1830 mirrors a liberal rationalist mind. 'The Reformers - he said - did not execute their work to its fullness as they did not draw on God's holy Scripture, the Mind and Heart, but only from the Bible. *By the means of freethinking* [Fabiny's italics] Protestantism has to achieve its true aim'.⁵⁵ Also István Szentgyörgyi, professor at Sárospatak College, declared that the basics for the knowledge of God are mind and nature which leads to true revelation.⁵⁶ On the other hand orthodoxy launched a bitter attack on the immorality, libertinism and loss of religious belief. Péter Ócsai Balogh lamented on these issues and predicted that if the situation was not redressed Protestantism as such would cease to be within two generations.⁵⁷ Rationalism had a sway over Hungarian Protestant theologians and ministers in the first half of the nineteenth century.

It is no wonder that the situation that Maria Dorothea found in Pest and Buda upon her arrival did not satisfy her soul for the subsequent years. She often attended the Church at *Kohlmarkt-Platze*, namely *Szén-tér*. None of the Lutheran ministers of Pest were spiritually awakened; Josef Kalchbrenner was a rationalist minister, Mihály Láng, the dean was philanthropic but theologically liberal and János Kollár by contrast ultra-orthodox but exhibited no interest in personal devotion.⁵⁸ Thus, she had felt herself to be spiritually isolated since her arrival to Hungary in 1819 but began to set an example for Protestants by supporting of disseminating of Christian literature, establishing diaconal works and facilitating education. These endeavours stemmed from the deep Christian conviction that God's love has to be manifested amongst the people. One of the leading church historians, Fabiny has argued that 'Maria Dorothea's personality and her biblicist views of life initiated the re-emergence of Christocentric theological thought in Hungary'.⁵⁹ In other

felt in Hungary. This is due to the fact that between 1715 - soon after the defeat of the Rákóczi led War of Liberation - up until 1825 the *peregrinatio* was severely restricted as well as bringing books into the supremacy of the Habsburg 1819

⁵⁵ Fabiny, 'Mária Dorotya és a magyar protestantizmus', p. 346. As a matter of fact Vajda published Mór Ballagi's book entitled 'A zsidókról' [About the Jews]. They also worked together in Szarvas. Cf. Sz. Kiss Károly, *Új Magyar Athénas (Újabbkori Magyar Protestáns Egyházi Írók Életrajzgyűjteménye)*, ed. by Sz. Kiss Károly, Kálmán Farkas, Bierbrunner, Gusztáv (Budapest: Aigner Lajos, 1887), p. 16.

⁵⁶ Endre Tóth, 'Az elnyomás kora (1715-1789)', in *A Magyar Református Egyház története*, ed. by Sándor Bíró and István Szilágyi, Egyháztörténeti tanszék Kiadványa, edn (Sárospatak: 1949; repr. Sárospataki Református Kollégium Theológiai Akadémiája, 1995), pp. 224-26.

⁵⁷ Fabiny, 'Mária Dorothea und Der Ungarische Protestantismus', p. 341.

⁵⁸ Tibor Fabinyi, *Mária Dorotya: Az utolsó magyar nádorné élete képekben* (Budapest: Enciklopédia Kiadó, 1997), p. 8.

⁵⁹ Fabiny, 'Mária Dorotya és a magyar protestantizmus', p. 345.

words, he claims that a new era began in Hungarian Protestantism with Maria Dorothea's arrival at Buda royal palace.

3.2. A practical realisation of Pietism: Maria Dorothea's involvement in mission

She was always ready to help the Protestants and the needy and kindled the fire for the slumbering diaconal responsibility. She donated a large sum of money for the poor of Pest, supported the Lutheran schools struggling with financial difficulties and granted a significant amount of money to the Vienna Lutheran Church in 1822.⁶⁰ However, it is gratifying to learn that she was the inspirational force behind the establishment of the first Hungarian 'Childcare' house named 'Garden of Angel' in 1828 that was led by the 'enlightened Catholic Teréz Brunswick'.⁶¹ 'Enlightened' in this context meant that she was an open-minded Catholic. Countess Brunswick belonged to a circle of friends, who crossed over denominational barriers.⁶² Out of this small circle around Maria Dorothea rose the originators of the first Protestant Orphanage, and the first Protestant hospital. She not only gave protection to the Protestant communities and tiny Pietist-Evangelical initiatives, such as the work of the British and Foreign Bible Society,⁶³ but also actively supported them as an expression of faith.⁶⁴ Certainly her example made its mark on all the people who came to know her. After his six months in Pest, Keith observed 'she taught me practically a lesson of Christian humility and child-like docility'.⁶⁵ On returning home, it was not a simple task for Keith to convince the Committee for Mission to the Jews in Edinburgh and Glasgow as they had decided to start upon another station during his absence.⁶⁶ Before the 1840 General Assembly he expressed that there was a great openness in Pest as '3000 Jews

⁶⁰ Fabiny, 'Mária Dorottyia és a magyar protestantizmus', p. 347. Keith mentioned that during the Pest Flood of 1838 she distributed clothing, food, and medicine. She visited the widowed and the fatherless acting like a deaconess. Cf. Keith, 'Origin', p. 261.

⁶¹ Sándor Payr, 'Mária Dorottyia nádorasszony, egykori napló és eredeti levelek tükrében II. rész Az emberbarát', *PSz*, 20. 1-10 (1908), 85-95 (p. 86). Brunswick is regarded as the mother of modern nursery system in Hungary. Fabiny states explicitly that it was the Archduchess who influenced Brunswick. Unfortunately he does not cite the primary source on which he based his argument. Maria Dorothea's and her connection has not been sufficiently researched. See: Tibor Fabinyi, *Mária Dorottyia: Az utolsó magyar nádorné élete képekben* (Budapest: Enciklopédia Kiadó, 1997), p. 8.

⁶² Sándor Kovács, *Az utolsó magyar nádorné*, (Budapest: [n. pub.] 1939). Cited by Fabiny, 'Mária Dorottyia és a magyarországi protestantizmus', p. 345.

⁶³ Thereafter BFBS.

⁶⁴ John V. Eibner, 'British Evangelicals and Hungary 1800-1852', *The Journal of the United Reformed Church History Society*, 3. 2 (1983), pp. 45-54.

⁶⁵ Keith, 'Origin', p. 246.

⁶⁶ Keith, 'Origin', p. 262. 2nd column.

have wholly disregarded the Talmud'.⁶⁷ Finally owing to his influence and the adequate number of candidates for Jewish mission, a decision was made to send missionaries to Central Europe.

This 'romantic' story of a fervent Pietist and an Evangelical was a prelude to a promising field of Scottish Mission. Maria Dorothea desired the revival of Hungarian Protestantism and the Scots were ready to offer a helping hand in the hope that the Protestant churches would support their endeavour, mission to the Jews. This converged interest enabled the Scots to settle under the imperial protection of the Archduchess in Pest. The intertwined nature of Pietism and Evangelicalism is obvious because in the story all the characteristics of Evangelicalism were present. Providence, mandate of the elected, anti-Catholicism, and millennial expectations came to the fore in Keith's thinking as well as that of Maria Dorothea. Concerning activism, biblicism, crucicentrism and conversion, Maria Dorothea's piety incorporated them all. This leads us to the conclusion that Maria Dorothea's Pietism and that represented by Scottish Evangelicals were very similar in many ways.⁶⁸ It has been pointed out that there was an interaction between trends of Scottish Evangelicalism, Swiss Réveil and Württemberg Pietism, which Maria Dorothea embodied. This favourable 'constellation' proved to be promising for the Scottish decision to establish a mission station in Pest.

II. The Settlement and Work of the Scottish Mission (1841-1857)

Antecedents

The Pest Scottish Mission is often referred to, though mistakenly, as the first missionary station of the Church of Scotland Mission to the Jews.⁶⁹ The first missionary to the Jews was actually Rev. Daniel Edwards, who went to Jassy, Moldavia.⁷⁰ There he founded the

⁶⁷ 'Dr. Keith's Speech', *Edinburgh Christian Instructor*, New series 3. 31 (1840), 244-6 (p. 245). Brown remarked that 'Keith seemed to point to Pest as providentially marked out for the Church of Scotland as its principal field' Cf. Brown, p. 292.

⁶⁸ This is not to say that Pietism equals Evangelicalism. Of course there were great differences in theology and piety as well. However, it is a fact that the soon to be formed Evangelical Alliance provided an umbrella for like-minded people not only from Britain but also from Germany, Switzerland, France and the USA.

⁶⁹ Only six years after the establishment of the mission A. Moody-Stuart mistakenly refers to Pest station as 'our first station'. See 'Conversion of the Jews', *Home and Foreign Missionary Record of the Free Church of Scotland* (Thereafter *HFMRFCoFS*), 3. 6 (June 1847), pp. 109-111 (p. 110). Therefore, it is not surprising that the later accounts talk in the same tone. Chambers, 'Prelude', p. 44. 'The Kirk's first official mission ... would develop on the banks of the Danube'. cf. Contradicting himself. p. 57. He said: 'First Kirk missionary, Rev. Daniel Edwards...'

⁷⁰ Alex Ritchie, 'Daniel Edward (1815-1896) and the Free Church of Scotland mission to the Jews in Central Europe', in *Records Scottish Church History Society*, (Edinburgh, 2003) 45. 31, pp. 173-187.

earliest mission station for the Church of Scotland. Yet Pest was to become the station of primary interest of the Jewish Committee for ensuing years as the place where John Duncan, a minister of excellent linguistic skills and eccentric character, led the Scottish Mission.⁷¹ Duncan was publicly appointed to his new office, as a missionary on 16 May 1841 in Glasgow.⁷² Soon he was commissioned to go to Pest with a view to move on if required by the Jewish Committee.⁷³ The group that travelled to Hungary consisted of Duncan, his wife (the former Mrs. Torrance), Robert Smith, a licentiate,⁷⁴ William Owen Allan, a student of Glasgow University, ‘Mrs. Torrance’s daughter and Annie, Duncan’s daughter’.⁷⁵ Before they left they were furnished with a document named *Address to the Jews*, which they decided to destroy and commit to memory for the fear of the Austrian authorities.⁷⁶ This lengthy document was full of biblical citations and intended to tell the Jews the reason for their mission. It told about the journey of the Deputation to Palestine, emphasized the common origin of Christians and Jews, and denounced the idolatrous acts of the ‘Anti-Christian’ Roman Catholic Church. Remarkably enough, it lamented the persecution of the Jews by the church. Against this background it argued for the messiahship of Jesus.⁷⁷ With such a commitment to Jewish mission, the missionary party, after some weeks of travel, arrived in Pest on 21 August 1841.⁷⁸

⁷¹ Walter Riggans, ‘John Duncan’, in *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions*, ed. by Anderson, Gerald Harry (New York: Macmillan Reference USA, 1998), p. 188.

⁷² Brown, p. 295. cf. ‘Appointment of Mr. Duncan’, *HFMRCofS*, 1. 16 (October 1841), pp. 230-1. See also: G. Anderson (ed.) in *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions*, ed. by Anderson, Gerald (New York: Macmillan Reference USA, 1998), p. 188.

⁷³ NLS Dep. 298. fol. 203. Minutes of 10 June 1841.

⁷⁴ A licentiate was a theological student who had graduated but had not yet been ordained since it was required to spend some time working with a minister for a while.

⁷⁵ David McDougall, *In Search of Israel: a Chronicle of the Jewish Missions of the Church of Scotland* (London: T. Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1941), p. 48. Cf. Brown, p. 296.

⁷⁶ Brown, p. 298. cf. Smith, *Personal Narrative*, p. 740. Brown drew on this source.

⁷⁷ ‘Address to the Children of Israel in All the Lands of Their Dispersion’, *HFMRCofS*, 1. 26 (2 August 1841), pp. 361-3. Cf. Brown, p. 296. n.1. He identifies Robert Wodrow as the author of the Address.

⁷⁸ Alexander Keith, ‘Conversion of the Jews, Report’, *HFMRCofS*, 2. 1 (1 January 1842), pp. 108-110. See also: Carlyle, “*Mighty in the Scriptures*”, p. 10.

1. Three elements supporting the foundation of the Mission

1.1. The Missionaries as Self-appointed Chaplains to the British workers of the Chain-Bridge (*Lánchíd*)

The missionaries' arrival coincided with the commencement of a fair. Duncan wrote his first letter as a missionary report dated Pest, 8 September 1841:⁷⁹

The town is in consequence crowded, having, it is said, nearly 30.000 people more than the usual inhabitants. Lodgings of any kind were difficult to be had; we were fortunate at length in procuring comfortable rooms, in a hotel fronting the Danube.⁸⁰

The hotel, 'The Queen of England' where Keith had also stayed, offered a beautiful view of the cities. At the time of the missionaries' arrival the two cities, Pest and Buda, were separate but were about to be united with the first great suspension bridge, *Ketten-Brücke* named by the locals. The old bridge, consisting of a row of boats, was to be replaced by a permanent chain bridge designed by an Englishman, William Tierney Clark.⁸¹ Adam Clark, an expatriate Scot, was the site engineer of the bridge.⁸² English and Scottish workers were employed to build the bridge. Their number was around 100, including women and children.⁸³ This British community, which worked under Adam Clark's supervision in Pest, had a strong effect on the well-being of the Mission.

After becoming acquainted with the workers Duncan complained of their spiritual situation, observing that they had been 'entirely without the means of grace for the last two

⁷⁹ Smith Robert, 'A Personal Narrative of Ten Years' Mission in Hungary', *Sunday at Home*, 13. 657 (1866), 763-65, (p. 765). The missionaries sent reports of their work on a regular basis and were obliged to keep a diary. These sources prove to be indispensable for gaining information of their lives and activities. Some of the diaries survived e.g. William Wingate's other diaries were lost as well as Smith's whose study room was bombarded and all the papers perished in the Liberation war of 1848/49

⁸⁰ John Duncan, 'Extract Letter from Pesth, 8th September 1841', *HFMRCofS*, 1. 29 (1 November 1841), pp. 406-7. This was the first letter of Duncan sent from Pest. He often used Pardoe's book to provide information about Hungary to the readers of the *Record*.

⁸¹ Annamária Vígh, 'The Success and Anxieties of an Expatriate: Extracts from Adam Clark's Letter to His Parents, 1834-49', in *The Széchenyi Chain Bridge and Adam Clark*, ed. by Imre Gáll, Szilvia Holló and István Bibó, trans. by Rachel Hideg, Ákos Farkas, Orsolya Frank (Budapest: City Hall, 1999), 104-130 (p. 112). See also: Chapter 1. Section. I.2.2. Nationalism of István Széchenyi and Lajos Kossuth.

⁸² Judith Brody, 'William Tierney Clark: Civil Engineer', in *The Széchenyi Chain Bridge and Adam Clark*, ed. by Imre Gáll, Szilvia Holló and István Bibó (Budapest: City Hall, 1999), p. 71. Clark took Hungarian nationality, married a Hungarian noblewoman and became known as Clark Ádám.

⁸³ John Duncan, 'Extract Letter Rev Dr. Duncan to R. Wodrow, Esq., from Pesth, 11th October, 1841', *HFMRCofS*, 1. 30 (1 December 1841), 418-9 (p. 418). cf. Vígh, 'The Success and Anxieties of an Expatriate' p. 141., n.11. Vígh says: 'Sixty two families had moved to Hungary altogether, some of whom, including Adam Clark himself or his chief foreman James Teasdale, would later settle down in Hungary permanently and become naturalised citizen of the Country'.

years'.⁸⁴ Therefore Duncan resolved to begin a public worship service for these residents from Britain. Brown writes, citing Robert Smith about the missionaries' initiative, 'though the first notice was necessarily hasty, the attendance amounted to about thirty persons'.⁸⁵ After spending some time in Pest, Duncan again lamented that the families seemed to give 'little value to the privilege of hearing the Word of God in their own language'.⁸⁶ Thus he resolved to undertake family visitation. Some British people slowly 'realised the benefits of the ministers' and began to make use of the sacramental services besides the regular services.⁸⁷ Given the circumstances Duncan claimed to be chaplain to the British workers, which he thought was an acceptable basis for their activities.

1.2. The Role of Archduchess of Palatine, Maria Dorothea

A short while after their arrival Duncan was requested to perform a wedding for English subjects.⁸⁸ He consented and performed the ordinance. However, at that time he was not really aware of the extreme difficulties that the Protestants of Hungary still faced. He conducted baptisms and weddings for British citizens and performed other ecclesiastical services without having prior legal permission.⁸⁹ Soon this ignorance caused a problem, but also created a precedent. The article 26 of the law of 1791 ensured 'free' practice of the Protestant religion for the natives of Hungary but naturally had not foreseen the Scottish Mission.⁹⁰ The hostile Catholic authorities quickly reported the activities of the Scots to the appropriate authorities. After a baptism of a British citizen, Duncan was summoned to the court of the Archduke Palatine of Hungary. He was told in a kindly manner that his activities were illegal and must not be repeated. He argued that he was an ordained minister of the Established Church of Scotland and thought himself to be entitled to

⁸⁴ John Duncan, 'Extract Letter from Pesth, 8th September 1841', *HFMRCofS*, 1. 29 (1 November 1841), 406-7, p. 407.

⁸⁵ Brown, p. 314.

⁸⁶ John Duncan, 'Extract Letter from Rev. Dr. Duncan to R. Wodrow, Esq. Pesth, October 11, 1841', *HFMRCofS*, 1. 30 (1 December 1841), 418-9 (p. 418).

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ A. Moody Stuart Stuart, *Recollections of the Late John Duncan*, (Edinburgh: Edmonton and Douglas, 1872), p. 64. See also Carlyle, *Life and Work*, p. 23. Carlyle draws on Moody's work as formerly indicated. There is a contradiction here with the claim of Moody's remark. Bodoky cites the baptism of the son of Pretious, the director of the shipwright factory in 1841, as the cause that drew the attention of the Palatine as a non-legal act. See also: Richárd Bodoky, *Jövevények és Vándorok. Polgári Családtörténet. A Biberbauer-Bodoky Krónika*, 2 vols (Budapest: Dr. Bodoky Richardné, 1996) I, pp. 172-3. Bodoky drew on Kiss's work. This case is not mentioned in the Missionary reports at all which would have been a decisive matter on the issue at stake. It is more likely that it was the baptism of the son of Pretious.

⁸⁹ Áron Kiss, *Török Pál élete*, ed. by Farkas Szóts, *A Magyar Irodalmi Társaság Kiadványai*, 18 (Budapest: Hornyánszky Viktor Cs. és Kir. udv. könyvnyomdája, 1904), p. 42. Duncan baptised Rachel Allnut, who was to be married to Pál Török. Miss Allnuth was the niece of the Shipwright factory owner, Pretious's wife.

express his ordination. The Archduke told him: ‘all I ask you to do is in future to act on such occasions as the vicar of a legally recognised pastor’.⁹¹ This advice was an order that Duncan was wise enough to accept.

It may be reasonable to suppose that Maria Dorothea acted behind the scene in keeping her promise to protect the Mission. We know that Keith passed on his contacts to Duncan, who in his very first letter wrote about an invitation from the Archduchess to the Buda Royal Palace.⁹² Therefore, the Palatine presumably had first-hand information about the activities of the missionaries from his wife as well as through the Catholic governmental authorities and the secret police.⁹³ Without such a strong support of the imperial court the missionaries would hardly have been able to settle in a hostile Catholic Monarchy.⁹⁴ The personal sympathy of the Archduchess and the mere fact that the British were resident in Buda and Pest proved to be very helpful and was even supportive of the Mission. The Scots became their ministers, and thereby a valid claim was furnished on the Austrian government for toleration.

1.3. Missionaries and the Protestant Churches in Pest

Through this incident the missionaries, as ministers, were incorporated into the legal system of the Reformed Church of Pest. Duncan and the later missionaries became assistant ministers to Pál Török, the minister of Pest, *Széna-tér* Church.⁹⁵ Duncan, knowing that they needed to adapt themselves to the habits, customs and ecclesiastical regulations of the country, was ever active in fostering cordial relationships with the pastors of the Lutheran and Reformed traditions. Both Székács, minister of the *Szén-tér* Church⁹⁶ and Török, the Reformed pastor became great supporters of the Mission.⁹⁷ Duncan began to

⁹⁰ József Farkas, *A Pesti Református Egyház 101 éves története* (Kecskemét: A Budapesti Evangéliumi Reformált Egyház, 1898), p. 125.

⁹¹ Moody Stuart, *Recollection of the Late John Duncan* (Edinburgh: Edmonton and Douglas, 1872), pp. 66-67. This is also cited by Carlyle, *Life and Work*, p. 24. Carlyle drew on Moody and as such the former is regarded as primary source.

⁹² John Duncan, ‘Extract Letter from Pesth, 8th September 1841’, *HFMRCofS*, 1. 29 (1 November 1841), 406-7, p. (406).

⁹³ MOL (Magyar Országos Levéltár), Archivum Palatinale Archiducis Josephi, N. section Regnicolaris, Praesidialia N. 22. 97., fól. 1. It is a good example of a short report on the work of the Scottish Mission.

⁹⁴ Tibor Fabiny, ‘Maria Dorothea und Der Ungarische Protestantismus’, *Jahrbuch Für Die Geschichte Des Protestantismus in Österreich*, 96 (1980), pp. 333-351.

⁹⁵ The contemporary *Széna-tér* today is Calvin Square in Budapest. See more about Török. Chapter 1. Section. 2. Religion and Nationality in Pest and Buda in the Reform Era.

⁹⁶ Today’s *Deák* Square in Budapest.

⁹⁷ See: Chapter 1. Section II.2. Religion and Nationality in Pest and Buda in the Reform Era (1825-1848).

acquire through ‘conferences’,⁹⁸ which were often held at Archduchess Maria Dorothea’s palace, a great deal of knowledge concerning the current religious and political situation.⁹⁹ In his first letter to the Jewish Committee in Edinburgh he mentioned a Lutheran minister who informed him that ‘rationalism prevailed throughout the country’.¹⁰⁰ Regarding the ‘disadvantageous state of Protestant Churches’ under Catholic Habsburg pressure Duncan suggested that the Jewish Committee send a formal letter of support to the Churches of Hungary and Transylvania.¹⁰¹ However, the Church of Scotland deemed that it was not the appropriate time for such thing. The Scottish missionaries, as well as Maria Dorothea, saw the need to revive ‘Christian religion’¹⁰² in Hungary and sought to involve the Protestant ministers in Pest with such a view in mind. This observation is further substantiated by another document of decisive importance.

Although the main purpose of Duncan and his fellow workers was to convert Jews to Christianity, he also had a concern for the revival of Protestant Churches of Hungary. The two seemed inseparable to him and to the later missionaries. He talks about the correlation in this vein:

Certain I am, that if we are by the blessing of God to succeed in our aim in this place, it must be by pursuing it, as the main object indeed, but by no means as the *sole* [Duncan’s italics] object of our exertions. While matters are in so lamentable a state as they are here, as to religion and morals, even among professed Protestants, the most serious of all impediments remains in the way of Israel’s conversion. I am therefore very decidedly of the opinion that whoever shall be stationed here¹⁰³ must make it his study, as far as the Lord may vouchsafe opportunities, *to labour for the revival of true Religion* (both as regards sound doctrine and godly living) *in the Protestant Churches of the land* [italics added], which *would then become*, instead of a stumbling block, as now, *the best instruments for carrying on the blessed work of gathering in the*

⁹⁸ The missionaries’ use of the word meant devotional meetings where they studied the Bible and prayed together.

⁹⁹ Wingate William, ‘Extract Letter from Rev. Wingate to Mr. Wodrow Pesth, September 9, 1842’, *HFMRCofS*, 2. 12 (1 December 1842), 171-2 (p. 171). Wingate also exalts Duncan’s prudence and ‘native courteousness of manner’.

¹⁰⁰ John Duncan, ‘Extract Letter from Pesth, 8th September 1841’, *HFMRCofS*, 1. 29 (1 November 1841), p. 407. His informant was perhaps August Gottlieb Wimmer.

¹⁰¹ Brown, p. 320. See also: John Duncan, ‘Extract Letter from Rev. Dr. Duncan Dr. Candlish Pesth, John Duncan, January 24, 1842’, *HFMRCofS*, 2. 4 (1 April 1842), 45-46 (p. 46).

¹⁰² This terminology was used by the Scottish missionaries denoting their understanding of Christianity as the only and true word for of Christianity was ‘Christian religion’, of course, that of the Protestants.

¹⁰³ Duncan was sent to Pest with a view to proceed to Palestine. It was the original intent of the Jewish Committee to establish their first missionary station back in 1839. However, a war in Syria impeded them in proceeding on these lines. Thus Jassy and Pest mission stations were founded first. In the end Duncan remained in Pest.

lost sheep of the house of Israel [italics added] to the Shepherd and Bishop of souls.¹⁰⁴

Duncan's letter articulated the double aim of the Scottish Mission's work for the years to come. His hope seemed to be an aim within reach. First of all, the Scots found in the presence of the British, who were in touch with the leading liberal political figures such as Széchenyi and Kossuth, a reason to minister to them. Secondly, they secured their position in Pest by the support of the wife of the Palatine. Thirdly, they obtained sympathy and co-operation from the liberal minded Protestant pastors, especially Török. The convergence of these facts enabled the Scottish Mission to put down its roots.

2. The Origin of the Scottish Mission's Congregation

2.1. Regular Work of the Mission: Forming a Congregation out of nothing

The missionaries began to work towards the twofold aim: the 'Jewish Mission' and revival of Protestant Religion. But they needed a base, a congregation whence they could start the work. Allusion was made that they held services for the British residents every Sunday in *Béla Gasse*, that were open to the wider public.¹⁰⁵ A congregation soon began to form out of those who attended these services. One of the main leaders of the British workers, James Teasedale, who was responsible for executing and supervising the works on the Chain Bridge, became a member. Teasedale was the pile-driving expert for Adam Clark. His work was so much appreciated that when Tierney Clark, the chief executive engineer, died in London, he bequeathed some shares and a sum of money to him and to Adam Clark.¹⁰⁶ Another highly respected figure of the Pest British community was Samuel Pretious. He was the director of the shipwright factory in Old Buda, another initiative, like the building of the Chain Bridge, was started by Count Széchenyi.¹⁰⁷ Pretious was a devout Evangelical who strove for the evangelisation of Pest.¹⁰⁸ Gavin Carlyle stated that Teasedale, Pretious and others formed the nucleus of the English-speaking congregation.¹⁰⁹ These prestigious

¹⁰⁴ John Duncan, 'Extract Letter from Rev. Dr. Duncan to Rev. Dr. Candlish Pesth, January 24, 1842', *HFMRCofS*, 2. 4 (April 1842), 45-6 (p. 45). Brown, p. 319.

¹⁰⁵ Streets were called *Gasse* in German at that time. See also: William Wingate, 'Journal', *HFMRCofS*, 2. 12 (1 December 1842), 171-2 (p. 171). Wingate reported that on 'every Sabbath, from ten to twelve, and from three to five there were some 40 up to 60 people to listen to the word of God'.

¹⁰⁶ Judith Brody, 'William Tierney Clark: Civil Engineer', in *The Széchenyi Chain Bridge and Adam Clark*, ed. by Imre Gáll, Szilvia Holló and István Bibó (Budapest: City Hall, 1999), pp. 74-77.

¹⁰⁷ Kiss, p. 42.

¹⁰⁸ Ráday Levéltár, Török Pál Collection, C/93 347. Letter from Samuel Pretious to Pál Török, Althofen [Óbuda] 22 February 1844.

¹⁰⁹ Carlyle, *Life and Work*, p. 27.

leaders of the British workers together with the Scottish missionaries and Maria Dorothea were keen on spreading the gospel among people of Hungary.

2.2. The first inquirers: Jews, Catholics and Protestants

The arrival of the Scottish ministers excited the public of Pest and Buda as can be seen by the variety of inquirers and visitors to the services, including Jews, Catholics and Protestants. Their initial interest was to learn the English language but they also came out of religious curiosity. Some Jewish inquirers attended sitting in the ‘chapel’ to listen to sermons.¹¹⁰ The diversity of the congregation increased when the services were attended by some Catholic dignitaries, among them ‘the Chaplain to the King of Sardinia and Ludovicus Waynald [Lajos Haynald] (sic!) afterwards Archbishop Waynald, Kalocsa in Hungary’.¹¹¹ Allan taught the latter English and spent some days at Esztergom where Lajos Haynald was a teacher of Theology. The young Scottish student of Theology was even introduced to the Prince Primate, József Kopácsy. Allan also reported to the Committee that he made the friendly acquaintance of a Catholic priest, an editor of an ecclesiastical newspaper. The priest wanted to practise English three times a week but he was said to be ‘attracted to a constant attendance by the Doctor’s [i.e. Duncan’s] exposition of the Lord’s Prayer’.¹¹² Through such connections, the missionaries were in contact with the highest ranks of Roman Catholicism.

It may come as a surprise to learn from contemporary accounts that at that time a devout Catholic, Countess Theresa Brunswick, participated in a Protestant Communion. The missionaries reported that that Brunswick longed for the ‘reformation of her venerable church’.¹¹³ As early as October 1841 she attended the Sunday services of the Scottish

¹¹⁰ John Duncan, ‘Extract Letter from Rev. Dr. Duncan to Rev. Dr. Keith’, *HFMRCofS*, 2. 1 (1 January 1842), p. 11. See also: Wingate William, ‘Extract Letter from Rev. Wingate to Mr. Wodrow Pesth, September 9, 1842’, *HFMRCofS*, 2. 12 (1 December 1842), pp. 171-2. Allan held the Sunday school between two and three p.m.

¹¹¹ Carlyle, *Life and Work*, p. 25. ; See also Moody Stuart, *Recollection of the Late John Duncan*, p. 68. Wingate highlighted that the latter Cardinal of Kalocsa opposed, Lajos Haynald the Papal infallibility at the First Vatican Council of Rome in 1870. Missionaries were eager to cite anything, which suited their purpose. Obviously it was mentioned with the purpose that the missionaries in the earlier part of his career might have influenced him. It is hard to tell from such a limited data yet it is certain that the Catholic bishops of the Monarchy acted as the ruling Monarch wished them to do so. This was Lajos Haynald. The spelling is wrong. The letter ‘W’ was mistaken for the original ‘H’ in Wingate’s manuscript from which Carlyle obtained his information. On Haynald See: *Magyar Katolikus Lexikon*, 6 vols (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1998), IV Gas-Hom p. 661.

¹¹² Owen William Allan, ‘Extract Letter from Mr. Allan to Rev. Mr. Smith Pesth, March 29, 1842’, *HFMRCofS*, 2. 5 (2 May 1842), p. 63.

¹¹³ Carlyle, *Life and Work*, p. 25. Cf. A. Moody, *Recollections of late John Duncan*, p. 70. Countess Brunswick set up the first nurseery in the Hungarian Kingdom. She was the part of the milieu of the Reform Era. See also a good recent book on Brunswick: Teréz Brunswick, “*Magyarország, Veled az Isten!*”

Mission and was greatly enchanted by this new Evangelical voice.¹¹⁴ She was a highly respected public figure being the prime mover of nursery education in Hungary together with Maria Dorothea.¹¹⁵ This form of openness between Christian denominations in nineteenth century Hungary was very exceptional and has to be seen in the context of liberal Reform Era when people were full of high expectation aspiring for a more tolerant state in religious and political matters.¹¹⁶ The missionaries not only invited people but also visited the British residents, Catholics and the Jews. Their first encounters with the Pest and Buda residents increased mutual interest in each other.

2.3. The first steps towards Jewish mission: Entering the Life of Jewish Community in Pest

For Duncan and his two students the first year, to a large extent, was preparatory. They had to learn the relevant languages, and form acquaintances, and through these channels the possibility of relating the gospel was opened to them.¹¹⁷ Their first channel into the Pest Jewish community was a man who was recommended to them by Keith.¹¹⁸ During his prolonged sickness he had come to know Israel Saphir, a prominent Jew. Saphir was a friend of the chief rabbi, Löw Schwab in Pest. Carlyle, the biographer of Adolph Saphir portrayed him thus: ‘he was an upright character, a person up to whom fellow Jews looked. Israel Saphir was the older brother of the famous, poet, humorist and editor, Gottlieb Moritz Saphir’.¹¹⁹ Carlyle paints Israel Saphir as a person of a high position within the Jewish community and a rich merchant who had intimate knowledge of German, French and English Literature, as well as being familiar with the Greek and Roman classics.¹²⁰ He

Brunszvik Teréz naplófeljegyzései 1848-1849 ed. by Mária Hornyák, (Budapest: Argumentum Kiadó, 1999) Her piety can be regarded as one, which transcended denominational differences. Further evidence to it is the fact that she also founded the very first Jewish nursery in Budapest. See: Kósa, p. 113.

¹¹⁴ FSZEK BGy, Teréz Brunswick’s diary, B. 0910/55/1-8 boxes. Diary 1841-43 Entry on 18 October 1841.

¹¹⁵ The relationship of Maria Dorothea and Teréz Brunswick offers promising perspectives for studying the relationship of education and Pietism, which the author seeks to undertake in the near future.

¹¹⁶ Ábrahám Kovács, ‘A skót-magyar kapcsolatok az 1840-es években és hatásuk a magyar protestáns egyházi és társadalmi életre’, *Pro Minoritate* (Nyár 2001), pp. 177-186.

¹¹⁷ Smith Robert, ‘A Personal Narrative of Ten Years’ Mission in Hungary’, *Sunday at Home*, 13. 657, (1866), 763-55 (p. 763). See also: A.F. Walls, *The missionary Movement in Christian History*, (New York: Maryknoll Orbis Books, 1996), p. 188. Walls underlines that the Scottish missionaries were the most educated of their contemporary missionary fellows.

¹¹⁸ John Duncan, ‘Assembly Address 20 May, 1864 in *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May, 1864* (Edinburgh: Thomas Constable, 1864), p. 33. It is cited by S. Sinclair, *Rich Gleanings After the Vintage from “Rabbi” Duncan with Biographical Sketch*, 2nd impr. edn (London: Chas. J. Thynne and Jarvis, 1925), p. 379.

¹¹⁹ Carlyle, “*Mighty in the Scriptures*”, p. 444. See Appendix C.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 16, 28.

was a member of the board of the Jewish school in Pest, in recognition of his family's social-economical status within the community.¹²¹

Saphir and his family were to play a key role in the history of the Mission. Duncan was shrewd enough to make use of the old man's interest and made his intention clear to him as they started to get to know each other. Soon their acquaintance ripened into interest and friendship. Through Israel Saphir, Duncan was able to enter the life of Pest Jewry. He visited the synagogue in Pest several times and distributed New Testaments to those who could read Hebrew.¹²² He was invited to a half-yearly examination of the Jewish school more than one occasion along with the leading persons of Hungarian liberalism such as Baron Eötvös, Kossuth, Székács, Láng, and Pulszky.¹²³ Duncan was impressed at the educational level of the school. While paying careful attention to the education system of the Jewish school, he took advantage of the situation to present a New Testament to the Chief Rabbi. This is a striking example how much excitement and hope for social and religious betterment was in the air during the Reformed Era. The subject of conversion did not yet alarm the Jews. Instead of hostility they exhibited the greatest friendship.¹²⁴

It may be concluded that the very first stage of getting to know 'the other' was cordial and mutual, though intentions may well have differed. Generally, the Jews of Pest were very open, sensitive and responsive to the expectation of the liberal champions of Magyarisation such as Eötvös and Kossuth to whose social circle the Scots became also attached. Many Jews wanted to improve their status mainly by learning English, the language of a nation that was the icon of democracy and progress since Széchenyi began his activities in the 1820s. Similarly to the Jews, the Catholics showed interest in the Mission and were fascinated by Duncan's knowledge of Latin.¹²⁵ Finally, it is to be noted that the Scots did not hide their intention but endeavoured to build a relationship based on trust and the knowledge of the other's personal life. Their acceptance by the leaders of the Jewish community enabled them to begin the work of evangelisation.

¹²¹ Bernát Mandl, 'A Pesti Izr. Hitközségi Fiu Iskola Monográfiája', in *A Magyar Zsidó Felekezet Elemi és Polgári iskoláinak Monográfiája*, ed. by Barna Jónás és Csukás Fülöp 2 vols (Budapest: Corvina Irodalmi és Nyomdai Részvénytársaság Országos Izraelita Tanítóegyesület, 1896), I, pp. 22-23.

¹²² John Duncan, 'Extract Letter from Rev. Dr. Duncan to Rev. Dr. Keith', *HFMRCofS* 2. 1 (1 January 1842), p. 11.

¹²³ Bernát Mandl, 'A Pesti Izr. Hitközségi Fiu-Iskola Monográfiája', p. 32.; Cf. John Duncan, 'Extract Letter from Rev. Dr. Duncan to R. Wodrow, Esq. Pesth, October 11, 1841', *HFMRCofS* 1. 30 (December 1841), 418-9, p. 418. 3rd column. It states here that he was there 'several weeks ago'. This must have been August 1841.

¹²⁴ Brown, p. 324.

¹²⁵ A. Moody Stuart, *Recollection of the Late John Duncan, LL.D.*, (Edinburgh, Edmonton and Douglas, 1872), p. 68.

2.4. Issues of Adaptation: Language, Means of Evangelisation, Personnel Changes

The Jewish community was mainly German speaking. Duncan observed that ‘the mass understood no language but German’.¹²⁶ Having realised this situation the missionaries started to learn German. This was an extra burden for them as the two Scottish missionary students were already studying Hebrew under the guidance of Duncan.¹²⁷ The missionaries¹²⁸ were aware that they could not undertake any public activity such as proselytising. It is telling to see how Smith, one of the missionaries, perceived their reception by the citizens of Pest. He thought personal conduct was the best means of stimulating interest:

The idea of modelling the life strictly according to the principles of the Bible was new. The notions that readily sprang up in the public mind, in connection with it, were strange and extravagant. The word of God was not regarded as a possible rule for everyday life. The men, who professed to follow it, were simply looked on as a sort of unearthly being, who was likely at any moment to do the most out-of-the-way things. We felt that these views could not be met by directly combating them, and least of all by self-assertion. We therefore pursued an even, unobtrusive course, avoiding all publicity, and allowing the people, as occasion offered, to mark the manner of our life, to see and judge for themselves.¹²⁹

Besides personal testimonies, they began to distribute Christian literature among the Hungarians. To this end the Scots worked closely with the British and Foreign Bible Society.¹³⁰ Duncan asked for a number of English books from the Committee but he knew that if he wished to attract more people the books should not deal only with matters of religion. In his second letter, published in the *Home and Foreign Missionary Record for the Church of Scotland*, he wrote:

I do not mean that they should be all directly religious, though a considerable number should be so, and of the best, but such books as reflect the best portion of the British mind on all subjects (politics, at least in any shape that might be

¹²⁶ John Duncan, ‘Extract Letter Rev. Dr. Duncan to R. Wodrow, Esq., from Pesth, 11th October, 1841’, *HFMRCofS*, 1. 30 (December 1841), 418-19 (p. 418).

¹²⁷ John Duncan, ‘Extract Letter from Rev. Dr. Duncan to Rev. Dr. Keith Pesth October 8th, 1841’, *HFMRCofS*, 2. 1 (1 January 1842), p. 11.

¹²⁸ Only Duncan was officially regarded as a missionary at that time. See in: John Duncan, ‘Extract Letter from Rev. Dr. Duncan to R. Wodrow, Esq. Pesth, October 11, 1841’, *HFMRCofS*, 1. 30 (1 December 1841), 418-9 (p. 418). The text reads: ‘Dr. Duncan has proceeded to Pesth... accompanied by two missionary students.’

¹²⁹ Smith Robert, ‘A Personal Narrative of Ten Years’ Mission in Hungary’, *Sunday at Home*, 13. 657, (1866), 763-55 (p. 763).

¹³⁰ ZsL (Magyarországi Református Egyház Zsinati Levéltára), Skót Misszió, Fond 13. 2. 20. Memorandum on the Work of the National Bible Society of Scotland in Hungary (1861-1934), fol. B xxv.c.5/1.

deemed exceptionable, and polemical attacks on Romanism, of course excluded).¹³¹

This clearly shows that the missionaries were aware of the political influence of the Roman Church. Duncan's competence to handle the situation is apparent as Török also indicated.¹³² During the autumn of 1841 the missionaries quietly worked along these lines. By winter an unexpected thing happened to the Mission. Smith informed the Committee that Duncan's 'health has been far from strong'.¹³³ Surely it was unfavourable for the nascent Mission to lose its chief missionary.

Duncan's health was severely tested by the Hungarian winter of December 1841.¹³⁴ It became plain that he could not stay in Pest for another winter.¹³⁵ The Committee decided that the following year he should travel to Leghorn, in Italy. Also they withdrew Smith during the winter of 1841/42 to enable him to finish his licentiate and seek a Presbytery for ordination to missionary work.¹³⁶ It was also resolved that Allan should travel back to Scotland to finish his studies as soon as Smith returned to Pest.¹³⁷ Since Duncan was to go to Italy for the coming winter additional personnel were needed.¹³⁸ Taking into consideration the fact that the young inexperienced Smith would need to stay in the new missionary station of Pest on his own, the Committee deemed it wise to send William Wingate along with Smith after he was ordained.¹³⁹ Wingate, Smith's missionary partner, was a former Glasgow merchant who devoted himself to Jewish work. He had a university education and some knowledge of theology. They set off together to Hungary in the early

¹³¹ John Duncan, 'Extract Letter from Rev. Dr. Duncan to Rev. Dr. Candlish Pesth, January 24, 1842', *HFMRCofS*, 2. 4 (1 April 1842), 45-46 (p. 46).

¹³² Brown, p. 316. Brown cited Török's letter written to him about Duncan which read: 'Dr' Duncan' mode of procedure on coming to Pesth was the most appropriate for attaining his end. He gained himself before everything the Evangelical preachers of both Confessions, and through the favour and interposition of the archduchess, secured the protection of the Archduke Palatine Joseph'.

¹³³ Robert Smith, 'Extract Letter Rev. Robert Smith to Rev. Dr. Keith, from Pesth, 9th December, 1841', *HFMRCofS*, 1. 30 (1 December 1841), p. 419.

¹³⁴ Duncan was 46 years old by that time.

¹³⁵ David McDougall, *In Search of Israel: a Chronicle of the Jewish Missions of the Church of Scotland* (London: T. Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1941), p. 52.

¹³⁶ Brown, p. 326.

¹³⁷ Alexander Keith 'Conversion of the Jews Report of 1842', *HFMRCofS* 2. 7 (1 July 1842), 108-110 (p. 109). Allan sent his discourses, which he did not previously deliver to his professor in Glasgow. In spite of him being absent at the University the Committee strongly recommended his situation to be accepted by the General Assembly and allow him to take on the trials for license and ordination. This shows the importance of the mission as the General Assembly countersigned this request. Though most of the ministers were very law-abiding persons and the church law was very strict on the issue that licentiates should do their practical year in Scotland. .

¹³⁸ Brown, p. 339. Duncan told Miss R. [Rawlin?] ' "When I was at Pesth, Mr Allan, without my knowledge, having written to the committee that my health was in danger [...] I was ordered to repair to Leghorn." '.

¹³⁹ NLS Dep. 298. 249 (1841-47), fol. 203. See also: Alexander Keith 'Conversion of the Jews Report of 1842', *HFMRCofS*, 2. 7 (1 July 1842), 108-110 (p. 109). Smith was ordained in April 1842 by St Andrew Presbytery.

summer of 1842. However, it was before their arrival that the first conversions took place at the Mission in Pest.

3. The shaping of an Evangelical Congregation

3.1. First converts among the 'Gentiles': the Rawlin Family

Smith in an article written for *Sunday at Home*, mentions the case of two families, 'whose conversion about this time produced a special, deep and lasting impression.'¹⁴⁰ The one was Gentile, the other Jewish'.¹⁴¹ The Gentile was the Rawlins family and the Jewish were the Saphirs. The conversion of each family had its own significance as will be seen.

The Rawlins were an Irish family, Mr. Rawlin a barrister and his wife a landowner.¹⁴² They had lived in Dresden for some years and came to Pest with a view to staying there.¹⁴³ After they attended their first Sunday service Mrs. Rawlins asked Mrs. Duncan whether she could find a dancing master for her daughter. She promised to act upon her request. The biographer of Wingate writes, 'the Rawlins were in utter ignorance of the power of the true religion. Instead of reproving her for occupying her time with such matters on Sunday she received her affectionately. This won her heart. From the next Lord's day she brought her husband and all her children to church and thereafter they never were absent at a single service so long as they remained in Hungary'.¹⁴⁴ Soon the parents then, their children had an Evangelical conversion in the spring of 1842. This stimulated interest and served as a precedent, a role model for the Jewish inquirers for whom such things as faith conversion embracing a public renunciation of sin and a declaration of faith were completely unknown. Indeed, this phenomenon was quite unusual in Hungarian Protestantism. Smith deemed that this event was very significant and crucial for the later success of the Mission. For him the importance of the conversion of the Rawlin family lay in the fact that it helped the Jews understand the true nature of conversion. He wrote:

¹⁴⁰ John Hall, *Our Jewish Mission: Israel in Europe*, 3 vols (Edinburgh: United Free Church of Scotland, 1914), II p. 26. See also: Letter from Alexander Tomory cited by Carlyle, *Life and Work*, p. 36. Tomory writes: "The late Dr. Schauffler used to call them [1842-43] Pentecostal times".

¹⁴¹ Smith Robert, 'A Personal Narrative of Ten Years' Mission in Hungary', *Sunday at Home*, 13. 658, (1866), 772-5 (p. 772).

¹⁴² William Wingate, 'Extract Letter from Rev. Wingate to Mr. Wodrow Pesth, September 9, 1842', *HFMRCofS*, 2. 12 (December 1842), 171-2 (p. 171). Cf. Carlyle, *Life and Work*, p. 83.

¹⁴³ Carlyle, *Life and Work*, p. 29.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 28-30. The parent's conversion mentioned before and event in 1842. See also: *Ibid.*, p. 83.

This event tended to deepen conviction, in the community around us, of the reality and depth of that inward change which every soul must undergo in order to enter the kingdom. It showed the Jews that conversion is not mere change of sentiment or of profession – a turning point from Judaism to Christianity – but a turning from sin to God; that to be truly saved, a new life hid with Christ in God must be implanted in the soul.¹⁴⁵

From the point of view of the Scots, only an Evangelical conversion was acceptable. This view was and remained a basic character of the Mission throughout its entire history. The Rawlin family became the first converts, causing great excitement among the missionaries who saw the hand of God's providence in their work.

3.2. Exciting the interest of the Jews: the 'conference' of seven missionaries

Smith returned in July 1842 accompanied by Wingate. While staying in Vienna they met William Schauffler who was a missionary to the Jews in Constantinople employed by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Mission.¹⁴⁶ On reaching Pozsony they met another missionary to the Jews, Carl Schwartz, who was also about to start to work in Constantinople under the London Jewish Society.¹⁴⁷ Smith saw this incident as a 'remarkable coincidence [which] was evidently of the Lord's [doing]'.¹⁴⁸ Again, we may note the inclination of the missionaries to interpret events, like Maria Dorothea and Keith had earlier done, as God's providential will. With their arrival at Pest there were seven Jewish missionaries together.¹⁴⁹ They spent a fortnight in 'constant prayer and praise' during the 'conferences' they arranged.

The conferences marked a turning point for Smith who said 'it was a time of special refreshing from the presence of the Lord. From that time 'a manifest blessing began

¹⁴⁵ Smith, *A Personal Narrative of Ten Years of Missionary Work*, p. 773.

¹⁴⁶ David M. Stowe, 'William Gottlieb Schauffler' in *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions*, ed. by Anderson, Gerald (Cambridge U.K.: William B. Eerdmans, 1999), pp. 595-6. Cf. John Duncan, 'Extract Letter from Rev. Dr. Duncan to R. Wodrow, Esq. Pesth, October 11, 1841', *HFMRCofS*, 1. 30 (1 December 1841), 418-9 (p. 418). Schauffler worked for the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Mission (ABCFM from hereafter) from 1832 in Constantinople. He was in Vienna between 1839 and 1842 supervising the translation of a Hebrew-Spanish Old Testament supported by the American Bible Society.

¹⁴⁷ Jan A. B. Jongeneel, 'Carl August Ferdinand Schwartz' in *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions*, ed. by Anderson, Gerald (Cambridge U.K.: William B. Eerdmans, 1999), pp. 606. Schwartz was just assigned to Constantinople by the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews. Brown, p. 327. See also: *HFMRCofS*, 1842. p. 183. Portions published from Wingate's diary. Wingate was surprised to meet there his old Hebrew teacher, a Prussian Jew from Berlin, who studied under Prof. Tholuck of Halle.

¹⁴⁸ Smith Robert, 'A Personal Narrative of Ten Years' Mission in Hungary', *Sunday at Home*, 13. 658 (1866), 763-55 (p. 764).

¹⁴⁹ W.G. Schauffler, 'Letter from the Rev. W. G. Schauffler to the Convener', *HFMRCofS* 2. 13 (January 1843), p. 182. These were 'Dr. Duncan and family, Rev Messrs Smith and Allan; Mr Wingate, Mr Philipp of Jassy. Mr Schwarz, missionary of the London Jews' Society for Constantinople'. The seventh person was the writer himself William Schauffler.

to descend'.¹⁵⁰ The Pest 'missionaries to the Jews'¹⁵¹ were busy at that time taking advantage of the presence of their two German-speaking colleagues, Schwartz and Schauffler. German services were established and 'a powerful impression' was made on the Jews who attended it.¹⁵² The significance of the visit of Schwartz and Schauffler cannot be underestimated since the Jewish community was German-speaking, and they were able to express their belief more in detail than their English-speaking colleagues who seemed to be slow to learn that language. Wingate and Smith saw the renewed interest as the precedent to a revival. Smith remarked of this time, 'during the whole stay of Dr. Schauffler we had quite a revival among us'.¹⁵³ By revival he referred to the period of intensified excitement that led to the baptism of some Jewish converts.

Wingate, like most of the missionaries, kept a diary. In it we find the following entry on 11 September 1842: 'In the evening we sat down at the Lord's Supper. Solemn season; much of the Lord's presence. Rev. Dr. Duncan addressed. Miss Rawlins admitted for the first time to the table of the Lord; she, with her father and mother, all appear to have passed from death unto life. What shall we render to the Lord for all His mercies'.¹⁵⁴ This occasion was also the first time for Wingate to preach in Pest. His afternoon sermon and the conversion of the daughter of Rawlins made a deep impression on a young Alfred Edersheim, who was so affected that he went to Schwartz for instruction with a view to baptism.¹⁵⁵

Also the conversion of the entire Rawlin family focused the mind of the Saphir family towards baptism. Duncan had high hopes of the conversion of this prominent family during the autumn of 1842. He knew that by winning them to the gospel the effect of mission would be intensified. Duncan informs one of the originators of the Jewish mission, Wodrow, about Israel Saphir's state of mind. 'Old Mr.-, about whose son Dr. Keith wrote to you, I believe to be a Christian in heart; and I cannot express the delight I had hearing

¹⁵⁰ Smith Robert, *A Personal Narrative*, p. 764.

¹⁵¹ The conventional term is 'Jewish missionary'. It denotes missionaries to the Jews but it did not necessarily mean ethnic Jewish missionaries. Likewise it was and the conventional to talk about 'Jewish mission' meaning 'mission to the Jews'.

¹⁵² Carlyle, *"Mighty in the Scriptures"*, p. 22.

¹⁵³ William Wingate, 'Journal (Second part)', *HFMRCofS*, 2. 13 (January 1843), 183-184 (p.183). As the first part of the journal was published together with a letter from September 9 1842 [in *HFMRCofS* 2. 12. p. 171.] We may infer that this event took place around September as it is the likely entry 'date' for the journal.

¹⁵⁴ Carlyle, *Life and Work*, pp. 30-1.

¹⁵⁵ David McDougall, *In Search of Israel: a Chronicle of the Jewish Missions of the Church of Scotland* (London: T. Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1941), p. 52.

him join, at our domestic worship, in the hymn – “To Father, Son and Holy Ghost” ’.¹⁵⁶ This is a telling allusion to the fact that Israel Saphir had already been converted by late 1842 but was not yet baptised. Wingate also makes the surprising observation about the Saphir family. Before the public confession of faith and baptism of the family Israel Saphir had offered his twelve-year-old child ‘to be placed under the charge of Dr. Keith, and educated as you chose’. He also said that ‘ “when I give my son to Christ it is the next thing to myself ” ’.¹⁵⁷ This language clearly describes his change of religious allegiance. Moreover, it shows a remarkable trust in the ‘holy’ intentions of the Mission that he offered his very young child, Adolph for the service of the Jewish mission. His departure actually took place within less than a year when leaving for Scotland with ‘Rabbi’ Duncan.¹⁵⁸ The Saphir’s public confession of faith was deliberately postponed until the missionaries deemed it wise to perform the act of baptism.

By the autumn of 1842 the little company of missionaries was dispersed. First, Schaufler and Philip¹⁵⁹ took their leave for their respective labours. Then Allan was called to Scotland.¹⁶⁰ Schwartz left in the beginning of October. Finally, Duncan was again instructed to leave for health reasons in November.¹⁶¹ In consequence of Duncan’s departure for Leghorn, Wingate had to remain with Smith at Pest instead of returning to Scotland as he originally intended in order to complete his studies. The biographer of Duncan, Brown is right to emphasise the enormous responsibility that rested on the shoulders of two inexperienced missionaries.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁶ John Duncan, ‘Extract Letter from Rev. Dr. Duncan to R. Wodrow, Esq Pesth, November 5, 1842’, *HFMRCofS*, 2. 13 (January 1843), 181-2 (p. 181).

¹⁵⁷ William Wingate, ‘Journal’, *HFMRCofS*, 2. 12 (1 December 1842), 171-2 (p. 171.) This means that Saphir waited for a considerable length of time with his public confession of faith. This kind of offer of a child to God recalls some Old Testament imagery such as Hannah’s vow and the Abrahamic sacrifice.

¹⁵⁸ Adolph Saphir became a missionary to the Jews as his father willed whom he never saw after his departure for Scotland.

¹⁵⁹ Hermann Philip was a missionary to the Jews in Jassy, Rumania working together with Daniel Edwards.

¹⁶⁰ Carlyle, *Life and Work*, p. 30. See also entry in Wingate’s diary. William Wingate, ‘Journal (Second part)’, *HFMRCofS*, 2. 13 (January 1843), 183-184 (p. 184).

¹⁶¹ Brown, p. 329. William Wingate, ‘Letter from Mr. Wingate to Dr. Keith’, *HFMRCofS*, 2. 17 (May 1843), 229-30 (p. 229). See also: Committee for Jewish Conversion, ‘Proceedings of the General Assembly of Free Church of Scotland Held at Glasgow October 17-24, 1843’, Baillie, J (Edinburgh: Balfour and Jack, 1843), 93-94 (p. 94).

¹⁶² Brown, p. 333.

3.3. Clash of Jewish and Evangelical worldviews for the first time

As the Jews began to realise the intent of the missionaries, a rumour spread amongst them that the Saphirs were about to convert to Christianity.¹⁶³ Rabbi Schwab employed different methods of dissuading them from leaving the faith community. The Scottish sources inform us that he threatened them then he changed the tone of communication, flattering them, but in vain.¹⁶⁴ By late the winter of 1842 the former friendly relationship between the Mission and the Jewish community became extremely aggravated. The Jewish community resented the intention of the Mission and their former friendly interaction changed. Not long after Duncan's leave for Italy, Smith wrote:

[Rabbi Schwab gave a] discourse in the synagogue and broke out in a bitter invective, evidently having reference to him [Saphir]. The father and the daughter are in a very hopeful state, their hearts being more and more drawn out to Christ, though they still find it hard to give up all, which they must *literally* [italics added] do, for His sake. Satan will not allow the known influence of Mr- among his brethren to be turned against him, without desperate effort.¹⁶⁵

This language of demonising the other can be discerned in Wingate's report that interpreted the conversion of the Saphirs as 'one of the most severe blows to the kingdom of Satan, which he has so long held undisturbed in Judaism'.¹⁶⁶ The missionaries saw a battle between Christianity and Judaism, the former regarded as divine, true and just, the latter as the yoke of Judaic Law.¹⁶⁷ They were aware that the significance of the Saphirs' baptism would be of extraordinary importance for their Mission. Evidently, the Jewish opposition viewed this as a potential threat to the community and thus strongly protested. Duncan, like Smith and Wingate, regarded the opposition of the Jews as the work of Satan, reporting to the Committee, 'I have neither the time, nor at present the will, to mention all the difficulties Satan. is raising in the way of that dear family'.¹⁶⁸ The protest of the Jewish community was perceived as demonic. This conviction of Scottish Evangelical missionaries came from the strongly held belief in the ultimate truth and uniqueness of the

¹⁶³ Unfortunately, the author has not been able to gather any information from the extremely rare Jewish sources on the conversion of Saphir. The silence of this matter is perplexing as the missionaries attributed an extraordinary place to Israel Saphir's conversion.

¹⁶⁴ William Wingate, 'Letter from Mr. Wingate to convener', *HFMRCofS*, 3. 1 (1 June 1843), 10-12 (p. 11).

¹⁶⁵ Robert Smith, 'Extract Letter from Rev. Smith to Rev. Jonathan R. Anderson Pesth, December 6, 1842', *HFMRCofS*, 2. 15 (1 March 1843), p. 206.

¹⁶⁶ William Wingate, 'Letter from Mr. Wingate to Dr. Keith', *HFMRCofS*, 2. 17 (1 May 1843), 229-30 (p. 230, 1st column).

¹⁶⁷ Alexander Keith, 'Conversion of the Jews Report of 1842', *HFMRFofS*, 2. 7 (1 July 1842), 108-110 (p.110).

¹⁶⁸ John Duncan, 'Extract Letter from Rev. Dr. Duncan to R. Wodrow, Esq. Pesth, November 5, 1842', *HFMRCofS*, 2. 13 (1 January 1843), 181-2 (p. 182)

gospel. As a result of such a worldview they accepted conversion as genuine only if it was based on a personal faith decision such was the Rawlins' baptism.¹⁶⁹

By December 1842 there were several meetings held at houses. The missionaries expounded particular texts from the Bible followed by discussions. They had prayer meetings and prepared for the time of open confession of faith of the Saphirs. It was such an occasion when the New Year was ushered in. We find a very interesting account of the event cited by Brown:

A communion was held in the 1st of January, being the Lord's Day. We met in an upper room, at night and in secret - for the *fear of the Jews*, and to escape the eye of an intolerant Government. From the moment the service began, the place where we were assembled seemed to be filled with a mysterious presence. Indeed, the risen Lord had entered by the closed door, and stood, as at Jerusalem, in the midst of His disciples. Deep silence fell on the little company as they realised His nearness, a silence interrupted only at intervals by the deep-drawn sigh of some bursting heart.¹⁷⁰

And he continued:

When the bread was broken and the wine poured forth, we felt as if for the time the conditions of the earth had passed away. We felt that the risen Lord was indeed in the midst of us, and we gazed upon him we saw the print of the nails and wound in his pierced side.¹⁷¹

The above text illustrates how strongly the missionaries and converts identified themselves with the time of apostles. Also this perception is reflected in Smith's report, 'strangers, who visited us from many quarters, felt according to their own statements, as if, overlapping that lapse of centuries, they had suddenly stepping into the midst of an Apostolic Church'.¹⁷² Indeed, one of the participants years later reminisced about this period beginning with the excitement of the 'conferences' resulting in the conversion of several Jews between the autumn 1842 and spring of 1843 in this vein: 'these were halcyon days, or rather Pentecostal days. The late Dr. Schaffler used to call it Pentecostal

¹⁶⁹ Robert Smith, 'Extract Letter from Mr. Smith to J.G. Wood Pesth, January 10, 1843', *HFMRCofS*, 2. 15 (1 March, 1843) (1843), 207-8 (p. 207). Smith wrote of an inquirer 'On farther inquiry I found that he was moved solely by a hope of bettering his worldly circumstances'. Cf. George Bauhofer, *History of the Protestant Church in Hungary from the Beginning of the Reformation to 1850 with Reference Also to Transylvania*, trans. by Craig, J (London: James Nisbet and Co., 1854), p. 437.

¹⁷⁰ Brown, pp. 334-35. See also: Smith, *A personal Narrative*, pp.773-4.

¹⁷¹ Smith Robert, 'A Personal Narrative of Ten Years' Mission in Hungary', *Sunday at Home*, 13. 656 (1866), 737-812 (p. 774). See also: Kool, p. 102, n. 183. She cites the edition of 1966 that is a reprint of the enlarged edition of 1892 based on the 1844 publication. Her citation is Bonar, cf. Andrew A. Bonar, *Memoir and Remains of the Rev. Robert Murray McCheyne, Minister of St. Peter Church, Dundee* reprint 1966 (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1844). p. 189. Also we find an very similar account of the same event in 'Letter from Rev. R. Smith to J. G. Wood. Pesth, January 10, 1843', *HFMRCofS*, 2.15 (March 1843), pp. 207-8.

times'.¹⁷³ Another person wrote 'extraordinary things had taken place in Pest' in the early 1840s similar to that of the first Pentecost.¹⁷⁴ Wingate also made a note of it in his diary that the staunchest members of the new Evangelical congregation were the Rawlins, Teasedale and Pretious families.¹⁷⁵ These people of the congregation together with the missionaries assured the Saphirs that their decision was right and encouraged other Jews to become Christians.

4. The Mission' Congregation and The Jewish Converts

4.1. The first Jewish converts: Alfred Edersheim and Philipp Saphir

Surprisingly, it was not Israel Saphir but Alfred Edersheim and Philip Saphir, Israel's son, who were baptised as the first two converts of the Scottish Mission. Alfred Edersheim was the son of a Vienna banker and well educated by the age of seventeen.¹⁷⁶ He came to study under the instruction of his private tutor, Dr. Porgos at Pest about the same time as the Mission was established. When Porgos had to leave for Italy to pursue his studies, he put Edersheim under the instructions of missionaries. The church historian, Ferenc Balogh remarked that this was a highly unusual event leaving a young Jew under the care of Protestant missionaries. Balogh attributed it to the recognition of Duncan's influence and acceptance by the Jewish community.¹⁷⁷ It is certainly true that such a step was very rare. As we have earlier noted Edersheim attended the various meetings of the Scots and they tried to be sure that his interest in the gospel was more than one of intellectual curiosity. A particular incident proved to be a good means for the missionaries to learn the state of mind of some other inquirers, including Edersheim.¹⁷⁸ Wingate fell against an iron grating and received a wound on the head. As the doctor advised him to apply cold water day and night to prevent inflammation, the inquiring young men decided that they would wait on him. This event proved to be a 'divine interference' for the missionaries who were ready to see God's hand in such occasion.

¹⁷² Brown, p. 353. Quotes Smith's paper but not mentioning its name time and title.

¹⁷³ Edinburgh, New College Library, BRO-142-813-24. Manuscript on Robert Smith,

¹⁷⁴ Smith Robert, *Early Days of the Mission to the Jews at Pest* (Edinburgh: 1893) cited by Carlyle, *Life and Work*, p. 36.

¹⁷⁵ Wingate *Quotidiana*, is cited by Carlyle, *Life and Work*, p. 82.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 49. Edersheim spoke Latin fluently and knew Greek, German, French, Hebrew, Hungarian and Italian.

¹⁷⁷ Ferenc Balogh, 'Duncan János tanár emlékezete', *Magyar Protestáns Egyházi és Iskolai Figyelmező* Thereafter *MPEIFRv* (1871), 418-23. See also: Brown, pp. 337-8.; and Carlyle, "*Mighty in the Scriptures*", p. 50.

¹⁷⁸ Carlyle, *Mighty in the Scriptures*, p. 24.

Smith in his *'Personal Narrative'* explicitly talks about the conversion of two medical students among those who cared for Wingate, 'one of them was a Jew,¹⁷⁹ the other person was a Protestant of Jewish origin'.¹⁸⁰ We do not know the name of the second person, however, we are able to identify the Jewish student as Philipp Saphir.¹⁸¹ Though Smith mentioned only these two medical students, we know from Adolph Saphir that Edersheim was involved in looking after Wingate.¹⁸² Both Adolph Saphir and Smith point out Schwartz also played a crucial role in the preparation for the conversion of Philipp Saphir, as well as that of Edersheim. The autumn of 1842 was seen as the beginning of 'Pentecostal times' since the first prospective inquirers came to the Mission during the short visit of the other missionaries, the 'conferences' as they called it.¹⁸³

By the spring of 1843 Edersheim was so much advanced in his Christian faith that he gave a testimony to one of his friends.¹⁸⁴ He was struck by the truth of prophecy as explained in Keith's book on the topic. The effect can be seen later in Edersheim's literary output, of which his book *The Life and Times of the Messiah* is the most notable.¹⁸⁵ At the beginning of April, Smith and Wingate agreed that Edersheim 'should be invited for baptism, as soon as time for prayer and for the instruction would allow'.¹⁸⁶ He undertook the final instructions to prepare for baptism together with Philipp Saphir and Adolph Saphir after the Sunday sermons.

In spite of the fact that they were on the same route, the Scots deemed each case individually. This was probably the reason why their baptism was not on the same day, though fairly close to one another. The first baptism of a Jewish convert was of Philipp Saphir, Israel Saphir's son on 4 April, 1843.¹⁸⁷ He was the first since he intended to leave

¹⁷⁹ The article calls him Mr. S—(the Jew). Smith later says of this Jew "his life from this day on was of great bodily suffering". Thus, It is easy to identify the Jew with Philipp Saphir. Smith, *Personal Narrative*, p. 764.

¹⁸⁰ Robert Smith, 'Rev. Robert Smith to Rev. Jonathan R. Anderson, Pesth, December 6, 1842', *HFMRCofS*, 2. 15 (March 1843), 206-7 (p. 206). None of the primary sources give any clues to uncover the name of this person.

¹⁸¹ Carlyle, "*Mighty in the Scriptures*", p. 24. During this time he read a tract called *The Sinner's Friend* and while being sick Wingate gave counsel to them.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, Carlyle talks of Philipp Saphir, Edersheim and another. Thus three persons waited on Wingate. Cf. Robert Smith, 'Extract Letter from Rev. Smith to Rev. Jonathan R. Anderson Pesth, December 6 1842', *HFMRCofS*, 2. 15 (March 1843), 206-7 (p. 206).

¹⁸³ Carlyle, *Life and Work*, p. 36.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

¹⁸⁵ Alfred Edersheim, *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, 2 vols (London: [no pub.], repr., 1906).

¹⁸⁶ Carlyle, *Life and Work*, p. 88.

¹⁸⁷ Kálvin téri Református Egyházközség Keresztelési, Esketési és Halotti Anyakönyv, Budapest [The Birth, Marriage and Death Register of Kálvin Square church in Budapest]. I. kötet. (1798-1844) fol. 125. There the date of baptism is 4 April 1843. Cf. David McDougall, *In Search of Israel: a Chronicle of the Jewish Missions of the Church of Scotland* (London: T. Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1941), p. 53. There is a wrong date given in Carlyle, "*Mighty in the Scriptures*", p. 29. Here Carlyle speaks of 7 June, 1843! It is even a

for Karlsruhe, Baden-Württemberg as soon as it was possible, to be trained as a teacher.¹⁸⁸ He was baptised by minister Török, and became a member of the Hungarian Reformed Church to which the missionaries were affiliated.¹⁸⁹ A large congregation attended his baptism which was held at the Széna-tér where 40 ladies and 300 men were present including Countess Brunswick, Mr. Pretious,¹⁹⁰ the director of the Buda shipwright factory, the Rawlins, 'the Teasdales, the Saphirs, Mrs. Kalkbrenners, the Whols, and the Hicks'.¹⁹¹ Edersheim's baptism that took place a week later, on the 10 April 1843.¹⁹² Philipp Saphir as well as Edersheim, therefore, were baptised earlier than the Saphir family. Thus, we may justly conclude that the gathering of the seven missionaries in the autumn of 1842 had an enormous impact on some of the inquirers' life. The first converts, Edersheim and Philipp Saphir mentioned above, rose to fame within the Evangelical circles of Great Britain and Hungary.

4.2. The baptism and worldview of Israel Saphir, a prominent Jewish convert

From the missionaries' perspective, none of the baptisms made such an impact on the Jewish community as that of the Saphir family. Smith giving an account to the Jewish Committee wrote, 'we have reason to anticipate that his baptism will produce a great sensation among the Jews, not only here, but throughout Hungary'.¹⁹³ The baptism of such a prominent man, who was one of the leaders of the Jewish community, was seen by the Jews as an affront to their community, a prospect, that they feared.

Israel Saphir waited more than six months before his own baptism since according to Smith 'he was concerned to bring all of his family to Christ'.¹⁹⁴ Finally, he converted together with his wife, his son Adolph and three daughters; Charlotte, Regina, Carolina. They were also baptised by pastor Török since the missionaries did not baptise Hungarian

contradiction with what he says elsewhere of Philipp being baptised earlier than his family. See: Kálvin téri Református Egyházközség Anyakönyvei I. kötet. (1796-1844), fol. 125.

¹⁸⁸ Carlyle, "Mighty in the Scriptures", p. 29. It is very likely that Maria Dorothea provided this link.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid. p. 23.

¹⁹⁰ He built the first Hungarian battleship named Mészáros as well as the ship, Maria Dorothea. See: Kiss, p. 43.

¹⁹¹ William Wingate, *Quotidiana*, cited by Carlyle, *Life and Work*, pp. 90-91.

¹⁹² Kálvin téri Református Egyházközség Keresztelési, Esketési és Halotti Anyakönyv. I. kötet. (1798-1844) fol. 125.

¹⁹³ Robert Smith, 'Letter from Mr Smith Pesth February 25, 1843', *HFMRCofS*, 2. 17 (May 1843), pp. 230-31. See also: Smith Robert, 'A Personal Narrative of Ten Years' Mission in Hungary', *Sunday at Home*, 13. 658 (1866), 737-812 (p. 773). Also cited by Carlyle, "Mighty in the Scriptures", p. 24.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid. p. 231.

citizens.¹⁹⁵ The baptism took place on 9 May 1843.¹⁹⁶ An illuminating description from Smith shows us how Evangelical conversion was understood:

A solemn testimony, not only to the truth of the gospel, but also to the experience of it in his [Saphirs] own soul. Such a testimony for Christ has probably not been borne in Pesth since the days of Reformation. Altogether the sight was most affecting. To hear of an inward struggle between grace and sin, issuing through the power of the Holy Ghost in a new birth of the soul, and that this, and not mere change of opinion and outward profession, was a true conversion from Judaism to Christianity, was something for which the crowded assembly of Jews were quite unprepared.¹⁹⁷

The significance of this particular Evangelical conversion was enhanced by the fact that a book was published containing Israel Saphir's view of his conversion spoken at his baptism.¹⁹⁸ In his address Israel Saphir, in common with the missionaries, saw his and his family's conversion as a fight in terms of the 'inner spiritual struggle' within his own person, and the 'external combat' with the Jewish religious community.¹⁹⁹ As for the former he stated, 'the gospel launches a war against sin, against all kind of evil surrounding us and we can experience a profound change only if sin is eradicated and in so doing we may find peace in the Lord'.²⁰⁰ He described his own conversion as a process: 'I needed to fight the battle of the old and new man in the depth of my inmost being. I went through slowly and with weariness the three phases of the good old Christian salvation; call, enlightenment and sanctification of conversion'.²⁰¹ In relation to the external antagonism with the Jewish community he saw that the clash was inevitable. He addressed this issue in his speech as follows: 'it is known that I was exposed to disgraceful attacks, and how sarcastic and ironic, wrong and unloving these passing judgements were'.²⁰²

He also responded to the 'blasphemous malicious charges',²⁰³ that he was coerced into this decision against his own free will. Against this reputation of 'dishonest

¹⁹⁵ William Wingate, *Quotidiana* cited by Carlyle, *Life and Work*, p. 91. The missionaries took great caution after the incident of Duncan not to baptise Hungarian subjects. Therefore all baptism were conducted by minister Török.

¹⁹⁶ Kálvin téri Református Egyházközség Keresztelési, Esketési és Halotti Anyakönyv. I. kötet. (1798-1844). fol. 126. See also: William Wingate, *Quotidiana*, cited by Carlyle, *Life and Work*, p. 91. See also: Richárd Bodoky, *Jövevények és Vándorok. Polgári Családtörténet. A Biberauer-Bodoky Krónika* 2 vols (Budapest: Dr. Bodoky Richardné, 1996), I, p. 173. Carlyle contradicts himself in *Mighty in Scriptures*, p. 29. As he mistakenly dates the baptism to Wednesday, 7 June 1843.

¹⁹⁷ Smith Robert, 'A Personal Narrative of Ten Years' Mission in Hungary', *Sunday at Home*, 13. 658 (1866), 737-812 (p. 773).

¹⁹⁸ Alexander G. I. Saphir, *Ansprache an Die Anwesenden Bei Gelegenheit Seiner Taufe* (Pest: Landerer-Heckenast, 1843, p. 3.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*

²⁰² Alexander G. I. Saphir, Preface, p. 1.

motivation' Saphir insisted: 'true conversion happens neither by one's own will, nor through foreign influence or persuasion but through the merely exclusive grace of God'.²⁰⁴ He observed that 'all proselytes are denounced and rebuked' and all kind of intent is ascribed to them but an honest one. To step out of the faith, inherited from the ancestors the convert is 'reproved because traitorousness, frivolity and ingratitude'. Further he added, 'conversion originating from inner conviction is not mentioned at all'.²⁰⁵ Though he became a Christian, he underscored that he still regarded himself as a Jew and one who belongs to Israel as well.²⁰⁶ Those remaining within Judaism did not share his opinion and regarded him as an apostate.²⁰⁷

The emotional upheaval after the baptism is understandable as this was the first public Evangelical conversion of a Jew that attracted wide-scale attention in Pest and led to further conversions. There were twenty more converts in 1843 for the Mission including that of Alexander Tomory, a later missionary to Constantinople.²⁰⁸ So much public discussion was generated that 'even in coffee-houses, conversation turned to the subject of religion'.²⁰⁹ The debate about the truth of Christianity bubbled like lava in a volcano. The Jews were resentful and found it humiliating that their religion was seen as second rate.

4.3. The Neuhaus controversy: an example of a Jewish worldview of the other

Three months after the baptism of the Saphir's family the Jews of Pest became upset due to an incident. Neuhaus, a colporteur working for the missionaries, visited György Bauhofer, the chaplain to Maria Dorothea, in the afternoon of 19 August 1843. Bauhofer noted in his diary that Neuhaus 'explained to [him] that the Jews in Pest were furious with him [Neuhaus] because during the last 14 days four Israelites were baptised,²¹⁰ and at a

²⁰³ Ibid., p. 8.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 7.

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

²⁰⁶ Ibid, pp. 15-16.

²⁰⁷ There is no record of him at all in the Jewish archives. As for the silence, it is likely that his step was regarded at that time disgraceful to the Jewish community.

²⁰⁸ 'The Jewish Evening at the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland 24th May, 1889 Jubilee Year, The Jewish Mission Jubilee Fund' in *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May 1882* (Edinburgh and New York, London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1889), 1-31 (p. 22). Cf. Kálvin téri Református Egyházközség Keresztelési, Esketési és Halotti Anyakönyv. I. kötet. (1798-1844) fol. 127. Tomory's original name was Czerkovicz Móricz Dávid baptised on 23 May, 1843.

²⁰⁹ Smith Robert, 'A Personal Narrative', p. 774. This number 'some twenty persons' corresponds to the information gathered from the Baptism, Marriage and Death Register of Kálvin Square church.

²¹⁰ Kálvin téri Református Egyházközség Keresztelési, Esketési és Halotti Anyakönyv [Baptism, Marriage and Death Register] I. kötet. (1798-1844) fol. 129. The names of the converts were; Hirsch Löwe, Schlesinger Ignáta, Winmann (Weinman probably) Eduard, Krausz József. Cf. Carlyle, *Life and Work*, p. 124.

gathering he stated that the Jews now live without God'.²¹¹ Nevertheless, this was not quite the case as we learn from the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthum* published in Leipzig, since Hungarian Jews did not have a national newspaper at that time.²¹² The fact that an article appeared in this very prestigious European Jewish newspaper reflects the heat of the debate and the sensitivity of the proselytising issue. The article says that Neuhaus made a statement in one of his sermons that deeply insulted the religious feelings of the Jews; his statements were interpreted as 'blasphemous' and 'launching crude assaults' on Judaism. According to the anonymous author of the article, Neuhaus 'dared to come to the point of questioning the veracity of the Mosaic teaching'.²¹³

This led to Neuhaus being challenged by a person named Hirschfeld, who was described as 'an adherent of the Israelite religion, a well-trained genius who gave his very best in the service of the *holy war* [italics added] for religion and justice'.²¹⁴ Much to the astonishment of the people attending the church, Hirschfeld called upon Neuhaus to debate with him after the sermon. The clash was so fierce that Hirschfeld told him to give answers right there and then. Yet Neuhaus insisted he would do so only in his flat whither the whole congregation therefore adjourned. The newspaper described the event: 'first Wingate, the pastor tried to defend Neuhaus' statements which he had made earlier. However, 'Hirschfeld refuted them with such a superiority that he was forced to withdraw'.²¹⁵ After Wingate's talk, a came the collision between Neuhaus and Hirschfeld. First Neuhaus reasoned and a 'legion of proselytes sided with him against Hirschfeld'. Then, Hirschfeld talked for a long time 'very vividly and with great energy to convince the congregation about how little credit should be given to such a religious teacher, who without any reason but with passion and with a ruthless profane hand tore apart what is sacred to some'.²¹⁶

The outcome of this direct face-to-face conflict was that Neuhaus had to leave Pest. The missionaries disapproved of his excessive public statements on Judaism, which

²¹¹ Evangélikus Országos Levéltár (Thereafter EOL), George Bauhofer's Diary, V 112, fol. 236. One of them is particularly mentioned by name, called Schlesinger.

²¹² The sources of the Scottish Mission and Bauhofer fail to mention the specific issue. However other pieces of evidence from the *Zeitung* are helpful to disclose the issue discussed above.

²¹³ 'Privat Report Pest, 18th August 1843', *Allgemeine Zeitung Des Judenthum*, 7. 37 (11 September 1843), 554-5 (p. 554).

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 554.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*

unnecessarily excited the rage of the Jews.²¹⁷ The conflict must have been extremely severe. While staying with Bauhofer, Neuhaus received a letter from Duncan and Wingate who asked him to leave Pest immediately. The letter reads:

You really have a good reason to thank the Lord that you were not in Pest today, as we truly believe that if you had been here, the *people would have literally torn you to pieces* [italics added]. If this had been the case we would not even have had the solace [except] to merely see you suffering for Christ only. We should have rather wept because of the stain. Within that your temper, which is not easy to tame, would in a way have tainted your martyr crown. [...] We command you - as soon as you receive this [letter] -- to make your way without the slightest hesitation to Oberschutz to Pastor Wimmer and stay there until further news.²¹⁸

Even the missionaries did not write of him favourably. Bauhofer also noted in his diary on 20 August, 'Neuhaus was, in spite of being in danger, very phlegmatic and what is more, he wished to [go] back to Pest where the next morning the young men must meet'.²¹⁹ Both Christian and Jewish sources viewed the incident as a serious clash between the two religions. Though the missionaries strongly disapproved of the manner in which Neuhaus had conducted his discourse with the Jews, they unanimously agreed to continue the work. The author of the article expressed the fact that if this incident had happened nine months earlier it might have caused the Mission never to be established. He celebrated the event as a victory praising Hirschfeld in this vein: 'he deserved the respect and acknowledgement of everyone, especially that of the present community as he was the first to stand against the assaults and represented himself as the witty and courageous apologetic of the Jews'.²²⁰

This case illustrates the growing Jewish opposition to Evangelical conversion to Christianity. Nonetheless, there were other more conciliatory voices. Liebmann, a student of medicine, expressed his view, 'the fire of the mission has attacked only the tinder, not the sound materials' of the Jewish faith.²²¹ Further he argued that the loss of the convert Jews would be 'advantageous to our people since it removes only the rotten fruits and in so doing we do not have to be afraid of a lethal infection'.²²² Yet it has to be pointed out that he also wished the removal of the Mission, which was impossible in spite of some

²¹⁷ EOL, Bauhofer's Diary, V 112, Entry August 18, 1843. Cited by Hausmann, *Judenmission in Ungarn Zur Zeit Der Palatinissa* (August 2000), p. 4.

²¹⁸ EOL, Bauhofer's Diary, V 112, fol. 237. Duncan's letter was written in very bad German to Neuhaus causing difficulty in rendering the letter into English.

²¹⁹ EOL, Bauhofer's Diary, V 112, fol. 236.

²²⁰ 'Privat Report Pest, 18th August 1843', *Allgemeine Zeitung Des Judenthum*, 7. 37 (11 September 1843), 554-5 (p. 554).

²²¹ *Allgemeine Zeitung U. Liebmann, kandidat der Medizin, 'Pesth, 1 September (Privatmitth)', Allgemeine Zeitung Des Judentum*, 7. 38 (18 September 1843), 573-74. (p. 573).

attempts, due to 'certain circumstances'.²²³ This is a clear reference to the Archduchess' influence; the writer could not be specific due to the delicate situation. Certainly, the Mission benefited from its cooperation with Maria Dorothea and well as from the fact that the political climate was liberal. All these played a part in the conversion of Mór Ballagi.

4.4. Another Prominent Jewish Inquirer: Mór Ballagi (Moritz Bloch)

The significance of Ballagi's conversion lies in the fact that his later life, actions and Christian worldview indirectly influenced on the Mission's second aim, to revive the Hungarian Reformed Church.²²⁴ His conversion was rather different to that of Israel Saphir and his family. Ballagi was born into a poor Jewish family of North-east Hungary in 1815.²²⁵ He rose to fame by the age of twenty-five when he was invited to be a corresponding member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. He was the first Jew, to be admitted as a member of the Hungarian Literary Society, and was the author of a Hungarian grammar and a German Hungarian dictionary, and the translator of several books from the Bible.²²⁶ Baron József Eötvös persuaded him to come home from Paris and assigned to him a role in facilitating the Magyarisation of the Jews.²²⁷ Accordingly, he published articles on Magyarization of Jewry in Lajos Kossuth's *Pesti Hírlap* and appealed to the Jews and Hungarians for the establishment of a common higher education institution in 1841.²²⁸ It is two years later that he was first mentioned in the missionaries' accounts. Writing in his *Quotidiana* Wingate noted:

We are informed that the most learned Jew in Hungary (Block) is desirous of serving the Lord. Truly the Lord worketh wonders. Call from Mr. Block – deeply interesting conversation- said he had studied philosophy; Kant, Hegel &c., but found rest through faith in Christ which was not to be found in them.²²⁹

Certainly, it was flattering to the missionaries that such a talented young man appeared on the scene beside Edersheim and the others. From Wingate's account we see that Ballagi was absolutely clear about the intention of the missionaries. The missionaries did not know

²²² Ibid.

²²³ Ibid., p. 574.

²²⁴ The change of his name itself is a proof of the many ways of Magyarization. To change one's name was to adhere to the Hungarian nation.

²²⁵ Sándor Csekey, 'A százéves Budapesti Teológiai Akadémia nagy professzorai: Ballagi Mór', *Református Egyház*, 7. 8 (15 April 1955), 174-182. (p. 174).

²²⁶ John Duncan, 'Extract Letter from Rev. Dr. Duncan to Rev. Dr. Keith Pesth, July 15, 1843', *HFMRF CofS*, 1. 4 (September 1843), pp. 43-45.

²²⁷ See: Chapter 1. II. 2.2.3. Interaction between Magyarisation and Jewish conversion.

²²⁸ Moritz Bloch (Ballagi Mór), 'Felszólítás egy magyar-zsidó tanítókat képező intézet ügyében', *Társalkodó*, 30. 9 (January 1841), pp. 35-6.

exactly what Ballagi's personal religious stance was at that time. It is certain that they had high hopes for him when left for Germany to study in Tübingen, Württemberg. He was baptised in Notzingen, Germany, on 28 May 1843.²³⁰ The missionaries were soon informed of his baptism about which Smith wrote: 'we cannot but hope that he has found the Saviour'.²³¹ The next account we hear of him is from Duncan two months later. Duncan contemplates the sincerity of his baptism and summarizes it thus:

He has been baptised in Wurtemberg. His conversion is, I think, indubitable. His views are spiritual, and such as I would have been enraptured to behold, had I not of late been habituated to a still more decided tone. He is to study Greek and theology for two years in Germany, and then intends to devote himself to his father-land, for which he entertains a most ardent and enthusiastic affection. He has written a very beautiful letter to the Jewish community here, which is exciting, we understand, a good deal of talk among them. I trust, by the blessing of God, he will be the instrument, of much good.²³²

The accounts betray that the missionaries' primary concern was whether or not he had a true faith conversion. Duncan seems to have given credit to its true nature but as it turns out later he was mistaken since Ballagi was liberal-minded from his earliest inquiry into Christianity. Contrary to the commonly held opinion among scholars, Ballagi cannot be regarded in any way as the fruit of the Scottish Mission. For instance Kool inserted Ballagi to the list of convert on the basis of Carlyle's book, which listed the converts between 1843-52.²³³ He was neither converted nor baptised by the missionaries and did not have what in the missionaries' eyes was an Evangelical conversion. From his later fairly liberal literary output we may infer that his conversion was more along the lines of adopting Christianity as a part of Magyarization. This view is substantiated by the observation of Aladár Komlós, a historian of Jewish history of ideas in Hungary.²³⁴ If his conversion had any religious elements, it was a decision for Christianity not to Christ. There are some more explicit views of the Evangelical-Pietist circles, which clearly doubted Ballagi's

²²⁹ Carlyle, *Life and Work*, pp. 84-85.

²³⁰ Birth and Baptism Register of Evangelische Kirche Germany, Baden-Württemberg, Notzingen, 24 May 1843. See also: *Magyar írók élete és munkái*, ed. by Szinnyei, József (Budapest: Hornyánszky, 1891), p. 439. Cf. EOL, György Bauhofer's Diary, V 112, fol. 268.

²³¹ Robert Smith, 'Letter from the Rev. Robert Smith to the Rev. Dr. Keith Pesth, June 8, 1843', *HFRFCofS*, 1. 2 (July 1843), 23-4 (p. 24 3rd Column).

²³² John Duncan, 'Extract Letter from Rev. Dr. Duncan to Rev. Dr. Keith Pesth, July 15, 1843', *HFMRFcofS*, 1. 4 (September 1843), 43-45 (p. 44). See also: Kool, p. 108.

²³³ Kool, p. 108. Kool probably obtained her information from the list of converts by Wingate in *Quotidiana*. See: William Wingate, *Quotidiana*, cited by Carlyle, *Life and Work*, p. 124. Carlyle, drawing in Wingate cites Ballagi among the converts of the Pest Mission. There is an ambiguity in the source itself as Wingate listed Ballagi among their converts, which was an exaggeration in the light of the above evidence.

baptism. Maria Dorothea expressed her disapproval of converting from Judaic religion to Christianity through baptism without faith.²³⁵ She also had a problem with Ballagi since she remarked, ‘the behaviour I have discovered in him by now, I have to admit, make me disappointed’.²³⁶ Further evidence of his liberal stance is that from the very beginning of his Christian life we do not find any single trace of Evangelical conversion language in any of his writings.

Other evidence, coming from the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthum* written by a prominent Hungarian rabbi, Leopold Löw, substantiates these observations. He regards Ballagi as an apostate. His article was a response to József Székács’s statement of defending Ballagi’s unexpected conversion in a former article. Székács, who was the liberal-minded minister of the Lutheran church in Pest, claimed that Ballagi had ‘asked for membership in the Lutheran church without the influence of the missionaries’.²³⁷ Löw resented Ballagi’s conversion and he could not comprehend that Ballagi in ‘a letter with exasperated tone called upon the Jewry for apostasy’, that is that Hungarian Jews should convert to Christianity.²³⁸ He, unlike Duncan who welcomed Ballagi’s letter, had taken an opposite view stating that he would have understood this call if it was made by a convert of the Scottish Mission.²³⁹ In the light of these pieces of evidence we may conclude that Ballagi’s conversion was more in line with the movement from Judaism to Christianity on the basis of Magyarization and the liberal spirit of the era than a result of a faith decision.

Initially, Ballagi had belonged to the circle of young Jewish people, who hoped to reform Judaism within its own tradition. It was certainly a surprise for many that he suddenly was converted. During the 1840s and the ensuing years, he worked along the line of liberal political Protestantism, and stood especially close to Székács, who just like Ballagi represented the first generation of another ethnic group becoming Magyar.²⁴⁰ At the very outset of the Mission, Ballagi saw Evangelical religion as a comrade in the fight against the common enemy, the oppressing Catholic Habsburg rule. His theological

²³⁴ Aladár Komlós, *Magyar-zsidó szellemtörténet a reformkortól a holocaustig* 2 vols (Budapest: Múlt és Jövő Kiadó, 1997), I, pp. 50-51.

²³⁵ Hausmann, p 8.

²³⁶ EOL, György Bauhofer’s Diary, V 112, fol. Letter dated 14 December, 1847.

²³⁷ Leopold Löw, ‘Sendschreiben an Herrn Dr. Jos. Székács, Prediger Der Evang. Gemeinde zu Pesth’, *Allgemeine Zeitung Des Judentum*, 8. 48 (25 November, 1844), 681-690 (p. 682).

²³⁸ Ibid.

²³⁹ Ibid., p. 683, 2nd column.

²⁴⁰ EOL, József Székács, MSS 93. There is a very large number of unpublished letters of their correspondence, which awaits further research. On Székács origin See: Chapter 1. II. 2.1. The Catholics, The Reformed, The Lutheran and the Orthodox.

position throughout the years of maturation of the 1840s and 1850s resulted in an entirely different one than that of the Evangelical Scots. This had profound consequence for the Mission, as we shall see in the next chapters.

4.5. Shifting allegiance: from Judaism to Evangelical Christianity

The worldview of Evangelicalism raises the important issue of the socio-religious aspects of conversion. According to the Evangelical Scots those outside the Christian faith were regarded as lost, living without God. To win someone to Jesus as a committed Christian meant a complete loss of the former life, a kind of renunciation. From the Jewish side to give up the 'faith of the fathers' was a blasphemy. They accepted the conversion to Christianity, though reluctantly, if it was for social reasons, but faith convictions were anathematised. This had enormous consequences for the new converts.

The converts changed not only religious faith which used to guide and regulate their daily conduct, but as a consequence of their decision, they were also forced to step out of the strong, supporting social-religious network of that faith community that provided them with security. Religious adherence in Hungary meant belonging to a very specific subculture. This was especially true for the Jews, who in many ways were alienated and separated from their Christian social environment. This was the challenge that Edersheim, the Saphirs, Ballagi and others faced. New converts were confronted with a double social challenge. On one hand the community they left behind did not have any kind of interaction with them and ceased all social contacts. On the other hand the Christian community into which they moved was often suspicious of their motivations.

To ease this situation, the Scots intentionally attempted to provide assistance to the converts and to integrate them to a nurturing Evangelical congregation that welcomed them. The new Jewish Christians attended the same 'chapel', a room in the Queen of England hotel with the British workers, with the Scots and some German Pietists. It was a tiny community but they tried to offer help. Yet it was the Scots who tried to involve the converts in evangelisation. It has been noted the Philipp Saphir, through Maria Dorothea's contacts, went to Germany to study, Edersheim together with Tomory and the young Adolph Saphir went to Scotland with 'rabbi' Duncan with a view to becoming missionaries.²⁴¹ Duncan became the first professor of Hebrew and oriental languages at New College, Edinburgh after the Disruption, in which position he could use his influence

to help them. Before his departure in October 1843, the congregation even issued a statement approving the Protest and Act of Separation of the Evangelical Party of the Church of Scotland undersigned by the missionaries and Israel Saphir.²⁴² A new alliance had been formed between the members of the congregation: the Scots provided the means and the converted Jews entered the mission field.

Duncan expressed his hopes that the 'Lord would furnish the Committee with the means' to help the prospective converts.²⁴³ A budget was set up for supporting the converts to find work. An example of the assistance provided by the Committee for Jewish Mission was the salary given to Israel Saphir.²⁴⁴ Also Duncan asked the Committee to support a young surgeon, who was completing his studies with the intent of becoming involved in the medical mission work.²⁴⁵ As for Ballagi, he initially received great support from Maria Dorothea, and then later Székács and Baron Eötvös. He was offered a teaching job at Szarvas and after the War of Independence of 1848/49 became the first professor of theology at the newly established Theological Seminary of the Protestant Church initiated by Török and Székács.

The financial help the missionaries offered to new converts unintentionally provided a ground for future Jewish allegations. Wingate noted it in his diary on 7 November 1843, 'several articles appeared in the *Juden Zeitung*, published at Leipzig, attacking the mission. A pamphlet was distributed in Pest against it. A notice appeared in the well-known Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* accusing the missionaries of Pest 'alluring, by money and all kinds of promises, the very dregs of the people'.²⁴⁶ The charge laid against them was that the missionaries bribed the Jews to convert.²⁴⁷ It is certain that the

²⁴¹ Eventually all of them became missionaries; Edersheim in Jassy, Tomory in Constantipole and Saphir in Hamburg.

²⁴² 'Letter written on June 9, 1843 Pest', *HFMRFCS*, 1. 5 (October 1843), p. 36. See also: U.U.Z., 'Pesth, 13 Oktober', *Allgemeine Zeitung Des Judenthums*, 7. 45 (6 November 1843), p. 673. The Jews in Pest were also well informed about Duncan's departure but they did not know about reason why he left the city.

²⁴³ John Duncan, 'Extract Letter from Rev. Dr. Duncan to Rev. Dr. Keith Pesth, July 15, 1843', *HFMRFCS*, 1. 5 (October 1843), 43-45 (p. 43).

²⁴⁴ NLS Dep. 298. fol. 203. Minutes of 3 May 1843. The Jewish Committee 'agreed to allow the sum of two hundred and fifty pounds to pay the salary of Mr. Saphir as superintending teacher or assistant missionary at Pest for one year after his Baptism'.

²⁴⁵ Jassy employed a Medical Missionary to the Jews. See: Manuscript L. A. Ritchie, *Daniel Edwards*

²⁴⁶ 'Pesth, im September (Eingefandt. Fortsetzung)', *Allgemeine Zeitung Des Judenthums*, 7. 41 (9 October, 1843), 613-15. (p. 614); Smith precisely translated what appeared in the article. See the Jewish accusation in italics. Robert Smith, 'Extract Letter from Rev. Mr. Smith to J.G. Wood, Esq. Pesth, October 25, 1843', *HFMRFCS*, 1. 8 (January 1844), 95-96 (p. 96). Cf. Carlyle, *Life and Work*, pp. 98-9. Cited from 'Quotidiana, 7th Nov. 1843.

²⁴⁷ Privat Report Pest, 9th October 1843, 'Pesth, Im September 1843', *Allgemeine Zeitung Des Judenthums*, 7. 41 (9 October 1843), p. 614.

missionaries provided help for the new converts but it was always after their baptism since only faith conversions were acceptable to them.

5. Strategies to spread Evangelical Christianity: Conferences, Publications, and Colportage

5.1 Maria Dorothea, the Mission and the foundation Buda Lutheran Church

The Scots were intent on strengthening Evangelical Christianity and sought allies in this work. They realised that the wider the spectrum upon which they operated, the greater would be their influence. Maria Dorothea told Duncan of her desire to erect a church building in Buda for the Lutheran people with a view to reviving church life by the employment of a Pietist minister, who would be her court chaplain as well as the minister of the new congregation.²⁴⁸ This idea had been under conversation as early as in 1841, when Duncan in his second letter to the Jewish Committee spoke of this possibility. He estimated that it would cost more than £4000 sterling, ‘an immense sum for the poverty of most here’ and asked for collection for this purpose.²⁴⁹ This initiative was realised in 1844 with the joint efforts of Maria Dorothea and the Scots who contributed the aforementioned large amount of money.²⁵⁰ George Bauhofer, who was favoured by Maria Dorothea, was elected a pastor of the Buda Lutheran Church with the assistance of József Székács.²⁵¹ Bauhofer was a minister next to Pozsony, where the Hungarian Diets were held and Maria Dorothea became to know him through other Lutheran Pietist ministers. She admired his Christian life and preaching for which she invited him to Buda.

With the arrival of Bauhofer the Evangelical Scots gained another ardent Pietist to their cause. Smith looked forward to his coming with great expectation: ‘we trust that this new appointment will be of much service to the mission. It will give us far easier access to

²⁴⁸ Bibliography on the foundation of Buda Church: D. Koren, Emil, *A Budavári két templom háttérben a papokkal és hívekkel* (Budapest: Budavári Evangélikus gyülekezet, 1990). See also: László Korponay, ‘A budai papválasztás’, *Hegyen épített város*, 28. February (1926), pp. 44-46.

²⁴⁹ John Duncan, ‘Extract Letter from Rev. Dr. Duncan to R. Wodrow, Esq. Pesth, October 11, 1841’, *HFMRCofS, July, 1839 - December, 1841*, 1. 30 (1 December 1841), 418-9 (419.) See also Edwards’ letter: Daniel Edwards, ‘Pesth, Extract Letter Rev. Daniel Edwards to the Rev. Dr. Keith 1st June, 1839’, *HFMRCofS July 1830 - December 1841*, 1. 27 (1 September 1841), 374-5 (p. 374).

²⁵⁰ George Bauhofer, *History of the Protestant Church in Hungary from the Beginning of the Reformation to 1850 with Reference Also to Transylvania*, trans. by Craig, J (London: James Nisbet and Co., 1854), p. 444. Bauhofer pointed out that 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’.

²⁵¹ László Korponay, ‘A budai papválasztás’, *Hegyen épített város*, 28. February (1926), pp. 44-46. obtained from EOK 22145/b/1-10. See also: Lajos Törtelli, ‘Székács József élete és működése’, in *Székács Emlékkönyv* (Pozsony-Budapest: Hornyánszky, 1912), pp. 30-34. (pp. 30-1).

the nominally Christian population than we have had before. Mr. B. - the clergymen, longs much to be near us'.²⁵² Owing to his highly influential position Bauhofer was to become a person of great significance. Through Bauhofer, and Maria Dorothea, German Pietism met with British Evangelicalism as represented by Scottish Presbyterians in Pest.²⁵³ They readily agreed on the 'lifeless state' of the national Protestant Churches and sought means to evangelise the country. Out of this realization, ministerial conferences came into existence.

5.2. The ministerial conferences

The Pietist Maria Dorothea and the Evangelical Scottish missionaries both had a desire to revive the Protestant churches of Hungary. The missionaries entertained the idea of founding a meeting with the purpose of infiltrating the piety of Evangelicals and Pietists to the Protestant Churches of Hungary through the ministers of Pest. An event came to their help to initiate such meetings since Catholicism launched a fierce attack at local, national and international levels against Protestantism in the same year when the foundation of the Lutheran Buda Church was finally realised. The Papal bull issued by Pope Gregory XVI²⁵⁴ in June 1844 condemned the reading of the Bible by laity. The Scots, the Archduchess and the ministers of Protestant churches in Pest felt that the attack was directed against them. It naturally resulted in bringing them to closer cooperation with each other. The missionaries were wary in their conduct. Smith's reminiscences illuminate their stance on trying to have the Protestant ministers involved in their work. He wrote:

Naturally, however, their prejudices were strong against our peculiar ways. We knew that these could be removed only by giving them time and to see and judge for themselves. We avoided coming into too close a relationship with them, lest from the divergence of our views, collision and estrangement might ensue. At length, when we saw that their confidence in us was established and that the impression on their minds regarding the reality of our work was strong enough to bear the strain to be put upon it, we suddenly proposed to them the formation of a weekly clerical conference.²⁵⁵

The first ministerial conference was on 15 November 1844.²⁵⁶ Regarding the character of these conferences, they centred on the study of the Bible with participants exchanging

²⁵² Robert Smith, 'Extract Letter from Mr. Smith to the Convener Pest, October 8, 1844', *HFMRF of S*, 1. 18 (November 1844), 280-81 (p. 281).

²⁵³ Cf. Chapter 1.

²⁵⁴ J. N. D. Kelly, *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 307-9.

²⁵⁵ Smith Robert, 'A Personal Narrative of Ten Years' Mission in Hungary', *Sunday at Home*, 13. 659 (1866), 794-96 (p. 795).

²⁵⁶ Carlyle, *Life and Work*, p. 48.

views 'on the best means of promoting vital religion', and consulting each other before making decisions on such important matters as Bible and tract distribution.²⁵⁷ Wingate highlighted that the missionaries intended to discuss 'how they should best advance the conversion of the Jews'.²⁵⁸ These meetings were held at different homes, and were 'conducted with prayer, reading the Scriptures, and promoted Christian unity and fellowship'.²⁵⁹ The conferences were attended by the Archduchess' chaplain, George Bauhofer, who was also the Lutheran minister of Buda, by Székács, the Lutheran pastor of Pesth, and by the superintendent Török, the Hungarian minister of the Reformed Church of Pest.²⁶⁰ For Hungarian Protestant ministers the conferences also served as a door, which enabled them to connect with Western European Protestants through the contacts that the Scots and Maria Dorothea provided.²⁶¹

Out of the three ministers, Pál Török was the most crucial for the Scots, since his Reformed church hosted the Mission. Török came to know his wife through the Mission.²⁶² Rachel Allnuth, the niece of Samuel Pretious' wife, and a member of the British congregation, was an Evangelical of Baptist background from Britain. They met for the first time at Israel Saphir's baptism and by February 1844 they were married. It cannot be underestimated how advantageous was this new link for the Scots' evangelical initiatives shared by members of the congregation. Pretious took advantage of his new family relationship with Török by pressing for evangelism in Pest. In his letter written to Török he lamented the miserable state of infidelity in Pest and appealed to the responsibility of the Hungarian Christians: 'Oh My Dear Friend let us not deceive ourselves and feel satisfied, having merely a name to live, if we are dead, but let us think very much of our responsibility'.²⁶³ Pretious' views represented the worldview of British Evangelicalism in which the saving of souls was the highest priority of Christians. His intention was to evangelise Pest and Hungary, which was shared by the missionaries as well as the German Pietist, Maria Dorothea. To strengthen the new ties, Török was invited to the General Assembly of the Free Church with the view to attending the meeting of Evangelical Union

²⁵⁷ EOL György Bauhofer's Diary, V 112, fól. 378. Cf. Smith Robert, 'A Personal Narrative of Ten Years' Mission in Hungary', *Sunday at Home*, 13. 659 (1866), 794-96 (p. 796).

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

²⁵⁹ Sándor Payr, 'Bauhoffer György lelkészi naplója', *PS*, 19. 5. (1907), 273-290 (p. 283). Cf. Smith Robert, 'A Personal Narrative', p. 795. .

²⁶⁰ Carlyle, *Life and Work*, p. 48.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

²⁶² Kiss, p. 43.

²⁶³ Ráday Levéltár, Török Pál Collection, C/93 347.

that was about to take shape in 1846.²⁶⁴ Similarly, Székács visited churches in Baden-Württemberg through Maria Dorothea's contact to learn of Pietism.²⁶⁵ Thus, a great emphasis was laid on trying to influence Török as well as Székács towards an Evangelical-Pietist understanding of Christianity.

5.3. Antecedents of Colportage: Working with the Bible Society and the Religious Tract Society

The printing of Bibles and other Christian literature with a goal of distributing them through a network of colporteurs was another means of evangelisation. By the time the Scots arrived in Hungary the British and Foreign Bible Society had already been working since the late 1820s.²⁶⁶ Their agent was Rev. August Gottlieb Wimmer, a friend of Maria Dorothea. By the early 1840s Wimmer established a network of over two hundred distributors in all quarters of the country from Oberschutz (Felsőlövö). The distributors were not, in most cases, men of Evangelical leaning. To Wimmer's knowledge, there were only two clergymen of 'decidedly evangelical principles' beside himself in all of Hungary so that he welcomed the arrival of the missionaries, who began to work with him.²⁶⁷ An early evidence of cooperation was the arrangements with Wimmer for the printing of 2000 Hebrew Scriptures at Kőszeg, the Free Church of Scotland and the Bible Society sharing the cost equally between them.²⁶⁸ The Scottish Mission spent a large amount on purchasing Hebrew and German Bibles, containing both the Old and the New Testaments. They even printed 'an edition of 5000 copies of Mr. Saphir's address at his baptism'.²⁶⁹ However, it was the publication and distribution of inspirational books and tracts that the Scots worked at most zealously.²⁷⁰ They obtained a grant of £400 in the mid-1840s from the Tract Society for the publication of books such as Bogue's *Essay in the Divine Authority of the*

²⁶⁴ Ráday, Török, C/93 594/a and 594/b. Letter from John Lorimer to Török, Glasgow, 6 March 1846. See also: Letter from Alexander Keith to Pál Török, Edinburgh, 9 March 1846. These were clear invitation to the Inaugural Conference of the proposed Evangelical Alliance. Cf. J. B. A. Kessler, *A Study of the Evangelical Alliance in Great Britain* (Goes: Oosterbaan & Le Cointre N. V., 1968), p. 35. The inaugural conference was opened on 19 August 1846.

²⁶⁵ Pál Patay, *Székács József* (Budapest: M.O.B. Nyomda, 1914), pp. 19-21.

²⁶⁶ John V. Eibner, 'British Evangelicals and Hungary 1800-1852', *The Journal of the United Reformed Church History Society*, 3. 2 (1983), pp. 45-54.

²⁶⁷ Carlyle, *Life and Work*, p. 112. The very first entry of Wingate's return to Pest in 1848 is his meeting with Wimmer. This shows that they kept in contact even during the war.

²⁶⁸ NLS MSS 288-91, fol. 237, 26 July 1843.

²⁶⁹ William Wingate, 'Letter from the Rev. William Wingate to the Rev. Dr. Candlish Pesth, Hungary, December 30, 1843', *HFMRFCS*, 1. 9 (February 1844), 105-106 (p. 106). See also: NLS Dep. 298.249 fol. 203, Minutes of 5 April 1843.

²⁷⁰ Eibner, p. 50.

*New Testament, The Pilgrim's Progress, and Edwards's History of Redemption.*²⁷¹ The volume of their work could be estimated by the bare fact that by 1844 the BFBS sold more than more than 80,000 Scriptures.²⁷²

There were other initiatives supported by the Mission. Duncan recommended that a new translation of New Testament into Hungarian was 'most desirable'.²⁷³ Wingate wrote in April 1844 in the hope that Ballagi's 'literary acquirements will now, we trust, be employed in the service of his Saviour'.²⁷⁴ Eventually, Székács and Ballagi were approached to carry out the work.²⁷⁵ Maria Dorothea also supported such initiatives and together with the Edinburgh Bible Society financed Ballagi's project to translate the Bible.²⁷⁶ Sándor Payr mentions that the court chaplain, Bauhofer, was also engaged in propagating the Pietist-Evangelical cause by translating English tracts.²⁷⁷ It is evident that all the participants of the conferences realised the importance of disseminating Christian literature. This means of evangelisation was aimed at the entire population of Hungary but the Scots hoped that the leaders of the Protestant churches would be the most influenced. To this end, the general political climate of the 1840s offered them an unparalleled opportunity.

5.4. The foundation of *PEIL, Der Evangelische Christ* and other Literature Activities of the Protestant elite circle Székács, Török, Bauhofer, and Ballagi

During the 1840s the Reform Party and the Protestant Churches worked hand in hand with the realisation that oppressive Catholic rule could only be fought effectively if all the forces were joined together. Many leading voices from the Lutheran and the Reformed tradition entertained the idea of a union of the Augsburg and Helvetic confessions as early as 1836. Smith mentioned that he had attended two conferences dealing with the union of

²⁷¹ William Jones, *The Jubilee Memorial of the Religious Tract Society, 1799-1849*, (London, [n. pub.] 1850), p. 336. See also: 51st Report of the Religious Tract Society, 1850, p. 20. Cited by Eibner p. 46, n. 23.

²⁷² 'Hungary' in *Fortieth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, (London: Richard Clay, 1844), XIV, p. 143.

²⁷³ Zsinati Levéltár Budapest, Skót Misszió, 13 fond, Memorandum on the Work of the National Bible Society of Scotland in Hungary (1861-1934).

²⁷⁴ William Wingate, 'Letter from the Rev. Wm. Wingate to J. G. Wood, Esq. Pesth, May 16, 1844', *HFMRFCS*, 1. 15 (August 1844), 211-13 (p. 212).

²⁷⁵ József Szinnyei, *Magyar írók élete és munkái*, ed. by Szinnyei, József (Budapest: Hornyánszky, 1891), p. 439.

²⁷⁶ National Bible Society of Scotland Archives, Knight G.A., unpublished History of the National Bible Society of Scotland, fol. 104.

²⁷⁷ Sándor Payr, 'Bauhoffer György lelkeszi naplója', *PSz*, 19. 5. (1907), pp. 273-290 (p. 278).

Protestant churches, a subject that was on the agenda throughout the 1840s.²⁷⁸ Behind this motive lay the realization of the necessity of a shared theological institute of both Protestant Churches. One of its proponents was Count Károly Zay, a high-ranking official in the Danubian Church Province. He lobbied for the Union and a shared Protestant College in February 1841.²⁷⁹ Lajos Kossuth, the liberal political leader also allowed place in his *Pesti Hírlap* to popularise the idea. The Scots were also very supportive of these initiatives and even suggested another idea, the foundation of the jointly published ecclesiastical paper, the *Protestáns Egyházi és Iskolai Lap* (Protestant Church and School Paper), known as *PEIL*.²⁸⁰ However, it was not only the Scots, but also Lajos Kossuth, one of the key figures of the Reform Party, who was especially enthusiastic about the foundation of a Protestant periodical.²⁸¹ Finally the plan was realized in 1842 as Count Zay deposited a large sum of 4000 forints for the state. The editorial board consisted of József Székács, Pál Török and Károly Taubner.²⁸² Bauhofer mentions that the new *PEIL* was under the constant attack of the Roman Catholic Party and was exposed to the heavy hand of the imperial censor. In spite of censoring, the journal did much to further the cause of Evangelical religion without laying too much restraint on individual and party views. Bauhofer saw its role as follows:

It placed itself on a Scriptural basis; published the abuses which occurred in ecclesiastical administration; attacked false opinions; gave important information in respect of what was going on at home and abroad; strove to raise missionary spirit, and gave proper views of the object and design 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".²⁸³

Through the means of this paper Wingate hoped that, 'they [the Hungarian Protestants] were educated to support our evangelistic work'.²⁸⁴ There were extracts inserted into the new Hungarian periodicals from other journals and magazines of the missionary societies

²⁷⁸ Robert Smith, 'Letter Rev. Robert Smith to the Convener Pesth, April 11, 1848', *HFMRFCS*, 1848, 3. 17 (April 1848), p. 396. Cf. Carlyle, *Life and Work*, p. 49. 'Later, it was determined to edit and circulate a Church monthly publication'.

²⁷⁹ Károly Zay, 'Néhány szó a Pesten felállítandó Ref. Főiskola ügyében', 10. 16. *Társalkodó* (24 February, 1841), p. 63.

²⁸⁰ 'Protestant Church and School Journal' abbreviated as PEIL of the Hungarian name.

²⁸¹ *A Magyarhoni Protestáns Egyház története*, ed. by Zsilinszky Mihály (Budapest: Atheneum, 1907) pp. 657-665.

²⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 661. Cf. Brown, p. 322. Brown cited a letter of Török, 'Török and Trikais (the second name may refer to Székács) issued a weekly paper, giving Church and School news in Hungarian, while Bauhofer Georg, court-preacher to the Archduchess M. D. in Ofen [Buda], issued the same in German.' This is a later stage as Bauhofer came in 1844 to Buda as a successor of Károly Taubner.

²⁸³ George Bauhofer, *History of the Protestant Church in Hungary from the Beginning of the Reformation to 1850 with Reference Also to Transylvania*, trans. by Craig, J (London: James Nisbet and Co., 1854), p. 436.

of Britain, and that of the Bible and Tract Society. Besides the *PEIL* another paper appeared on the scene. Bauhofer began to publish his periodical, *Der Evangelische Christ* to which the missionaries contributed.²⁸⁵ Consequently, the ministers of the Church learned a lot about the inner and public life of Great Britain and its colonies. The periodical even popularised the Scottish Mission.²⁸⁶

Bauhofer's periodical together with *PEIL* served as a window to open up to the rest of the world, one for the German-speaking Lutherans and the other for Hungarian Reformed people. The missionaries hoped that the Protestant Churches would be prepared for the next important stage in mission work: 'the evangelisation of Hungary by trained evangelists selected from the best and most experienced of the converts from Judaism'.²⁸⁷ The conversion of the Jews 'became in this way "life from the dead" to the professing Protestant Churches greatly needing the testimony of living, earnest Christianity everywhere'.²⁸⁸ The significance of this common initiative of the reform-minded and progressive church leaders, and the missionaries cannot be underestimated as newspapers and periodicals, which the Austrian authorities had only recently permitted to be published, promoted the renewal of the churches. These initiatives coincided with the very beginning of the birth of liberal national papers in Hungary such as the *Pesti Hírlap* established in 1841 by Kossuth.²⁸⁹ It must be noted that the political context as the general climate was favourable and even allowed space for another new Evangelical initiative, the foundation of colportage network.

5.5. The Establishment of Colportage

On 17 September 1846 Bauhofer mentioned a conference where Török, Székács, Smith, Daniel Edward, Keith and Bauhofer discussed establishing a network of distributors for the Bibles and Tracts.²⁹⁰ However, they could only do this publicly if they received permission from the government. They had to seize the first favourable opportunity to lay the matter before the Archduke. At last the opportunity came, which the missionaries marked as a

²⁸⁴ Carlyle, *Life and Work*, p. 43.

²⁸⁵ William Wingate, *Quotidiana* cited in Carlyle, *Life and Work*, p. 116. See entry on July 15, 1848.

²⁸⁶ 'Die Protestantische Missions I.', *Der Evangelische Christ*, 1.7. (7 May 1848) pp. 27-8. and 'Die Protestantische Missions II.', *Der Evangelische Christ*, 1. 11 (4 Juni 1848), p. 44.

²⁸⁷ Carlyle, *Life and Work*, p. 43.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid*, p. 49.

²⁸⁹ For the first time Lajos Kossuth's newspaper appeared on January 2, 1841.

²⁹⁰ EOL, György Bauhofer's Diary fol. 372, cited Hausmann, p. 9.

'providence of God'.²⁹¹ In Austrian Poland the Polish peasants revolted against the proprietors and many of them were massacred.²⁹² When this news reached Hungary the Archduke was deeply troubled.²⁹³ Again Maria Dorothea interceded and received a promise, which was a silent consent from the Archduke that he would indirectly support the distribution of the Bibles, because he regarded it as a means of educating the populace so as to avoid revolt.²⁹⁴ Smith points out that even he could not go beyond a certain point. His power was limited because the ultimate authority rested with Vienna.²⁹⁵ Nonetheless, in this way a door opened up. The missionaries obtained letters of recommendation for the colporteurs from the Protestant pastors of Pest and the work began.²⁹⁶ Smith stated:

We trained and sent out six of our young men as evangelist colporteurs, who carried the message of the gospel into all parts of Hungary and found that a rumour of what had taken place in Pesth, the capital, had preceded them.²⁹⁷

Contrary to Smith, Wingate mentioned only five colporteurs, noting their names as Taubner, Gellert, Kiewitz, Lederer and Neuman, all Jewish converts of the Mission.²⁹⁸ Smith and Wingate had already trained them for two years in theology, church history, and 'messianic prophecies'.²⁹⁹ They divided the country into districts to make a viable six weeks tour for each colporteur. The missionaries secured the co-operation of BFBS that provided them with tracts, Bibles and books in Hebrew, German and Hungarian. The colporteurs sold tracts to Jews and Christians alike. Their procedure was to go to synagogues first and engage the Jews through the literature they distributed and sold to them. This was not without difficulties as 'on one occasion they were all thrown into prison in Pesth. They spent the time in singing praises to God, in meditation and reading of the Scriptures, and in prayer, and seemed so happy that it excited the whole gaol'.³⁰⁰ This scene again indicates that not only the missionaries but their fellow workers also thought of themselves as Christ's true followers in continuation with the apostolic times. The description and the language used strongly reminds one of the story of Paul and Silas from

²⁹¹ Smith Robert, 'A Personal Narrative of Ten Years' Mission in Hungary', *Sunday at Home*, 13.659 (1866), 794-96 (p.794).

²⁹² William Wingate, 'Letter Rev. William Wingate to the Convener Pesth, June 3, 1848', *HFMRF CofS August*, 3. 20 (1848), 502-3 (p. 503).

²⁹³ Farkas, *A Pesti Református Egyház*, p. 126. Farkas draws on data that is not indicated. It is likely to be the article published in *Witness* or Carlyle's work.

²⁹⁴ Carlyle, "Mighty in the Scriptures", pp. 42-43.

²⁹⁵ Smith Robert, 'A Personal Narrative of Ten Years' Mission in Hungary', *Sunday at Home*, 13. 659 (1866), 794-96 (p. 795).

²⁹⁶ Carlyle, *Life and Work*, p. 61.

²⁹⁷ BRO-142-813-24. New College, Edinburgh, Manuscript on Robert Smith,

²⁹⁸ Smith mentions six of them in *Personal Narrative*, p. 794.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

Acts (Acts 16). Due to such commitment Evangelical literature was available to the people of Hungary. Within a short period of time, not only did the wandering Jewish merchants spread the news of Scottish missionary work, but also the colporteurs' work began to make its effect felt on the Mission. More and more Jews flocked to Pest from the countryside. Smith expressed his desire that the missionaries wanted to evangelise the whole country not just Pest. He wrote, 'a few souls in a single city can never satisfy us. Our station must be a centre from which streams shall issue forth through the whole land'.³⁰¹ Through a network of colporteurs, one of the means of evangelising the 'Jews and Gentiles' was realized, that was followed by another one the establishment of a school.

6. The Origin of the School of the Scottish Mission

6.1. Antecedents and the establishment of the school

Education was one of the five schemes of the Church of Scotland as a means of mission. Traditionally the Scots placed an emphasis upon it but the Pest missionaries were lagging behind other mission stations in setting up a school.³⁰² As early as 1842 Wingate responded to the Committee's question about the role of education in the Pest mission enterprise by stating the 'subject of schools is occupying our consideration; and so soon as the way opens up, and plans are digested, you will receive communications on the subject'.³⁰³ Smith also talked of plans even before the baptism of the Saphirs on February 1843. The missionaries began to plan the curriculum and consider the form of pupils' applications which 'should be made on the spot and subjects were required to be outlined before applications are made'.³⁰⁴ However, it did not materialise for some more years.

The delay was due to the special circumstances in Hungary. Smith observed that it was difficult to determine under whose auspices such an institution could be established. The missionaries themselves would not have been allowed to open up a school in a hostile Catholic dominated Empire. They knew that their activities had been tolerated so far because of the support of Maria Dorothea. They were also aware that even native Protestants were regarded as secondary citizens of the country. Thus, the establishment of

³⁰⁰ Carlyle, *Life and Work*, p. 63.

³⁰¹ Robert Smith, 'Letter Rev. Robert Smith to the Secretary Pesth, October 9, 1846', *HFMRFCoS*, 2. 23 (November 1846), 540-41 (p. 541).

³⁰² Jassy already had a school in 1842.

³⁰³ William Wingate, 'Journal', *HFMRFCoS*, 2. 12 (1842), 171-2 (p. 172).

³⁰⁴ Robert Smith, 'Letter from Mr Smith Pesth February 25, 1843', *HFMRFCoS*, 2.17 (May 1843), 230-32 (p. 232).

a school did not seem plausible. Nonetheless, the idea of setting up a school occupied their mind from the very beginning of their work.

Education was part of the plan to evangelise the Jews and Protestants of Hungary. The sources are in accord with one another that the school grew out of a Sunday school initiative. Wingate wrote that during one of the conferences in April 1845 ‘a proposal to begin Sabbath Schools [was] agreed by Mr. Székács and Török. [They] entrusted us with furnishing of Sabbath books for their translation into Hungarian. A proposal to visit the different parishes and to preach [was] made by Székács, Török and Bauhofer on the same evening’.³⁰⁵ The Hungarian church historian, József Farkas, confirms it saying, ‘out of the Sunday school initiative a school was established as an ordinary public school (V. district *Sétatér-útcza Schneller ház*) by 1846 where ‘boys and girls of the followers Christian and Mosaic [sic!] religion without paying any tuition fee received excellent education in German’.³⁰⁶ However, these passing lines only state the outcome.

The establishment of a school was realized by the enthusiasm of Philipp Saphir who went for his educational training to Karlsruhe in 1843. Illness forced him to return to Pest in 1845.³⁰⁷ Though he knew that he had a very serious sickness and was unable to walk, his fervent desire was to do ‘something for Him during the time of trial’.³⁰⁸ In October 1845, he set up a Young Men’s Society with the object ‘to propagate the Kingdom of God, especially among young men’ or as Wingate puts it ‘spread the gospel by their life’.³⁰⁹ This was the first local YMCA group of Hungary. A year later he started another initiative, teaching children from his sickbed to which he was confined. The teaching was carried out through the newly formed Sunday school.³¹⁰ Within a fortnight the number of children increased to twenty-three. In a very short time, the numbers rose to fifty-two. Consequently he had to look for a larger place to teach since his home proved to small. This Sunday school initiative became the foundation of the ‘Mission School’, which was the means, by which hundreds of Jewish children were to be educated in the Christian doctrine.

³⁰⁵ Carlyle, *Life and Work*, pp. 49, 106.

³⁰⁶ Farkas, *A Pesti Református Egyház*, p. 126.

³⁰⁷ Robert Smith, ‘Letter Rev. Robert Smith to the Secretary’, 2. 17 (1843), *HFMRFCoFS*, 2. 23 (1 November 1846), 540-41 (p. 510).

³⁰⁸ Carlyle, *"Mighty in the Scriptures"*, pp. 70-71.

³⁰⁹ *Diaries and Letter of Philipp Saphir*, ed. by Adolph Saphir (Edinburgh: Jonhstone and Hunter, 1852), p. 54. This is the very first allusion to the first YMCA in Hungary, a fact that has so far been unknown to any Hungarian historian. It was a short-lived initiative which resurfaced only decades later. Yet the merit of establishing the first YMCA in Hungary goes to Saphir.

6.2. The school and the Pest Jewry

Wingate reported although ‘there was said to be 1200 Jewish children in the city, only 400 of them receive education’.³¹¹ The Scots therefore encouraged Philipp to open the school to a wider recruitment. He taught the children *gratis* and many Jewish families took advantage of it. The primary aim of the school was evangelisation through education. This point was made clear to every parent who wished to send their children to ‘Philipp’s School’ as it was known. Jewish children could enrol only with the approval of their parents. Philipp drew their attention to the fact that ‘I was no longer a Jew, but a Christian who believed in Jesus as the Messiah who was already come, and that therefore my school was a Christian school’.³¹² He said, ‘“I teach the Evangelical doctrine as I find it revealed in the Word of God. My chief object is to lead the children to the reverence and love of God; if you do not object to the doctrines of Christianity, I joyfully receive your children’.³¹³ Philipp Saphir was punctilious in making this absolutely clear to the Jewish parents.³¹⁴ The atmosphere of the school was entirely evangelical based on the teaching of the Scots that Philipp had learned now from them. Personal piety was highly valued and encouraged.

Rabbi Schwab soon realized what was happening and publicly harangued against the school in the synagogue. He promised to admit poor children *gratis* into the Jewish School, hold an examination quarterly and found a school for the poor.³¹⁵ During the early autumn of 1847 Israel Saphir accidentally met with Rabbi Schwab his former intimate friend but now a fierce opponent of the School. Schwab posed a question, ‘what can the Mission hope to achieve? Roman Catholics are against it, the government is against it, the Jews are against it, and a large body of Protestants too’.³¹⁶ There was a degree of truth in it. The secret police sent reports on every activity of the Scots including their indirect

³¹⁰ William Wingate, ‘Letter from Rev. William Wingate to the Secretary’, *HFMRFCoFS*, 2. 22 (October 1846), 509-10 (p. 510).

³¹¹ William Wingate, ‘Letter Rev. William Wingate to the Convener’, *HFMRFCoFC*, 3. 1 (January 1847), p. 7.

³¹² Philipp Saphir, ‘Letter R.F. Phillip Safir to the Rev. Dr. Duncan’, *HFMRFCoFS*, 2. 24 (December 1846), p. 559.

³¹³ *Diaries and Letter of Philipp Saphir*, ed. by Adolph Saphir (Edinburgh: Jonhstone and Hunter, 1852), p. 68. Cf. Carlyle, “*Mighty in the Scriptures*”, p. 74. Carlyle seems to draw on Philipp’s letter that was written to Duncan on 23 October 1846.

³¹⁴ Rudolp Koenig, ‘Letter Rev. Rud. Koenig to the Convener Pesth, Janury 6, 1848’, *HFMRFCoFS*, 3. 14 (February 1848), 334-35.

³¹⁵ Philipp Saphir, ‘Letter R.F. Phillip Safir to the Rev. Dr. Duncan’, *HFMRFCoFS*, 2. 24 (December 1846), p. 559.

³¹⁶ Robert Smith, ‘Letter Rev. Robert Smith to the Secretary Pesth, October 14, 1847’, *HFMRFCoFS November, 1847*, 3. 11 (1847), 262-263 (p. 262).

involvement with the school.³¹⁷ In spite of all these obstacles the school was not only in operation during the War of Independence but also saw growth in the number.³¹⁸ With the establishment of the school the last pillar of the Scottish Mission was created.

By 1846 the missionaries managed to set the mission into motion with promising prospects. They gained an official recognition to set up a British congregation by being integrated into the Pest Reformed Church whose legal framework allowed them to proselytise. The congregation was to nurture the Jewish converts in the Evangelical faith. Besides their congregation the newly founded Buda Lutheran church with Pietist leadership strengthened their mission-orientated position. Conferences with the leading Protestant ministers were set up to further the revival of Protestant religion. These meetings closely linked to the establishment of means of evangelisations such as periodicals and colportage, which were in rapport with both ends of the Mission; mission to the Jews and revival of the Protestant churches. Finally, the school was set up with the view of implanting Evangelical religion primarily to Jewish but also to Protestant children.

7. The work during the troubled times: colportage, congregation and school endangered

7.1. The death of the Archduke and its consequence for the Mission

In 1847 shortly after the establishment of the effective initiatives of the colporteur work and the school, events occurred which caused the missionaries to fear the future. On 10 January the Archduke fell ill and within a few days died. Bauhofer, a court chaplain brought the sad news to the missionaries. Smith wrote a letter reflecting the missionaries' perception of losing the man who, through the influence of his wife, had quietly supported them: 'it may lead to the most important consequences. How far enemies have been restrained in their madness against the truth, through their instrumentality, we know in part already, and the future may more fully reveal'.³¹⁹ The funeral took place on 18 January in Buda. Some days later the Archduchess was summoned against her will to Vienna by Imperial mandate.³²⁰ Shortly after that a violent attack was made against the Mission in the Hungarian and German newspapers as Wingate noted it down in his diary. To the

³¹⁷ Kornél Tábori, *Titkosrendőrség és kamarilla* (Budapest: Atheneum, 1921), pp. 80-81.

³¹⁸ Carlyle, *Life and Work*, pp. 113, 117. The school was enlarged on the plan of Mr. Stow's for normal training schools and a gallery was ordered for 100 children. By the end of July it was erected. They also finished their new chapel with 72 seats, which could host up to 200 people if necessary.

³¹⁹ Robert Smith, 'Letter Rev. Robert Smith to the Secretary', *HFMRF CofC*, 3. 4 (April 1847), 73-4. (p. 73).

accusations, Bauhofer wrote ‘an excellent and complete answer’.³²¹ The missionaries ‘thought it safer to defeat enemy by silence’, that is, not to respond to any charges of the Jewish community and those of the Catholic.³²² With the death of the Archduke and the removal of Maria Dorothea the Scottish Mission’s position became extremely vulnerable.

The archival material of Vienna sheds light on this least known part of early history of the Mission. Through it we can gain a picture of the Habsburg and the Roman Catholic opposition, and their suspicion of the Mission. Even such a person as the Chancellor, Count János Majláth sent reports on the activities of Palatine’s wife.³²³ Other archival material also betrays the resentment of the opposition. József Havas, who was the Chief Judge in Pest, sent a report dated 29 May 1847, undersigned as Z. Z. He collected intelligence on the activities of the Mission and reported that a certain John Wolf³²⁴ and his company taught English in order to proselytise and added that, ‘in this the support of the incredibly bigoted Maria Dorothea, the widow of the Palatine plays a great role’.³²⁵ He then continued by stating, ‘it is striking that the English and Scottish missionaries are on confidential terms with the authorities’.³²⁶ The Mission continued to be attacked in the press. An article appeared in *Pester Zeitung* written by a language teacher named Lambert stating he wanted to ‘uncover the secret mission of Wolf who travelled to Scotland for further training’.³²⁷ He promised to notify the authorities in his next report about the ‘corrupt practices’ of the Mission that spread through things such as the distribution Bibles and tracts and proselytising. He stressed that his observations were justified by the interview given by Lord Palmerston, the British Ambassador in Vienna, who allegedly disapproved of the activities of the Mission. Commenting on the charges of the spies that Maria Dorothea and ‘her company’, i.e. the Mission conspired against the Monarchy, Tábori said, ‘she, who among the members of the royal family loved Hungarians more than

³²⁰ Carlyle, “*Mighty in the Scriptures*”, p. 45.

³²¹ William Wingate, *Quotidiana* cited by Carlyle, *Life and Work*, p. 111.

³²² *Ibid.*

³²³ Kornél Tábori, ‘Amikor a nádornét is a kémek figyelték’, *Pesti Hírlap Vasárnapja*, (24 November 1929), 27-28 (p. 27). Cf. Keith, *Origin*, pp. 247-8. He mentioned three cases. The first was the instigation of the Catholics already referred to in Chapter 1, the second was the ‘passport case’ when Count Széchenyi intervened. The third was the charges against Schwarz resulting in Maria Dorothea appointing him to be his court chaplain.

³²⁴ Kálvin téri Református Egyházközség Keresztelési, Esketési és Halotti Anyakönyv. I. kötet. (1798-1844) fol. 128. John Wolf was one of the Jewish converts of the Mission. He was baptised on 21 June 1843. His original name was Reisberg Wolf, which was changed upon baptism, as was a custom. He received the name of John Robert Wolf. It was customary for the converts to take the Christian name of their godparents. His were John Duncan and Israel Saphir.

³²⁵ Haus- Hof und Staatsarchiv Wien (StaW), MSS. 6000/1847 “John Wolf und Proselytenwerberey”. Z.Z. was József Havas, the above mentioned Chief Judge.

³²⁶ *Ibid.*

any other, was under the eye of the spies and was charged. It was because of their [the Habsburgs] hatred against the Protestants'.³²⁸ The fear of the Habsburg was twofold: some persons of the higher clergy of the Roman Church found it hard to come to terms with the greater freedom of Protestants that Maria Dorothea effectively supported, and the *Ministerrat* was suspicious of political Protestantism that Maria Dorothea and the missionaries, for religious reasons, were connected. However, in the eye of the spies religious and political elements of Protestantism were identical. This view was bolstered by the fact that the mission still enjoyed the support of the liberal Reform Party, in spite of the death of the Archduke and the removal of Maria Dorothea significantly weakened their position.

7.2 The Colportage during the War of Independence 1848/49

A year after the death of the Palatine Hungary, the Hungarian revolution broke out in March 1848. Hungary went through a political transformation. For the first time during the Habsburg control of Hungary, a government was formed in April. Hungarian political liberalism grasped control of the fate of the nation promoting freedom of expression and lessening the influence of the Vienna court. Owing to this, the general climate seemed to change favourably for the Evangelical cause. The legal constraints on the work of the British societies were removed and it seemed that the newly gained civil liberties would protect the Evangelical interest.³²⁹ The missionaries welcomed the change, the easing of the hostile Catholic control, which they held responsible for the violation of freedom of religion. Smith stated that there was perfect liberty and the Mission was relieved from 'an oppressive load – the [Catholic Austrian] government under which they trembled having fallen with its whole system of espionage and corruption'.³³⁰ Wingate's perception of the revolutions taking place in Europe in 1848 reveals his stance on Catholicism, 'amid the convulsions of empires, and overthrow of kingdoms, which have long united their powers to uphold a system of Antichristian superstition that has enchained for nearly 1260 years, the majority of Europe is in the bonds of soul-destroying error'.³³¹ Clearly the

³²⁷ Lambert's article on Wolf, *Pester Zeitung* (4 July 1847).

³²⁸ Kornél Tábori, 'Amikor a nádornét is a kémek figyelték', *Pesti Hírlap Vasárnapja*, (24 November 1929), pp. 27-28.

³²⁹ Eibner, p. 51.

³³⁰ 'Annual Report to the Jewish Mission Board', *HFMRCofS*, 3. 19. (July 1848), p. 482.

³³¹ William Wingate, 'Letter Rev. William Wingate to the Convener Pesth, June 3, 1848', *HFMRCofS*, 3. 20 (August 1848), pp. 502-3.

missionaries, just as Hungarian Protestants, were fiercely anti-Catholic and welcomed the change.

The missionaries were eager to take advantage of the change in the political climate. They held a meeting together with Bauhofer and Wimmer to work out a plan to evangelise the country. Soon they came to an agreement, which stated that 'Messrs. Bauhofer and Weimmer (sic) agreed to have a Bible depository in Ofen, under the charge of Mr. Bauhoffer'.³³² Thus, a warehouse and a bookshop were set up in Buda.³³³ The next step was to send out the colporteurs jointly employed by the Mission and the Scottish Bible Society for the usual one and a half months trip. Beside their own colporteurs, the missionaries continued their co-operation with the Baptists colporteurs of the BFBS, which also considerably increased its efforts. The colporteurs embarked on a 'campaign of door-to-door tract distribution and sponsored a week of evangelistic services, which were led by Oncken, who was on a missionary tour of central Europe'.³³⁴ The Evangelicals and Pietists united in spreading the gospel. This joint venture of the Scots and the BFBS lasted for a short period of time from the spring till the autumn of 1848.

The achievements of the March revolution were only a temporary concession given by the Habsburgs. In September, the court in Vienna instigated the uprising encouraging the Croatians to attack the newly achieved freedom of Hungary. A war engulfed the country from September 1848 until August 1849, which compelled the Scots to leave the country on 6 September 1848. The missionaries took pains not to become involved in politics. They refrained from any active political involvement, though they were deeply sympathetic to the Hungarian cause.³³⁵ Before their departure they approached Israel Saphir and György Bauhofer to take charge of the Mission; its school, congregation and colportage.³³⁶ Though the Scots distanced themselves from politics, quite a few of their colporteurs served in the Hungarian Army.³³⁷ Moreover, Rev. Wimmer acted as a secret emissary of Lajos Kossuth, the leader of the War of Independence on his trips to Britain, and also joined the Hungarian Army. Because of his political involvement an order of arrest was issued and this forced him to flee to Switzerland in January 1849.

³³² Ibid., p. 113.

³³³ Eibner, p. 51.

³³⁴ Religious Tract Society. A., Foreign Letter Book, June 30, 1848. Cited by Eibner, p. 52. n. 45. Cf. László Kardos, Jenő Szigeti, *Boldog emberek közössége: A magyarországi nazarénusok* (Budapest: Magvető, 1988). It is a good study of the persecution of Evangelical Nazarenes after the War.

³³⁵ Eibner, p. 52.

³³⁶ Carlyle, *Life and Work*, p.118.

7.3 The impact of the War upon the Mission and The Hardening of the Situation

The missionaries spent time during the war in Scotland, where to their great astonishment, they heard of a rumour about the closure of the Pest Mission.³³⁸ Intent on refuting such claims, they endeavoured to convince people that as soon as the door opened to them they would go back. Smith stayed in Frankfurt, Germany and Wingate was in Leghorn in March 1848. The Saphirs wrote them letters of the current situation and through them the Committee was informed of the events of the war.³³⁹ As soon as the war was over the missionaries went back to Pest. Upon his arrival, Smith made some observations regarding the means of Mission; the congregation, the school and colportage. The English services resumed though nearly all the British had left at the outbreak of the war.³⁴⁰ The second means of the Mission, its school, proved to be a success as in spite of the post war atmosphere. Parents sent their children in greater number than before, despite of the opposition the Jewish rabbi.³⁴¹ As we have seen the third means, colportage was booming since the political situation allowed space for such activity. The Mission's focus shifted primarily to the school and colportage after the war.³⁴²

Parallel to the slow regeneration of the Mission's work, the Protestant Churches began to feel the oppressive hand of the Catholic Habsburg after the defeat of the Hungarian Army in August 1849. Julius Haynau, the chief commander of the Habsburg army, issued an edict to regulate the life of the Protestant Churches on 10 February 1850.³⁴³ The edict imposed administrators on every level of ecclesiastical jurisdiction to control the previously autonomous Protestant Churches. Bauhofer, through Maria

³³⁷ William Wingate, 'Letter Rev. William Wingate to the Convener Pesth, June 3, 1848', *HFMRFCoFS*, 3. 20 (August 1848), 502-3 (p. 503).

³³⁸ Robert Smith, 'Letter Rev. Robert Smith to the Convener Edinburgh, September 26, 1848', *HFMRFCoFS*, 4. 22 (October 1848), 542-43 (p. 542). Even in the primary source is a contradiction. Carlyle, *Life and Work*, p. 119. There he quotes from Wingate's diary an entry for 24th April 1850 as a date of return whereas on p. 130 he writes that the missionaries 'returned early in 1849'. The former date is acceptable as the war was going in still in 1849.

³³⁹ An example is Philipp informing the committee about the progress of the school. Philipp Saphir, 'Letter Mr. Philipp Saphir to Rev. W. Wingate Pesth, November 24, 1848', *HFMRFCoFS*, 4. 3 (March 1849), p. 42.

³⁴⁰ William Wingate, 'Extract Letter from Mr. Wingate to the Convener Pest', *HFMRFCoFS*, 1850, 1. 3 (October 1850), 89-91. (p. 89).

³⁴¹ Robert Smith, 'Letter from Rev. Robert Smith to the Convener Pest, December 4, 1849', *HFMRFCoFS*, 4. 14 (February 1850), pp. 283-84. Cf. 'Report of the Committee on the Conversion of the Jews', *HFMRFCoFS* July 1850, 4. 19 (1850), p. 398. See also William Wingate, 'Extract Letter from Mr. Wingate to the Convener Pesth May 16, 1850', *HFMRFCoFS*, 1. 1 (August 1850), p. 19. Wingate informed the convener of the Committee that 'it fitted up as they were for 130 but it is impossible to continue these. We require at least twice the old place'.

³⁴² William Wingate, 'Extract Letter from Mr. Wingate to the Convener Pesth May 16, 1850', *HFMRFCoFS* 1. 1 (August 1850), p. 19.

Dorothea, had received confidential information about this plan to govern the churches. He and others protested against it with a support from Maria Dorothea but in vain.³⁴⁴ Smith observed that the churches were 'deprived of their self-government and spiritual freedom, which amidst a thousand persecutions, they had maintained for three centuries'.³⁴⁵ The whole ecclesiastical authority was vested in clerical administrators, who not only were appointed by the government, but also were solely made responsible for a church province and accountable to the military commander of the district.³⁴⁶ At the same time the Catholics enjoyed the favour of the Emperor to the detriment of Protestants. The Habsburgs suppressed the last remains of public liberty and threw 'the whole education of the country to the hands of the Jesuits' as Smith put it.³⁴⁷ The Mission lost the supports which enabled it to settle in Hungary; the Reform Party was eliminated, Protestants were regarded rebellious, Maria Dorothea was forced to live under control in Vienna, and finally Török and Székács had to take refuge in the countryside because of their involvement in the war.

7.4. The School and its survival

Owing to this political development the Mission began to feel the formidable and intimidating power of the Catholic dominated government. One of their teachers, Bojáky, was accused and taken to prison to be released after five days as no evidence could be raised against him. Wingate and Israel Saphir were also summoned to court and were interrogated.³⁴⁸ The pressure on them increased as a Roman Catholic inspector was appointed to supervise all public schools, including the schools of the Reformed Church.³⁴⁹ The school originated by Philip Saphir and supported by the Mission as well as the Archduchess was endangered. Since the status of the school was not clarified yet from a

³⁴³ Sándor Bíró, 'A szabadsághartól az első világháborúig (1848-1914)' in *A Magyar Református Egyház története*, ed. by Sándor Bíró and István Szilágyi reprint (Sárospatak: Sárospataki Református Kollégium Theológiai Akadémiája, 1995), p. 329.

³⁴⁴ János Csohány, *A magyarországi protestánsok abszolútizmuskori bécsi kormányzatok tükrében* (Budapest: A Magyar Református Egyház Zsinati Irodája, 1979), pp. 42, 52-55. See a copy of this protest articulated by G. Bauhofer entitled 'Address to her imperial Highness Maria Dorothea', in *History of the Protestant Church in Hungary*, Appendix IV. pp. 462-4.

³⁴⁵ Robert Smith, 'Letter from Rev. Robert Smith to the Convener Pest, February 27, 1850', *HFMRF CofS*, 4. 16 (April 1850), 311-12 (p. 312).

³⁴⁶ They were obliged to take an oath of official fidelity before the Commander-in-chief.

³⁴⁷ Smith Robert, 'A Personal Narrative of Ten Years' Mission in Hungary', *Sunday at Home*, 13.660 (1866), 810-812 (p. 810).

³⁴⁸ Haus- Hof- und StaatsArchiv Wien (StaW) Ministerratsprotokoll L. NO. 164. K.Z. 3486. MRZ. 4044. Cf. János Csohány, *A magyarországi protestánsok*, p. 56.

³⁴⁹ William Wingate, 'Extract Letter from Rev. Mr. Wingate to the Convener Pest', *HFMRF CofS*, 1.1 (August 1850), p. 19.

legal point of view, the Scots were especially afraid that it would be closed down. They anticipated that their work with its means would be terminated if the absolutist government wished to do so. To prevent the possibility of the government's claim that the school was a foreign initiative, it was offered to the Reformed congregation in Pest.³⁵⁰ In August 1851 Israel Saphir gave a full account writing a letter to the presbytery³⁵¹ of the Pest church.

My son, Robert [Phillip] opened a school in 1846 where Jewish pupils are educated in Christian religion. Two years ago my son died and then I took over to direct the education of the school together with three men of the Helvetic confession and three part time women teachers, and it became so successful, that at present there are more than 300 Protestants and Israelite boys and girls in the institute. My zeal for the Reformed Church made me propose to offer the school to the Reformed Church in a way that the Pest Reformed Church regards it as its own school and incorporate it into its system and offer protection to it.³⁵²

He went onto make a promise on the basis that if the school was accepted by the Pest Reformed Church, he would offer free education for all Reformed pupils and would not claim any financial help from the Pest Church. The offer was accepted and the Pest Reformed Church officially informed the appropriate authorities of the integration of the school into the institutional system of the Pest Széna-tér Reformed Church. Wingate regarded this move when he learned of it as 'a panacea for our ejection [expulsion]', which was to come.³⁵³ The deal provided a legal protection to the Mission School during the years of Habsburg pressure on Protestant religion. The decision made by Saphir and the Mission can be fully appreciated in the light of the fact that the Mission was expelled only half a year later after the donation of the school.

7.5. Expulsion of the Scottish Mission

In early January 1852 the missionaries were officially summoned to the head of police in Pest.³⁵⁴ He informed them of the imperial edict that forced the missionaries to leave the country within six days.³⁵⁵ They tried to protest and despatched a letter to ambassador,

³⁵⁰ Imre Palugyai junior, 'Pest lakosai. XII. in Budapest szabad királyi város leírása', in *Magyarország történeti, földirati és állami legújabb leírása* (Pest: Landerer-Heckenast, 1852), p. 139.

³⁵¹ The author uses the continental terms for describing the ecclesiastical Presbyterianism of the Hungarian Reformed church.

³⁵² Farkas, *A Pesti Református Egyház*, p. 127.

³⁵³ See Wingate's letter written on 10th February, 1852 in London cited by Carlyle, *Life and Work*, p. 168.

³⁵⁴ Smith Robert, 'A Personal Narrative of Ten Years' Mission in Hungary', *Sunday at Home*, 13. 660 (1866), 810-812 (p. 810).

³⁵⁵ 'Expulsion of Missionaries by the Austrian Government', *HFMRFCoFS*, 2.7. (February 1852), 235-6 (p. 235). Personal says ten days whereas the Jewish Mission report in 1852 mentions six.

Lord Westmoreland but it was in vain.³⁵⁶ The expulsion was more than a shock for the missionaries who had hastily to leave all their properties behind without any hope of compensation. They bid farewell to the two Hungarian pastors who had supported them for years, Török and Bauhofer, the latter gave Smith a manuscript on Hungarian Protestant Church History that he smuggled out of the country. Bauhofer's work was a valuable piece of historiography as no publication of this sort was permitted by the state for centuries.³⁵⁷ Upon their arrival in Britain, the missionaries resented the failure of Lord Westmoreland to deal with their case in Vienna.³⁵⁸ They subsequently made several inquiries and attended numerous audiences in London to seek justice but in vain. On one occasion Earl Granville said 'it was too bad that Lord Westmoreland had not instantly informed them of what Austria had done'.³⁵⁹ Their case was negotiated between the Free Church of Scotland and the Austrian government through the British government.³⁶⁰ They sent a Deputation to wait upon the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.³⁶¹ The answer they received was that the Austrian Government was determined not to allow proselytising and that there was no hope of the compensation for the loss of property.³⁶²

It is interesting how the key persons of the Mission reacted to the sudden closure of their activities. With uncovered embitterment Smith concluded, 'we had been brought thither by the hand of God, - we were driven thence by the malice of Satan'.³⁶³ This clearly depicts his Evangelical worldview that interpreted all events as the fight between the forces of God and Satan. Robert Candlish also blamed the evils of Popery for the expulsion.³⁶⁴ On the Hungarian side, the absence of the Mission created a vacuum. Török expressed his regret of the sudden expulsion of the missionaries saying, 'we suffer a great damage in losing those who furnished us solace in adversity. The support collapsed, relying on which

³⁵⁶ Smith Robert, 'A Personal Narrative of Ten Years' Mission in Hungary', *Sunday at Home*, 13. 660 (1866), 810-812 (p. 811).

³⁵⁷ Merle D'Aubigné, *Kálvin János az újkori szabadság egyik alapítója: Emlékbeszéd*, trans. by Ferenc Balogh, (Debrecen: Városi Nyomda, 1878), p. 6. Cf. Smith Robert, 'A Personal Narrative of Ten Years' Mission in Hungary', *Sunday at Home*, 13. 660 (1866), 810-812. (p. 811).

³⁵⁸ 'Correspondence Respecting the Expulsion of Messrs. Edwards, Wingate and Smith from the Austrian Domains', *Parliamentary Papers: Report and Accounts*, 15 (1852).

³⁵⁹ Carlyle, *Life and Work*, p. 164.

³⁶⁰ Cambridge University Library, *Parliamentary Papers: Reports and Accounts of 1852*, vol. LV, fol. 201

³⁶¹ George Browne, *History of the British and Foreign Bible Society from Its Institution in 1804 to the Close of Its Jubilee in 1854*, 2 vols (London: The Society's House, 1859), II, p. 450.

³⁶² 'Jewish Mission', *HFMRF CoJS*, 2. 11 (June 1852), 363-65 (p. 364).

³⁶³ Smith Robert, 'A Personal Narrative' p. 811.

³⁶⁴ William Wilson, *Memorials of Robert Candlish D. D.* (Edinburgh: Amad and Charles Black, 1880), pp. 471-2.

we felt satisfaction and security'.³⁶⁵ He also begged Duncan to 'consign our distressed affairs to the fidelity and guardianship of the Scottish Church'.³⁶⁶ However, Habsburg ruled out any possible advocacy of Hungarian Protestantism. Keith, the initiator of the Pest Mission, received a message from Maria Dorothea that she kept her promise alluding to fact that 'as long as it is my power I shall put myself between the mission and any danger'.³⁶⁷ By this time her influence was limited. Thus, by the expulsion years of vicissitudes began until the reestablishment of the Mission in 1857.

7.6. Mission without missionaries

After the Expulsion, the school became the only means of the former activities of the Mission. The second means of evangelism, the distribution of Bibles and tracts was prohibited in August 1852.³⁶⁸ It was only re-established in the mid 1860s during the resettlement of the Mission. Finally, the congregation experienced severe losses in number as the British departed from Hungary. The German-speaking Jewish converts were left alone. Sunday services at the 'British chapel' stopped. Yet the converts carried on the Evangelical cause since the tiny congregation met at Israel Saphir's and Isidor Zuckerkandl's houses as home churches.³⁶⁹ Despite the fact that the activities of the Mission had been banned, the seeds that the missionaries had sown took root and was strong enough to survive the pressure, and persecution of the neo-absolutist Catholic state. Even the conferences of Pest Protestant ministers survived. Moreover, Török, Székács and Bauhofer decided to publish a series of sermons to revive religious life.³⁷⁰ From 1852 till 1857 the Mission School was under the care of Saphir, Török and Bauhofer. It was only in 1857 when the Jewish Committee felt the general climate was more favourable to send Adrian van AnDEL, a Dutch person from the Netherlands, to Pest to help the aging Saphir to

³⁶⁵ New College Edinburgh, Manuscript John Duncan, Box 49.2.1., fol. 1-2; Cf. Lajos Komáromy, 'Emlékezéseim Török Pálra', *PEIL*, 27. 20. (1884), 632-8, (p. 637). Many years later a Hungarian student studying at New College found a letter written in Latin by Török to John Duncan. He felt that it was so important to preserve it that he assiduously copied and published it.

³⁶⁶ Edinburgh New College, Duncan, Box. 49.2.1.

³⁶⁷ Keith, *Origin*, p. 248.

³⁶⁸ William Wingate, 'Jewish Mission, Treatment of Colporteurs', *New Series HFMRF CofS*, 3. 2 (1 September 1852), p. 39.

³⁶⁹ Van AnDEL, 'Mission to the Jews, Statement by the Committee Pesh', *New Series HFMRF CofS*, 2.9 (1 April, 1858), 201-2 (p. 202). Zuckerkandl was a Jewish convert of the Mission and became a missionary in Rustschuk. He converted Eduard Weiss, another Jew. According to Anne-Marie Kool, Weiss was instrumental in exciting interest in the revival of foreign mission in Pozsony. Kool, p. 161. Carlyle, *Life of William Wingate*, p. 121. Cf. Kálvin téri Református Egyházközség Keresztelési anyakönyv 1845-1857 II. kötet. fol. 78.

³⁷⁰ Dr. Craig of Hamburg, 'Extract Letter from Rev. Dr. Craig of Hamburg to Rev. Robert Smith', *New Series HFMRF CofS*, 5. 4 (November 1854), p. 96.

run the school.³⁷¹ Van Andel's arrival inaugurates a new era in the history of the Scottish Mission and to some extent in that of the Pest Reformed Church, as we shall see in the following chapter.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that the decision to locate the Scottish Mission in Hungary was less the result of advanced planning, than of chance events that re-routed the Mission to Central Europe rather than Palestine as was originally intended. The missionaries, therefore, arrived in a society and culture that was completely unknown to them. The story of their initial settlement is one of rapid adaptation to a multi-cultural, multi-ethnic situation that was strange and full of challenges. Choices they made determined the future course of the Mission, and some of the issues with which it had to deal.

This was the case, for example, with their decision to opt for German as the language through which the Mission would operate. This was justified in regard of the Jewish community since at this time it was mainly German speaking. But it harnessed the Mission in three respects. Firstly, due to the fact that most Scottish missionaries did not speak German, it created the situation in which the Mission would become dependent on German-speaking Europeans, most of whom were of a Pietist persuasion. Secondly, it failed to recognise that the Hungarian Jewish commitment to assimilation would progressively lead the Jews to switch from German to the Hungarian language. As this change was taking place, the German-speaking Mission laid itself open to criticism from Hungarian Jews that it was pro-German and anti-Magyar. Thirdly, the choice of German meant that the Mission did not communicate in the primary language of the Hungarian Reformed Church, and would therefore experience a significant cultural gap from the Church in which it was hoping to stimulate an Evangelical revival.

These were problems for the future, however. In the period with which this chapter has been concerned, it is clear that the Mission owed its establishment more to local factors than to advanced planning on the part of the Jewish Committee in Edinburgh. The climate of political liberalism was tolerant of the establishment of a Scottish Mission, despite its having no precursor in Hungarian history. The presence of British workers in Pest gave it legitimacy in the eyes of the government as a chaplaincy for foreign workers. The support of Maria Dorothea proved invaluable, as did the friendly assistance of two leading, liberal-

³⁷¹ Farkas, *A Pesti Református Egyház*, p. 128. Cf. A. Moody Stuart, 'Mission to the Jews, Pesth', *New Series*

minded Pest Protestant ministers who introduced the missionaries to the Hungarian and the Lutheran Reformed churches and to the liberal-minded public in Pest.

It is equally clear that the first generation of Scottish missionaries were able to take advantage of the auspicious climate and established means of mission that proved durable in their capacity to survive throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century, and pre-First World War years of the twentieth: the congregation, the colportage network, and the school. The congregation embodied the principle that mission should be grounded in the life of a worshipping community. Colportage honoured the Evangelical principle that the priority of mission is to bring the Scriptures, containing the Word of God, to those who have no access to them. The school expressed the nineteenth century Scottish commitment to education, and was attractive to some Jews in their search for assimilation into Hungarian culture. Some Jews saw conversion to Christianity as a step toward assimilation, although it must be acknowledged, as the early missionaries themselves discovered, that many others wanted assimilation without Christianity, and it was from their ranks that the Mission was subject to growing Jewish criticism.

Thus, on the evidence of this initial period, it can be concluded that the Mission came into being through a combination of factors, and was sustained by an alliance of Evangelical, Pietist, liberal nationalist, and assimilationist concerns on the part of the Scots, the Archduchess, Hungarian Protestants and Hungarian Jews. That the Mission founders were able to cope with these circumstances is evidence of their adaptability. It is also to their credit that, when overtaken by the imposition of Neo-Absolutism that forced them to retreat temporarily from Pest, the work they had begun was kept alive through the efforts of the first Jewish converts and the ministers of the Protestant churches in Pest.

Chapter 3: The Resettlement and Development of the Mission during the Neo-Absolutist era and the First Years of Dualism: 1858-1870

Introduction

This chapter deals with the period of the Mission's history from its re-establishment under new missionary leadership in 1857/8, through the final years of Neo-absolutism that ended with the *Ausgleich* Agreement of 1867. The years of Neo-absolutism brought about major changes in the political and social life of Hungary, and these impacted the ecclesiastical-religious situation, and therefore the Mission's resettlement and development.

The chapter will begin with a review of the political context from the perspective of modernisation, educational changes initiated by the *Organisations Entwurf*, the increase of religious freedom through legal recognition of the right of individuals to change religion (conversion), and the Protestant Patent. In terms of the Hungarian Reformed Church, we will discuss the differences of theological position that emerged between the liberalism of the newly established Pest Theological Seminary and the confessional orthodoxy of Debrecen Reformed College. Attention will also be given to social-political and religious changes that took place within the Hungarian Jewish community, especially in Pest.

Within this context the development of the Scottish Mission will be analysed with particular attention to the institutions through which it operated. These, as indicated in the previous chapter, were originally the church, the colportage network, and the school. Whereas the first congregation that the Mission spawned was essentially for the British expatriate community in Pest, this new period of the Mission saw the creation of a German-speaking congregation that was intended, in the vision of the missionaries and the Edinburgh Committee, to model an Evangelical-Pietist congregation with a mission for Jewish evangelism as a witness to the Hungarian Reformed Church. For reasons that require careful elucidation, however, it will be argued that the German-speaking congregation, while providing an Evangelical-Pietist home for Jewish converts, also resulted in isolating the Mission from the Reformed Church.

Two new initiatives of the Mission will be discussed: the medical mission that was undertaken through the creation of Bethesda hospital; and the foundation of a bursary programme to enable Hungarian Reformed students to study for periods of time at New College, the theological college of the Free Church of Scotland, in Edinburgh. With these two new programmes, the Mission was able to extend its work in Pest, and to begin to

bridge the cultural gap that arose between the German-speaking congregation and the Reformed Church.

In terms of the Mission's theological orientation, the chapter will elucidate how the revival of the Evangelical-Pietist alliance that marked the first period of the Mission now led to a growing tension with the liberal Protestant theology that was predominant in Pest. It will show that through the emergence of the bursary programme, the Mission found a new ally in the Debrecen Theological College that identified itself with the confessional orthodoxy of historic Calvinism.

I. Political, Ecclesiastical and Social Context of the Mission

1. The political context

After the defeat in the Hungarian War of Independence (1848/49), the Hungarian government ceased to exist. Following the Habsburg suppression of the liberation struggle, the imperial government imposed a system of absolutist control over Hungary. This is known as Neo-absolutism which lasted from 1849 to 1867.¹ Hungary was governed under military law in the beginning and for a decade the Habsburgs tried to absorb the Hungarian Kingdom into the Empire (1849-59) and abolish all elements of its constitution. Under pressure from the old Hungarian aristocracy and as a consequence of Austria's conflict with France in 1859, when Lombardy was ceded from the Empire, certain concessions were made toward restoring Hungarian political life.² These began with the October Diploma of 1860 and the Patent of 1861 that re-instituted earlier constitutional orders and re-established the Hungarian Diet.³ Pressing for greater political autonomy, the Diet immediately engaged in a tug-of-war with the Austrian government, and in 1865 the Emperor withdrew the Patent and reinforced direct rule through the Vienna *Reichsrat*. This proved shortlived, however, when the Habsburgs suffered further international defeat, this time at the hands of the Prussians, at Königgratz in 1866. This led to the so-called

¹ György Szabad, 'Önkényuralmi kísérlet Magyarország beolvasztására az Osztrák Császárságba (1849-59)', in *Magyarország története* ed. by Zsigmond Pál Pach, Endre Kovács and László Katus, 2nd edn, 10 vols (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987), VI/1 pts 1: 437-476 (p. 459). Szabad stated that this Neo-absolutist system was so rigid that only five British citizens received permission to enter Hungary in 1854.

² Jean Bérenger, *A History of the Habsburg Empire*, trans. by C.A. Simpson (London and New York: Longman, 1997), p. 185.

³ György Szabad, 'Az önkényuralom válsága (1859-61)', in *Magyarország története* ed. by Zsigmond Pál Pach, Endre Kovács and László Katus, 2nd edn, 10 vols (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987), VI/1 pts 7: 639-694 (pp. 657-660).

*Ausgleich*⁴, or Compromise with the Hungarian aristocracy in 1867 that placed Hungary on a new constitutional basis of autonomy within the Empire, greater than anything she had known in the past three and a half centuries.⁵ This so-called ‘Era of Dualism’ lasted from 1867 to 1918, and saw the flourishing of Hungarian nationalism as a movement that permeated all aspects of Hungarian society.⁶

2. Two aspects of modernisation: educational and religious reforms

2.1. The Educational Reforms: Germanisation, or Magyarisation?

György Szabad points out that Baron József Eötvös, on becoming minister of Religion and Education of the first Hungarian government in April 1848 before the Hungarian War of Independence, intended to introduce a new education system but was opposed by the less progressive Reform Party politicians and the churches of Hungary. The possibility of a Hungarian-initiated nationwide public schooling system, however, was swept away, by the War of Independence. The new educational system was imposed by the Neo-absolutist regime, and like every other facet of public life, it was a *tabula rasa*, which the Vienna authorities tried to shape to their liking.

In October 1849 Minister Count Leo Thun from Vienna introduced a new educational system through the issue of *Organisations Entwurf*.⁷ This was part of a comprehensive reform that sought to standardise a modernisation programme, unifying the various educational systems that had previously been in place in different regions of the Empire.⁸ While positive aspects of this educational reform must be recognised – for it laid the foundations of the modern system of education in Hungary – its flaws lay, from the perspective of Hungarian nationalism in its policy of ‘Germanisation’.⁹ This policy used education to disseminate the cultural and political interest of the imperial government. The underlying difference of Eötvös’s initiative was that the driving force was the Hungarian

⁴ *Ausgleich* is the term denoting the compromise made between the Habsburg and the Hungarian ruling classes.

⁵ C. A. Macartney, *The Habsburg Empire 1790-1918* (London and Edinburgh: Morrison and Gibb Limited, 1968), pp. 551-552.

⁶ György Szabad, ‘A kiegyezés (1865-67)’, in *Magyarország története* ed. by Zsigmond Pál Pach, Endre Kovács and László Katus, 2nd edn, 10 vols (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987), VI/1: pts 9: pp. 731-764.

⁷ István Mészáros, *A magyar nevelés és iskolatörténet kronológiája 996-1996* (Budapest: Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó, 1996), p. 46.

⁸ György Szabad, ‘Önkényuralmi kísérlet Magyarország beolvasztására az Osztrák Császárságba (1849-59)’, *Magyarország története* ed. by Zsigmond Pál Pach, Endre Kovács and László Katus, 2nd edn, 10 vols (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987), VI/1 pts 1: 437-476 (pp. 468; 469-472).

⁹ *A Magyarhoni Protestáns Egyház története*, ed. by Mihály Zsilinszky (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1907), p. 746.

nationalism of the Reform Era (1825-1848) whereas the Neo-absolutism (1849-1867) was dominated by the imperial interest of Germanisation.

The *Entwurf* prescribed that, at secondary school level, the teaching of the German language was obligatory. In addition, learning certain subjects in German was first encouraged and then made compulsory; for example Latin and Greek texts had to be translated into German not Hungarian for the reading of the Classics. Szabad highlights that Germanisation was pushed with great vigour to the extent that the ability to teach in the German language became a condition of the teacher's employment.¹⁰ The *Entwurf* was particularly disadvantageous for the secondary and higher education system of the Reformed Church. What the churches begrudged most was state interference in their autonomy that had been granted by the laws of 1791. Protestant colleges¹¹ had to apply for permission to run their schools, and the Austrian authorities used this as leverage in forcing them to 'modernise' along imperial lines. For a while the largest Protestant College, in Debrecen, had to send its students to a Catholic secondary school to sit exams. This was particularly humiliating for the Reformed churches of Hungary and it is no wonder that they fiercely opposed the *Entwurf*.

2.2. The state laws regulating education and conversion: Magyarisation from 1867

After Thun was dismissed various concepts were at work in the early 1860s. However, it was not until the Compromise that education again became a major issue. From 1867 Baron Eötvös and his successors continued to press for a standardized state education system. Three issues, namely Magyarisation, modernisation and conversion regulated by the new laws, had an impact on the Scottish Mission, as will be explained. Magyarisation became the main driving force of Hungarian nationalism since the ruling Hungarian class knew that ethnic Hungarians had only a marginal majority in the Hungarian Kingdom. This had already been realised in the Reform Era and it has been pointed out that the Jews and German-speaking people of Hungary proved to be significant allies since they were willing to assimilate more than other nationalities.¹² As for the impact of Magyarisation in education, at the beginning of the Dualism, article 44 of the law of 1868 left the language

¹⁰ György Szabad, 'Oktatási reform és konzervatív tudatformálás', *Magyarország története* ed. by Zsigmond Pál Pach, Endre Kovács and László Katus, 2nd edn, 10 vols (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987), VI/1: 435-476, (pp. 469, 471).

¹¹ Traditionally, Hungarian Protestant colleges included all levels of education from elementary school through secondary school up to higher education.

¹² See: Chapter 1. Section. 2. Nationalism in the Reform Era (1825-1848), especially 2.2.4. Interaction between Magyarisation and Jewish conversion

of primary school education in the hands of the given religious community.¹³ Nonetheless, eleven years later the Hungarian government made the teaching of the Hungarian language obligatory in primary schools.¹⁴ In consequence teachers, who came from all parts of the Monarchy and Germany to reside in Hungary, were required to have their degrees assessed and acknowledged by the Hungarian government.

Article 38 modernising education made public schooling compulsory for children between 6-12 years of age. It also declared that parents were granted the right to send their children to the school of their choice. Modernisation also touched upon the sensitive issue of the maintenance of schools, governance, content of education and facilities. The law prescribed exact requirements of how schools must be equipped and furnished, and what should be taught. Protestants particularly resented this aspect of the article. Although the autonomy of their schools was left intact in comparison with the Roman Catholic Church they often lacked the financial resources to make the required innovations in several of their schools.¹⁵ This difficult situation was relieved when the government agreed to the principle of granting financial assistance to church schools on the basis of article 25 of the law of 1848.¹⁶

Concerning religion, the article 53 of the law of 1868 gave equal rights to all citizens irrespective of religious belief. Religious conversion was allowed for males over 18 years and during marriage. Single women were allowed to change their religion after the age of 18 years, or earlier if they were married. The procedure of conversion was that the person had to declare his or her intention before the parish priest or minister and two witnesses, and return 14 days later to the same clergyman to re-affirm the decision. Thereupon a certificate was issued by the appropriate cleric that was accepted by law. The new regulation was that 'reversal', a 'letter of consent' relating to the baptism of future children

¹³ Mészáros, *A magyar nevelés*, p. 55.

¹⁴ Károly Vörös, 'A művelődés kora', *Magyarország története a dualizmus első negyedszázadában (1867-1890)*, ed. by Zsigmond Pál Pach, Endre Kovács and László Katus, 2nd edn, 10 vols (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987), VI/2: *Magyarország története, 1395-1476* (p. 1400). Cf. Mészáros, *A magyar nevelés*, p. 60. Cf. Aron Moskovits, *Jewish Education in Hungary 1848-1948* (New York: Bloch Company, 1964), p.147. Moskovits says: According to the annual public school law of 1879, Act VII, the language of the instruction in all schools was to be Hungarian. By-laws determined the teaching of the Hungarian language in the schools.

¹⁵ *A Magyarhoni Protestáns Egyház története*, pp. 730-31. See also: Mihály Zsilinszky, *A magyar országgyűlések vallásügyi tárgyalásai a reformációtól kezdve* vols 4 (Budapest: Franklin Társulat, Hornyánszky, 1880-1897).

¹⁶ Mihály Bucsay, *A protestantizmus története Magyarországon 1521-1945*, trans. by Auer Kálmán, Ádámné Révész Gabriella (Budapest: Gondolat, 1985), p. 33.

of marriages was to be forbidden.¹⁷ The Roman Catholic Church, however, did not respect the law and continued to extract promises from newly wedded couples of mixed marriages to baptise all their children into the Catholic church. This behaviour caused a lot of resentment among Protestants. Although the new Hungarian government was nationalist it was open to liberalise religious adherence. Magyarisation, and modernisation of education and religious issues went hand in hand allowing more freedom for individuals of faith communities to change religious adherence. This was a new development especially when compared to the tight centralising control of the 1850s and early 1860s.

3. The life of Reformed Church under the Neo-absolutist State

3.1. The Protestant Patent

The edict of the 'Protestant Patent' of September 1859 was the last Habsburg attempt to control the Protestant Churches through a state supervision of the ecclesiastical structures.¹⁸ The promulgation of the Patent wiped out all that Hungarian Protestantism achieved throughout its 300 year struggle. The Reformed as well as the Lutheran Churches were under the strict supervision of government officials. Public church meetings were banned, the findings of presbyteries¹⁹ were to be presented for ratification to the state. Teachers and ministers had to acquire state permission to be appointed. Bishops had to be approved by the Emperor. Education was controlled by the state. The Reformed people fiercely resisted the interference of the state in the matters of Protestant faith. Mór Ballagi and Imre Révész, chief minister of Debrecen were the leading persons who led the resistance against the imperial will to introduce the Patent. Besides them, Török and Székács also played an important role in the protest against the Protestant Patent, and both were elected bishops in the same year as the Patent was withdrawn.²⁰ The Scottish missionary, Adrian van Aniel, who had resided in Pest since October 1857,²¹ also drew the

¹⁷ See Chapter 1. section 3.1. Emancipation of Protestantism: Antagonism between Catholics and Protestants.

¹⁸ See on the Protestant Patent: Friedrich Gottas, *Die Frage Der Protestanten in Ungarn Ära Des Neoabsolutism. Das Ungarische Protestantpatent Vom 1. September 1859* (München: R. Oldenbourg, 1965).

¹⁹ Kirk session in Scotland.

²⁰ Sándor Csekey, 'Az alapítás kora (1855-1870)' in *A Budapesti Református Theológiai Akadémia története 1855-1955*, ed. by Mihály Bucsay, and László Pap (Budapest: A Református egyetemes konvent sajtóosztálya, 1955), 7-37 (p. 21). See also: *A Magyarhoni Protestáns Egyház története*, p. 726. Török was installed in his office of bishop on 4 July 1860. Székács was elected bishop of the Lutheran Mining Church Province on 17 July 1860.

²¹ 'Report on the Conversion of the Jews to the General Assembly Appendix I' in *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May 20 1858* (Edinburgh: John Greig and son, 1858), 1-48 (p. 6).

attention of British Christians to this new outbreak of Habsburg tyranny.²² Through the aforementioned persons the western Protestant world was informed of the threat against freedom of religious practice in Hungary.²³ Scottish Evangelicals held a meeting in Glasgow on 26 January 1860 expressing support for Hungarian Protestants in their struggle for religious autonomy.²⁴ In Hungary, ministers, and even bishops were imprisoned, and large crowds protested against the Patent regardless of their religious adherence. A new national resistance developed. The sheer determination of Hungarian Protestants not to comply with the imperial orders forced the Emperor to withdraw the Patent in 1860.²⁵ The promulgation of the October Diploma that reduced imperial control and allowed more freedom for the churches. Nonetheless, it was only eight years later, in 1868, that the Protestant Churches finally obtained full scale equality and reciprocity with the Roman Catholic Church as a result of the *Ausgleich*.²⁶

3.2. Organizations of Pest Reformed Church: the Theological Seminary

The shift of the Hungarian capital from Pozsony to Pest symbolized the growing strength of Hungarian nation in opposition to the Habsburgs. The capital did not lose its political and economic significance despite of being under severe political pressure. Rather politicians dared to resist the Austrian centralising power. In ecclesiastical terms this was reflected in the efforts to unite Reformed and the Lutheran churches as a means of balancing effectively the Catholic hegemony in the Habsburg Empire. Liberal politicians and the Pest Protestants, especially Török and Székács supported this plan of uniting, and although it did not materialise, the Pest Protestant Theological Seminary²⁷ was established by both churches in 1855.²⁸ Their initial cooperation lasted until 1865 when a large proportion of Lutheran Slovaks opposed the Reformed dominance, regarding it as a form of Magyarisation. Although Török and Székács remained friends, the latter had to consider the policies of his church as a whole.

²² NLS Dep. 298.251. fol. 207. See also: RCJ of 1858, Appendix I, p. 6.

²³ Mór Ballagi, *Die Protestanten Frage in Ungarn Und Die Politik Oesterreichs. Von Einem Ungarischen Protestanten* (Hamburg: Hoffman u. Campe, 1860). See also: Kálmán Révész, *Révész, Imre munkái a Pátens korából* (Budapest: [n. pub.], 1900).

²⁴ La liberté Religieuse, 1860, pp. 95-95. cited by *A Magyarhoni Protestáns Egyház története*, p. 719.

²⁵ Imre Révész, *History of Hungarian Reformed Church*, trans. by Knight, George A. F. (Washington D. C.: The Hungarian Reformed Federation of America, 1956), p. 132.

²⁶ Mihály Bucsay, *A protestantizmus története*, p. 207.

²⁷ Its name was *Evanglisch-theologische Lehranstalt*. See: *A Magyarhoni Protestáns Egyház története*, p. 745. See also: Bucsay, *A protestantizmus története*, p. 207.

²⁸ Sándor Csekey, 'Az alapítás kora (1855-1870)', 7-37 (p. 20).

Pest was also emerging as the centre of ecclesiastical influence. Kecskemét, the former centre of the Danubian Church Province, began to lose its importance in favour of Pest. The foundation of the seminary accentuated the significant role of Pest subsequently leading to the slow decline of the one in Kecskemét. This ecclesiastical shift of power reached its climax with the election of Török as bishop in 1860, and the consequent relocation of bishopric see in Pest. The Church at Kálvin tér (Calvin Square), as well as the Danubian Church Province soon began to carve a prominent place next to the Transibiscan Church Province with its bishop's see in Debrecen that was the largest and by far the strongest among the five church provinces of the Reformed Church in Hungary which did not form a national body until 1881. Out of these centres of Reformed faith, Debrecen and Pest became the two major driving forces of theological influence during the nineteenth century.²⁹

3.3. Mission, spirituality and main theological trends in the 1850s and 1860s

Both Török and Székács belonged to the liberal minded church leaders who worked with the Scottish Mission from its outset. During the 1840s the fight for religious freedom as well as reviving the life of the Protestant Churches was a common concern for the liberal minded ministers, the Pietist Maria Dorothea and her chaplain, Bauhofer as well as for the Evangelical Scots. This informal alliance grew stronger due to external political pressure though maintaining theological differences between the people participating in the alliance. Owing to this situation, the main concerns of the leading churchmen were not primarily theological until the end of the 1850s. As soon as the political pressure eased, the differences in their understanding of Christian faith emerged. There were great differences of theological stance both within the former Pest allies, such as the Pietist Bauhofer and the liberal Székács, the Evangelical Scottish Mission and the liberal Ballagi as well as between Pest and Debrecen.

A key figure in the liberal Christian tradition in Pest was Mór Ballagi; the convert from Judaism, who was appointed professor at the Pest Theological Seminary in 1855. In comparison with Debrecen, Pest had an advantage since the only national Protestant paper;

²⁹ Bucsay, *A protestantizmus története*, pp. 216-217. There were five church provinces in contemporaneous Hungary each having a College including a Theological, Law and Humanities Faculty as well as teacher training Schools. These colleges were located at Debrecen, Nagyenyed (later Kolozsvár), Sárospatak, Pápa and (Buda)- Pest. The corresponding church provinces were Transibiscan, Transylvanian, Cistibiscan, Transdanubian, and Danubian. Besides the autonomy of one from the other, Hungarian Presbyterianism differed also from other European developments in its ecclesiastical structure having bishops and deans at the respective levels of church government; Church provinces and church districts.

PEIL (*Protestant Church and School Paper*) was established there and published from 1842 to 1848. Ballagi revitalized it in 1858 thus he had two influential instruments in his hands, the only national Protestant paper and theological education. First, he exerted his influence through publications in *PEIL*. Among many initiatives, he was one of the very first persons to support mission. Ballagi encouraged mission work as ‘the best thermometer of Christian religious life... we reckon that the time has come to do something to strengthen our inner church life’.³⁰ Mission work in Slavonia and Croatia as well as in the Banat counties had been undertaken since 1858, on a Reformed as well as Lutheran basis. In these mission initiatives Hungarian national interest played a role to varying degrees.³¹ Ballagi’s motivation stemmed from a liberal nationalist understanding of Christianity. Anne-Marie Kool, in her discussion of 19th century Hungarian views on mission, states that Ballagi’s position was ‘to share the love of Christ in the sense of spreading Hungarian [Protestant] culture and seeking the development and advancement of religious and moral life’.³² Kool highlighted that nationalist motivation was also shared by Imre Révész senior, the chief-minister of Debrecen, and Lajos Zsarnay, the bishop of the Cistibiscan Church Province.³³ To justify her argument she pointed out that they all supported Márton Czelder’s mission³⁴ to the Hungarians of Moldova-Wallachia back in 1861.³⁵ Ballagi’s liberal views about the nature of mission are best expressed in the pages of *PEIL*.

The second medium through which Ballagi made his voice heard was theological education. Under his influence the Theological Seminary adopted an increasingly liberal theological position by the late 1860s. To quote Csekey, ‘Owing to the influence of Hegel’s philosophy, and the critical approach of the new Tübingen school he [Ballagi] distanced himself from supranaturalism by denying the transcendence of God, revelation and the possibility of miracles’.³⁶ Ballagi viewed the church as one ‘which does not consist of dogmas, but which protects and does not restrict the freedom of conscience by building on the unity of high ethical standards’.³⁷ On the basis of such ethical humanism

³⁰ Mór Ballagi ‘Moldva és Oláhországi missio Czelder Márton nyilatkozatával’, *PEIL* 3. 45, (1860) pp. 1457-61.

³¹ See Anne-Marie Kool’s substantial discussions on the topic. Anne-Marie Kool, *God Moves in a Mysterious Way: the Hungarian Protestant Foreign Mission Movement 1756-1951* (Zoetermeer: Uitgeverij Boekencentrum B.V., 1993), p. 150. n. 415.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 150.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 119.

³⁴ On Czelder see: Kool, pp. 117-134. Czelder was one of the first missionaries to the Hungarian diaspora in Romania.

³⁵ Lajos Filó, ‘A protestáns diszpórák Moldva és Oláhországban’ *Sárospataki Füzetek*, 5. (1861), pp. 190-2.

³⁶ Sándor Csekey, ‘Az alapítás kora (1855-1870)’, 7-37. (p. 24).

³⁷ Imre Révész jun, *Révész Imre élete 1826-1881* (Debrecen: Debreceni Református Egyházközség presbitériuma, 1926), p. 159.

campaigning the advancement of a Christian society. To realise his aim, Ballagi gathered a group of like-minded liberal theologians around him in the Seminary. However, not all of them subscribed to his view. Some of the earliest staff who represented a confession orientated theology such as Lajos Filó left the Seminary. He strongly opposed Ballagi's denial of Christ's bodily resurrection.³⁸ With Ballagi's radical liberalism cracks began to appear in the aforementioned Pest alliance. The matters of difference came to the fore with the establishment of Protestant organisations such as the Apprenticeship Association and Protestant Orphanage. This will be explored more in relation to the Scottish Mission. After the political and ecclesiastical issues discussed, the social changes within the Jewish community will be studied.

4. Modernisation, Magyarization and the Jews during Neo-absolutism

The Viennese absolutist power endeavoured to melt Hungary into the German dominated system of the Empire not only through education but also by the help of industrial development. Pest's prominence increased during the Neo-absolutist period that saw the rapid modernisation of the country. The extension of the railway system radiating from the capital to all parts of the country gave a natural boost to industry and trade. People, amongst them many Jews, began to migrate from Germany, Switzerland, Austria, Moravia and Galicia to Pest with the result that it experienced a significant growth of population. Also various nationalities of within Hungary moved to Pest to find jobs and the capital was a great amalgamation of many different languages and ethnic groups, where the German-speaking people were the most dominant element. As most of the in-comers were employed in the new industries, a new social stratum appeared, that began to form an economic middle and working class.

The interplay of factors such as the struggle for political and religious freedom, the changing structure of society at large due to modernization and industrialization, and the educational reform of the Empire further encouraged the Jews to identify with Magyarization even during the period of Neo-absolutism. Although during Neo-absolutism the rapid industrialisation urged on by the Viennese central power allowed great economic prosperity for the leaders of the Hungarian Jews, they pinned their hopes for full emancipation on the liberal Hungarians rather than the feudal and bureaucratic Austrians.

³⁸ Lajos Filó, *A feltámadás és a spiritualizmus*, (Kecskemét: Nyomatott Szilády Károlynál, 1862), and *A keresztyén hit védelme Krisztus feltámadása kérdésében*, (Kecskemét: Nyomatott Szilády Károlynál 1863).

Consequently the economic and religious elite of the Jewish community in Pest fostered Magyarisation in stead of Germanisation within their own community even in the 1850s.

A second pro-Magyarisation factor was that not only were the Jewish elite interested in maintaining a strong alliance with leading liberal Hungarian noblemen but also a new and fast expanding layer of Jewish community, the middle classes. Social changes in the 1850s opened up an unparalleled opportunity for the Jews to move into the middle-class professions and the intelligentsia.³⁹ They contributed significantly to the formation of a modern middle class bourgeoisie, especially in Pest.⁴⁰

The third element, educational reforms, also fostered the voluntary Magyarization of the Jewry. In 1850 there were only fifty modern Jewish schools in Hungary, eight of which were located in Pest. Most of them offered only one or two years of elementary education and many of them were recent foundations. A positive change soon took place. The Jews had to pay a sum of 2,300,000 forints as reparations for their participation in the War of Independence of 1848/49. Nonetheless, they skilfully negotiated with the government that part of this sum should be applied to establishing a public school fund for the Hungarian Jews.⁴¹ The fund was created in 1856, and by 1858 the number of Jewish schools rose to 304.⁴² The modern public school system introduced by the Austrians among the Jews was also an attempt to undermine the Magyarisation of the Reform Era by promoting the welfare of Hungarian minorities including the Jews. Yet they 'achieved unexpected and ironic results', as Adler pointed out for, 'the imposition of educational secularism, which the public schools demanded, encouraged Jewish assimilation into Magyar society, and thereby strengthened the specific element which Vienna was striving to negate'.⁴³ After 1860, with a more accommodating regime in Vienna, the Jewish schools in Hungary began to offer the Magyar language, and thereby they became an effective instrument of Magyarization and modernization for the Hungarian Jews.⁴⁴

³⁹ William C. Jr. McCagg, *A History of the Habsburg Jews, 1670-1918* (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1989), p. 135. However, it is an exaggeration of overestimate the influence of Jewry which some scholars due to various reason did and neglecting, for instance, the role of German elements. See: Gábor Gyáni offering a meticulous and clear cut criticism of the shortcoming of Karády's analysis of the role of Jews in the aforementioned process. See Gábor Gyáni, review of *Zsidóság, Polgárosodás, Asszimiláció*, by Viktor Karády, *Budapesti Könyvszemle* (Budapest) 9, 3 (1997), pp. 266-76.

⁴⁰ McCagg, p. 135.

⁴¹ László Felkai, *Zsidó iskolázás Magyarországon (1780-1990)* (Budapest: Országos Pedagógia Könyvtár és Múzeum, [n.d.]), p. 28.

⁴² László Gonda, *A zsidóság Magyarországon 1526-1945* (Budapest: Századvég Kiadó, 1992), p. 94. n. 34.

⁴³ J. Philip Adler, 'Public Schooling for the Jews in Hungary', *Jewish Social Studies*, 36. 2 (April 1974), 118-133. (p.118).

⁴⁴ McCagg, p. 129.

The leading Reform Jews knew how advantageous it was to maintain cordial ties with the ruling Magyar classes, as they were to receive a free hand in the financial and industrial market of Hungary, almost without any significant competition from other ethnic groups. Béri-Lichtner clearly indicated that this was the main force pushing for Magyarisation was the Pest Jewish elite.⁴⁵ Also McCagg observed that 'after 1860, the Reform Jews, later to be called 'Neologs' aggressively sought to ingratiate themselves with the Magyar nobles, advancing along an anti-German path that contrasted with the German-speaking character of most of Hungary's Jews'.⁴⁶ The change of political climate resulting in the Compromise of 1867, proved beneficial not only for the Hungarian nation but also for the Jews. The Hungarian ruling class, as soon as they had the political power emancipated the Jews as a people, and gave them the same civic and political rights as the Magyars enjoyed in the Hungarian Kingdom, however, their religion, Judaism was not yet emancipated it was only a 'recognised religion' with less rights as the 'accepted religions'.⁴⁷

II. The Revitalisation of the Scottish Mission through the Congregation, Bethesda Hospital, Colportage, the School, and the Bursary Programme

Antecedents

By the late fifties, education at the Mission School, the *Lipótvárosi Református Iskola* [Leopold City Reformed School] was at low ebb. The school was officially incorporated into the Pest Reformed Church in 1851 so as to escape closure during the harsh years of Neo-absolutism.⁴⁸ During the mid 1850s rumours reached the ears of the Edinburgh Jewish Committee that the school, their only mission activity in Pest, was not running satisfactorily. The Committee thought it wise to make a closer enquiry. Therefore, they sent their missionary, A. Thomson, to visit Pest on his way from Edinburgh to Constantinople. He sent a report back in April 1856. It was so unfavourable that the

⁴⁵ János Béri-Lichtner, *Együttélés. A zsidóság szerepe Magyarország legújabbkori történetében 1790-1918* (Budapest: Argumentum, 1995), p. 33.

⁴⁶ McCagg, p. 137. The missionaries also observed it. See: Andrew Moody, 'A Hungarian Jew's Ideas About Judaism', *FCofSMR*, 5. 49 (1 August, 1866), pp. 11-12.

⁴⁷ János Gyurgyák, *A zsidókérdés Magyarországon* (Budapest: Osiris Kiadó, 2001), pp.61-62. He cited the statute of 17 of the 'Emancipation law of 1867.

⁴⁸ József Farkas, *A Pesti Református Egyház 101 éves története* (Kecskemét: A Budapesti Evangéliumi Reformált Egyház, 1898), p. 127. The location of the school was at Sétatér utca, Sellner house.

Committee felt that the cost of its continuance could no longer be justified, unless important improvements were made. Israel Saphir, under whose charge the school had been left when the missionaries were forced to abandon Pest, was too old to give active superintendence. Pál Török, the minister of Pest Reformed Church could no longer spare time to supervise the school more closely due to the increase of his other duties.⁴⁹ Faced with this lack of management, the Edinburgh Jewish Committee was 'forced, with utmost reluctance, to contemplate closing the school'.⁵⁰ Missionary Craig of Hamburg mentioned the name of a young Dutchman, Adrian van Anandel, to the Committee, as a possible way out of this dilemma. Being a layperson, van Anandel was not affected by the imperial ban against foreign missionaries and ordained ministers. The members of the Committee agreed to appoint him as the school director. Accordingly, van Anandel arrived in Pest in October 1857. By April 1858, he had sent his first reports to the Committee, confidently informing them of his success: 'attendance at the school is between 300-350' and 'even an adult class has been formed of the parents of the children [of the mission school]'.⁵¹

Adrian van Anandel had attended a school for the training of preachers. He was a talented speaker of various languages, and a '*prediger*', - lay preacher - with a burning passion for revival.⁵² His arrival meant a new beginning for the Scottish Mission in Pest. Besides his work as school director, he preached for the German speakers and taught English at the Theological Seminary between 1857-1860.⁵³ The neglected English language services were also reintroduced.⁵⁴ In addition to this the former conferences attended by Török and Székács were reinvigorated by the presence of van Anandel.⁵⁵ His arrival seemed to bring a promising new start for the Scottish Mission.

⁴⁹ RCJ of 1858, Appendix I, p. 5. See also: NLS Dep. 298.251. fol. 207.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁵¹ RCJ of 1858, Appendix I, pp. 6-7. Cf. Farkas, p. 129. He is mistaken to date van Anandel's arrival to 1859.

⁵² Gyula Forgács, 'A száz éves Skót Misszió', in *És lőn világosság. Ravasz László hatvanadik életéve és a dunamelléki püspökségének huszonadik évfordulója alkalmából* (Budapest: Klny, 1941), 412-429, (p. 425).

Forgács is mistaken as van Anandel became a minister. Initially he was not.

⁵³ 'Adattár' in *A Budapesti Református Theológiai Akadémia története 1855-1955*, ed. by Mihály Bucsay, and László Pap (Budapest: A Református egyetemes konvent sajtóosztálya, 1955), p. 199.

⁵⁴ 'Report on the Conversion of the Jews to the General Assembly 1861, Appendix IV' in *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May, 1861* (Edinburgh: Thomas Constable, 1861), 1-17 (p. 8).

⁵⁵ Richárd Bodoky, *Jövevények és vándorok. Polgári családtörténet. A Biberbauer Bodoky krónika*, 2 vols (Budapest: Dr. Bodoky Richardné, 1996), I, p. 201.

1. Prelude to the foundation of the German-speaking Reformed Affiliated Church

1.1. Theodor Biberauer and Adrian van AnDEL

During the winter of 1857/58, Adrian van AnDEL came to know Theodor Biberauer, a Pietist residing in Pest who came from a German-speaking Hungarian family.⁵⁶ The Biberauers had long established themselves in the western part of the country as citizens of Hungary. Theodor's father, Michael Biberauer was a Lutheran minister with Pietist tendencies and was proud of his very talented son. Theodor studied engineering and began to work for the South Eastern Railway Company in May 1849.⁵⁷ Due to his achievements he was appointed to Pest in August 1853. From this time on he was a Pest citizen. His life mirrors the process of modernization and industrialization of the future capital, Budapest, in which the German-speaking element played a significant part. Some years after his arrival in Pest he married a Scottish lady, Christian Erskine Stuart, in February 1857.⁵⁸ Both she and Theodor were devout Christians. Through his family relations Theodor, maintained strong ties with the Scottish people, and especially the Evangelicals associated with the Mission.

Bodoky, Theodor Biberauer's biographer, points out that Theodor was influenced by 'English revivalism, which was also nurtured by van AnDEL'.⁵⁹ They were to become close associates as events forged them together into an enduring Christian brotherhood. Both had strong ties with the Pietists of Germany, Switzerland and Austria-Hungary. Biberauer and van AnDEL were 'Wichern's most enthusiastic followers', he being one of the most important persons of *Innere Mission*.⁶⁰ Besides, Biberauer was also well informed on another home mission initiative, the work of Theodor Fliedner in Kaiserwerth.

⁵⁶ The Biberauers family had an extraordinary role in the home mission movement in the Hungarian Reformed Church, a fact that escaped the attention of many contemporary historians. Perhaps the most blatant example is the meticulous Zoványi seemed to have forgotten insert an entry on Theodor Biberauer in his standard work of Lexicon the Hungarian Church History.

⁵⁷ Bodoky, I, p. 119.

⁵⁸ Ibid., I, p. 179. Bodoky writes that John Erskine D. D. was her great-great grandfather on her father's mother side. Bodoky, I, pp. 173-180. and cited data from Sir Henry Moncrieff Wellwood, *Account of the Life and Writings of John Erskine D. D.* To draw an interesting parallel, pastor Török shortly after moving to Pest as a minister, married Rachel Allnuth, a Baptist Evangelical from Britain. Cf. Jenő Bányai, 'Hentontól Pest-Budáig', *Békehírnök*, 9. 10, 11, 12, 13-14 (1965), 4-5; 5; 6; 5. The name of Biberauer's wife was Christian [sic!]. Cf. Bodoky, II, p. 3.

⁵⁹ Hungarian sources often use the word 'English', quite incorrectly instead of 'British'.

⁶⁰ Bodoky, I, p. 196. On Wichern see: Michael Bauman, 'Wichern, Johann Hinrich' in *The Blackwell Dictionary of Evangelical Biography*, ed. by Donald M. Lewis (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1995), pp. 1184-5.

1.2. The emergence of Christian social responsibility: Pietist, or liberal leadership?

The very first home mission initiative of Theodor Biberauer was to set up an Association of Apprentices.⁶¹ For some time, he had been concerned about the declining morals of apprentices caused by the rapid urbanization and industrialisation of Pest.⁶² He proposed the foundation of a Lutheran Apprentice Association, originally named *Evangelischer Gesellen-Verein*,⁶³ with three aims: to strengthen Christian spirituality and morals; to enhance professional skills; to assist the socially disadvantaged and infirm members of the Association.⁶⁴ Biberauer was not alone in considering such initiatives but he was one of the main driving forces behind them.

After the Apprentices Association came into being, the next plan was to found an orphanage.⁶⁵ This idea was disseminated through many articles written by the Pietist Biberauer and was supported by Bauhofer.⁶⁶ They took the lead in forming a board made up of Lutherans and Reformed Christians who agreed on joint action to found the Evangelical⁶⁷ Orphan Care Association. Its opening ceremony in May 1859 was held at Szén-tér Lutheran Church,⁶⁸ with many people attending from various church backgrounds. To the Pietist Biberauer's surprise soon the liberal Mór Ballagi joined the

⁶¹ Antal Falvay, *A Budapesti Iparosképző Protestáns Egylet történetének vázlatja 1859-1898* (Budapest: (n. pub.), 1898). Biberauer held the crucial position of the secretary. In the Bodoky family archives as well as in the Archives of the Synod of the Hungarian Reformed Church, there is a copy of the permission of founding the Association signed by Protzman, the chief commissioner of the police in Pest. See: A Magyarországi Református Egyház Zsinati Levéltára, [Thereafter ZsL], 21.f.

⁶² About its purpose, life and activities see: *Első évi tudósítvány az Evangéliumi Legényegyletről, Pest 2 május 1860* (Pest: Wodianer F., 1860).

⁶³ Bodoky, I, p. 206. Certainly, the biographer, as the grandson of Theodor stresses his role, yet it is the case stand that Theodor Biberauer was one of the chief originators of such a movement.

⁶⁴ 'A budapesti protestáns mesterlegényegylet alapszabályai', *PEIL*, 2. 28 (1859), pp. 752-55. Bálint Kovács, *A Magyarországi Keresztény Ifjúsági Egyesület története 1883-1950* (Budapest: KIE Szeniorok Pógyor István Köre, 1997), p. 10. Bálint Kovács made an excellent observation that one finds the 1855 YMCA Paris statement word by word in the statutes of Apprentice Association indicating that Biberauer's familiarity with it.

⁶⁵ Tibor Fabiny, *Kincs a cserépedényben: Bauhofer György élete* (Budapest: Harmat Kiadó, 2000). He cited that Bauhofer wrote an article entitled 'Az Evangélikus Árvaházak' [About the Lutheran (Evangelical) Orphanages] in *Evangelisches Wochenblatt* in 1858.

⁶⁶ Theodor Biberauer, 'Das Lutherdenkmal', *Evangelisches Wochenblatt zur Erbauung und Belehrung für Kirche, Schule und Haus*, 2. 5 (28 January, 1858), Cited by Bodoky, I, p. 200. Page number is unfortunately not given; 3 G. Bauhofer [lelkész], Pfarrer, 'Das Pester Protestantische Waisenhaus: Die Wirklichkeit und Ein Traum [The Pest Protestant Orphanage: A Reality and a Vision]' *Evangelisches Wochenblatt*, 2. 46 and 47 (8, 25 November, 1858) Page is not given, cited by Bodoky, I, p. 223. Cf. Fabiny, *Kincs a cserépedényben*, p. 79.

⁶⁷ The term 'Evangelical' when translated from Hungarian use of the German word *evangelisch* into English can mean either Evangelical or Lutheran depending on the usage. This is often used interchangeably in the primary sources and can be very misleading if not applied properly. See discussions: Chapter 1. p. 12. n. 45.

⁶⁸ *A Magyarhoni Protestáns Egyház története*, p. 759. The first appeal was undersigned by Antal Meyer, Victor Hornyánszky, György Bauhofer, dr. Sándor Palló. Tivadar Biberauer, Adorján van Andel and János Scholtz. Cf. Gyula Forgács, *A belmisszió és cura pastorális kézikönyve*, Református Egyházi Könyvtár, 14 (Pápa: [n. pub.], 1925), p. 205. See also. Bodoky, I, p. 225.

association that was to maintain the orphanage.⁶⁹ By late summer, the association found a location and the staff began work. The official opening of the orphanage home was held on 20 August 1859.⁷⁰ There was great anticipation in the air as revivalists and liberals joined hand-in-hand in the same cause.

1.3. The First Conflict between Pietism-Evangelicalism and Liberalism

However, it was not long before the liberals of Protestant churches increasingly made their voice heard in the association. This group of people were the champions of Magyarization and their theological view was greatly influenced by rationalistic and philanthropic humanistic ideas. They wanted a new leadership to be elected, hoping ‘on the one hand to eliminate the religious extremes and the effects of foreign influence which are not in line with national interest, and on the other hand to base the whole work on firm financial grounds’.⁷¹ The charge against the Evangelicals was that van Andel introduced practices that ‘were in nature Catholic such as that the children had to pray on their knees though a good Protestant, especially if he is Hungarian, will not bow down even before God’.⁷² Under the leadership of van Andel and Biberauer each day ran as follows: there was worship in the morning, a Bible reading after lunch, and Bible exposition in the evening before the orphans went to bed. On Sunday they attended the ‘Sabbath School’ of the Scottish Mission.⁷³ All this was opposed by the liberals. The deepening division was probably worsened by van Andel who made no attempt to moderate or conceal his criticism of the liberals.

By February 1860, the liberals managed to take full control of the orphanage. Ballagi forbade the children to read their Bible.⁷⁴ Biberauer and the Pietist-Evangelical founders were ousted from the leadership, Bauhofer being the only founding-figure who remained on the newly elected board.⁷⁵ The frustration of Biberauer and van Andel was immense. They were convinced that in future they would have to start their new initiatives

⁶⁹ Bodoky, I, p. 226. See a short biography on Ballagi there.

⁷⁰ B., ‘Pesti Evangélikus árvaház’, *Protestáns Egyházi és Iskolai Lap*, [Thereafter *PEIL*], 2. 35 (1859), p. 930. Fabiny, *Kincs a cserépedényben*, p. 80. See also: *Die Einweihungsfeier der Evang. Waisenanstalt in Pest – In Commission bei Carl Osterlam*, p. 859. Cited by Bodoky, I, pp. 227. n. 190.

⁷¹ Bodoky, I, p. 234.

⁷² *Ibid.*, Cf. Smith Robert, ‘A Personal Narrative of Ten Years’ Mission in Hungary’, *Sunday at Home*, 13. 659 (1866), 794-96 (p. 795). The Scots seemed to have a habit of praying with knees bowed down.

⁷³ Fabiny, *Kincs a cserépedényben*, pp. 81-2.

⁷⁴ Mihály Bucsay, 125 Jahre Deutschsprachige Reformierte Gemeinde in Budapest (1859-1984), *Kirche Im Osten*, 28 (1985), 16-25 (p. 19). Cf. Bodoky Richárd, *Anyae gyházi diakónia az egyházban* (Budapest: [n. pub.], 1942), p. 210.

⁷⁵ Fabiny, *Kincs a cserépedényben*, p. 82.

independently in order to eliminate the likelihood of liberals interfering in their affairs. Some years later, Biberauer reminisced as follows:

Between 1857 and 1860 (in Pest and Buda) there were some committed Christians who belonged to different confessions [denominations] and were prepared to work together to reach out to the needy with Christian love. They [...] founded the Protestant Orphanage Association, which belonged to two different [Protestant] confessions. Soon after the admittance of the first six orphans, the new members, who until that time were not connected to the Association, forced the founding leaders of the Association out of the leadership. Their friends from abroad advised that they should form a separate congregation of those who firmly confess to be committed Christians. By so doing this would enable us to assure the development of institutions to be founded [in the future].⁷⁶

It is evident that the defeat of the Pietist-Evangelical initiative raised the fundamental question of their relation to the Protestant Churches. Bodoky claims, having probably Biberauer in mind, that their aim was to renew the church from within just like the Kornthal community in Germany,⁷⁷ where committed believers had formed a congregation within the traditional church without wanting or being forced to separate from it.⁷⁸

2. The foundation of the Mission's German-speaking congregation

Biberauer and van Andel thought that the foundation of a congregation with the aim of carrying out diaconal work on a biblical basis was an indispensable step.⁷⁹ Soon after their first defeat over the Protestant Orphanage Home at the General Assembly of the Association in October 1859, they, together with some like minded people, submitted a petition to the presbytery of Pest Reformed Church to allow the establishment of a new congregation. They received the answer that the Széna-tér Reformed Church and school

⁷⁶ Mihály Bucsay, '125 Jahre Deutschsprachige Reformierte Gemeinde in Budapest (1859-1984)', p. 19. Cf. Bodoky, I, p. 236. n. 200. See also: Biberauer Richárd, *Tan és élet a múlt századbeli Református Egyházban*. Kézirat. Bp. 1932. Bucsay must have known the latter manuscript. See: Bucsay, *125 Jahre*, p. 18.

⁷⁷ Bodoky, I, p. 225.

⁷⁸ However, there is one single source which indicates that some Baptists such as János Rottmayer and Antal Hornung also joined the congregation in the hope of 'establishing free churches on the models they saw in Germany'. From the course of later events one may infer that this concept was marginalized since they did not represent the voice of the majority. Hornung became an elder of the presbytery of the congregation and Rottmayer was sent to Kolozsvár as a colporteur shortly after the legal recognition of the congregation. See: Baptista Országos Levéltár, *Die Autobiographie*, (Meyer Henrik önéletrajza 1842-1919), Manuscript trans. by Gyula Fejér, fol. 42.

⁷⁹ Ábrahám Kovács, *The Early History of the German-Speaking Reformed Affiliated Church in Budapest (1858-1868)* (Budapest: forthcoming, 2003). Kool, p. 112. n. 237. Cf. Bodoky Richárd, *Anyae gyházi diakónia az egyházban* (Budapest: [n. pub.], 1942), p. 212.

could be used for the purpose of German language worship and for religious education, and that the status of an 'affiliated church' was open for discussion.⁸⁰

Things appeared to go smoothly. Van Anandel preached to the German-speaking Swiss, Germans, Austrians and Jews of Pest who attended the services and became future members of the congregation.⁸¹ However, he was not pleased with the new congregation being placed under the legal protection of the Pest Széna-tér Reformed Church. He sent letters to Berlin, Kaiserwerth, Edinburgh and Stuttgart complaining against this state of affairs, arguing that the congregation should be entirely separate, based on the Evangelical and Pietist understanding of faith.⁸² To achieve this, van Anandel and Biberauer wanted to have their own presbytery and the free choice of a pastor of their liking. In other words, they wanted to be legally free from the Széna-tér Pest Reformed Church.⁸³

Members of their congregation looked to the West to procure funds and raise interest.⁸⁴ Van Anandel produced a memorandum for German and Swiss Protestants describing the situation of the nascent congregation, its role and financial situation, and making various allegations about them being prevented from practicing 'Evangelical-Pietist religion'. According to Áron Kiss these complaints were malicious and far from the truth. However, the Edinburgh Jewish Committee, which had also been informed of the plan, believed van Anandel's assertions even though they were refuted by Lajos Filó, who was in Scotland to procure funds for the Theological Seminary. He flatly disagreed with van Anandel's charge that 'Török intended to dissolve Van Anandel's "*Gebethversammlung*" by way of the Austrian authorities.⁸⁵

Despite his anger at van Anandel's memorandum, Török continued negotiations regarding the possibility of forming a separate congregation. On 6 January 1861, the presbytery of the Széna-tér Reformed Church put forward a suggestion regarding the relationship between the new congregation and the mother church, that envisaged the new congregation as an 'affiliated church' with significant autonomy. In return it was expected

⁸⁰ Biberauer-Bodoky Collection. Letter cited by Bodoky, I, p. 236. n. 199. Cf. Farkas, p. 162. He mentioned 42 members.

⁸¹ Farkas, p. 162.

⁸² Bodoky, I, p. 236.

⁸³ To see that the question of whether to establish a church independently of the Széna tér Reformed Church, or entirely independently of any ecclesiastical structure was in the mould. Baptist archival sources indicate that some leaders of the early very tiny Baptist community also joined this initiative. For further discussion see Ábrahám Kovács, *The origin and early History of the German-speaking Reformed Affiliated Church in Budapest (1859-1869)* (Budapest: forthcoming, 2003).

⁸⁴ Farkas, p. 168.

⁸⁵ Áron Kiss, *Török Pál élete* (The Life of Pál Török), ed. by Szóts Farkas, A Magyar Irodalmi Társaság Kiadványai, 18 (Budapest: Hornyánszky Viktor Cs. és Kir. udv. könyvnyomdája, 1904), p. 199.

that they would make up the subsequent loss of income to the minister.⁸⁶ In accepting this proposal, the congregation made clear that they intended to build their own church, but in the meantime wished to continue using the building of the Széna-tér Reformed Church for their services.⁸⁷

Several elements complicated the process of bringing the new church into existence between 1861 and 1864. The German-speaking congregation, which was being formed, was too small to maintain itself financially. The requirements needed to secure the approval of the City Council also delayed the whole process.⁸⁸ The conflict between van Andel and Török complicated the broader tension between the liberals and the Evangelical – Pietist ‘alliance’ in relation to the Protestant Orphanage Association. Nor was the Neo-absolutist political climate favourable to such an initiative when it was first proposed. Eventually, the legal status of the German-speaking congregation was settled with the efficacious help of the Edinburgh Jewish Committee, though van Andel’s tactless conduct of the issues was almost too much for both the Scottish Mission and the Pest Reformed Church.⁸⁹

2.1. The Core of the Conflict: Adrian van Andel’s encounter with Pál Török

Serious complaints were raised against van Andel in Pest while the congregation was being formed. Farkas says some of these were personal since van Andel ‘had made enemies among the Lutherans’.⁹⁰ Viktor Hornyánszky, an owner of the largest Protestant publishing company was certainly one of them as Bodoky pointed out.⁹¹ More relevant to the concerns of this thesis, however, was the conflict of power between Török and van Andel since both were related to the establishment of the Scottish Mission, the former as its main and sole patron in Hungary, the latter as its leading missionary on the ground. The Hungarian sources only allude to this problem whereas the Scottish archival sources show what actually happened.

⁸⁶ Farkas, pp. 162-3.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ Bodoky, II, p. 12.

⁸⁹ Farkas, p. 164. Farkas wrote that it took one and a half years to be officially recognized. The session of the German-speaking congregation apparently had a meeting on 6 January, 1863 and proceeded to apply for recognition as an ‘affiliated church’. However, this date is incorrect. The Hungarian sources need to be amplified and correctives need to be drawn on the basis of information gathered from the Scottish archives. The date must have been a year later, that is in 1864. See Appendix II.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ Bodoky, II, p. 8. Bodoky wrote that Hornyánszky could not accept that Biberauer, who was Lutheran, was busy at establishing a Reformed congregation. However, the main underlying difference was their different theological views since Hornyánszky rejected Biberauer’s Pietism.

Van Anandel, it will be recalled, was not ordained when the Jewish Committee of the Free Church appointed him as their representative in Pest. Indeed, the fact that he was not an ordained missionary but a lay teacher made his appointment possible due to the legal prohibition of missionary activity in force in Hungary at that time. In view of the new situation in which van Anandel was giving leadership to the nascent German-speaking congregation, he understandably wanted to be ordained and turned to the Jewish Committee to help him. The Committee initially turned down his request which they deemed inexpedient,⁹² but he repeatedly applied to them for help in 1860, even suggesting that the Hungarian Reformed Church could ordain him.⁹³ The Scots did not think it necessary that van Anandel should be ordained since they had appointed him only as director of the school. Their main concern was the efficient running of the school and the maintenance of good relations with superintendent Török. Finally, the Committee consented to support his ordination in September 1860 and began to process his application on behalf of van Anandel through the ecclesiastical system of their church.⁹⁴ To their astonishment, however, van Anandel took an alternative route and, without their knowledge, was ordained at a meeting of the Evangelical Alliance in Nottingham in November.⁹⁵ The Free Church of Scotland procedure of ordination would have last at least a year and it appears such a time frame exceeded van Anandel's patience. While his unapproved ordination was in part a trait of character, it may also have been prompted by his desire to assert his independence as quickly as possible from Török, legally his superior and establish his new church.

The Committee do not seem to have understood the seriousness of the tension in Pest nor were they well informed about the previous conflict between liberals and the Evangelical-Pietist circle. Furthermore they failed to realise the real motivation behind van Anandel's hasty ordination. In April 1862, Török complained to the Committee of 'the irregularities committed by Mr. van Anandel in ecclesiastical matters, pointing out the dangerous consequences which these would have upon the school, and the risk that the matter would now be brought formally before the authorities and *urged the removal of Mr. van Anandel* [italics added]'.⁹⁶ The Committee decided to send a deputation consisting of

⁹² NLS Dep. 298. 251. fol. 222. Minutes of 16 November 1858.

⁹³ NLS Dep. 298. 251. fol. 270. Minutes of 21 February 1860.

⁹⁴ 'The Principal Acts of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland Convened at Edinburgh, May 1865', Acts of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland 1864-68, (Edinburgh: John Greig and Son, 1865), pp. 93-4. See also: NLS Dep. 298. 251. fol. 302. Minutes of 18 September 1860.

⁹⁵ NLS Dep. 298. 251. fol. 306. Minutes of 20 November 1860.

⁹⁶ NLS Dep. 298. 251. fol. 367. Minutes of 13 May 1862. Letter of Török of date 19 April 1862.

local inquiry during the summer of 1862. In October, on receiving the deputation's report and interviewing van Andel in Edinburgh, the Committee resolved not to remove van Andel because of the 'welfare of the school', and tried to assure Török that van Andel's 'matter was still under consideration'.⁹⁷ The Committee then requested 'an official statement of the position which is occupied by the School at Pesth in relation to Mr. Török's congregation and the law of the land'.⁹⁸

It is extraordinary that the Committee did not already possess this information. According to Hungarian ecclesiastical law Török, in his capacity as the minister of the church, was the head of the school board because Israel Saphir had donated the 'mission' school to Pest Reformed Church in 1851. This had been done in order to secure a legal position for the school shortly before the expulsion of the Scottish missionaries.⁹⁹ As the head of the school board, Török was van Andel's superior in all matters regarding the school and the legal responsibility rested on his shoulder despite that he gave a free hand to the Scottish missionaries to run the school as they wished; as the pastor of the Széna tér Reformed Church he was van Andel's senior minister; as being superintendent of the Danubian Church Province, he was van Andel's superior in ecclesiastical matters. Apparently van Andel was in all aspects of ecclesiastical structure under the supervision of Török even if he had never really needed to exercise it until the conflict.

Furthermore, whatever van Andel's motives were, he was mistaken in the belief that he could be a minister in a newly founded Reformed parish in Pest, independently of Török. Wherever he obtained ordination, his licence to preach had to be approved by the appropriate Hungarian ecclesiastical body and he could only exercise his ordination through his relationship with Török's church as the only Reformed church in Pest at the time. It is clear, therefore, that he had no option but to conform to the routine of the former ordained missionaries and serve in the capacity of assistant minister to Török.¹⁰⁰

By winter 1862 realising that the Committee was reluctant to remove van Andel even after the Deputation's visit, Török took the initiative to marginalize van Andel. A

⁹⁷ NLS Dep. 298. 251. fol. 395. Minutes of 21 October 1862.

⁹⁸ NLS Dep. 298.251. fols. 403-4. Minutes of 20 January 1863.

⁹⁹ Letter from Israel Saphir to the session of Pest Reformed Church dated of August 1851. Cited by Farkas, p. 127.

¹⁰⁰ Ábrahám Kovács, *The Origin of the Scottish-Hungarian Church Relations: The Settlement and the First Years of the Scottish Mission in the 1840s*, ed. by Béla L. Baráth and József Barcza, D. Dr. Harsányi András Alapítvány Kiadványai IV (Debrecen: Debreceni Református Kollégium Nyomdája, 2001), p. 16.

certain missionary named Hefter¹⁰¹ had arrived in the city, supported by the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews [otherwise known as the London Jewish Society afterwards LJS]. Török persuaded the German-speaking congregation to elect Hefter as his assistant in early 1863, and thereafter treated van Anandel only as director of the school.¹⁰² This succeeded, as was intended, in frustrating the plans of van Anandel and Biberauer. The latter complained that Hefter came as ‘a self-appointed preacher’.¹⁰³ Many years later he recalled the events of that time as follows:

The relationship of the congregation with the Scottish Church [that is, the Mission] became dubious... ..and for half a year I stood alone and was misunderstood.¹⁰⁴

The archival evidence makes clear that Biberauer fought for the removal of Hefter from the ‘vicariate’ of the new congregation. In a letter to the Jewish Committee in January 1863, Biberauer and van Anandel suggested that Rudolph Koenig, a missionary in Constantinople should come to Pest and replace Hefter.¹⁰⁵ The Committee accepted the suggestion and decided to send Koenig to Pest. This development further complicated the dilemma in which the Jewish Committee found itself. On the one hand, the Committee was unhappy with the fact that Hefter was the missionary of the LJS working with the church that their Mission was affiliated to in Pest, yet on the other, they felt compelled to act against the decision already made by Török. In trying to solve the problem the Committee first negotiated with the LJS, each undertaking to respect the other’s missionary operation and to avoid interference in each other’s work. In accordance with this agreement the LJS withdrew Hefter, but the Edinburgh Committee was left to explain this decision to Török himself, and in so doing it was impossible to avoid the fact that they had encroached on his authority.¹⁰⁶ To compensate for this error, the convener, Moody Stuart proposed ‘presenting the Rev. Pastor Török with some acknowledgment of his invaluable services as Superintendent of the School at Pesth especially at the time of the Expulsion of our

¹⁰¹ Hefter, was a missionary of ‘London Jewish Society’ but there is no allusion to the fact whether he was ordained at all.

¹⁰² ‘After eight months Hefter said farewell to the congregation in August’, Farkas, p. 165.

¹⁰³ Bodoky, II, p. 23.

¹⁰⁴ Biberauer-Bodoky Collection. Theodor Biberauer’s letter to Miss Mackichan December 1, 1871. Cf. Bodoky, II, p. 24. n. 13.

¹⁰⁵ NLS, Deposit 298.251, fol. 403. Minutes of 20 January 1863. It is the first occasion when Biberauer is mentioned in the Minutes and after that his name appears frequently while negotiating with the Scots regarding the foundation of the German-speaking church. Biberauer wrote two letters dated of 7th and 15th January, van Anandel wrote one also dated 10th January. It is the 20th January when Koenig’s name appears in relation to Pest in the Minutes.

¹⁰⁶ NLS, Dep. 298.251, fol. 410. Minutes of 28 April 1863.

missionaries'.¹⁰⁷ It was a rather unusual step but the Committee transferred '£50 as a very inadequate but cordial recognition of his services'. By this 'gesture' and the changes they facilitated they prepared the way for the new missionary, Rudolph Koenig.¹⁰⁸

2.2. The arrival of the new missionary, Rudolph Koenig

By May 1863, therefore, there were three pastors in Pest connected to Jewish mission: van Anandel, the Dutch-born 'Scottish' missionary still employed as the director of the Mission School; Hefter, a Jewish missionary of the London Society, trying to remain in Pest by any means; and the newly appointed Prussian-born 'Scottish' missionary, Rudolf Koenig.¹⁰⁹ Koenig immediately took over responsibility for the German-speaking congregation to the great relief of the Committee which expressed satisfaction that 'there is finally a Free Church of Scotland missionary in Pest'.¹¹⁰ This statement is puzzling as van Anandel remained in their employ. Koenig was no more Scottish than van Anandel, but a Prussian of aristocratic connections that later proved advantageous to the Pest mission. Having served as an assistant chaplain of the Prussian Ambassador in Constantinople, he joined the Free Church Jewish Mission in 1845.¹¹¹ The Edinburgh Jewish Committee appointed him to be the head of the Scottish Mission working together with Alexander Tomory, one of the earliest converts of the Pest mission.¹¹² He had also collaborated with other mission societies, including the Kaiserwerth establishment.

Eventually, Hefter, after much reluctance, left Pest in August 1863.¹¹³ Soon after his departure van Anandel was instructed by the Edinburgh Committee that he could remain in Hungary for three further months, to visit different regions of the country.¹¹⁴ When this time elapsed, van Anandel was transferred to Prague as a missionary to the Jews. In the meantime the Committee tried to find a substitute for the directorship of the school. In general, the Committee members were open to employ anybody regardless nationality and

¹⁰⁷ NLS, Dep. 298.251, fol. 415. Minutes of 19 May 1863.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ NLS Dep. 298. 251. fol. 406. Minutes of 16 March 1863 Cf. Bodoky, II, p. 25. Bodoky's date 1862 is wrong. Corrective done on the basis of the former.

¹¹⁰ Rudolph Koenig, 'Work among the Jews at Pesh. Letter from Rev. Mr. Koenig', *New Series, FCofSMR*, 2, 22 (2 May, 1864), 512-4 (p. 513). Cf. NLS, Dep. 298.251, fol. 437. Minutes of 20 October 1863.

¹¹¹ On his life see: Biberauer-Bodoky Collection. Pastor Rudolf Koenig Offprint of the 'Ev. Ref. Blatter' Prague, June 1895. Cited by Bodoky, II, p. 25. n. 15. See also: C. A. Schönberger, 'Rev. Rudolph Koenig', *FCofSMR* (December 1894), p. 289.

¹¹² Chapter 2. Section 3.4. The first Jewish converts: Alfred Edersheim and Philipp Saphir

¹¹³ Biberauer-Bodoky Collection. Theodor's letter to Hermine dated of 6 July, 1863 Bodoky, II, p. 35. n. 24. Here, Bodoky is mistaken again as it was not the Scottish Jewish Mission Committee to withdraw him but the London one. Even his primary source, Biberauer is wrong.

¹¹⁴ NLS Dep. 298. 251. fol. 437. Minutes of 20 October 1863.

denominational background providing he adhered to Evangelicalism, but their patriotic sentiment was evident in their wish to appoint a Scottish missionary as the head of the school in succession to van An del. During this transition period in the autumn, the issues of the selection of a new missionary, and the future status of the German-speaking congregation ran parallel to one another and produced a new arrangement: two missionaries were to be employed, one for the management of the Mission School, the other to be associated with the congregation, its activities and colportage work.

2.3. The final arrangement and foundation of the German-speaking Reformed Affiliated Church

The autumn of 1863 brought a constructive resolution of the former problems. The Committee tried to consolidate their mission work in Pest and had an interest in arranging the status of the congregation because they hoped that the new Jewish converts would find a good spiritual home in the church. For this end, they were willing to co-operate with the congregation.¹¹⁵ On 12 October Biberauer, as the chairman of the Delegated Church Committee of the German Reformed Affiliated Congregation, wrote a letter to the Jewish Committee that included the draft of an agreement that was to form the basis of the final negotiations between the German-speaking congregation, the Edinburgh Jewish Committee and the Pest Reformed Church. The Edinburgh Committee considered the proposal put forward by Biberauer. The congregation asked the Committee to allow Koenig to work as their minister. After some time of negotiation they came to an agreement which was intimated to the presbytery of the affiliated church on 3 December 1863. Ten days later, after the Sunday service Török introduced Koenig to the congregation as his 'vicar'.¹¹⁶ The agreement also stated that Koenig was to be furnished with the laws and regulations of the Church relative to his functions; the presbytery of the new congregation was to allow the missionaries to use their place of worship for missionary purposes when it was not being used for their services, and the congregation would pay only half of the rent for the place of worship, the other half to be paid by the Scots in recognition of the congregation's intention to be active in Jewish mission.¹¹⁷

The German-speaking congregation also needed to make an arrangement separately with Pest Reformed Church. The statutory meeting of the German-speaking Reformed

¹¹⁵ NLS Dep. 298. 251. fol. 442. Minutes of 17 November 1863.

¹¹⁶ NLS Dep. 298. 252. fol. 4. Minutes of 19 January 1864.

¹¹⁷ NLS Dep. 298. 252. fols. 3-5. Minutes of 19 January 1864.

Affiliated Congregation was held on 2 February with Török presiding, Ballagi representing the presbytery of the Pest mother church, and Biberauer as keeper of minutes.¹¹⁸ This was an extraordinary moment as the former opponents, Ballagi and Biberauer were forced to sit down together. It was proposed and agreed that the mother church should recognise the German-speaking congregation as an affiliated church with its own independent presbytery on the condition that the convener of the presbytery was the current pastor of *Széna-tér*, and that the affiliated church would pay a church tax on a regular basis. The agreement also stated that the affiliated church would elect its pastor independently but the appointee would be subordinate to the *Széna-tér* pastor.¹¹⁹ This person was Koenig, mutually accepted by all three parties. Knowing the feeble financial state of the congregation Koenig offered his willingness to preach in German to the German-speaking congregation without remuneration. This, in fact, meant that the congregation did not need to pay a proper salary to Koenig since he was maintained by the Jewish Committee. Undoubtedly, it was a very favourable agreement for the congregation. The Scottish Mission thus offered decisive help to the congregation, enabling it to come into existence despite its lack of financial security. Furthermore, the Mission let the congregation use the great hall of the school for public worship since the congregation was not able to start building its own church for years to come. In this manner, the congregation became an integral part of the Scottish Mission, while being officially affiliated to the Pest Reformed Church.

In May 1864, Koenig reported that ‘the arrangements which we have been aiming at for the permanence and consolidation of our work in Pesth are now happily completed. By means of a union between our mission and the pastorate of the German Reformed congregation, we have secured a basis for our operations, by which their undisturbed continuance is legally secured’.¹²⁰ That same month Biberauer attended the General Assembly of the Free Church and conveyed the greetings of the presbytery in a letter signed by Török, Koenig and six member of the presbytery.¹²¹ This formalised concordat brought a symbiosis of Scottish Presbyterian Evangelicalism and German-influenced Hungarian Pietism into being, that was to enrich greatly the spiritual, ecclesiastical and mission life of the Hungarian Reformed Church. It marked a significant step towards the

¹¹⁸ *Jahresbericht der Deutschen Filialgemeinde Der Reform. Kirche in Budapest Für 1864* (Budapest: Hornyánszky Viktor, 1864). Cited by Bodoky, II, p. 28. n. 20.

¹¹⁹ Bodoky, II, p. 29.

¹²⁰ Rudolph Koenig, ‘Work among the Jews at Pesth. Letter from Rev. Mr. Koenig’, *FCofSMR*, 2. 22 (2 May, 1864), 512-4 (p. 512).

realisation of the Mission's goal of establishing a relationship with the Reformed Church of Hungary that would permit evangelical revival and evangelism of the Jews. Furthermore it gave the Mission the basis for an effective relationship with a settled congregation, through which its work could extend to the wider community.

3. Scottish Mission working through and with the Affiliated Church

3.1 Mission to the Youth, Children, the Poor and the Needy

The German-speaking congregation, as a pillar of the Scottish missionary enterprise, was mission orientated from its origin. As early as 1860, the members of the congregation had collected money for both Gentile Mission and Jewish Mission, and in addition they had donated money to the Kaiserwerth Deacon House in Smyrna, Syria.¹²² They were also committed to social action. Their Bible study group decided to support five widows and their children.¹²³ The Ladies Association provided clothes for eighteen poor children.¹²⁴ The congregation was the first in Hungary to join the World Prayer Week announced by the Evangelical Alliance in January 1862. As Farkas notes, the congregation was active in mission before it had been fully constituted.¹²⁵

It was the congregation, through which the Anglo-Saxon means of evangelisation were first implemented in Hungary for example the YMCA, YWCA and the Sunday school. Maag, a teacher of the Scottish Mission School established a Young Men's Club in 1862.¹²⁶ It was a similar initiative to that of Philipp Saphir's YMCA.¹²⁷ For the ladies, Mrs Koenig organised a Dorcas Society along the lines of YWCA.¹²⁸ On the educational front a

¹²¹ Theodor Biberauer, 'Biberauer's Speech in Conversion of the Jews Friday, May 20 1864', in 'Proceedings of the General Assembly of Free Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May, 1864 (Edinburgh: James Nichol, 1864), 1 - 338 (p. 31)

¹²² Van Anandel, Adrian, 'Letter from van Anandel dated of Nov. 11, 1861, Pesth', *Free Church of Scotland Weekly Record* [Thereafter *FCofSWR*], 1. 10 (7 December, 1861), 75-6. (p. 75). Missionaries from different missionary societies visited them, Kleinheim, a Jewish missionary from the London Society, being one of the first.

¹²³ Mihály Bucsay, '125 Jahre Deutschsprachige Reformierte Gemeinde in Budapest (1859-1984)', p. 21. *Jahresberichte der Reformierten Filialgemeinde in Budapest 1860 (?)*, Cited Bodoky, II, p. 10. n. 7.

¹²⁴ Letter from Rudolph Koenig to Julius Disselhoff, Düsseldorf-Kaiserwerth Fliedner Archives. Cited by Bodoky, II, p. 88. n. 59.

¹²⁵ Farkas, p. 170.

¹²⁶ Van Anandel, Adrian, 'Pesth Letter from van Anandel dated 18th January 1862', *FCofSWR*, 1. 20 (15 February, 1862), 155-6 (p. 156).

¹²⁷ Gyula Forgács, 'A skót misszió történetéből', *Élet és Munka*, III. 7 (1911), p. 50. Forgács dates the establishment of the first YMCA to the 1880s. He does not seem to know of this fact that due to the Scottish Mission there was a YMCA group already in the 1840s established by Philip Saphir and Maag's initiative was modelled on the YMCA.

¹²⁸ Rudolph Koenig, 'Work among the Jews at Pesth. Letter from Rev. Mr. Koenig', *FCofSWR* 2. 22. (2 May, 1864), 512-4 (p. 514).

Sunday School was also introduced for children of members of the congregation as well as for the Mission School.¹²⁹ These initiatives were all the antecedents of the home mission movement of the Hungarian Reformed Church. The missionaries also held Bible study groups especially designed for prospective proselytes.¹³⁰ Koenig reported that there was a fortnightly prayer and business meeting with the elders of the church. He stated that the average attendance at the church was 300 and that ‘among the Church-members there is a fair proportion of truly godly people, and several who develop a very praiseworthy spirit of Christian activity’.¹³¹ From this we may infer that not all the members were so strongly mission minded but it was clear that the Pietist-Evangelicals took the leading role in congregational life. It was pleasing for the new pastor to see that at the beginning of the year 1864 approximately fifty persons attended the prayer meetings during the week of prayer. This core group was crucial for the Scottish Mission to fulfil its purpose. The other members of the congregation were less fervent, no doubt being attracted to the service more for linguistic and cultural than spiritual reasons. Nonetheless, the smaller circle of passionate Christians, who were instrumental in bringing the congregation into being, achieved their goal articulated after the defeat of the ‘Orphanage Home’ conflict. The congregation, though legally under the supervision of Török, was in fact independent and free to do whatever mission they wished to realise without the fear of the interference of liberals in the affairs.

3.2. Mission to the sick: the foundation of a Protestant Hospital

The vision to establish a hospital, named Bethesda came about in 1862. It was to become the second pillar of Christian outreach consolidating the social expression of Scottish mission together with the German Pietists. It all began when a medical doctor, Tivadar Bakody, indicated that he would treat the poorer members of the congregation without charge. Koenig together with Biberauer welcomed the offer and began to entertain the idea of founding a hospital. This received a decisive thrust when a wealthy Scottish lady, Miss Mackichan, who used to belong to Koenig’s circle of friends in Constantinople, visited the Mission in Pest. There she unexpectedly became sick and Bakody treated her in Koenig’s flat. During her prolonged sickness it became clear that there was a need for a hospital

¹²⁹ The first Sunday schools were established by Wingate and Smith on 15 November 1844. See: ‘A skót misszió történetéből (folytatás)’, *Élet és Munka*, 3. 8 (August 1911), p. 58.

¹³⁰ Koenig, ‘Work among the Jews at Pesth’, p. 513.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 514.

where the foreigners residing in Pest could receive good professional treatment.¹³² After recovering Miss Mackichan donated £100, approximately 1105 florints, as a sign of her gratitude and designated it for the purpose of founding a hospital.¹³³ This sum covered the rental of a place that was chosen as the base of a mission hospital.

The new initiative needed to meet two demands: trained staff had to be secured and long term finance arranged. Both Koenig and Biberauer had had contact with Kaiserwerth for many years. Biberauer's sister, Hermine, had been there to be trained as a deaconess, while Koenig had worked closely with the Kaiserwerth mission in Constantinople before his arrival in Pest.¹³⁴ An arrangement was negotiated between the German-speaking Affiliated Church and Kaiserwerth in March 1866 by which Kaiserwerth undertook to provide the hospital with deaconesses, by name Sophie When and Etelka Höser, who arrived three months later.¹³⁵

Bodoky underlines the decisive role that Koenig played in setting up and securing the independence of the hospital. He wrote of the situation in which this Evangelical-Pietist initiative was achieved:

As early as the spring, he [Koenig] emphasized that they had to receive pledges so the things that had happened to the Protestant Orphanage Home would not recur. It was made into a mere charitable institution that was built by the fervent believers who were ready to give a testimony of the power of Christ's gospel by the acting love which bears fruits of living faith and brings sacrifices for others in diaconal work.¹³⁶

For Koenig it seemed that the only viable option of secure independence for this Evangelical-Pietist initiated hospital was to avoid the legal framework of the Pest Reformed Church. Indeed, so wary was he of the Pest church, since the new situation had not yet been tested, that he offered the ownership of the hospital to Kaiserwerth. The reason for this perplexing move was that the German-speaking congregation was not an independent legal entity. Therefore, in principle, the presbytery of the mother church, Pest

¹³² Bodoky, II, p. 102.

¹³³ *A Bethesda budapesti betegápoló és diakonissza képzőintézet története* (Budapest: Hornyánszky Viktor sajtója, 1885), pp. 9-10.

¹³⁴ Kool, p. 113. Hermine Biberauer arrived at Kaiserwerth in 1863. After her training she was sent to Beirut, Lebanon to work at an orphanage.

¹³⁵ Bodoky, II, pp. 112, 120. The contract was signed by Theodor Bakody, Theodor Biberauer, Anton Hornung and Rudolf Koenig. It was countersigned by Julius Disselhof in Kaiserwerth on 19 March 1866. Cf. Anton Hornung had, just as the van Andel initiative strong links with the early Baptist of Hungary indeed he and his brother István were Baptists. Later Anton (Antal) became an elder of the German-speaking congregation and his brother became an 'apostate'. See also: Kálmán Mészáros, 'A baptista misszió megjelenése (1846-1873)' in *Krisztusért járva követségben*, ed. by Bereczki, Lajos (Budapest: Baptista Kiadó, 1996), 1-46 (p. 26).

¹³⁶ Bodoky, II, p. 156.

Széna tér Reformed Church, could intervene if they wished, for the hospital was the property of the congregation. To avoid such an eventuality Koenig wrote as follows to Disselhoff: ‘for us it is not important to own the hospital; we only want to serve the cause [mission] and our desire is to make sure that the issue of diaconal work should be implanted in the soil of Hungary and allowed to take root’.¹³⁷ Koenig reckoned this step was indispensable for the survival of such an Evangelical-Pietist enterprise.¹³⁸ As time passed by this issue was forgotten and the hospital became the property of the congregation. However, each supporting party, the congregation as well as the Scottish Mission treated it as ‘their’ own mission. In fact, it was run through the extraordinary efforts of the two religious enthusiasts, Koenig and Biberauer, and financed by people they approached.

The political events due to the Austrian-Prussian war produced an unforeseen opportunity for the hospital. After the battle of Königgrätz many injured and sick soldiers were transported to Buda and Pest.¹³⁹ Koenig offered treatment for them at the hospital, a gesture which the city was pleased to accept.¹⁴⁰ Because of the quality of medical treatment at the hospital, the Scottish Mission and the congregation gained great respect. Therefore, the Scots were even more willing to donate more money for this missionary agency. This successful public work led them to the realisation that a medical missionary to the Jews should also be employed in Pest. In 1865 a Jewish gentleman, named Lippner, converted to Christianity along with his wife.¹⁴¹ Mrs Lippner was the first patient of Bethesda hospital. Lippner was a doctor and soon was employed at the hospital. He assisted Professor Bakody and proselytised among the Jews, as an ‘unordained medical missionary’ of the Edinburgh Committee. His days were spent visiting the sick and doing routine checks at Bethesda. He also went to visit Jewish families. Besides his work as a doctor, he taught at the Mission school through which he gained wider access to Jewish parents. He was also involved in distributing Christian literature as a colporteur. It is interesting to note from his yearly reports that he also visited Catholics. In fact, the

¹³⁷ Biberauer-Bodoky Collection. Düsseldorf Kaiserwerth Fliedner Archive, Letter to Koenig to Disselhoff dated October 1867. Cited by Bodoky, II, p. 157. n. 112.

¹³⁸ From the letter one cannot precisely infer that the right of the property actually was passed on to Kaiserwerth. It is likely that the hospital and the related enterprises became a separate legal entity and they might have owned the property. However, the primary sources are obscure on this issue.

¹³⁹ Macartney, *The Habsburg Empire 1790-1918*, pp. 543-544. See his discussion on the consequence of the battle for the development of Hungary. See also section 1. *The Political context*.

¹⁴⁰ *Értesítés a Bethesda első magyarhoni diakonissza-intézet és kórház 1866-1890-ig történt fejlődéséről a huszonötödik évi jelentése* (Budapest: Hornyánszky Viktor, 1891), p. 16.

¹⁴¹ A Budapesti Kálvin téri Református Egyházközség Anyakönyvei 1858-65. II., fol. 183. Lippner and his wife were baptised on 17 September 1865.

Evangelical-Pietist medical mission had a broader scope than the Scottish Jewish mission in its strict sense as it reached out to the people of Pest regardless of their confessional stance.

3.3. Mission to the Jews: Conversions and Baptisms

3.3.1. Theology: Jewish Mission Seen as the Task of the Church

The motive underpinning the Scots' involvement in mission activity was their millennial understanding of the Gospel.¹⁴² They, like Professor Neander, also believed that mission to the Jews was a basic task of the church.¹⁴³ Koenig cited Neander's opinion that in Christian countries there ought to be no necessity for separate Jewish mission organisations, since the Christian ministers and their congregations 'ought to be instruments for winning the Jews to the Truth'.¹⁴⁴ Koenig expressed his desire that Jewish mission should indeed be a church mission. He put it in these words:

I can perceive a realization of this theory, [...] and I may feel persuaded that, by enlightening the congregation on the nature and importance of Jewish Mission, we may gradually hope to gain workers from them.¹⁴⁵

This statement illuminates why the Committee were willing to make an agreement with the German-speaking congregation. The contract made between the Scots and the congregation indicated the expectation of the Jewish Committee: 'it is the object of the Congregation as well as the Committee to give all moral aid and support to the Mission to the Jews, the Missionaries of the Committee while acting as vicar of the Reverend Superintendent'.¹⁴⁶ Biberauer, giving thanks for the new alliance at the annual General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland in May 1864, underlined how beneficial the new agreement would be for the Jewish Mission:

The formation of this congregation proved peculiarly helpful to the work of the Jewish Mission in that place, inasmuch as many Jews do regularly attend our services (of which there are three German and one English in every week,) and as soon as they become inquirers they are kindly met and taken by the hand of some of our members, but more especially when they are baptized they do not remain to themselves, but are received with Christian love to the circle of the

¹⁴² Chapter 1. Section III. 3.3. Millennialism and its relation to the conversion of the Jews.

¹⁴³ Jacob Gartenhaus, *Famous Hebrew Christians* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1979), pp. 135-41. Neander was a Jewish convert who became a well-known professor of Church History at the University of Berlin.

¹⁴⁴ Rudolph Koenig, 'Work among the Jews at Pesth. Letter from Rev. Mr. Koenig', *FCofSMR*, 2. 22. (2 May, 1864), pp. 512-4.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁶ NLS, Dep. 298.251. fol. 442. Minutes of 17 November 1863.

people of God, and are protected in a great measure against the fearful assaults and inquires to which they are exposed from their brethren according to the flesh...¹⁴⁷

The formal agreement was advantageous for the Scots because the congregation was mission-minded and showed promising signs of willingness to be involved in Jewish Mission.¹⁴⁸ As the years passed, it remained, of course, a question as to what extent the involvement of the congregation in the Jewish Mission lived up to the expectation of the Committee.

3.3.2. *The missionaries' outreach to the Jews*

The ultimate task of the missionaries was to make converts of the Jews as well as revive the Hungarian Protestant churches whose members they regarded as nominal Christians with a view of them becoming active persons in the evangelisation of the Jews. According to the Edinburgh minutes of the Committee, baptisms of Jewish converts were performed either by the missionaries, or Török.¹⁴⁹ This is clearly a change of practise since earlier only Török baptised. It is apparent from the missionary accounts that public confession of Christ was the essential evidence of a true faith conversion. In this respect van Andel was in line with the Evangelical thinking of the Scottish Mission. The missionaries always endeavoured to gain more and more Jewish inquirers to the gospel. Through family visitations, colportage, and the medical mission of the hospital the missionaries reached out to the Jews of Pest. They tried to involve them in congregational life in the hope of that Jewish inquirers become faith-converts. The missionaries presumed that 'Jews, being a fact [it is a fact that Jews], mix more readily with an established Christian congregation than they would join a service specially set apart for themselves'.¹⁵⁰ Therefore a revivalist congregation, which demonstrated and expressed exemplary Christian life to the new converts, was vital for the fulfilment of Mission's first aim of converting Jews, which endeavour the most fervent members of the congregation shared.

¹⁴⁷ 'Conversion of the Jews, Theodor Biberauer's Speech', in *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May, 1864* (Edinburgh: James Nichol, 1864), 30-31 (p. 31).

¹⁴⁸ It is most revealing when one notices that they preferred the foundation of a hospital to their obtaining and building a church.

¹⁴⁹ NLS Dep. 298.251. fol. 350. Minutes of 17 September 1861.

¹⁵⁰ Rudolph Koenig, 'Work among the Jews at Pesh. Letter from Rev. Mr. Koenig', *FCofSMR*, 2. 22. (2 May, 1864), pp. 512-4.

3.3.3. *The Efficiency of the Scottish Mission through the Congregation: Mission to the Jews*

Biberauer certainly was involved in Jewish Mission. He noted down a conversation with a Jew on a ship on his way to England in 1864.¹⁵¹ He also opened a shelter in his own house for the homeless, many of whom were Jews.¹⁵² Yet it seems from the sources that only some members of the congregation were specifically involved in Jewish mission. These people were teachers in the Mission School, colporteurs, the missionaries and some of the Jewish converts. This part of the congregation was intimately connected to the other establishments of the Mission. It is likely that the aforementioned fifty people, attending the annual prayer week at the beginning of the year, correspond to this group of people.¹⁵³ The other part of the congregation may have been sympathetic to the Mission's aim but, as mentioned earlier, were themselves attached to the church for linguistic and cultural reasons.

The effectiveness of any Jewish mission work done by the German-speaking congregation and the Scottish Mission as a whole, including the school, was assessed in a report which appeared in 1869. A delegation from the Free Church of Scotland led by Moody Stuart, the convener of the Jewish Committee visited Hungary. The report they produced noted that 'at the German church he [Moody Stuart] desired to see more of the Jewish element'.¹⁵⁴ Clearly, the numbers of converts were relatively low especially if one bears in mind how rapidly the Pest Jewish community was growing. Koenig, delivering an address to celebrate the 25th anniversary of Bishop Török's pastorate in Pest in 1864, wrote: 'in his [Török] reply to their [Koenig and the congregation] address he remarked, among other things, that he had in the course of these years baptized ninety-five Israelites in connection with the work of our missionaries'.¹⁵⁵ From the *Annual Reports* it is known that between 1858 and 1862, the number of converts connected with the Mission was fourteen.¹⁵⁶ There were seven more converts by 1869, which together with fourteen make

¹⁵¹ Bodoky, II, p. 49.

¹⁵² 'Report on the Conversion of the Jews to the General Assembly, Appendix IX' in *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May, 1880* (Edinburgh: [n. pub.], 1880), 1-31 (p. 11).

¹⁵³ See section: 3.1 Mission to the Youth, Children, the Poor and the Needy.

¹⁵⁴ NLS Dep. 298.252. fol. 285. Minutes of 19 October 1869. Andrew Moody-Stuart's report on the trip made in summer of 1868 in the minutes.

¹⁵⁵ 'Pesth. The 25th Anniversary of Török's Pastorate in Pest', *FCofSMR*, 3. 27 (1 October, 1864), p. 635.

¹⁵⁶ 'The General Assembly. Mission to the Jews. Pest', *FCofSWR*, 1. 36 (8 June, 1862), 281-3 (p. 282). Cf. 'The General Assembly'. The Jewish Mission', *FCofSMR*, 2. 24 (1 July, 1864), 555-7 (p. 556). However, in the Edinburgh annual Jewish reports, there is a mention of only twelve converts up to July 1864. 'There are twelve converts the first fruits of former missionary labours, exclusive of children and several individuals belonging to the congregation who have no connection with the mission'.

up only twenty-one converts eleven years.¹⁵⁷ Both data relating to periods of 1841-1864, and 1858-69 show small numbers (95, and 21) of Jews converting to Christianity through the Scottish Mission's evangelising effort.

When these numbers are compared to the 'canaanical language'¹⁵⁸ of superlatives expressed in great exaltation while relaying news about different aspects of the Mission, especially that of the school, then the low numbers are more than conspicuous. Surely, Moody Stuart and the Committee would have been delighted to see more Jewish converts. Yet the issue of the numerical success of the Pest Jewish Mission did not occupy a central space in the minutes or reports. The above citation is the only reference to expectations of numerical success. The Mission and the congregation's ultimate concern lay in the faith conversion of Jews and Gentiles and the issue of the revival of Hungarian Protestantism. If a nuanced observation can be made, the Scots laid more emphasis on Jewish mission, whereas the German-speaking church focused more on the 'Gentiles' but neither did so at the expense of the other side of the mission. The missions to the Jews and Gentiles were held together as the two sides of the same coin. Many of the Jewish converts became active in Christian works and were often employed as colporteurs.

3.4. Mission to the Jews and Gentiles: the re-establishment of colportage

During the first half of the Neo-absolutist era (1851-1867) colportage was banned. Changes set in when on 7 January 1860 the 'Austrian Police Minister permitted the import of Bibles to the Empire'.¹⁵⁹ As the political scene change so did the Austrian rule and a democratic change was in progress. The Austrian-Prussian war (1866) had an impact on the Bethesda hospital of the Mission but also on its colportage. When Koenig offered free medical treatment for the soldiers, he also applied to the military headquarters of Pest with the hope of receiving permission to 'visit the wounded and sick' and to distribute Scriptures and tracts. Permission was given without 'any restriction as to nationality or creed' which opened up official channels for Bible colportage.¹⁶⁰ Koenig immediately

¹⁵⁷ The calculation is based on 14 converts instead of 12 by 1864.

¹⁵⁸ This term is often used in Hungarian. It refers to a language used by church people talking in superlative and colourful language exaggerating the facts and describing events more favourable as they actually were.

¹⁵⁹ Ferenc Balogh, 'A Biblia-Társulat és a Biblia', *Protestáns Szemle*, 16. 1-10 (1904), 1-16, (p. 14). Cf. John V. Eibner, 'British Evangelicals and Hungary 1800-1852', *The Journal of the United Reformed Church History Society*, 3. 2 (1983), 45-54 (p. 53).

¹⁶⁰ Rudolph Koenig, 'Mr. König's experience During the War', *FCofSMR*, 5. 52 (1 November, 1866), 8-10. (p. 9).

ordered a large quantity of books and tracts from the British and Foreign Bible Society and National Bible Society of Scotland.¹⁶¹

By 1866 the National Bible Society of Scotland, formed from all local Scottish Bible societies, began its work in Hungary as an agency of the Scottish Mission.¹⁶² The old group of colporteurs of the Scottish Mission, who were exclusively Jews, scattered throughout the world with only Neumann and Taubner remaining in Pest.¹⁶³ Both worked for the Mission School, Taubner teaching and Neumann being responsible for visiting the Jewish families who sent their children to the school.¹⁶⁴ By May of 1866, as the change of political climate permitted, Neumann was officially employed by the NBSS.¹⁶⁵ The next employee was Lippner who was also a doctor at the hospital.¹⁶⁶ Soon another Jewish convert, C. A. Schönberger, a future brother in law of Adolph Saphir, was employed as a colporteur.¹⁶⁷

Koenig was keen on extending the network of colportage work of the NBSS to Transylvania. The colporteur, Riedel began to work in 1867 first operating from Pest then from Kolozsvár.¹⁶⁸ Two other persons were also involved in colportage: an 'evangelistic labourer', Fröhlich, supported by private Christian generosity, and a certain 'Mrs. H.', 'a Bible-woman, in connection with Mrs. Ranyard's London Bible Mission'.¹⁶⁹ Besides the NBSS, the British and Foreign Bible Society also revived its work as well as the Religious

¹⁶¹ Bodoky, II, p. 122.

¹⁶² William C. Somerville, *From Iona to Dunblane* (Edinburgh: McLagan & Cumming Ltd., 1948), pp. 31-32. Frank G. A. Knight Dr., *The History of the National Bible Society of Scotland 1809-1900 with additional material by W. C. Somerville* Scottish Bible Society (formerly National Bible Society of Scotland up to 2000), fol. 113. The unity was due to the proposal of Rev. Dr. A. N. Somerville, the Honorary Secretary of the Glasgow Bible Society, who was to evangelise in Hungary in 1887/8.

¹⁶³ Gavin Carlyle, *Life and Work of the Rev. William Wingate, Missionary to the Jews* (London: A. Holness, s.a.), pp. 63-64. Lederer went to New York to establish a City Mission to the Jew there, Kiewitz worked in Jerusalem as a n assistant doctor of the London Jewish Society's hospital, Gellert was employed by the British Society for the Jews in London, then in Rumania.

¹⁶⁴ NLS, Dep. 298.252. fol. 9. Minutes of 2 March 1864. See also Frank G. A. Knight Dr., *The History of the National Bible Society of Scotland 1809-1900 with additional material by W. C. Somerville*, pp. 134-5.

¹⁶⁵ 'Report on the Conversion of the Jews to the General Assembly 1866, Appendix VIII' in *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May, 1866* (Edinburgh: Thomas Constable, 1866), 1-35, (p. 6). Neuman was jointly employed by the NBSS and the Edinburgh Jewish Mission Committee even before that but officially could not be employed because of the law.

¹⁶⁶ Rudolph Koenig, 'Protestant Hospital in Pesth II.', *FCofSMR*, 4. 46 (1 May, 1866), p. 13.

¹⁶⁷ 'Report on the Conversion of the Jews to the General Assembly 1868, Appendix VIII' in *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May, 1868* (Edinburgh: [n. pub.], 1868), 1-18. (p. 5).

¹⁶⁸ Somerville, *From Iona to Dunblane*, p. 60. Cf. there is an ambiguity what 'R' in the source refers to. It can be Riedel as well as the Baptist Rottmayer. As for Riedel the followings support the argument that 'R' refer to him. NLS Dep. 298.253. (1872-79) fol. 105. Minutes of 16 December 1873. Riedel was 'in connection with the Free Church since 1856 in Constantinople, and since 1866 in Pesth and the last seven years as labouring in Transylvania under Mr. Koenig's superintendence his salary paid by the American and Foreign Christian Union which had now abandoned all their operation in Europe'.

Tract Society.¹⁷⁰ New agencies also appeared such as the American Bible Society (ABS) which began to work in Hungary for the first time.

Due to the division of work between the two Pest missionaries, it was Koenig's sphere to supervise not only the colportage work of the NBSS but also that of the ABS, and RTS. Although colportage was under Koenig's supervision, Moody also worked in this area, mostly in the summer. He travelled to the Reformed churches near Pest with one of the colporteurs and even managed to preach from the pulpits of those churches, remarkably enough, in Hungarian only three years after his arrival to Hungary.¹⁷¹ Though there is only one such reference, it may be inferred that Moody was ready to adapt this agency of the Mission to Hungarian culture. His endeavour stood in sharp contrast with the German-speaking character of the Mission because all the teachers, the Jewish converts and the members of the congregation were German-speaking people. Colportage was not an exception since the colporteurs of the NBSS were mainly German-speaking Jewish converts who were also members of the German-speaking congregation. The fifteen colporteurs of the BFBS were mainly German-speaking Baptists.¹⁷² It is not known who participated in the two other societies, but one may suspect they could well have been German-speaking agents as well. The colporteurs were often bilingual, or knew enough of other languages to pass on their message and have a basic conversation.

While the BFBS, ABS, RTS did not have a priority target group of the society, the colporteurs of the NBSS, the missionaries and members of the German congregation aimed at disseminating Evangelical literature to the Jews as well as the Reformed churches of Hungary as their main subjects of evangelisation. The Scots were delighted when some Reformed ministers and Jews exhibited interest in their work. Nineteen depositories were established at manses of Reformed ministers in Hungary and Transylvania for the sale of religious literature.¹⁷³ By the end of the 1860s besides the congregation and the hospital the third pillar of the Mission was re-established with bright prospects. Colportage again became a grand enterprise of Anglo-Saxon Evangelicalism. It was a non-denominational work that reached out to all the ethnic groups and religions of Hungary.

¹⁶⁹ RCJ of 1868, Appendix VIII, p. 8.

¹⁷⁰ 'Pest and Transylvania', *Sixty-Third Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society 1867*, (London: [n. pub.] 1867), LXIII, 88-89 (p. 89). The BFBS opened a depot in Kolozsvár, Transylvania in 1867.

¹⁷¹ Andrew Moody, 'A Tour in Hungary', *FCofSMR*, 6. 63 (1 October, 1867), pp. 223-226.

¹⁷² Jenő Bányai, *A magyarországi baptista egyházzene története* (Budapest: Baptista Kiadó, 1996), p. 12. Bányai states here that they were employed by the National Bible Society of Scotland. This appears to be a contradiction. Due to the lack of space this will be discussed in another paper.

4. The Mission School revitalised and expanded

4.1 The revitalization of the Mission School and its extension under van Andel

The period between 1857 and 1863 was the time of revitalisation and enlargement of the school under van Andel's directorship.¹⁷⁴ It is not exaggeration to say that the school was the oldest, indeed, the chief pillar of the Scottish missionary enterprise which certainly enjoyed priority over other means of mission in terms of finance and attention. From the beginning of his appointment, van Andel had planned to reorganise the school, with the aim of enlarging its facilities in order to recruit beyond the normal enrolment of 300 pupils.¹⁷⁵ The Committee was informed that if more capacious schoolrooms were provided, the number of pupils could be increased.¹⁷⁶ In response to his request he received a grant for school extension in September 1861.¹⁷⁷ In addition to external changes, van Andel employed some new well-qualified teachers in order to raise the standard of education. The Committee was very pleased with his efforts stressing the school's numerical and organisational success to the general public of the Kirk.¹⁷⁸ They reported to the General Assembly in this vein:

though other free schools exist in the place [Pest], the parents gladly send their children to this missionary school, partly because it has obtained a good report, partly because the parents are not unwilling that their children should be made acquainted with the Christian religion as well as with their own.¹⁷⁹

For the Scots, these two elements, a good standard of education and the willingness of the Jews to familiarise their children with Christianity, accounted for the high interest. What they did not recognise, however, was that Jewish parents in Pest were eager to secure civic and professional advantage for their children by sending them to the Mission School regardless of religious education. Also, the Scots seemed to be oblivious of the fact that there were, quite simply too few Jewish school in Pest which the writer of an article in the Jewish newspaper, *Allgemeine Zeitung* also pointed out.¹⁸⁰ Since elementary public

¹⁷³ Rudolph Koenig 'The Pesth Mission and its Agencies' *FCofSMR* 5.58 (1 May, 1867) p. 109. The letter was written Pest, 21 March 1867.

¹⁷⁴ NLS Dep. 298.251. fol. 402. Minutes of 20 April 1859.

¹⁷⁵ 'Mission to the Jews' *FCofSWR* 1.36 (8 June 1862), 281-83. (p. 282).

¹⁷⁶ 'Report on the Conversion of the Jews given in to the General Assembly 1860, Appendix I', (Edinburgh: John Greig and Son, 1860), 1- 16, p. 6. Cf. NLS Dep. 298.251. fol. 289.

¹⁷⁷ NLS Dep. 298.251. fols. 336 , 352. Minutes of 16 July 1861 and 17 September 1861.

¹⁷⁸ '1859 Report on the Conversion of the Jews to the General Assembly Appendix I' in *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May, 1859* (Edinburgh: John Greig and Son, 1859), 1-19 (p. 9). Cf. NLS Dep. 298.251. fol. 245.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

¹⁸⁰ 'Missionschulen', *Allgemeine Zeitung Des Judenthums*, 23. 40 (26 September 1859), pp. 575-6.

education was not made obligatory and was not introduced by the state until 1868 the schools were denominational ones. Naturally low class Jewish people had a difficulty in paying the fees and the bursaries for poor children were limited. This leads to the third observation that the current few private Jewish schools were filled in by children of better off Jewish families as it is evident from the *Annual Report*. It read: 'the rabbi of the Reformed "Temple"[...] expatiated elaborately and vehemently against the Mission school and severely blamed the Jewish community for not establishing a school themselves for their poor'.¹⁸¹ The Jewish Mission reports fail to acknowledge that the school offered free education which attracted poor Jews. The *Report* deliberately interprets the rabbi's comment in religious terms as a 'proof of success of our school', whereas he was actually reprimanding the Jewish community for failing to provide free education.¹⁸² It was a somewhat perverted argument. When the Jewish leaders realised that they could not stop the influx of poor Jewish children to the missionary school, they approached van AnDEL to allow them that 'a religious teacher of his own choosing [to] attend the school at certain hours to give religious lessons'.¹⁸³ This van AnDEL refused. As a consequence the Christian religious education of Jewish pupils of the school became an issue of growing contention among the Jewish leaders.

4.2. Educational development, new school extension under Moody

Andrew Moody, the nephew of the convener of the Edinburgh Committee, was appointed as a new director of the school of the Scottish Mission.¹⁸⁴ When he took over the school from van AnDEL in January 1864 there were five main teachers; Miss Schwartz, Mr. Schümperli, Mr. Buss, Mrs. Csuka and Mr. Rau.¹⁸⁵ Each of them had his or her own classes and taught a range of subject including all subjects such as geography, grammar, reading, Hungarian, and arithmetic. Besides the required subjects, Messrs Buss and Schumperli also taught elementary Hebrew in preparation for Taubner's Hebrew class. The school offered to teach practical skills to Jewish children through the so-called 'industrial department' funded by the Ladies Association of Paisley. This practical training was an

¹⁸¹ RCJ of 1864, Appendix III, p. 9.

¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ 'Report on the Conversion of the Jews to the General Assembly 1860, Appendix I' in *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May, 1860* (Edinburgh: John Greig and Son, 1860), 1-15; (p. 7).

¹⁸⁴ Bodoky, II. p. 37.

¹⁸⁵ RCJ of 1864, Appendix III, pp. 9, 49. Moody lodged at Biberauer's place just at the time when the final arrangements were made between the Jewish Committee, the Pest Reformed Church and the German

integral part of the school, developing skills such as tailoring and needlework. Three teachers were involved in teaching such skills; Miss Ries, Mrs Schümperli, and Miss Lindener, all working under the supervision of Mrs Koenig.¹⁸⁶ With the offer of various new forms of education the school was even more attractive to many children, so expansion of premises was again on the agenda.

Early in 1867, there were plans for change in view of the extremely high number of children. In that year 441 children attended the school out of which 352 were Jews.¹⁸⁷ Taking into consideration the large number of pupils, Moody intended to enlarge the premises of the school at *Nádor utca* [Palatine Street] and approached the Edinburgh Jewish Committee to finance his proposal.¹⁸⁸ At this point an unexpected event happened. The Scottish School had to face the end of the tenancy, unilaterally dissolved because the ownership of the property, where the school operated, changed hands.¹⁸⁹ The Committee was forced to take immediate steps, as so much was at stake. They could not afford the loss of their prestigious school. For the next school year (1868/69) Koenig managed to secure the site of a former, currently abandoned Jewish school in *Vadász utca* [Hunter Street].¹⁹⁰

Faced by stiff increase in the cost of rental property, and the vulnerability to the school of maintaining it on a rental basis, the Committee decided to purchase a property and build a brand-new school complex.¹⁹¹ A site was found in *Mond Gasse*, that is *Hold utca* [Hold street] in Hungarian.¹⁹² The new school building was ready for the autumn of 1869. In this way one of the main means of Jewish mission was saved, and *Hold utca* became the new hub of operation for the school, the Affiliated Church and the Mission.

Under van Andel and Moody's directorship the school became well established and the higher number of pupils enabled the missionaries and the personnel to visit more Jewish families. By the end of the 1860s, the school, the colportage and the congregational

Affiliated Congregation. This clearly indicates that Biberauer was the most prominent revivalist of the congregation.

¹⁸⁶ RCJ of 1864, Appendix III, pp. 49-52.

¹⁸⁷ RCJ of 1868, Appendix VIII, pp. 1-18. Cf. NLS, Deposit 298.252, fol. 190.

¹⁸⁸ NLS Dep. 298.252, fol. 153. Minutes of 16 July 1867. Cf. Farkas, p. 166; Bodoky, II, p. 13; Van Andel, Adrian, 'Jewish Mission', *New Series, FCofSWR*, 1. 6 (1 January, 1863), pp. 125-126. The Mission School was at *Nádor utca* between 1863 and 1868.

¹⁸⁹ 'The Jews. Pesth. Loss of the School Premises of the Mission', *New Series, FCofSMR*, 7. 74 (1 September, 1868), pp. 202-03.

¹⁹⁰ 'A Skót Misszió történetéből' *Élet és Munka*, 2. 5. (May 1910), 36-7 (p. 36) Cf. Report on the Conversion of the Jews to the General Assembly 1869 Appendix IX' in *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May, 1869* (Edinburgh: Thomas Constable, 1869), 1-15 (p. 80).

¹⁹¹ 'The Jews. Pesth. Loss of the School Premises of the Mission', *FCofSMR*, 7. 74 (1 September, 1868), pp. 202-03. Cf. NLS Dep. 298.252, fols. 219-220. Minutes of 12 August 1868.

¹⁹² NLS Dep. 298.252, fol. 225. Minutes of 20 October 1868.

activities such as Jewish medical and social mission worked side by side to achieve the ends of the Scottish Mission; convert the Jews and revive the Reformed Church but the means to the latter was colportage. The German-speaking character of the Mission became only more manifest with the establishment of a German-speaking congregation in the Hungarian Reformed Church. It certainly served its first aim, to introduce the converts into an Evangelical-Pietist environment but the language barrier and the ‘orphanage conflict’ impeded the Mission to revive the Pest Reformed church at Széna tér, which was at hand. To find a way out of this awkward situation the Edinburgh Committee launched a major new initiative, the foundation of the bursary programme.

5. The Bursary Programme: A desire to revive the Hungarian Reformed Church

5.1. The aim, participants and the first steps of founding the Bursary

Besides the foundation of the German-speaking congregation and the hospital; the reestablishment of the school and colportage, a new means as the fifth pillar of the Scottish missionary enterprise was initiated with a view of reviving the Hungarian Reformed Church. The Deputation, sent to investigate the conflict between van Andel and Török in the summer of 1862 made some initial enquiries regarding the possibility of offering a scholarship programme for the Hungarian Reformed Church. John Duncan and Alexander Moody-Stuart discussed this with Pál Török in Pest and Imre Révész in Debrecen.¹⁹³ Upon their return to Edinburgh, the Deputation proposed to the Jewish Committee that a bursary programme for the Hungarian and Bohemian students.¹⁹⁴ Accordingly, preparations were made for the General Assembly of the Free Church in May 1863. Moody-Stuart gave a speech on behalf of the Jewish Committee:

We wish to commence with four bursaries of about £50 each for three years – two for Bohemia, and two for Hungary. We have already received more than half of what we require, in sums varying from £2 to £50 and I trust that the remainder will be promised before the Assembly closes. (Applause) One subscription is peculiarly gratifying; it is £30 from the London Ladies’ Association for the Jews, *in the hope that the Hungarian and Bohemian*

¹⁹³ Imre Révész sen., *Kálvin élete*, ed. by Ferenc Balogh, 3rd edn (Debrecen: Hegedüs és Sándor, 1909), pp. 353, 356. Révész was known for his role played in the refusal of the imperial Patent. John Duncan, ‘Assembly Address 22 May, 1863 in *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May, 1863* (Edinburgh: James Nichol, 1863), 19–20 (p. 19). Cf. S. Sinclair, *Rich Gleanings After the Vintage from “Rabbi” Duncan with Biographical Sketch*, 2nd impr. edn (London: Chas. J. Thynne and Jarvis, 1925), p. 376.

¹⁹⁴ Lajos Csiky, *A Skót Szabad Egyház ismertetése* (Debrecen: Telegdi K. Lajos, 1877), p. 54.

Churches may be induced to seek the conversion of the Jews [italics added] in Hungary and Bohemia.¹⁹⁵

This reveals the driving force behind setting up the bursary. The Committee hoped not only to revive the Hungarian Reformed Church but also involve the church directly in Jewish mission. The bursaries were envisaged as a step toward realising this goal. It is interesting to notice that Duncan made a similar statement regarding the goal of the Mission in 1841.¹⁹⁶

Although the General Assembly approved the Bursary Scheme in 1863, it was to be two years before the 'first bursar', Ferenc Balogh, came to Edinburgh for theological studies in March 1865.¹⁹⁷ Bishop Péter Balogh and Imre Révész had sent him to Edinburgh with a view to establish links with the Free Church. Soon after his arrival Ferenc Balogh met Rabbi Duncan and presented him with Révész's book entitled *Kálvin élete* [Calvin's Life] drawing attention to the part at the end where Révész affectionately spoke of the 'Scottish Free Church'.¹⁹⁸ Duncan informed him that the founders of the scholarship were worried that nobody had come from Hungary but only from Bohemia.¹⁹⁹ The slowness to implement the scheme appears to have been on the part of the Hungarians rather than the Scots. Although the Edinburgh Committee corresponded with Török on this matter, he was clearly more interested in securing the financial basis of the Pest Theological Seminary than accepting the scholarship money that was an offer.²⁰⁰ It is revealing, in this regard that the first bursar came from Debrecen Reformed College rather than Pest Theological Seminary.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁵ Alexander Moody-Stuart, 'Conversion of the Jews Friday, May 22 1863', Free Church of Scotland, 'Proceedings of the General Assembly of Free Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May, 1863 (Edinburgh: James Nichol, 1865), 14-22, (p. 14).

¹⁹⁶ See: Chapter 2. Section. 1.3. Missionaries and the Protestant Churches in Pest.

¹⁹⁷ Ferenc Balogh, *Edinburghi Napló* [Edinburgh Diary], *Debreceni Egyetemi Könyvtár Kézirattára*, MS 28/3, fol. 4. Balogh was technically not a bursar but he did receive support from the Committee to stay in Edinburgh and the missionaries always referred to him in their correspondence as the first bursar from Hungary.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.* fol. 17. Entry of 7 March 1865, Tuesday.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, fols 14-15. Entry of 6 March, Monday.

²⁰⁰ It is curious why there was a two years gap. As for the Hungarian side, there is no specific information about the slowness of Debrecen, but the van Andel case (1862-64) certainly can be accounted for Pest very slow reaction to accept the offer through which Scots could exert influence.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.* fol. 18. During the ensuing days Balogh visited many New College professors including George Smeaton, who made some inquiries about Lajos Filó, a professor of theology in Pest. See also: Török Pál and Gedeon Ráday, 'Address to the Venerable the Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland', in *Report on Bursaries for Foreign Students 1865*, Appendix XXV., ed. by Moody-Stuart, A., *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland held at Edinburgh May 1865* (Edinburgh: Thomas Constable, 1865), 1-20 (pp. 9-20) Balogh was even invited to the meeting of the Foreign Bursary Committee 'consisting of Candlish, Moody, Duncan and MacDonald' where they showed him a letter sent from Pest dated 28 April,

Balogh was soon requested to prolong his stay until the General Assembly to be held in May. He consented and approached Imre Révész by letter to advise him on the bursary.²⁰² Moody and Duncan asked Balogh to write to Debrecen to ask if they could find somebody for the ensuing academic year.²⁰³ This proved to be an advantageous opportunity for Debrecen. Balogh's popularity grew among the members of Jewish Committee as the time of the General Assembly drew nearer.

5.2. Balogh at the General Assembly in 1865

Balogh was officially approached to speak at the General Assembly, which began on 18 May 1865. He was surprised when on 25 May 1865, Duncan gave him the translated section from Révész's book to be inserted in his speech.²⁰⁴ The passage from Révész's book emphasised the godly character of the Scottish nation:

Calvinism has not yet had, nor has at this time truer and more decided representatives than the Scotch. [...] The domestic life of the Scotch is ruled and sustained by a most decided Christian Calvinistic spirit. Ecclesiastical operations, and educational institutions are in the most flourishing state, for poor and rich, small and great prosecute them with incessant attention and interest.²⁰⁵

The Assembly was greatly flattered by Révész's remarks and, needless to say, it furthered the cause of the Bursary Programme when Balogh spoke.²⁰⁶ Révész was impressed that the Free Church of Scotland had broken away from the Established Church because 'it was resolved to maintain inviolate its conventual (sic!) autonomy, (i.e. the freedom of Assemblies) especially in the matter of election of pastors'.²⁰⁷ He drew a parallel to the situation in Hungary whose Protestant churches had also resisted state interference with their ecclesiastical independence, alluding to the case of the Protestant Patent. In both cases, as he saw it, the principle of Presbyterian autonomy was in danger.

For the Scots, who were fiercely anti-Romanist, it was impressive to see the Hungarians surviving amidst the intolerant Catholic Empire. The Scots admired the

signed by Török and Gedeon Ráday, the presiding layman of the Danubian Province, containing a request for contributions to the Theological Seminary in Pest rather than taking advantage of the offer of bursary.

²⁰² Balogh, *Edinburghi Napló*, MS 28/3, fol. 77. Entry 27 March 1865, Monday.

²⁰³ *Ibid.* fol. 124. 18 Entry April 1865, Tuesday.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.* fol. 177. 25 Entry May 1865, Thursday.

²⁰⁵ Imre Révész sen., *Kálvin élete*, ed. by Ferenc Balogh, 3rd edn (Debrecen: Hegedüs és Sándor, 1909), p. 336.

²⁰⁶ Ferenc Balogh, 'Balogh's speech within Conversion of the Jews Friday, May 29 1865', *Free Church of Scotland, 'Proceedings of the General Assembly of Free Church of Scotland held at Edinburgh May, 1865* (Edinburgh: James Nichol, 1865), 220-230, (p. 225-9).

²⁰⁷ Révész, *Kálvin élete*, p. 336.

Hungarians for their continuous struggle against Popery, as they perceived it.²⁰⁸ Scots and Hungarians, thus each found a base for admiration of the other. The climax of the event came when Dunlop, one of the commissioners, declared Balogh was from a 'noble race' on hearing his speech.²⁰⁹ After the General Assembly of the Free Church the Scots began to raise more funds for the arriving students.²¹⁰ Their collection enabled László Dapsy and János Dömötör to be the Committee's first official bursars from Hungary.

The 1865 Assembly turned out to be a decisive moment for Hungarian Protestantism, enabling the Scots to exert influence on the rest of the country other than through colportage initiated and carried out from Pest. Richard Hörcsik stressed the importance of this new door opening given the fact that both the scholarships formerly awarded in Lower Germany and Holland were exhausted and, for political reasons, as the result of the Austrian-Prussian War, the German universities had expelled and excluded Hungarian students.²¹¹ Moreover, he noted that the German universities were influenced by rationalism and liberalism in contrast to the Scottish colleges of the Free Church in Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen which were permeated by Evangelical teaching.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that the Neo-absolutist era of Hungarian history was marked by far-reaching policy of Germanisation on the part of the Habsburg government, as a means of unifying the empire and suppressing the nationalist potential of the Hungarian language. Another consequence of Neo-absolutism was the centralisation of Hungarian political and social life under Austrian auspices in the city of Pest which took a leading role in the rapid modernisations of the country. Also, the importance of Pest was reflected ecclesiastically in the heightened role of the Danube Church Province, and of the influence of the

²⁰⁸ 'Külföld', *PEIL*, 8. 24 (1865), p. 779. Cf. Here, there is an allusion to Dunlop's speech at the General Assembly, *Daily Review* 30 May 1865, Edinburgh.

²⁰⁹ Mr. Dunlop, 'Conversion of the Jews Friday, May 29 1865', Free Church of Scotland, 'Proceedings of the General Assembly of Free Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May, 1865 (Edinburgh: James Nichol, 1865), 220-230, (p. 230). Dunlop is perhaps identical with Mr. James Dunlop of Flockmearns from the Presbytery of Irvine. See: *Ibid.* p. xvii. Cf. Duncan also admired the Magyars and shared their patriotism, which seemed successfully to defy Austrian absolutism. See in: A. Stuart Moody, *Recollection of the Late John Duncan, LL.D.* (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1872), pp. 78-81.

²¹⁰ NLS Dep. 298.252. fol. 63. Minutes of 20 June 1865. It read: 'the Convener and Mr. Wood were authorised to take immediate steps to raise funds sufficient to provide four bursaries for this year [This meant the year of 1865/66], three Hungarian students and one for a Bohemian student'. See also: A. Moody-Stuart, 'Report of the Committee on Bursaries for Foreign Students Presented to the General Assembly 1865. Appendix XXV.' in *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May, 1865* (Edinburgh: Thomas Constable, 1865), pp. 1-8.

²¹¹ Richárd Hörcsik, 'History of the Hungarian Scholarship at Edinburgh', New College, Edinburgh, HOR I, fol. 1-54 (fol. 14).

Protestant churches in the city, Széna tér church headed by Török and Szén tér church led by Székács. Parallel to the secular development of the shifting of political power from Pozsony to Pest ecclesiastical power shifted from Kecskemét to Pest, and the election of Török as bishop consolidated this process. The Reformed Church remained deeply committed to Hungarian nationalism, and allied itself strongly with other elements of the nationalist movement that now centred in Pest.

Regarding the development of the Mission during this period, the most important general conclusion to be drawn from the historical data is that its theological orientation of alliance between Evangelicalism and Pietism was consolidated in an overt challenge to the liberal understanding of mission that prevailed among the Reformed Church leaders in Pest. In contrast to the first period of the Mission's history when this tension, albeit latent, was amicably negotiated, van Anandel's leadership of the Mission, and his alliance with Biberauer, brought the tension out into the open. This was the significance of the 'orphanage conflict', the direct consequence of which was van Anandel's creation of the German-speaking congregation that, under his leadership, sought to establish a quite separate existence for the Reformed Church in Pest. While the need for the new congregation was justifiable in terms of Jewish evangelism in the eyes of the Edinburgh Committee, the manner in which it was brought into being seriously threatened the Mission's relationship with Török's Széna tér church. The Committee had to manoeuvre carefully between the liberals and the revivalists. It agreed to the foundation of the congregation as a place for welcoming Jewish converts into a living Christian fellowship, with the expectation that the congregation would itself participate in the work of Jewish evangelism. But in keeping with its twin goals, it pressed for the German-speaking congregation to seek an affiliated relationship with the Széna tér church, in the hope that the affiliated congregation would be able to make an effective evangelical witness in relation to the 'mother' church.

In this latter respect, however, the Mission faced the two problems of being both German-speaking and theologically orthodox. On both counts it was threatened with isolation from the Hungarian Reformed Church. This problem was compounded by the Prussian patriotism that marked Koenig's long years as leader of the Scottish Mission, and the appointment of Mór Ballagi to a professorship in the newly created Pest Theological Seminary. Under Ballagi's influence liberalism held sway in the Reformed Church theological circles in Pest, and the Mission found itself increasingly marginalized.

It was with a view to breaking out of this isolation, as well as achieving its twin goals of Jewish evangelism and ecclesiastical renewal, that the Edinburgh Committee inaugurated the bursary programme. The evidence shows that it was Debrecen Theological College, rather than Pest, that was the more responsive to the opportunity of the Bursary Programme. This began a shift of alliance between the Mission in Pest, and the orthodox theological college of the Reformed Church in Debrecen. This was a long-term policy that would not produce immediate results. But it promised the formation of a new cadre of Reformed Church leaders who, though direct personal experience of the theology and mission orientation of the Free Church in Scotland, would become the natural allies of the Scottish Mission in Hungary, with the potential of instilling Evangelical renewal and missionary enthusiasm in the Hungarian Reformed Church.

In the meantime, however, the language issue, and Magyarisation *versus* the German character of the Mission would continue to limit its effectiveness in reaching out to the Hungarian Reformed Church. In addition, it became clear that the German-speaking congregation, with the exception of certain individuals, was not enthusiastic to share the Mission's vocation for Jewish evangelism. The Mission and the Affiliated Church were not always in rapport with one another. From this we can only draw the conclusion that while the Mission's twin objectives remained in place, neither offered itself of easy fulfilment, and the desired convergence of the two aims was a challenge yet to be solved.

Chapter 4: The challenge of Magyarisation: the development of the Scottish Mission (1871-81)

Introduction

This chapter deals with the history of the Scottish Mission during the 1870s when, following the Agreement of 1867, the Dualist system of government introduced an appreciable degree of political and social autonomy in Hungary, creating an environment in which nationalism and modernization were able to advance. The issue of Magyarisation will be scrutinized from the perspective of the Hungarian Jews, the Hungarian Reformed Church, and the Mission.

It will be shown that the changing situation affected the Jewish community most radically, and resulted in a polarity of internal debate that split the community into two wings, the so-called 'Neolog' community separating itself from the Orthodox community. While both parties accepted the need for Magyarisation, the key issue that divided them was the degree to which the Jewish community needed to modernize itself in order to adapt to the processes of Magyarisation.

Developments in the Hungarian Reformed Church also mirrored the impact of Magyarisation, even though the Church identified itself integrally with the Magyar nation and culture. It was increasingly divided between liberal and evangelical theological approaches to its relationship with the state. The roots of this difference lay in the early 1860s, but with the easing of the political situation they now came to the fore. It will be shown how the two positions came to be identified with the theological colleges of Pest and Debrecen, the former espousing the liberal theology while the latter maintained Calvinist orthodoxy. It was with Debrecen that the Scottish Mission was able to forge the stronger link on a basis of its radical evangelicalism, as the Mission itself struggled with the challenge of Magyarisation.

The chapter will also show that Magyarisation proved to be a difficult challenge for the Mission, underpinning the various problems that it had to face. On the one hand it was challenged to evolve new ways of Jewish evangelism, given the changes within the Jewish community. On the other, it had to contend with inner power struggles between the Prussian-dominated mission staff, and the Scottish missionaries: the former were Pietists of Germanic orientation, while the latter were more radically evangelical and more willing to embrace the current trends of Magyarisation. It will be demonstrated that the concerns and

priorities of the two parties - the Evangelical Scots and German Pietists - could not easily be reconciled, and the resultant tension tested their alliance. It will be shown that the conflict was multifaceted; between the Jewish Committee in Edinburgh and the Mission Station in Pest, and between the missionaries themselves. Equally there was tension among the operational areas of the Mission's activities: on the one hand the school, the congregation, the colportage, and the Bethesda hospital all fell within the German-speaking subculture of the Hungarian Reformed Church; on the other the bursary programme was specifically designed for Hungarian members of the Church. The latter, as will be shown, proved to be the Mission's only effective link with the mainstream of the Hungarian Reformed Church, and its most promising enterprise in terms of Magyarisation.

I. The Social and Religious Context of the Pest Mission in the 1870s

1. Reaffirming the alliance of the Hungarian and Jewish elites: Magyarisation

The liberal Hungarian ruling class and the Jews, especially the highly influential reform Jews of Pest reaffirmed their earlier 'alliance' with the Parliament emancipating the latter towards the end of 1867.¹ The alliance, whose origin reaches back to the Reform Era was made on economic as well as nationalist lines.² The landed nobility needed tradesmen to buy and sell their products, and the Jews became partners in business. Moreover, the nobility, being the leaders of Hungarian people with only a marginal majority in the multinational Hungarian Kingdom, called for assimilation of other ethnic groups, amongst whom the Jews were the most ready to comply. They did so in the hope of receiving greater economic and social rights, and ultimately full legal emancipation. The Pest Neolog community, consisting of the most powerful economic leaders of the Jews, was the champion of the Magyarization. Moreover, as McCagg observed, they 'played a peculiarly important role in fanning Magyarization even among middle-class Hungarian non-Jews'.³ The Emancipation Law of 1867 removed the prohibition on acquisition of property and holding of office and Jews were thus enabled to move into areas previously closed to them. This encouraged them to teach the Magyar tongue in their schools with a revived enthusiasm in return for the newly gained rights.⁴ Péter Hanák underlined that the social

¹ C. A. Macartney, *The Habsburg Empire 1790-1918* (London and Edinburgh: Morrison and Gibb Limited, 1968), p. 711.

² See also: Chapter 1. Section. 2.2.3. Interrelation between Modernisation, Magyarisation and Jewish conversion: forming an alliance.

³ William C. McCagg Jr., *A History of the Habsburg Jews, 1670-1918* (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1989), p. 190.

⁴ McCagg, p. 135.

social determinant, which forced most of the Jews into trade, medicine and science for their survival, turned with time to their great advantage during the era of modernization in Hungary especially after 1867. This fact took on new meaning in Hungarian society, where there was open space for Jewish civil, social and economic development.⁵

Social development had a profound impact on the religious outlook of Hungarian Jewry, what Hanák calls 'rationalist skepticism'.⁶ This outlook manifested itself in growing religious indifference, which became characteristic of the Pest Jewish community. In the words of McCagg 'the old spirit was gone, [...] there had taken place a moral degeneration, [and] religious indifference had taken over'.⁷ Religious indifference and modernization went side by side, moving a part of the Jewry, the reform-minded, closer to Hungarian society but not to the Christianity that lay at its root. It is because statute 17 of the Emancipation Law declared that 'the Jewish inhabitants of the country enjoy the same civil and political rights as the Christians do'.⁸ This development did not incline the Jews to convert to Christianity. Even the liberal minded Jews were happy to remain within their own tradition. However, the new law did not emancipate Judaism as a religion, since the Jews had no recognised ecclesiastical framework that the government could have considered.⁹

2. Religious divisions within the Jewish Community

Modernisation of education as well as the desire to assimilate the Jews into Hungarian society prompted the Hungarian government to initiate a national religious body for the previously independent synagogues scattered all over the country. To achieve this end, Baron Eötvös, Minister of Religion and Education, backed by Reform minded Jews, called a congress of all Jews residing in Hungary in 1868.¹⁰ The effect of this meeting, however, was to expose a fracture within the Jewish community; the Orthodox Jews refused to join with the Reform-minded Jews known as the Neologs, and formed their own national organizations.¹¹ As Jacob Katz observed, the result of the Jewish Congress of 1868-69 was a unique split in the history of the European Jewish community instead of the

⁵ Péter Hanák, *The Garden and the Workshop*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), p. 59.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ McCagg, p. 123.

⁸ János Gyurgyák, *A zsidókérdés Magyarországon* (Budapest: Osiris Kiadó, 2001), p. 65. See also: László Gonda, *A zsidóság Magyarországon 1526-1945* (Budapest: Századvég Kiadó, 1992), p. 117. n. 64. The referred law was the Emancipation Law of 1867 Article 17.

⁹ McCagg, p. 193.

¹⁰ Gonda, p. 120.

¹¹ McCagg, pp. 137-138. There was a very small third groups, who disagreed with both Neolog and Orthodox and came to be known as *ante-Status quo* Jewish community.

establishment of administrative, legal and religious unity as the organiser had hoped.¹² Magyarisation was not called into question but was differently understood by various religious parties. In general, the Orthodox accepted linguistic assimilation, whereas the Neolog embraced it in a more comprehensively cultural and social sense. Evidently the religious self-perception of Orthodox Jews segregated them more, impeding their cultural assimilation. Nevertheless, a highly interesting feature of Jewish Magyarisation is that neither the Orthodox nor the Neologs sought 'religious assimilation' as a group. Individual conversion did happen though it often evoked the disapproval of the Pest Jewish community that consisted of Neolog and Orthodox Jews.

3. Modernisation of the Jewry in the era of industrialisation

The *Ausgleich* of 1867 accelerated the process of industrialization and urbanization that began in the 1850s. A feudal society was becoming capitalist with an enormous disparity between the developing cities and the countryside. Industrialisation particularly proved to be favourable for the Jewish economic elite, who, because of their capital, moved much faster into the areas of banking, finance, retail and industry than any other ethnic group.¹³ They formed a powerful layer of the economic elite beside the landed nobility. Likewise the middle-class Jewish professionals and tradesmen such as owners of distilleries, mills, or small and medium-sized industries, or lessees of pubs and butcheries had an increasing influence.¹⁴ The Jews also appeared at all levels of the emerging intelligentsia, becoming doctors, lawyers, journalists, writers and scholars in larger numbers than other ethnic groups.¹⁵ Many medium-sized businesses and the intelligentsia had a proportionately higher number of Jews than any other ethnic group particularly in Pest.

There was a concurrent increase in the size of the Jewish communities in Pest and Buda. The Jewish population rose from 44,890 in 1869 to 103,317 by 1890.¹⁶ It is observed by historians that by 1890 every fifth person in Pest was a Jew.¹⁷ Macartney, in

¹² Jakov Katz, *Végzetes szakadás*, trans. by Gábor Ács (Budapest: Múlt és Jövő Kiadó, 1999). Cf. Gonda, pp. 120-137.

¹³ János Béri-Lichtner, *Együttélés. A zsidóság szerepe Magyarország legújabbkori történetében 1790-1918* (Budapest: Argumentum, 1995), pp. 33-39. See also: in *Zsidók a magyar gazdasági életben 1760 1945*, ed. by Silber, K. Michael (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1992).

¹⁴ György Szabad, 'Átalakuló polgárság', *A társadalmi átrétegződés folyamatának előrehaladása. Az önkényuralom kora (1849-1867)*, ed. by Zsigmond Pál Pach, Endre Kovács and László Katus, 2nd edn, 10 vols (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987), VI/1 2 pt ch. 5: *Magyarország története 1848-1890*, 581-608. (p. 592).

¹⁵ Géza Buzinkay, *A Bach-korszak művelődéspolitikája Magyarországon*, (Budapest, Bölcsészdoktori értekezés, 1973), p. 108.

¹⁶ McCagg, p. 191.

¹⁷ Don Jehuda, and Georges Magos, 'A magyarországi zsidóság demográfiai fejlődése', *Történelmi Szemle*, 3 (1995), p. 443. This meant that from 16,6 percent of the overall population their number rose to 20,6 percent.

assessing the role of the Jews in the modernization of Hungary, said that ‘the capitalist development of modern Hungary had been almost entirely of their making, and the results of it were concentrated chiefly in their hands’.¹⁸ Magyarisation, the interplay of religious adherence and modernisation, and the change from feudalism to capitalism all played an important role in the life of the Jewry in Pest and shaped the character of its community.

4. Theological divisions in the Reformed Church of Hungary: Protestant Union and the ‘Orthodox-Evangelical’ alliance

A similar development can be observed within the Reformed community of Pest, where the liberals, like in the Jewish community, took the lead. The main proponents of liberal ideas were the professors of Pest Theological Seminary, led and dominated by Mór Ballagi. Ballagi’s liberalism met opposition on two fronts; the first encounter was the ‘orphanage conflict’ (1859-60); the second Filó’s opposition within the Seminary (1861-62). The alliance between the Evangelical Scottish Mission and the Pietist-dominated German-speaking congregation represented a counter-point to the liberal theology of Pest Seminary. However, the Evangelical-Pietist people deemed it necessary to withdraw a voluntary state of existence after a painful defeat over the management of the Protestant Orphanage. Likewise, in the early 1860s the liberals grew strong and persons with an orthodox, more confession orientated theological stance, like Filó, left.¹⁹ Reference has already been made to the Ballagi-Filó debate centered around Ballagi’s denial of Christ’s bodily resurrection.²⁰ Ballagi’s assertion attracted the attention of Protestant theologians outside Pest such as Imre Révész in Debrecen, who was initially sympathetic to Ballagi’s methodology in arguing his point. Nevertheless, shortly after 1861 Révész began to experience a profound change of his theological position. János Csohány described the shift as follows:

After the resurrection debate his initial rationalist-liberal theological stance shifted, due to [reading books from] Calvin, and [the influence of] Reformed Pietists from abroad, as well as the Anglo-Saxon Pietists. Révész was led first to ‘mediatory theology (*közvetítő teológia*)’ then to the Puritan heritage of Debrecen which enabled him to prepare the ground for revival.²¹

¹⁸ Macartney, *The Habsburg*, p. 710.

¹⁹

²⁰ See: Chapter 3. Section. 1.2.2. Mission, Spirituality and main theological trends in the 1850s and 1860s.

²¹ János Csohány, ‘A XIX. századi magyar református ébredés debreceni ága’, *Református Egyház*, 24. 9 (1974), 193-197 (p.194). In this article Csohány argued that the 17 century Puritanism of Martonfalvi survived in Debrecen throughout the 18th century until Révész’s time when the aforementioned new movements ‘enlivened the old yeast’ of Puritanism. Apparently Csohány’s main concern was to underline

Révész developed a growing concern to enliven the 'dry sermons' of the rationalist preaching books that ministers often learnt word for word. To that end in 1862 he began to study the preaching of Spurgeon, Robertson, Monod and Coquerel.²² This initiative resulted in producing a translation of Robertson's sermons. Révész's book about Calvin was mentioned earlier in which he set the reformer as well as the Free Church of Scotland as a model of religious life. When the bursary program came into being, it established new ties with British Evangelicalism, especially with Scotland.²³ Having returned from Edinburgh in 1865, Ferenc Balogh succeeded Révész as Professor of Church History, but Révész remained highly influential as the senior minister of the largest Hungarian Reformed congregation in Hungary. Together, they began to adopt foreign mission ideas into Hungarian Reformed theology with a view to reviving church life. This initiative received a further thrust through confrontation with the newly-founded association known as the Protestant Union modeled on the German *Protestantenverein*.

In October 1871 Albert Kovács, a professor of the Seminary, together with Mór Ballagi initiated the Protestant Union. Kovács stated that two issues urged him to act. First of all, the First Vatican Council, and secondly, the materialist agitation conducted in rural towns.²⁴ He described them as 'those want to have faith without knowledge, and these knowledge without faith'.²⁵ The aim of the Union was 'to renew the religious and moral life in the spirit of Jesus and in accordance with a holistic erudition [as well as] to make the literature of *Religionswissenschaft* thrive and support humanitarian endeavors'.²⁶ At the inaugural meeting of the Union Ballagi launched a fierce attack on the theological position of Debrecen, which in his opinion was backward in its outlook.²⁷ The Pest liberals labelled the theological position of Révész and Balogh as orthodox.²⁸ The reaction of Debrecen is best summarised in Balogh's letter to the Jewish Committee:

Last October there was founded an *anti-evangelical* [italics added] society under the name Hungarian Protestant Union. Our Church [Transcibiscan Church Province] and [Debrecen] College did not enter into that fatal Union:

that there was a 'pre-existing' Hungarian piety due to Puritanism. Another observation is that his use of 'Pietism' is inappropriate since he clearly referred to Evangelicals from Britain.

²² Letter to László Hegedűs, Dean of the Alsó Zemplén Church District dated as of 15 May 1862. Cited by Imre Révész junior, *Révész Imre élete 1826-1881* (Debrecen: Tiszántúli Református Egyházkerület, 1909), p. 224.

²³ Chapter 3. 5. The Bursary Programme: A desire to revive the Reformed Church

²⁴ Mihály Bucsay, *A protestantizmus története Magyarországon 1521-1945*, trans. by Auer Kálmán, Ádámné Révész Gabriella (Budapest: Gondolat, 1985), p. 219.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 220.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Ferenc Balogh 'Vallási iratok magyar nyelven'. *Evangeliumi Protestáns Lap* [Thereafter *EPL*], 1. 4 (1875), p. 32.

we are decided to remain fast on the side of our Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ. We reject the Unitarian principles of that Union, and adopt the true basis of the gospel, the principles of the Evangelical Alliance. There is now a great distance between their standpoint and ours. They call themselves modern, liberal; and they style us orthodox, and obscured. We are happy to be orthodox, because we do not shame the glorious name of Jesus Christ. There shall be a war, or rather a rupture, among us.²⁹

Accordingly, Imre Révész senior started a bitter fight against the liberals in his paper, *Magyar Protestáns Egyházi és Iskolai Figyelmező* (Hungarian Protestant Church and School Observer). He charged Ballagi and Kovács with the denial of the confessions of the church. Balogh wrote in *Figyelmező* that the liberals ‘shook the foundations of the confession of a nineteen century old Christianity’.³⁰ Révész urged the members of the Protestant Union to secede from the church because with their activities they are ‘experimenting on the body of their mother’.³¹

To counterbalance the influence of Pest, by 1873 Ferenc Balogh and Révész entertained the idea of setting up the Hungarian Branch of the Evangelical Alliance. This failed to materialise, however, because of the great indifference and ‘trivial misunderstandings and slander in Debrecen’.³² But Balogh began to publish *Evangéliomi Protestáns Lap* (‘Evangelical’ Protestant Journal) with the aiming of disseminating Evangelical and Pietist ideas of the home and foreign mission of the Free Church of Scotland and the German *Innere Mission*.

Certainly by the early 1870s the understanding of mission and the related theological viewpoints differed greatly between the liberal and orthodox faction of the Hungarian Reformed Church. Ballagi and Révész, the two most prominent persons of these rival stances, shared a common concern for the renewal of church life. Each had foreign models in mind. For Révész it was found in the Free Church of Scotland and the German Home Mission movement, both of which emphasised personal piety; for Ballagi, on the other hand, it was found in the German *Protestantverein*. Whereas the former was concerned about the spiritual renewal of the individual, the latter hoped to advance the moral life of the community as a whole. The orthodox of Debrecen, influenced by Evangelicalism and Pietism, maintained the fallibility of human nature because of sin; the

²⁹ A. Moody-Stuart, ‘Hungarian and Bohemian Bursaries’, *FCofSMR*, 10. 118 (1 May, 1872), p. 93.

³⁰ Mihály Bucsay, ‘A protestáns egyelet kora (1870-1896)’ in *A Budapesti Református Theológiai Akadémia története 1855-1955*, ed. by Mihály Bucsay, and László Pap (Budapest: A Református egyetemes konvent sajtóosztálya, 1955), 38-72., (p. 51). He cited Ferenc Balogh’s article in *MPEIFőRv* (1872), p. 34. ff.

³¹ Bucsay, *A protestantizmus*, p. 220.

³² Imre Révész junior, *Révész Imre élete*, p. 161. Unfortunately, we are not given a clue precisely to what the quotation referred. It is certainly a very intriguing remark and calls for further research that the author intends to undertake.

liberals believed in the moral evolution of the Christian community and the power of 'social gospel'.

Both parties, however, saw the importance of mission. The historian Zsilinszky observed that the Protestant Union was amongst the first to 'set up a mission in Bilke, Ugocsa County'.³³ It is interesting to notice how Kovács expressed the purpose of the Union; 'the Union never wanted to be an association to form dogma, but a *Home Mission Union* [emphasis in original text]'.³⁴ However, it was rather a support given to small and weak Reformed congregations, which lived as a minority among other ethnic groups having different religions in some areas of Hungary, or as a Diaspora outside the country. This was a nationalist, and humanist mission to further Hungarian culture through the Magyar religion. In contrast to this, Balogh in his paper set the example of the Scottish and British Evangelicalism and German Pietism, therefore he was open to set interdenominational organisations as an example of mission, and escaped the liberals' narrow-minded confessionalism. Also the Debrecen orthodox denied that the liberals had any right to carry out mission since they were not Christians in their eyes. Akin to Révész's imperative for Ballagi to leave the church, Ferenc Márk, a bursar from Debreceni argued that the Union's mission was purely humanistic and did not contain any trait of Christianity, claiming: 'there is a great difference between philanthropy and Christian philanthropy'.³⁵ A further difference from liberals was that Balogh allowed voices in his periodical to propagate the idea of foreign mission, that were the first instances of such kind.³⁶

Mihály Bucsay pointed out that the theological dispute between the liberals and orthodox was an issue for a rather small circle of the educated.³⁷ Yet the debate had a larger and fruitful impact in the long run. Both liberals and 'orthodox' with Evangelical-Pietist inclination enlivened and broadened the scope of theological publications and supported Hungarian Reformed Diaspora and began to debate how to carry out home mission.³⁸ They also introduced good innovations such as the Central Fund for ministers to help in case of need. Both agreed on the idea of forming a national body for the whole

³³ *A Magyarhoni Protestáns Egyház története*, ed. by Mihály Zsilinszky (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1907), p. 755.

³⁴ Bucsay, 'A protestáns egyesület kora (1870-1896)', p. 51. n. 49. Bucsay cites Büchner, 'Erő és Anyag' (Budapest: Láng Lajos, 1870), p. 33.

³⁵ Ferenc Márk, 'A skótziai szabadegyház egyetemes gyülekezései', *EPL*, 1. 27 (2 July 1875), 246-7 (p. 247).

³⁶ R. 'Magyar Missió' 1.50. *EPL*, (10 December 1975) p. 442. Cf. Lajos Csiky, 'Az edinburghi hallgatók Missiói Társulata', *EPL*, 2. 18 (1876), p. 145.

³⁷ Bucsay, *A magyar protestantizmus*, p. 221.

Reformed Church since legally the church provinces were entirely independent of one another.³⁹ In conclusion it may well be said that though the conflict was bitter and it resulted in the retreat of extreme liberal ideas that Ballagi's circle represented.

The deepening division between liberals and orthodox, from the orphanage conflict of 1859, through the Ballagi-Filó debate of 1861-2 until the early 1870s of the Pest liberal-Debrecen orthodox conflict, show that the Hungarian Reformed Church, like the society, was in the mould of the newly gained freedom. This was the time when theological ideas had to be crystallised in opposition to each other, setting the main lines of theological adherence for future decades. Debrecen orthodoxy experienced little tension, whereas its closest theological counterpart, the Evangelical-Pietist alliance of the Scottish Mission and the German-speaking congregation in Pest, experienced severe internal tensions. This alliance was seriously tested throughout the 1870s, hampering effective development of the Mission's activities.

II. The Work of the Scottish Mission during the 1870s

1. The challenge to the Evangelical-Pietist Alliance: conflicts between the Jewish Committee, the missionaries and the teachers

At the beginning of the new decade crucial decisions were made at the Scottish Mission. The change of the missionary staff began with the overall decision of the Edinburgh Jewish Committee to relocate Andrew Moody from Pest to Prague to replace van Andel in 1871.⁴⁰ All this happened because there was no candidate at hand for Jewish mission in Amsterdam, and so the transfer of the Dutchman van Andel was deemed necessary.⁴¹ The relocation of Moody left an enormous burden on the shoulders of the other Pest missionary, Koenig, who had to undertake the management of the school as well as the congregation. The Committee, realising that the situation could not be sustained, sought for

³⁸ Diaspora was used in two ways by Hungarians. It referred to Hungarian Reformed people who lived outside of the Hungarian Kingdom in the neighboring countries, as well as to Reformed people who lived in regions dominated by other denominations.

³⁹ Bucsay, 'A protestáns egyet kora (1870-1896)', p. 43. See also: *A Magyarhoni Protestáns Egyház története*, p. 757.

⁴⁰ 'The transference of Mr. Andrew Moody to Prague', *FCofSMR*, 10. 113 (1 December 1871), 245-6 (p. 245).

⁴¹ National Library of Scotland (NLS) Dep. 298. 252. fol. 433. Minutes of 17 October 1871. It was due to the fact that Dr. Schwartz retired from Amsterdam and Van Andel who was at Prague at that time, was thought to be the most appropriate person to be transferred to the Netherlands as being a native of the country. Consequently, this resulted in a need to find somebody for Prague and it happened to be Moody to continue the work there. The decision of the Committee was incumbent on the missionaries, which was in full control of their employees.

a candidate for the Pest station.⁴² It advertised the missionary post at Pest and even applied 'to the professors in the hope of their hearing of someone from Scotland [who would be] suitable to take A. Moody's place'.⁴³ There was no applicant for a year. In late 1872, William Affleck,⁴⁴ was identified as a suitable candidate, but he soon withdrew his candidacy, and Koenig would have had to superintend the school on his own for the academic year of 1872/73. However, at the last moment Andrew Thom, formerly the headmaster of St. Paul's School, Edinburgh and a licensed probationer for ordination, was sent to Pest to assist Koenig with the school.⁴⁵

1.1. German versus Hungarian character of the Mission School: Thom's case

The relationship between Koenig and Thom was difficult from the start. In November 1872, Koenig complained that 'in his opinion Mr. Thom had compromised the interest of the Mission by having accepted the invitation of a Hungarian gentleman to receive him into his house and to become a tutor to his son'.⁴⁶ Furthermore, the minutes of the Jewish Committee stated that Koenig requested that the temporary engagement of a 'German preaching assistant' named Bonnet, whom he had previously employed with the consent of the congregation, should be prolonged, 'as Mr. Thom from the lack of German language could not at present render him any assistance'.⁴⁷ Thom defended himself on the first issue by arguing that his relationship with the Hungarians was 'likely to aid further development by giving him entrance into Hungarian Society',⁴⁸ and second he requested to be authorised by the Committee to preach in English, as he felt this to be important.

The Committee regretted that the situation became uncomfortable but informed Koenig that 'Thom's duties were purposely left indefinite'.⁴⁹ Its resolution was that there was no 'reason for interfering with Mr. Thom's discretion in selecting his place of residence, their only desire being that he should fully consider his mission work and its claims upon his time, and that he should do nothing to hinder free access to him by Jews'.⁵⁰ Moreover, the Committee refused Koenig's request to extend the employment of the German preaching assistant, anticipating that Thom would be soon be quite qualified

⁴² NLS Dep. 298. 253. fol. 3, Minutes of November 1871.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Affleck was a member of the Jewish Committee for a long time. His name frequently appears in the sources. NLS Dep. 298. 253. fol. 17, Minutes of 5 March 1872; and see also: fol. 19, Minutes of 12 March 1872.

⁴⁵ 'Israel', *FCofSMR*, 12. 136 (1 November 1873), 225-6 (p. 225).

⁴⁶ NLS Dep. 298.253. fol. 49, Minutes of 19 November 1872.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ NLS Dep. 298.253. fol. 50, Minutes of 19 November 1872.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

for German work. They came to the conclusion: 'it is very important to have a missionary from Scotland at their station' and confirmed that Thom's preaching in English was 'a most fitting testimony on the part of the Free Church at this Station'.⁵¹ During the winter of 1872/3 the clash between Koenig and Thom was aggravated and further complicated by the teachers' request for a salary increase.⁵² A Deputation was sent from Scotland to deal with these problematic issues, and on receiving the report, the Committee reconfirmed their trust in Thom's work and refused to raise the teachers' salary since it would have implied a pay rise in other mission stations and would have created dissatisfaction if their salaries had been higher.⁵³

The Committee was glad when Thom, despite these initial difficulties, agreed to be confirmed in his appointment in September 1873 'to be missionary to the Jews at Pesth, as a colleague to Mr. Koenig, and on a footing of equality with him'.⁵⁴ The superintendence of the Mission School was assigned to him, with a view to his gaining access to Jewish families. The Committee's plan was to send him to Berlin to attend the Royal Training College for teachers for three months. They hoped that he would thus 'become acquainted with the German style and methods of teaching, and will be recognised as entitled to take his place over the teachers as superintendent of the school' since 'the school was conducted by teachers who have come from the Normal Schools of Germany'.⁵⁵ He would then return to Scotland at the beginning of January 1874 for ordination, and proceed to Pest immediately afterwards to enter upon his duties.

While Thom was away in Germany the teachers at the school wrote to the Committee remonstrating against his appointment. The minutes of the Committee read as follows:

A letter was read dated 29th October signed by the six teachers at the Pesth Mission School, expressing their regret at Mr. Thom's appointment as the head of the School, their objection to it and their request that the Committee would change the arrangement.⁵⁶

It was clear that the teachers had the support of Koenig, who may indeed have prompted them to write in complaint of Thom. The Committee responded to the teachers by

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 50.

⁵² NLS Dep. 298.253. fol. 67, Minutes of 4 March 1873.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ NLS Dep. 298.253. fols. 93-4. Minutes of 16 September 1873. In spite of this statement of equality Thom's salary was only £150 in comparison with the £300 of Koenig. See also in fol. 96. Minutes of 21 October 1873. The issue of money and Jewish mission is an area for further research, which the author has done but could not incorporate to this thesis.

⁵⁵ 'Israel', *FCofSMR*, 12. 136 (1 November 1873), 225-6. (p. 226).

⁵⁶ NLS Dep. 298.253. fols 102-3, Minutes of 18 November 1873.

conceding to their demand for a pay rise, though it took the occasion to remind them that 'all teachers should be pervaded by a true missionary spirit and should devote at the least two hours a week to visiting among Jewish families, especially the parents of the School children seeking in this way opportunities for commending the gospel'.⁵⁷ The problem was resolved by Thom himself who, in February 1874, offered his resignation to the Committee, recognising the dissatisfaction among the German-speaking teachers with his appointment that was 'beyond the control of the Committee'.⁵⁸

The Committee was certainly not pleased with this outcome since right from the 1860s there were not many candidates for Jewish mission. Furthermore, they wanted to have a Scottish missionary besides Koenig in Pest. They also had to consider that the very existence of their 'most prestigious' mission station was at stake as the only missionary, Koenig, and all the teachers of the Mission School revolted. They were left with not much choice but to express their disapproval and regret, and accept the situation as it was.⁵⁹

There is a striking similarity with the manner in which the Committee tried to solve the van Andel case. The Committee dealt with the case through a deputation, whose report did not prove to be adequate to make a decision, so the person in question was summoned to Edinburgh to give a speech of defence against the charges. The main charge was Thom's lack of German, which certainly hindered the Mission's work since its school and congregation were still German-speaking. Nonetheless, it is a highly interesting feature that Thom decided to learn Hungarian and in this sense he, like Andrew Moody did with his preaching in Hungarian, represented the pioneering step of the Magyarisation of the Mission, though it was interrupted.

After Thom's resignation, the Committee still entertained the idea that 'a Scotch missionary' in Pest would 'secure best the object of Mission'.⁶⁰ They decided to regulate the future work of the Mission at Pest in order to avoid future problems. The resolution stated that every Scottish missionary, before leaving for his particular station, should be ordained and placed on a footing of entire equality with the other missionary. It also declared that the missionaries had a 'joint responsibility' for the station, and repeated what should have been obvious from the time of Moody and Koenig, that the several branches of

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ NLS Dep. 298.253. fol. 112, Minutes of 17 February 1874.

⁵⁹ NLS Dep. 298.253. fol. 116, Minutes of 17 March 1874.

⁶⁰ NLS Dep. 298.253. fol. 147, Minutes of 16 June 1874.

the Mission work should be divided into two departments.⁶¹ To avoid future misunderstanding, the Committee explicitly stated that official letters were intended for both missionaries regardless of whoever may be the receiver.⁶²

Koenig was pleased with the removal of Thom, but knew that he could not cope with the enormous burden of work alone in Pest. After two unsuccessful initiatives to find a permanent missionary for Pest, the Committee approached William Owen Allan, the erstwhile Pest missionary, to consider Pest again as a possible station.⁶³ Allan soon consented and arrived in October 1874 in Pest.⁶⁴ According to the division of labour, Koenig was made responsible for the superintendence of the 'colportage and evangelistic agencies', as well as for the circulation of Bibles and the printing and distribution of tracts within and outside Pest. Allan was to be the head of the school and was to superintend the colporteurs and teachers visits to Jewish families. In addition the following works were shared: the Sabbath service in English in the morning, the German service by both missionaries alternately in the afternoon or in the evening of each Sabbath 'with special bearing on the Conversion of the Jews'.⁶⁵ With these arrangements the Committee hoped to eliminate further conflicts between the missionaries.

2. Conflict between the Jewish Committee and the congregation

Apart from the conflicts between the Committee and Koenig and the Mission staff, and between the missionaries themselves, a new strident clash surfaced for the first time spoiling the so far good relationship of the German-speaking congregation and the Committee. The German-speaking congregation held its services in the Great Hall of the Scottish School from 1 May 1870 until their own church was erected in June 1878.⁶⁶ This period was characterised by an acute crisis between the Committee and the leadership of

⁶¹ They recommended that once a month the missionaries should consult on the progress of the station. In case of disagreement on the expediency of any proposed line of procedure they should refer the question to the Committee.

⁶² NLS Dep. 298.253. fol. 148, Minutes of 16 June 1874.

⁶³ NLS Dep. 298.253. fol. 158, Minutes of 22 September 1874. It was the same amount as Koenig received, the highest salary among the Jewish missionaries of the Free Church. Allan was one of the first missionaries to come to Hungary together with Duncan in 1841. After his departure from Pest, he worked in Damascus then in Constantinople together with Koenig. The next stage in his missionary career was being the minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, St. Thomas congregation in the West Indies.

⁶⁴ NLS Dep. 298.253. fols 161-162, Minutes of 7 October 1874. The former decisions of the Committee were recalled April 1874 about the distribution of the work. During this meeting they felt, for the very first time as the minute book betrays the need of explicitly stating the responsibility of each missionary.

⁶⁵ NLS Dep. 298.253. fol. 164, Minutes of 7 October 1874.

⁶⁶ József Farkas, *A Pesti Református Egyház 101 éves története* (Kecskemét: A Budapesti Evangéliumi Reformált Egyház, 1898), p. 166.

the congregation. The nature of the problem was expressed in the minutes of the Jewish Committee: 'German congregation should continue to pay money - their half as formerly agreed was £80 - for the hall rent' and they should 'make some more direct contribution for the support of ordinances than they do at present'.⁶⁷ The Committee did not fail to remind the congregation that they not only had a very favourable rental but that the Scottish Mission also provided a place of worship, a minister, his salary and a manse.

Behind this statement from the Committee lay the fact that the congregation wished to start building a church on the freely granted premises next to the Scottish Mission. The Committee had already invested a large amount of money in the establishment and maintenance of the German congregation, and was unhappy with the fact that only a part of the congregation participated actively in the specific task of mission to the Jews. Yet they proved to be considerate on the recommendation of Alexander Duff's verbal report. Duff was a member of the 1870 Deputation to Pest and warned of 'the injurious effect of charging the German congregation at Pesth with the rent for the use of the Hall', in spite of the fact that this was an integral part of the original arrangement.⁶⁸ Acting upon this report the Committee decided that the German congregation should pay £70 instead of £80.⁶⁹

Nevertheless, this did not satisfy the congregation. The 'Scottish' missionary, Koenig repeatedly pressed hard for paying only £40, half of the original rent.⁷⁰ The Committee was astonished by this request, which Koenig advanced quite often, and also by his request for a £500 contribution towards the erection of the church building.⁷¹ Koenig made it clear why the congregation approached the Committee. The City Council of Pest had given a free grant of the ground to the congregation on the condition that a church building would be completed by 1875.⁷² He argued that the war on the Continent had greatly hindered any collection of funds in Germany and he was left with no alternative but to appeal to financial support.⁷³ Farkas, the Hungarian church historian, commented on this situation by rephrasing a biblical verse, 'he, who wants to start to build a tower first should

⁶⁷ NLS Dep. 298.253. fol. 294, Minutes of 16 November 1869.

⁶⁸ NLS Dep. 298.253. fol. 343, Minutes of 19 July 1870. See Appendix I. entry 9.

⁶⁹ NLS Dep. 298.253. fol. 352, Minutes of 15 November 1870.

⁷⁰ NLS Dep. 298.253. fols 355-57, Minutes 30 November 1870.

⁷¹ NLS Dep. 298.253. fol. 356, Minutes of 30 November 1870.

⁷² Richárd Bodoky, *Jövevények és vándorok. Polgári családtörténet. A Biberbauer-Bodoky krónika*, 2 vols (Budapest: Dr. Bodoky Richardné, 1996), II, p. 180. Cf. The building of the new school began in 1869 on the site of 17 Hold utca (Moon Street). Gyula Forgács, 'A száz éves Skót Misszió', in *És Lőn Világosság. Ravasz László hatvanadik életéve és a dunamelléki püspökségének huszonadik évfordulója alkalmából* (Budapest: Klny, 1941), 412-429. (p 425). Through Török's mediation the congregation obtained a piece of land in the middle of the town, the Pest council donated it 'on 25 June 1869, with its resolution no. 17405 a property for the purpose of the house of the pastor and a school'.

⁷³ NLS Dep. 298.253. fol. 356, Minutes of 30 November 1870.

count the cost'.⁷⁴ By 1874 the Committee felt that the congregation had pushed their request over the limit. They expressed their disapproval with resentment:

The Committee does not feel that they would be justified in expending any part of the funds continued for Jewish purpose, merely to relieve the congregation of its duty to support its own minister. They consider that the only ground on which they can be warranted to accord the help hitherto afforded is, that the German congregation form a really effective means of reaching the minds of the Jews. They are further of the opinion that whilst much of the Missionary's time has been necessarily occupied with purely pastoral work, that end [i.e. outreach to the Jews] has not hitherto been attained in any adequate measure.⁷⁵

It is probable that the Committee was annoyed by the 'imprudence' of the congregation and Koenig. They felt that the congregation gave minimal support to the Scottish missionary minister and severely criticised it both for its corporate ineffectiveness and for distracting the individual efforts of Koenig, from his primary purpose of Jewish evangelism. The Committee held out the prospect of discontinuing the connection with the congregation. The minutes of June 1874 read:

They, therefore, request Mr. Koenig to submit to them his views as to the best method of turning the connexion with the German congregation to account for the only object which it is competent for this Committee to contemplate; or otherwise, as to the manner in which the work could most efficiently be carried on, in the event of that connexion (sic!) being dissolved. [...] Meanwhile they deem it essential that in all ministrations in the German Church *the conversion of Israel shall never be forgotten or kept out of view* [italics added]; that some public collection shall be made annually for the conversion of the Jews - and that on every meeting for prayer in the Mission, prayer shall expressly be offered up on their behalf.⁷⁶

This sharp statement clearly reflects the basis on which the Committee was willing to help the congregation. It should be noted that this statement was issued within four months of Thom's resignation.

The interests of the Committee and those of the congregation, including Koenig, the remaining missionary, were a world apart. The Committee's priority was Jewish mission through the school and the congregation. On the other hand, the main concern of the German-speaking congregation was the erection of a church. For the Committee its involvement with the congregation became burdensome. In spite of the fact that it offered a place to Jewish converts, the congregation - in the Committee's eyes - seemed persistently to fail to become satisfactorily involved in Jewish mission.

⁷⁴ Farkas, p.167. Cf. Luke 14:28.

⁷⁵ NLS Dep. 298.253. fol. 149, Minutes of 16 June 1874.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

After Allan's appointment in autumn of 1874, we hear nothing of the issues between the Committee and the congregation for two years. The congregation exceeded the deadline given by the City Council. Nevertheless an extension was again granted that put an enormous strain on the congregation.⁷⁷ On 19 December 1876 the minutes intimated that Vilmos Klauser, the session clerk,⁷⁸ and Biberauer wrote letters 'in the name of the Presbytery of the German Reformed Affiliated Church asking the Committee about their pecuniary difficulties'.⁷⁹ Koenig proposed that the 'Committee should pay £600 to complete the church and also lend £2200 at 3.5 percent to the congregation, being the present amount of their debt, for which they had to pay 5 percent, and suggesting as security for this loan the hospital Bethesda, said to be worth of £7000'.⁸⁰

Allan did not entirely share Koenig's view. In his opinion 'the site of the present church had been given gratuitously but on the condition that within three years a school and a schoolmaster's or pastor's house should be built as well as a church and further that the hospital though conveyed in security for a loan morally, and probably legally, could not be sold in the event of non-payment of the Loan'.⁸¹ Evidently, Allan warned the Committee of the consequences that in the event of non-payment, an aspect about which Koenig was silent, the Mission would only receive its own money back since it had also invested a great deal of money into the hospital, which was offered as a guarantee.

Koenig put the case more robustly, claiming that 'the current law obliged the school to have a congregation', that 'no administrations of sealing ordinances' could be done without such a connection, and that 'proselytes would require to be baptized elsewhere'.⁸² By thus alluding to the possible severance of the cooperation between the Mission and the congregation, Koenig was in effect threatening the Committee with the shut down of the whole Jewish mission enterprise in Pest.

By January 1877, both parties to this dispute felt aggrieved. Biberauer expressed his disappointment 'at the want of sympathy' with the German congregation and feared that it could have a negative effect on 'their connection with the Mission'.⁸³ In reply the Committee insisted it was not indifferent, and called to his recollection 'various proofs, and interest in the congregation for whom they had provided a pastor and a place of

⁷⁷ NLS Dep. 298.253. fols 272.-73, Minutes of 19 December 1876.

⁷⁸ *Értesítés a Bethesda első magyarhoni diakonissza-intézet és kórház 1866-1890-ig történt fejlődéséről s huszonötödik évi jelentése* (Budapest: Hornyánszky Viktor, 1891), p. 3. Klauser was the session-clerk of the congregation for a long time.

⁷⁹ NLS Dep. 298.253. fol. 272, Minutes of 19 December 1876.

⁸⁰ NLS Dep. 298.253. fols. 272-73, Minutes of 19 December 1876.

⁸¹ NLS Dep. 298.253. fol. 272, Minutes of 19 December 1876.

⁸² NLS Dep. 298.253. fol. 273, Minutes of 19 December 1876.

worship and other aid, and that while they might have now expected the congregation to be self-supporting, they had not withdrawn any of their privileges'.⁸⁴

In May 1877 the conflict reached its climax. Koenig indicated his desire to retire from his pastoral work at the German congregation due to ill health and the 'increased work of Jewish Mission and in Tract and Bible work throughout Hungary'.⁸⁵ The Committee asked for his proposal as to 'what should precisely be done in this case as well as what his future duties will be'.⁸⁶ The prospect of Koenig's withdrawal from missionary work deeply worried the Committee and put Koenig's negotiating position into a very favourable one. Koenig produced a very lengthy letter in which he recollected all his former arguments as to why the Committee must offer help: missionaries to the Jews could not preach publicly except through an established church and the German-speaking congregation provided the legal framework for such preaching, but this would end if the church were dissolved due to lack of financial support and in this case Jewish converts would meet only 'nominal' and 'rationalist' Christians in such churches as Széna-tér Church, which, in his opinion, did not provide a spiritual home. Furthermore, he warned that the converts and even the congregation would appeal to another Jewish Mission for help; this he remarked 'would be most grievous and hurtful for the congregation, most injurious to the interest of our Mission, and a lasting reproach to ourselves [i.e. Scottish Mission] after having fostered the Congregation so long'.⁸⁷ Finally, he alleged that:

[State] legislation in detail in regard to religious liberty or liberty of worship does not as yet exist. The government though in its form is constitutional, is in point of fact despotic, even more so than when the Austrians were in power. By the leading Magyars, both in church and State, we as foreigners are considered intruders and unwelcome guests. As regards our Mission School the present state of the law affords many a handle for interference such as might damage and eventually destroy the School. And it is not improbable that a time may arrive, when the government would gladly interfere with our work, unless we had a legally acknowledged congregation as our point d'appui'.⁸⁸

He begged the Committee to help, arguing that 'it was [also] in their interest' to finance the congregation and pay the assistant pastor who would help him.⁸⁹ This latter remark implied that Allan's pulpit assistance was not sufficient for him, and his knowledge of German was

⁸³ NLS Dep. 298.253. fol. 276. Minutes of 16 January 1877.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ NLS Dep. 298.253. fol. 311, Minutes of 23 May 1877.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ NLS Dep. 298.253. fol. 327-8, Minutes of 9 October 1877.

⁸⁸ Ibid. fol. 329.

⁸⁹ NLS Dep. 298.253. fol. 331, Minutes of 9 October 1877.

not adequate to run the school and the congregation if Koenig's health failed. The Committee was forced, though unwillingly, to take action.

First, it thought to transfer Andrew Moody, who spoke excellent German, from Prague to Pest to work alongside both missionaries, especially helping Koenig.⁹⁰ Not being able to find a candidate for Prague, they suggested that Allan should go to swap places with Moody.⁹¹ Interpreting this as a lack of confidence in his work, Allan resisted and the Convener of the Jewish Committee, Moody-Stuart, wrote to him as follows:

But my dear friend you must see our difficulty. Mr. Koenig is not strong and is over sixty, he insisted on a colleague, and *we can find no Scotchman to send—we have tried in vain* [italics added]. In so important a Station it is of utmost consequence for the future that we should have a younger man to take the work when he may be laid aside. To get a Scotch man who can preach fluently in German is essential for the station and this guided our choice. You are preaching in English, and we understand that you will have twice as many English in Prague as in Pesth.⁹²

The final decision of the Committee was to transfer Andrew Moody to Pest, provided Török and the German-speaking congregation accept him. Allan stated his 'non-approval in some respect' and consented to go to Prague temporarily indicating that he would quit his services as soon as they found someone for Prague as a missionary.⁹³ There he worked from March till May 1878 when the Committee succeeded in persuading J. G. Cunningham to replace him.⁹⁴

Koenig also won the battle in securing the loan to the German congregation in March 1878.⁹⁵ £600 was lent to the congregation on two conditions.⁹⁶ First, the Committee should have a say in appointing the associate pastor, and he should have an interest in the Jewish mission. Secondly, the hospital was the collateral security for the loan.⁹⁷ By doing so the Committee gave a final thrust to the completion of the Church building, which was opened on 30 June 1878.

The decade of the 1870s was characterised by severe internal fights between the Committee, and its missionary, Koenig, representing sometimes his own interest, and sometimes that of the teachers and the congregation, depending on the situation. Owing to his advantageous negotiating position he managed to impose his will upon the Committee.

⁹⁰ NLS Dep. 298.253. fol. 334, Minutes of 16 October 1877.

⁹¹ NLS Dep. 298.253. fol. 336, Minutes of 24 October 1877.

⁹² NLS Dep. 298.253. fols 339-40, Minutes of 20 November 1877.

⁹³ NLS Dep. 298.253. fol. 347, Minutes of 22 January 1878.

⁹⁴ RCJ of 1878, Appendix IX, p. 32. See: List of the Committee Members. Cf. NLS Dep. 298.253. fol. 381, Minutes of 14 May 1878.

⁹⁵ NLS Dep. 298.253. fol. 353, Minutes of 19 March 1878.

⁹⁶ NLS Dep. 298.253. fol. 332, Minutes of 16 October 1877.

This is clear from the fact that he succeeded in obtaining a German-speaking assistant, even at the expense of the removal of two missionaries, Thom and Allan. He also managed to coax the Committee into giving extra financial help in spite of their dissatisfaction with the low participation in Jewish Mission on the part of the congregation.

3. Mission to the Jews and Hungarian people through the congregation

3.1. Activities of the German Church and the Bethesda Hospital

Despite the difficulties facing its long-term future, the congregation continued to engage in an impressive range of activities that included commitment to missionary outreach. Year by year the members donated a great deal of money for various mission purposes reported in the annual *Jahresbericht* of the congregation.⁹⁸ Besides holding German, English and French services on Sundays, they held prayer meetings, Bible studies for proselytes, and teachers of the Mission School. They ran a Sunday school,⁹⁹ a YMCA¹⁰⁰ and a fortnightly Dorcas Society for the ladies of the Mission and of the congregation.¹⁰¹ Moreover, Biberauer maintained a shelter for the homeless.¹⁰²

The task of superintending the work of Bethesda hospital also took time from the missionaries. This pillar joint enterprise of the Mission and the congregation was exempt from conflicts. Maintaining its German-speaking character, it was the expression of the only such kind of Protestant outreach for the sick, regardless of the denominational stance. This was an indirect form of evangelism through the *diakonia* of medical care. The Edinburgh Committee viewed the hospital, like the congregation, as its 'own missionary initiative'.¹⁰³ They continued to finance the hospital being as one of its main donors and paid for Lippner to work as medical missionary assistant of the Pest Mission at Bethesda.¹⁰⁴ He had a separate column in the *Missionary Record*, in which he gave regular

⁹⁷ NLS Dep. 298.253. fol. 333, Minutes of 16 October 1877.

⁹⁸ It began *Jahresberichte* was first published in 1862. Unfortunately many of this valuable information seems to have been lost except a few years.

⁹⁹ 'Report on the Conversion of the Jews to the General Assembly, Appendix IX' in *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May, 1880* (Edinburgh: [n. pub.], 1880), 1-34. (p.11). Koenig gave lectures on 'Two Ancient Cities of the East', and on 'Livingstone and Stanley'.

¹⁰⁰ RCJ of 1880, Appendix, IX, p. 11.

¹⁰¹ 'Report on the Conversion of the Jews to the General Assembly, Appendix IX' in *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May, 1881* (Edinburgh: [n. pub.], 1881), 1-38 (p. 14).

¹⁰² RCJ of 1880, Appendix, IX, p. 11.

¹⁰³ 'Pesth. Report on the Conversion of the Jews to the General Assembly 1868, Appendix VIII' in *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May, 1868* (Edinburgh: [n. pub.], 1868), 1-18. (p. 8).

¹⁰⁴ *Értesítés a Bethesda első magyarhoni diakonissza-intézet és kórház 1866-1890-ig történt fejlődéséről s haszonötödik évi jelentése* (Budapest: Hornyánszky Viktor, 1891), p. 20. See also: Theodor Bakody, *Statistik*

reports on his work but there were hardly any stories inserted about his success in converting his people, the Jews.

3.2. Colportage, the Mission, and the Congregation

The focus of the colportage lay in two major areas: in terms of geography, Pest and the countryside, and in terms of target groups the Jews and the 'Gentiles', that is, the nominal Christians of the Protestant Churches and Catholics 'under the evil influence of Popery'. The Pest Jewish Mission ran throughout the year, whereas the colportage could only take place mostly from spring to early autumn in the countryside. For Pest, Koenig, in agreement with the Committee, appointed two Jewish converts, Neumann and Lippner, to visit the Jewish families whose children attended the school.¹⁰⁵ As for the countryside, each colporteur was given responsibility for a certain geographical area. These colporteurs were Jews or often Baptists, and were employed by various societies such as BFBS, ABS and Tract Societies.¹⁰⁶ The missionaries encouraged the colporteurs to work 'in a twofold direction - we befriend the pastors of the Hungarian Reformed Churches, and benefit the Jews'.¹⁰⁷ Colportage, the activities of the German Congregation and the School were closely interrelated. If a Jew converted, he or she received effective help both from the Mission as well as and from the congregation, a fact that Koenig was shrewd enough to emphasise in his conflict with the Committee. The most ardent helpers were the staff members of the School and some revivalists from the congregation. Besides, the missionaries provided further education for many Jewish converts and sought to involve them in some form of mission themselves. The aim of the missionaries was to help them to integrate Jewish converts into the Christian community, putting them in contact with 'Christian institutions, where they were trained for Jewish Missionary work or other spheres of Christian usefulness'.¹⁰⁸

The colportage also reached the Hungarian Protestants and sometimes Catholics. Allan strongly believed that in Hungary 'the revival of religious life has been inseparably associated with the conversion of Israel'.¹⁰⁹ Indeed, Jewish colporteurs visited Protestant congregations with a view to selling the Bible and reviving interest in Evangelical

Der Klinikschen Lehranstalt im St. Rochus Spital Und Des Krankenhauses "Bethesda" zu Budapest (Budapest: [n. pub.], 1882).

¹⁰⁵ RCJ of 1872, Appendix VIII, p. 18.

¹⁰⁶ Chapter 3, Section. 3.4. Mission to the Jews and Gentiles: the Re-establishment of Colportage

¹⁰⁷ Rudolph Koenig, 'Evangelistic Work in Hungary', *FCofSMR*, 10. 109 (1 August 1871), 157-58, (p. 157).

¹⁰⁸ Rudolph Koenig, 'Israel. Evangelistic Work in Hungary. Extract from Koenig's Letter to Brown Douglas', *FCofSMR*, 10. 109 (1 August 1873), 157-58. (p. 157). There are numerous examples of this. Here is was mentioned that Koenig secured an admission to the Basle Alumneum for one former Constantinople inquirer.

¹⁰⁹ RCJ of 1875, Appendix IX, pp. 14-5.

religion.¹¹⁰ There were some sporadic examples of Hungarian Reformed peasants undergoing a religious transformation due to Jewish colportage. In June 1872, a villager from near the town of Paks visited the Scottish missionaries and told them about his conversion through Gellert back in the 1840s.¹¹¹

4. Mission to the Jews through the School under Andrew Thom, Rudolph Koenig, W. O. Allan and A. Moody

4.1. Scottish Mission and its changing school staff

The school was run under Andrew Moody's directorship from 1864 until his transfer from Pest to Prague.¹¹² After Moody's departure in 1871, Koenig assumed responsibility for running the school together with his other commitments, the German congregation and colportage, not to mention the maintenance of the hospital. For a while Alex Thom assisted and then William Owen Allan succeeded him. At the school the Committee employed six teachers: Messrs Rau, Buss, Maag, Misses Knipping, Gubler and Gerstl,¹¹³ together with a medical missionary, and a colporteur to visit the parents of Jewish children.¹¹⁴ The industrial department for girls continued its work with the support of the Paisley Women's Association for Jewish Mission. There, the wives of Buss and Rau as well as Misses Knipping and later Muller were employed to teach various skills.¹¹⁵ By the 1870s the 'Pest Scottish Mission School', as named by the public, employed the largest number of staff in comparison with other Jewish mission stations such as Breslau, Prague, Constantinople, and Amsterdam. Likewise, there was a continuous expansion of the school premises.¹¹⁶

4.2 Magyarisation: The promotion of Hungarian as the basic language of education

One of the most important consequences of the 1867 *Ausgleich* was the reversal of the former "Germanisation" policies of the Vienna government in favour of modernisation of the Hungarian educational system along lines that were consistent with Magyarisation. New non-denominational schools were established by the government, publicly funded through taxation, and subject therefore to government control and inspection in terms of

¹¹⁰ 'Tour of a Jewish Colporteur', *FCofSMR*, 11. 125 (2 December 1872), 251-53. (p. 252).

¹¹¹ Rudolph Koenig, 'The Work in Pest', *FCofSMR*, 11. 121 (1 August 1872), pp. 161-62.

¹¹² NLS Dep.298. 252 (1863-71), fol. 345, Minutes of 20 September 1870.

¹¹³ RCJ, 1873, IX. pp. 14-20. Cf. RCJ, 1879 IX. p. 34. The teachers were Rau, Buss, Maag, Knipping, Müller.

¹¹⁴ 'Experiences of a Missionary Teacher', *FCofSMR*, 12. 133 (1 August 1873), pp. 164-6. The staff apart from some changes remained the same throughout the 1870s and most of them even continued to work for the Mission till the turn of the century.

¹¹⁵ NLS Dep.298. 253 fol. 177, Minutes of 16 February 1875.

physical amenities and class size.¹¹⁷ The teaching of the Hungarian language was introduced in schools. This latter deserves more attention since the Mission School, its teachers and most of the pupils were German-speaking.

The minutes of July 1875 testify that the Committee was aware of the new challenge of Magyarization.¹¹⁸ Bishop Török wrote to the Committee intimating that the 'school authorities of Pesth' had some problems with the management of the school, especially 'as regards the teaching of Hungarian'.¹¹⁹ Realising the importance of Török's effective help in interceding with the authorities, the Committee offered him money.¹²⁰ It chose the same manner as during van Andel's case, paying money to Török for his services. Acting upon this problem a teacher of the Hungarian language was appointed in September 1875.¹²¹ It seems peculiar why the 'Hungarian government' interfered since it was only in 1879 when it made the teaching of the Hungarian language obligatory where the language of education was non-Hungarian.¹²² It is likely that the issue arose because the school was part of the Reformed Church, which mainly consisted of Magyars. This fact invited the attention of the local government, which was already determined to make some changes ahead of those on a national scale. In 1879 the government inspector of schools, Békey visited the school 'noting particularly how much attention was paid to the Hungarian language'.¹²³ The next year Moody related the news to the Committee that 'the pressure of the Hungarian government for the most exclusive use of the Hungarian language causes us difficulty'.¹²⁴ To further the change of the language of education the government offered special language programmes for teachers. By 1881, Messrs. Rau, Buss, and Maag attended, during the holidays, a course of instruction, which was provided at Funfkirchen. Moody remarked that 'they were not exactly transformed into Magyars, but made good progress'.¹²⁵ As part of the Magyarization policy the teachers were required to pass an examination in Hungarian to continue in their profession. Thus what Andrew Thom sensed was that the Mission should move out of its German subculture of Pest into

¹¹⁶ NLS Dep.298. 252 (1863-71), fol. 359, Minutes of 20 December 1870.

¹¹⁷ NLS Dep.298. 252 (1863-71), fol. 365, Minutes of 17 January 1871.

¹¹⁸ NLS Dep.298. 253 fol. 214, Minutes of 20 July 1875.

¹¹⁹ NLS Dep.298. 252 (1863-71), fol. 219, Minutes of 10 August 1875.

¹²⁰ Török was given £50 for his services, which the Deputation of 1873 suggested but forgot to do for two years up until the time of exigency.

¹²¹ NLS Dep.298. 252 (1863-71), fol. 222, Minutes of 21 September 1875.

¹²² Vörös, Károly, 'A művelődés kora', *Magyarország története a dualizmus első negyedszázadában (1867-1890)*, ed. by Zsigmond Pál Pach, Endre Kovács and László Katus, 2nd edn, 10 vols (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987), VI/2: pts 7. *Magyarország története*, 1395-1475. (p. 1400).

¹²³ RCJ of 1879, Appendix IX, p. 9.

¹²⁴ RCJ of 1880, Appendix IX, p. 10.

¹²⁵ RCJ of 1881, Appendix IX, p. 13.

the larger culture of Hungary. Such a move was forced upon the Mission through education policies of the Hungarian government.

5. Education as a means of Jewish Mission

5.1. The missionary character of the Mission School: the aim of teaching

The whole enterprise of the Mission School was set up in order to promote Christianity among the Jews. The missionaries never disguised their intention and the Jewish parents were required to write a letter of consent if they wanted to send their child to the Scottish School.¹²⁶ Teachers were selected with this view in mind and Karl Rau, one of the teachers seemed to identify himself fully with the cause of Jewish mission. He reported:

My chief aim in teaching is to impress on the minds of the children that we have a “sure word of the prophecy”, and to prove to them that from this standpoint alone, we can search the New Testament with the blessed certainty that Jesus Christ is the promised Messiah.¹²⁷

The Committee was pleased to see that the teachers ‘are earnest in seeking the salvation of souls, and in speaking to the children of the suitability of Jesus as Saviour, and of his conformity to the Old Testament prophecies of the Messiah’.¹²⁸ To achieve this goal, every morning began with religious education and devotion for each class. Only then did the teaching of other subjects commence, among which religious education had a prominent place. The teachers were expected to give annual reports to the Committee showing the degree to which they advanced in Jewish evangelism through education. These included information about the number of Jewish pupils in the classes, and they often inserted heart-wrenching stories of the response of Jewish children to the gospel. An interesting feature of these reports is the occurrence of Evangelical-Pietist language that was formerly unknown in Hungarian Reformed culture. Phrases describing Jesus as ‘our best friend in heaven’,¹²⁹ or ‘our Captain’, or¹³⁰ assuring the believer that ‘the arms of Jesus are our

¹²⁶ See: Chapter 2. 6.3. The School as a means of evangelisation.

¹²⁷ NLS Dep.298. 253 fol. 22. Cf. RCJ of 1872, Appendix IX, p. 21.

¹²⁸ RCJ of 1870, Appendix IX, p. 6.

¹²⁹ Wilhelmina Knipping, 'Teachers' Report on the Conversion of the Jews to the General Assembly, Appendix IX' in *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May, 1876* (Edinburgh: [n. pub.], 1876), 1-37. (p. 35).

¹³⁰ 'Pesth', *FCofSMR*, 3. 34 (1 April 1865), 778-9. (p. 778). See also: 'RCJ of 1870, Appendix IX, p. 11. Koenig said about the prospect of the Jewish Mission in the changing world as follows: 'Under the leadership of the captain of their salvation the victory is sure'.

ark'¹³¹ betray the direct influence of Scottish Evangelicalism. These expressions serve as evidence of adoption of Evangelicalism-Pietism to Hungarian Reformed piety.¹³²

5.2. Enrolment, social backgrounds and numbers

The Jews, who sent their children to the school, were mostly of lower class. In spite of the fact that the Scots introduced a 'nominal fee', the inexpensive education offered was attractive to many Jewish families.¹³³ The teachers as well as the charges of the Jews give information about the social background of Jewish pupils. Rau pointed out that 'of the number in the class two-thirds are Jewesses, for the most part children of poor families'.¹³⁴ Allan had also observed a similar tendency.¹³⁵ Another teacher, Basz pointed out another factor observing, 'many of the boys are very much neglected, the mother in many cases goes out to some kind of employment as well as the father, and so the children are left to themselves. The boys too often have the opportunity to play truant, join bad companions, and steal'.¹³⁶ It stands to reason that certain Jews sent their children to school where they were looked after while they worked. Taking all these into consideration, the inexpensive offer, the traditional aptitude for learning combined with the aforementioned social aspects all worked to the same effect, and the applications from Jewish children seemed so incessant that many had to be turned down due to lack of place.

Apart from Jewish pupils, recruitment to the school was also open to Reformed and Lutheran families since it was legally part of the Pest Reformed Church. Even Roman Catholics attended the Mission School which enrolled 493 children for the school year of 1871-72, out of which 358 were Jewish, 96 Protestant, and 39 Roman Catholic.¹³⁷ Subsequent years also showed similar figures. These numbers meant that the 'Scottish Mission School' was, in a sense a 'Jewish' school. The Jewish pupils constituted more than

¹³¹ Miss Müller, 'Teachers' Report on the Conversion of the Jews to the General Assembly 1877, Appendix IX.' in *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May, 1877* (Edinburgh: [n. pub.] 1877), 1-32 (p.30).

¹³² This highly fascinating feature of Evangelicalism will surface with elementary force when during the Somerville evangelistic tours Sankey's songs were introduced as we shall see in the next chapter.

¹³³ 'Pesth' *FCofSMR* 5. 55(1 January 1867), pp. 13-14. Private school could introduce a fee if they wished.

¹³⁴ Karl Rau, 'Report on the Conversion of the Jews to the General Assembly, Appendix IX' in *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May 1876* (Edinburgh: [n. pub.], 1876), 1-37. (p. 33).

¹³⁵ W. Owen Allan, 'Report on the Conversion of the Jews to the General Assembly 1877, Appendix IX.' in *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May, 1877* (Edinburgh: [n. pub.], 1877), pp. 1-32 (p.6).

¹³⁶ Karl Basz, 'Teachers' Report on the Conversion of the Jews to the General Assembly, Appendix IX' in *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May 1876* (Edinburgh: [n. pub.], 1876), 1-37 (p. 32).

¹³⁷ 'Report on the Conversion of the Jews to the General Assembly 1872, Appendix IX' in *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May, 1872* (Edinburgh: [n. pub.], 1872), 1-28 (p.21); Cf. NLS Dep.298. 253 fol. 22

three-quarters of the pupils on average.¹³⁸ This high number of Jewish children at the Mission School greatly irritated the leaders of Pest Jewish community.

6. The Pest Jewish Community's opposition to the Mission School

6.1. Christian versus Jewish education: religious accusations of the Jews

The main area of religious conflict was the Christian education given to Jewish children. Jewish pupils were expected to participate in the Christian devotion and religious education. It was a source of embitterment for the Jewish leaders that such devotions, and subsequent classes in religious instruction dealt with the Hebrew Bible from a Christian point of view.¹³⁹ The core of the problem is illuminated in a report as follows: 'our children having been obliged to go to the Hebrew-Jewish instruction [by the Jewish community] provided for them, the Jewish teachers have made the discovery that they have really learned to look at the Prophets and the Psalms in the New Testament light'.¹⁴⁰ The Jewish leaders opposed the fact that children from the Jewish community were subject to Christian education fearing that this would, in the long run convert them to Christianity as the missionaries intended.

Another issue of contention was the Christian observation of the 'Sabbath' on Sundays. Samuel Kohn, the chief rabbi complained to Buss, a teacher at the school about a Jewish pupil who, when asked about which day God had sanctified, replied, 'Sunday'. Kohn protested 'while the Sunday is sacred to million, it is not so to the Jew'.¹⁴¹ What may seem trivial issue was symptomatic of the resentment that the Pest Jews felt towards the religious education given by the missionaries and the staff of the Mission School.

During the latter part of the 1870s the conflict between the Mission and the Pest Jewish community deepened. In 1878 Rabbi Kohn visited the school and tried to persuade Allan that Jewish children should not be required to attend the religious devotions before the classes began.¹⁴² Allan replied that it 'was fundamental, and that while no one was compelled to attend our school, those who came were enrolled on the understanding that

¹³⁸ 'Pesth. Letter from Rudolph Koenig to Mr Brown Douglas' *FCofSMR*, 12. 138. (1 January 1874), p. 15-16. To compare the above date with another one it is enough to cite Koenig's letter in which he informed Douglas that the number of children are 446 out of this 392 are Jewish in 1874.

¹³⁹ That is the Old Testament for Christian and 'Hebrew Bible' for the Jews.

¹⁴⁰ RCJ of 1881, Appendix IX, p. 34.

¹⁴¹ '1879 Pesth. Report on the Conversion of the Jews to the General Assembly 1879, Appendix IX' in *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May, 1879* (Edinburgh: [n. pub.], 1879), 1-34. (p. 33).

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

they should be present at the Bible lessons'.¹⁴³ Kohn appealed to the Ministry of Religion and Education but it was turned down since Bishop Török pointed to the fact that the Jewish parents themselves consented to their children being educated in the Reformed faith, which was a precondition of registering their children in the school.¹⁴⁴ But under the new law being introduced by the government after the *Ausgleich*, religious instruction was to be provided by the faith community to which parents belonged.¹⁴⁵ However, there was an ambiguity in the law, as Judaism was not one of the fully 'accepted religions' (*religio recepta*) that the law regulated in this respect. Jewish parents were under pressure to send their children to the religious instructors of their own religious background and some families submitted to the will of the community. Owing to this, children ended up having two diametrically different religious educations. This was a battle being waged between the Evangelical-Pietist Protestant Scots and Germans and the Jews of Pest. Each tried to convince the pupils that the other was wrong and the battle was on for the *tabula rasa* of these young children.

In the report of the Paisley Ladies Society, Andrew Moody published a report about a Jewish girl whose Christian behaviour aroused great anger in the Jewish community. He stated:

A Jewish girl was removed from our school, because of her confession of faith in the Lord Jesus. The case has excited the Jews very much. Articles written with much bitterness, attacking our school as a 'Converting Institution'; have been published in one of the daily papers. [...] Kohn called superintendent Török [...] saying that we had made a perfect fanatic of her - such fanaticism - he said that after she had been forbidden to read the New Testament, and it had been taken away from her, she had been discovered during the night striking a light to look into it.¹⁴⁶

Rabbi Kohn said that it was the intention of those entrusted with the management of congregational affairs to present their petition to the Ministry, and if this failed, would bring the matter before Parliament. From the missionary sources it can only be said that the official response was again the same: parents gave their consent at the day of enrolment to allow their children to have Christian education.

¹⁴³ RCJ of 1879, Appendix IX, p. 10.

¹⁴⁴ According to the law, it was possible to offer different religious education to a person other than his own, if the school had the consent of the parents. One must bear in mind that it was only religious education of another denominational stance offered at a given school. Conversion with baptism for pupils was a foregone conclusion since the law did not allow such and the teachers did not aim that. Rather, the emphasis fell on the parents of the children and it is likely that this was the case that the Jews most feared, though the pupils' parents might convert.

¹⁴⁵ RCJ of 1880, Appendix IX, p. 29.

¹⁴⁶ RCJ of 1881, Appendix IX, p. 10.

It is interesting to throw light on other devotional and theological issues. The Jewish rabbis always double-checked what was taught at the school of the Mission. For example, a pupil had to inform her rabbi of prayers she learned at the Mission School, which included: 'Spread thy wings over us Jesus' and 'Weary I am and go to rest'. These caused a great problem, which was illustrated in one of the teachers, Knipping's report:

Doubtless the second line of the first one, and the words in the second, "Remove all evil in mercy through the blood of Jesus", will be adduced to prove that Jewish children are taught by us things which it is not suitable that they should learn.¹⁴⁷

Knipping's stance showed a picture of a true Christian devotee. It is fairly interesting to notice that she hoped that while the rabbis read these prayers they may 'find redemption through the blood of the Lamb'.¹⁴⁸ This is a spectacular example of the real missionary character of Christianity embodied in her way of thinking. She was the staunchest believer of the teachers at the school. For Knipping, just as for the early missionaries like Wingate and Smith, there was a fight between the reality of evil and good. She also believed literally in the reality of hell and Satan as a person.¹⁴⁹ Due to this polarised worldview of the faith communities, the conflict was severe, however, religious accusation was only one side of the coin because all the teachers at the Scottish School faced other kinds of charges.

6.2. Accusations not religious in nature

The leaders of the Jewish community were resourceful in appealing against the Scottish School. When they realised that they could not push their will through the standing religious laws, they shifted the form of their attack to the ethno-cultural character of the school's leadership pointing to the fact that it remained predominantly German in character in contrast to the government's policy of Magyarisation.¹⁵⁰ The Jewish leaders knew that the most vulnerable point of the school was that many of its teachers spoke only German. Indeed, the school was slow to respond to the external social changes. Thus a formidable allegation was easily made that 'the school was an instrument of Germanizing

¹⁴⁷ Wilhelmina Knipping, 'Teachers' Report' Report on the Conversion of the Jews to the General Assembly, Appendix IX' in *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May, 1881* (Edinburgh: [n. pub.], 1881), 1-38 (p.36). The original text read: 'Hab' ich Unrecht heut' getan, Sieh es, lieber Gott, nicht an! Mache Du durch Jesu Blut, Gnädig allen Schaden gut! ('Have I this day committed wrong, gracious God, pardon it; Do Thou through Jesus' blood in mercy remove all guilt!'). Cf. RCJ of 1873, p. 18. Knipping already in 1873 taught the Jewish children this evening prayer that caused disturbance.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ RCJ of 1881, Appendix IX, p. 36.

¹⁵⁰ RCJ of 1880, Appendix IX, p. 29.

propaganda'.¹⁵¹ This charge was dangerous since the main concern of the government was, as we have seen, to oblige teachers with foreign degrees to have them approved by the government, a condition of which was that they could speak and teach in Hungarian.¹⁵² Further allegations were also made. The Jewish leaders also asserted that it was against the law to receive foreign money for educational purposes implying for the furtherance of Germanisation.¹⁵³ These accusations clearly indicate their sheer determination to shake the stability of the Scottish School. Their religious leaders tried through all means to make obstacles for the missionary enterprise such as allocating more places for Jewish children in their schools, publishing articles on the dangerous effect of the Scottish Mission and appealing to the government to make the Scots stop admitting Jewish children to their school.¹⁵⁴

Apart from some irksome situations caused by Jewish denunciation, the governmental authorities never questioned the legitimacy of the school since many leaders of the government were Protestant, and the school was part of the 'Magyar church', the Reformed one identifying fully with the Magyarisation of the government whereas Judaism was still not emancipated to the full rights of other 'accepted religions'.¹⁵⁵ One must bear in mind that Emancipation was given to them as a people.¹⁵⁶ Nevertheless, the government's Magyarisation as well as its requirement to modernize school facilities across the country had an impact on the Mission School. Certainly, the Jewish accusations were unpleasant in character but never really came close to what they wished, namely the closure of the school. Thus the educational tool of Mission aiming at the evangelisation of the Jews was kept alive in spite of all the internal and external difficulties. Apart from it, the other aim of the mission to revive the Hungarian Reformed Church, especially through the Bursary Programme began to take hold outside Pest with some hopeful prospects.

¹⁵¹ W. Owen Allan, '1877 Pesth. Report on the Conversion of the Jews to the General Assembly 1877, Appendix IX.' in *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May, 1877* (Edinburgh: [n. pub], 1877), 1-32 (p. 30).

¹⁵² See: Section II. 4.2 Magyarisation: The promotion of Hungarian as the basic language of education.

¹⁵³ W. Owen Allan, 'Report on the Conversion of the Jews to the General Assembly, Appendix IX' in *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May 1876* (Edinburgh: [n. pub.], 1876), 1-37. (p. 30).

¹⁵⁴ Karl Rau, 'Experiences of a Missionary Teacher', *FCofSMR*, 12. 133 (1 August 1873), 164-5. (p. 165).

¹⁵⁵ It is not a negligible fact that the prime minister Kálmán Tisza (1875-1890) was Reformed.

¹⁵⁶ See Chapter 3. Section 3. Changing Jewry during the 1850s-60s: Magyarization and the Jews.

7. The bursars and their work in Hungary

7.1. The significance bursary programme through the eyes of the Scots and Hungarians

The Scots offered bursaries with a view to resisting ‘Rationalism on the one hand, and Roman Infallibility on the other, which threaten to divide the nationalities between them’.¹⁵⁷ They always hoped to revive the Hungarian Protestant Church through the seed they planted in Hungary. The *Monthly Record* wrote in 1866:

The knowledge of our Scottish Theology, of our ecclesiastical principles, our religious life and missionary efforts, is thus already planted in the very centre of that remote Church, with its 1400 congregations, and coming generations may eat the fruit of which we have been privileged to sow the seed.¹⁵⁸

Certainly this observation was right in regard to Debrecen College. It proved to be a great ally in accomplishing this end since it was more responsive to Scottish piety than the liberal Pest, which was less happy to allow space for the spread of Evangelical ideas. Balogh regarded himself and Révész as the defenders of true orthodoxy. Their theological stance was close to the Evangelicalism of the Scots. Balogh’s letter to the Committee, written at the time of the increasingly deepening division between liberals and confessionals caused by the Protestant Union states:

I feel now more greatly the salutary effect of my residence in Edinburgh. My firmness is what comes from your source. The witnessing of your church, life; and state and leading men, formed in my mind a new vital force. [...] I encourage our pupils to learn English, and I hope there will be one or two who will prepare themselves to visit you.¹⁵⁹

Clearly, the citation assured the Scots that Debrecen was on a similar theological platform to their own. Debrecen certainly was favoured though this did not mean that there were no bursars from Pest. Yet it was Debrecen where the Evangelical-influenced professor, Balogh began to disseminate ideas of mission. The Scottish influence cannot be better expressed than through Balogh’s own words:

My stay in Edinburgh was beneficial to my soul. How does [a] living church look out? What is a living faith? How can the godly spirit work by human agencies? What is the power of the gospel in life? All these questions found their answer in the examples I witnessed. [...] If only half a year’s existence could have such happy results for me, how far more useful may be the spiritual issue for those who were enabled to spend more time than I did, before the eyes

¹⁵⁷ RCJ of 1872, Appendix IX, p. 26

¹⁵⁸ ‘The Jews’, *FCofSMR*, 4.49 (2 July, 1866) pp. 5-6.

¹⁵⁹ A. Moody-Stuart, ‘Hungarian and Bohemian Bursaries’, *New Series HFMRFCofS*, 10. 118 (1 May, 1872), p. 93.

of the apostolical men of your Church and sit near the feet of the Scotch Gamaliels?¹⁶⁰

It is evident that Balogh greatly exalted the Scots, but he was truly influenced by Scottish Evangelicalism. He hoped that through the Scottish bursars a new vision of home mission would make its way into the life of the Hungarian Reformed Church.

7.2. The twofold impact of the Bursary Programme: Evangelicals and Moderates

After the establishment of the bursary programme, there were usually bursars from Hungary every year. The sending seminaries were Debrecen and Pest in the 1870s. Most of the bursars were active in church life upon their return and often published articles on Scotland, and about Scottish ecclesiastical life in the liberal *PEIL*, the most widely-read church paper, in *Magyar Protestáns Egyházi és Iskolai Figyelmező* edited by Révész, and *Evangéliumi Protestáns Lap* edited by Balogh. Révész and Balogh's papers and *PEIL* edited by Ballagi stood at opposing ends of the theological spectrum. Ballagi permitted articles in his paper to be published not so much on mission as on general issues like Scottish church history and ecclesiastical structures whereas Révész and Balogh consciously promoted the Reformed theology of the forefathers as well as the home and foreign mission ideas of the Evangelical Alliance and the German *Innere Mission*.

In Révész and Balogh's papers, such bursars as Lajos Csiky, Endre Bethlendi and Ferenc Márk published articles. Márk about Georg Müller's orphanage work in Bristol as well as an apologetic of the truth of the gospel versus science.¹⁶¹ Bethlendi gave an enthusiastic account about the world conference of YMCAs in Geneva and hoped that this form of mission 'would take root in the souls of those young men, who have a personal relationship God and Christ, and are ready to bear the fruits of Christian life'.¹⁶² Csiky was interested in diaconal work and reported on the Mission Association of Edinburgh Students, setting it as model for student in Debrecen.¹⁶³ He, together with Balogh, saw the necessity of foreign mission but believed that 'first a strong home mission basis has to be secured', since the national church lacked both mission minded ministers, and the financial sources to support foreign missions. Additionally many of their church members were

¹⁶⁰ 'Hungarian and Bohemian Candidates for Ministry. Letter from Ferenc Balogh' *FCofSMR* 5. 55 (1 February 1, 1867) 227-8 (p.227).

¹⁶¹ Ferenc Márk, 'Müller György a nagy philantróp Bristolban', *Magyar Protestáns Egyházi és Iskolai Figyelmező* [Thereafter, *MPEIFRv*], 5. 5-6 (May-June, 1874), pp. 261-69.; Ferenc Márk, 'A természettudományoknak korlátolt határa a ker. vallással szemben', *EPL*, 3. 4, 5 (1877), 25-27; 33-5.

¹⁶² Endre Bethlendi, 'Az ifjak keresztyén társulatainak 8-ik egyetemes gyűlése Genfben', *EPL*, 4. 37, (1878), 312-313, (p. 312)

¹⁶³ Lajos Csiky, 'Diakonissza ügy', *EPL*, 4. 40 (1878), 334-7.

irreligious.¹⁶⁴ They and other students were imbued by Scottish Evangelicalism and tried to implement it mostly by way of publication preparing the ground for further initiatives. The second step was the turning of words into actions. Balogh, following the model of the missionary society of theological students in Edinburgh, founded the Society for Religious Self-Education (*Hittanszaki Önképző Társulat*). Its aim was to bring into harmony theology and modern scientific achievements. Balogh articulated his thoughts in this form: 'we have to acknowledge certain achievements of science, but we should not allow that it would undermine the basis of religion'.¹⁶⁵ The society had its own paper named *Közlöny* (Gazette). János Csohány pointed out that in the 1870s many articles appeared on various aspects of home mission including such issues as the ministers' obligation for visiting the church people and the work of Basel missionary society.¹⁶⁶

Bursars also set the Scottish religious model as an example for church people. Lajos Csiky prepared and printed an account of the Free Church in Hungarian that was intended to raise interest in the Committee's work among the Jews.¹⁶⁷ Lajos Komáromy, a bursar published a book on John Knox's life.¹⁶⁸ He also published an article in a secular newspaper about the work of the Scottish Mission in Pest.¹⁶⁹ When some nationalist ministers rightly pointed out that some of the translations of the tracts distributed by the Tract Society were inadequate Hungarian translation but described its work as 'spreading poison to mind, ignorance and superstition', Komáromy defended the society's work as useful for 'awakening the lower classes' and explaining to them what 'conversion, spiritual awakening and Christian charity means'.¹⁷⁰ The most enthusiastic was József Szalay, who was deeply impressed by Scottish church life.¹⁷¹ His main desire was to transplant ideas from Scotland to Hungary, which he began in his congregation in Nagybecskerek in 1880.¹⁷² Thus, we find early examples of students who sought to adapt Scottish

¹⁶⁴ Lajos Csiky, 'Az edinburghi hallgatók missziói társulata', *EPL*, 2. 18 (5 May 1876), 145.

¹⁶⁵ Ferenc Balogh, 'A debreceni hittanszaki önképző-társulat', *EPL*, 3. 45, (9 November 1877), pp. 380-81. Cf. Ötvös, p. 132.

¹⁶⁶ János Csohány, 'A XIX. századi magyar református ébredés debreceni ága', *RE*, 24. 9 (1974), 193-197 (p. 196).

¹⁶⁷ NLS Dep. 298.253. (1872-79) Minutes of fol. 286. 20 March 1877.

¹⁶⁸ Lajos Komáromy, *A study of the life and character of John Knox*, (Pest: [n. pub.], 1871), p. 29.

¹⁶⁹ Lajos Komáromy, 'A skót misszió Pesten', *Vasárnapi Újság*, 17. 6 (6 February 1870), pp. 73-4.

¹⁷⁰ Lajos Komáromy, 'Még egy szó a "biblia-terjesztő társulat" kiadványai ügyében', *PEIL*, 14. 14 (1871), pp. 432-34. The author of the first article was ignorant that since he thought that it was the BFBS, which disseminated tract, and even Komáromy did not notice this mistake which the editor of PEIL corrected, after Ede Millard, the supervisor of BFBS petitioned for correction. See: Tárca, *PEIL* 14. 15. (1871), p. 478.

¹⁷¹ Richárd Hörsik, 'History of the Hungarian Scholarship at Edinburgh', *HOR I* (1985), fol. 21. Szalay, together with Ferenc Kecskeméti was a bursar of 1878/79 and 1879/80.

¹⁷² József Szalay, 'A gyülekezeti élet', *PEIL*, 27. 43 (1884), pp. 1391-2.

Evangelicalism to the soil of the Hungarian Reformed Church, which was the intention of the Committee.

However, not all the bursars were, or became Evangelical, or mission orientated. Ferenc Baráth, bursar of 1867/68 and 1868/69 from Pest was more interested in cultural and social issues.¹⁷³ Upon his return he became a teacher at the Secondary School of the Reformed Church in Budapest.¹⁷⁴ Baráth translated Carlyle's biography of Walter Scott and his three volumes '*The History of the French Revolution*' as well as a work from the *Westminster Review* entitled 'The influence of Prostitution on the state of health'.¹⁷⁵ Baráth was exceptionally productive as a writer. The only work that bore relation to religious issues was his translation of Froude's '*The impact of the Reformation on the Scottish character*'.¹⁷⁶

Lajos Felméri, a bursar of 1866/67, became professor of philosophy in Sárospatak Protestant College, and later professor of Education in Kolozsvár.¹⁷⁷ He adapted many ideas from Scottish education but showed little interest in Evangelical issues. It can be seen from the fact that he wrote an article in the *PEIL* entitled, '*Travel Letters from Scotland*', giving an account of Scottish country instead of, for instance, about the pious life of Scottish people.¹⁷⁸ More surprising was that the one of first bursars László Dapsy translated Darwin, '*The Origin of the Species*'. This was clearly not a topic that Evangelicals of Scotland most welcomed, as they had no intention of promoting Darwinian ideas. He also rendered into Hungarian John Stuart Mill's '*The Principles of the National Economy*'.¹⁷⁹ These translations clearly show that his interest was rather different from that of the Evangelicals financing his studies.

Nonetheless, this did not mean that Scottish church life had no impact on moderate bursars. Dapsy published an article on how to manage school funds and praised the willingness of the Scots to contribute money for various purposes.¹⁸⁰ László Losonczi and Lajos Felméri saw Scottish public education as a model to learn from.¹⁸¹ They imported

¹⁷³ Höresik, fol. 20.

¹⁷⁴ Zoványi, Jenő, *Magyarországi protestáns egyháztörténeti lexikon*, ed. by Ladányi, Sándor, 3 enlarged edn (Budapest: A Magyarországi Református Egyház Zsinati Irodájának Sajtóosztálya, 1977), p. 49

¹⁷⁵ Höresik, fol. 45.

¹⁷⁶ Zoványi, p. 49.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 193.

¹⁷⁸ Lajos Felméri, *Úti levelek Skóciából* (Sárospatak, [n. pub] 1870), p. 210. See also: Lajos Felméri, *Az iskolázás jelene Angolországban*, 1-3 (Budapest: [n. pub], 1881).

¹⁷⁹ Charles Darwin, *A fajok eredete*, trans. by László Dapsy (Budapest: Természettudományi Társulat, 1873). Dapsy also translated David Page, *The Basics of Geology*, and John Stuart Mill, *The Principles of the National Economy*.

¹⁸⁰ László Dapsy, 'A protestáns ügyhöz', *PEIL*, 17. 2 (11 January 1874), pp. 33-39.

¹⁸¹ László Losonczi, 'Külföldi egyház és iskola. II. Nevelésügy', *PEIL*, 15. 34 (24 August 1872), pp. 1074-1082.

ideas more the organisation and educational side of ecclesiastical life than that of its spiritual one. Thus, the moderate bursars made very good use of their time in Scotland in different ways though it resulted in a wider, sometimes different impact to what the founders of the bursary programme had originally anticipated. Bursars, swayed by Evangelicalism, managed to make the first step to raise the issues of home mission in periodicals, but only Balogh proceeded to the second stage, to establish a society, which was mainly apologetic in its outlook but displayed also awareness of mission. At this stage the discussions about home mission mostly lacked theological reflections on the biblical nature of mission. By the end of the 1870s the Scottish Mission through its bursary programme succeeded in implementing awareness of mission, as they understood it, through bursars who often contributed to periodicals thereby preparing the ground for future developments when the second step, the establishment of the first home mission organisations was realised.

Conclusion

This chapter has been concerned with the effect of Magyarisation on the three subject groups of this research. While the Pest Mission station continued under the leadership of Koenig, it remained oriented toward the German-speaking elements of the Hungarian context. Of the five pillars of the Mission's operations – the school, the congregation with its many activities, the colportage, the mission hospital, and the bursary program – all but the last were predominantly German-speaking. All members of the Evangelical-Pietist symbiosis – Koenig, who had the leading voice of the Mission in the 1870s, the congregation and the staff – were German-speaking. Their emphatically German character was an impediment to interaction with the Hungarian Reformed Church.

The chapter has shown that this cultural orientation of the Mission was challenged by the rising tide of Hungarian nationalism. Initially the challenge was exerted from the outside, exterior to the Mission itself. The Jews, whose evangelisation was the Mission's first concern, were more willing to Magyarise than were the German-speaking missionaries. Notwithstanding the strains of religious response to modernisation, the Neologs and the Orthodox were united in their adoption of Magyarisation as the way of assimilation, especially in Pest. This decision having been made, the Jews of both factions criticised the Mission on grounds of its Germanic orientation, and parodied the school as a nest of German propaganda. This was an embarrassment to the Mission, and added to the already burdensome problems of the Jewish Committee in Edinburgh.

Jewish criticism of the Mission, together with the government policy of Magyarisation, confronted it with severe external pressure to adapt itself to the Hungarian language and culture. The first steps were taken in the Mission's decision to modernise the school: a Hungarian teacher was employed, teachers from abroad were required to have their degrees approved by the Hungarian authorities, and needed to be fluent in Hungarian. The first sign of internally-generated willingness to change came with the Scottish missionary, Thom, who realized that it was in the interests of the Mission to establish wider relations with Hungarian-speaking Christians. Although this resulted in conflict with Koenig, and Thom's eventual resignation from the Mission, his initiative signalled the way of the future. Apart from the external pressure, the three internal tensions within the Mission were severe. There were conflicts between the Committee on one hand and Koenig and the German teachers on the other, among the missionaries themselves, and between the Committee and the congregation that absorbed most of the energies of the Mission. But the power of Magyarisation could not be resisted, and it made its presence felt in the Mission by the end of the decade.

By the 1870s the Mission was caught between the two irreconcilable facts that mission to the Jews still required German, though the language of Hungarian Jews began to change, whereas reviving the Hungarian Reformed Church presupposed a Mission adapting to the Hungarian language and integrating itself into the Hungarian-speaking culture. The Mission, therefore, had no option but to transform itself into a Hungarian speaking enterprise, if it were to realise either of its two foundational goals.

In this respect, the most important conclusion of this chapter is to recognise the value of the bursary programme as the fifth of pillars of the Mission's programmes, the only one that was specifically designed to establish a direct link between future leaders of the Hungarian Reformed Church and Scottish Evangelicalism. It would be an exaggeration to claim that all the bursars who went to study in Edinburgh became evangelical Christians and supporters of the work of the Mission in Pest. Many were more interested in the liberal study of the sciences and education, than in the evangelical study of theology. But a sufficient number were enthused by the evangelical disciplines of biblical study, practical theology, voluntarism and personal witness and conversion to begin to disseminate these values when they returned to Hungary. The fact that such bursars tended to orientate toward the theological world of Debrecen rather than Pest helped the Mission to break out of its cultural isolation in Pest, and develop a dynamic relationship with the emerging theological influence of Debrecen. Hungarian-speaking Reformed people of Debrecen were thus more exposed to Scottish Evangelicalism than were their colleagues in Pest,

even though the Mission retained its base in the capital city. It may be concluded, therefore, that the bursary programme proved to be the most valuable initiative of the Mission in respect of its coming to terms with Magyarisation in a manner that was consistent with its evangelical commitments.

It must be admitted, however, that few of the evangelically-committed bursars embraced the Mission's theological understanding of the priority of Jewish evangelism. This leads us to the conclusion that the Mission's achievement in breaking out of its cultural-linguistic isolation from the Pest Reformed Church, and the increasing influence this afforded in terms of its ability to stimulate revival within the national church entailed a reversal of its original goals. Whereas the founders of the Mission envisaged Jewish evangelism as the *sine qua non* of the Church's revival, the latter now assumed a priority over the former. There is no evidence that the evangelical movement within the Hungarian Reformed Church had, at this time, any sense of the significance of Jewish evangelism in relation to its own priority of mission in and to the Hungarian nation. The concepts of home mission that have been examined in this chapter continued to operate on a national understanding of mission, and at this time showed little appreciation of the challenge of evangelising Hungarian Jews as part of the Hungarian nation itself.

Chapter 5: The Role of the Scottish Mission in the Emergence of Home Mission in the Hungarian Reformed Church: 1882-1902

Introduction

The period between 1882-1902 saw the birth of the first home mission organisations and associations within the Hungarian Reformed Church. It is an era that can be described as the 'First Awakening of Home Missions' in Hungary, beginning with the founding of the Hungarian Sunday school network in 1882, and continuing with the formation of the YMCA and YWCA, and other home mission agencies. Many of these were associated with the dynamic leadership of Aladár Szabó, a former bursar who, following his studies in Edinburgh, launched himself into developing the home mission movement as the key to disseminating Evangelical activism in the Hungarian Reformed Church, addressing the needs of Hungarian Christians who were caught up in the social changes that were affecting the entire Hungarian population, both in the cities and in southern Hungary.

The chapter will examine the final two decades of the nineteenth century. The decision to take 1902 as the *terminus ad quem* anticipates a discussion, to be undertaken in the Chapter 6, of a conflict that developed over the nature and form of home missions, particularly under Szabó's leadership. This, it will be shown, was a decisive moment in the development of the home mission movement as a vehicle for the dissemination of evangelical thinking into the Hungarian ecclesiastical and social milieu. The purpose of this chapter is to trace the historical development of the home mission organisations themselves. While recognizing the role of Hungarians for these developments, this chapter will assess the significant contribution that the Scottish Mission continued to make in inspiring and supporting these initiatives. Attention will be given in particular to the influence of the '*Hold utca* [street] hub', the network of people related to the Mission and the Affiliated Church who were influenced by their revivalist thinking, and enthusiastic to implant it in Hungary through participation in the home mission movement. It will be shown that this network was of mutual benefit to both the home mission organisations and to the Mission itself. For the latter it provided a way of escaping its earlier isolation from the Hungarian Reformed Church, and gave it a new connection with the Reformed churches in Budapest that experienced rapid growth during the 1880s and 1890s.

I. The Work of the Scottish Mission: Congregation, hospital, colportage and the School

1. Organisational and Structural Changes at the Scottish Mission

The Mission's establishments rested on five major pillars, the Reformed Affiliated Church, the Bethesda hospital, the colportage, the Mission School, and the bursary programme. During the 1880s, the Scottish Mission underwent major changes. By 1882, the debt on the church building had been considerably reduced. Andrew Moody travelled to Scotland and collected 'seven hundred pounds'¹ which halved the congregation's debt to £800 pounds.² With such support the congregation was able to become self-sustaining by the time of Koenig's retirement from the pastorate of the Affiliated Church on 28 October 1888.³ At the same time Andrew Moody, the other minister of the congregation also withdrew from the pastorate. This decision ended the official link between the Scottish Mission and the German-speaking Affiliated Reformed Church. However, the Scottish missionaries continued to cooperate with the congregation in different ways.⁴ The congregation elected Karl Gladischefsky as pastor, and a new phase in its life began.⁵

Major changes occurred among the Scottish Mission's personnel as well. First, it became customary for one of the Hungarian bursars to be allocated to the Scottish Mission as a missionary assistant for his licentiate year, the first being István Fa in 1882.⁶ Together

¹ Andrew Moody, 'Report on the Conversion of the Jews to the General Assembly. Pesth' in Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May 1882 (Edinburgh: [n. pub.], 1882), Appendix IX, pp. 7-17, 30-33, (p. 11).

² Rudolph Koenig, 'Report on the Conversion of the Jews to the General Assembly. Pesth' [Thereafter RCJ] in Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May 1882 (Edinburgh: [n. pub.], 1883), Appendix IX, 19-33, (p. 19).

³ NLS Dep. 298. 255 (1887-93), fol. 22. Minutes of 19 June 1888. He informed the Committee of his resignation in June.

⁴ *Értesítés a Bethesda első magyarhoni diakonissza-intézet és kórház 1866-1890-ig történt fejlődéséről a huszonötödik évi jelentése* (Budapest: Hornyánszky Viktor, 1891), p. 13. Koenig was still the convener of the board of the Bethesda hospital.

⁵ Mihály Bucsay, '125 Jahre Deutschsprachige Reformierte Gemeinde in Budapest (1859-1984)', *Kirche Im Osten*, 28 (1985), 16-25 (p. 24). One may say that without the Scottish Mission the Reformed Affiliated Church could not have come into being, or would have had an ephemeral life just as was the case of the German speaking church created for the sake of Archduchess Hermina. When the congregation was completely strengthened financially, thereby able to pay to maintain their own minister and have their own church building, the Scots were happy and content to let them go. However, the two maintained strong ties through the *Hold utca* revivalist. It is not negligible that the location of the Scottish Mission School (17 *Hold utca*) and the church of the German congregation (1-3 *Hold utca*), both were side by side in *Hold utca* and were named as the *Hold utca* hub, played a significant role in offering easy access to each other's realm of mission. See: Ábrahám Kovács, *The Origin and the Early History of the German-speaking Affiliated Reformed Church of Budapest 1858-1868*, (Budapest, Forthcoming, 2003).

⁶ NLS. Dep. 298. 256. (December 1893- March 1897). fol. 99. Free Church of Scotland. Minutes of the Jewish Mission Committee and Central Committee W. J. M. A. V. Meeting 1895-1896. Tuesday, 16 July 1895. The minutes mentioned a letter of Moody as of 15 May 1895 requesting the Committee to appoint a 'Scotch instead of an Hungarian assistant'.

with the employment of a Hungarian teacher of Jewish extraction, János Victor in the school, this introduced a Hungarian element into the Mission in response to Magyarisation.⁷ Following Koenig's final retirement from the Mission in 1891 a new missionary, J. T. Webster, arrived to assist Moody in 1895.⁸ By this time Moody was planning to extend the Mission School by the addition of a third storey and the general reconstruction of the building. When it was completed it consisted of the Children's Home, an additional room for each of the three married teachers, a guest chamber, a director's room. Also it created a suitable lodging for János Victor, the Hungarian teacher.⁹

2. The Scottish Mission church: the German-speaking congregation

2.1. Foreign Mission and Home Mission in relation in the Congregation

Although the missionaries ceased to work for the German-speaking congregation, which was one of the major pillars of the Mission, it remained the church that they, their teaching staff and converts went to even after 1888. Under Gladischefsky's leadership, with the indefatigable support of Biberauer, the congregation strove to express its Evangelical-Pietism in a range of outreach activities. Theodor Biberauer was most receptive to new voluntary societies that were developing at this time in the West. He was instrumental in the establishment of the orphanage and diaconal work in the 1860s. Untiring in promoting mission, he popularised an urban mission initiative realised in Berlin among the members of the congregation in the 1880s.¹⁰ He was also behind the foundation of the Hungarian branch of the Gustav Adolf Association. The annual donations of this society were in support of both foreign and home mission, the publication of Christian literature and the

⁷ János Victor was first employed in 1879/80. See: RCJ of 1880, Appendix IX, p. 5. He was the son of Bernát Victor, the 'depot-keeper' of the British and Foreign Bible Society from 1876. See: *Különfélék*, 2.22 (2 June 1876), p. 178.

⁸ NLS. Dep. 298. 256 (December 1893-March 1897), fol. 109. Free Church of Scotland. Minutes of the Jewish Mission Committee and Central Committee W. J. M. A. V. Meeting 1895-1896. Tuesday, 22 October 1895. Cf. 'Report on the Conversion of the Jews to the General Assembly. Appendix IX' in *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May 1891* (Edinburgh: [n. pub.], 1891), 1-37. (p. 4).

⁹ Gyula Forgács, 'A száz éves Skót Misszió', in *És lőn világosság. Ravasz László hatvanadik életéve és a dunamelléki püspökségének huszonadik évfordulója alkalmából* (Budapest: Klny, 1941), 412-429, (p. 425). See also: Andrew Moody, 'Report on the Conversion of the Jews to the General Assembly IX. Pesth' in *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May 1895* (Edinburgh: T. & A. Constable, 1895), 7-14 (p. 7). At that point of writing the report they had spent £2075 = 25, 800 fl.

¹⁰ Adolf Láng, 'A berlini városi misszióról, mint a belmisszió egyik ágáról. Biberauer Tivadar, a Budapesti Német ev. Ref. Egyház főgondnokának, a Misszió- és Gusztáv-Adolf Egylet gyűlésén Budapesten, Nov. 20-án tartott felolvasása', *PEIL*, 27. 49 (1884), pp. 1583-89

Jewish Mission.¹¹ Examples of foreign mission support included help for the ‘charity institutions of Gallneukirchen church in Upper Austria, for the Protestant churches of Genoa, Alexandria and Madrid and for the mother organisation, the headquarters in Leipzig. The society also showed awareness of home mission work, for example the congregation donated money for the Sunday-Schools in Budapest and Eszék, and supported a YMCA in the capital and TÁC.¹² It also supported the establishment of a Reformed Church in Buda.¹³ All of these bear testimony to the fact that charity, voluntarism and foreign and home mission were regarded holistically.

2.2. Home Mission: the Bethesda Hospital

The Bethesda was the second pillar of the Scottish Mission’s outreach. Legally maintained by the congregation it was administered by the board of the hospital that included Koenig, Moody, Dr. Bakody, Theodor Biberauer, S. Horning, and chief deaconess Sophie Wehn.¹⁴ It was their personal contacts that kept the institute alive and the congregation in fact gave its official backing to the enterprise. The board tried to implement new elements in the hospital responding to the political and social process of the capital becoming increasingly Hungarian speaking. The problem was that the deaconesses initially were German, sent from Kaiserwerth. However, by the 1880s the board regarded it necessary to train their own deaconesses who they hoped would be Hungarians. To meet this target, by 1883, besides the Kaiserwerth deaconesses ‘Hungarian’ deaconesses were employed.¹⁵ Curiously enough, not all of them were native Hungarians. Maria Horwath¹⁶ and Martha Kliemo, both Slavonians, had resided and laboured as probationary sisters between 1883 and 1887 at the Bethesda hospital and were set apart for the office of deaconess after completing their training.¹⁷ An indicator of the interdenominational and multi-ethnic character of the

¹¹ Adolf Láng, ‘A Budapesti Reform. Német Leányegyház-község kebelében fennálló misszió és Gusztáv-Adolf Egylet évi jelentése az 1884. évre’, *PEIL*, 28. 13 (1885), pp. 401-405.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ No specific reference was given but from earlier information one may infer that it was probably Sváb hegy (Schwabenberg) church where Moody used to spend his summer holiday.

¹⁴ Sándor Zsindely, ‘A Bethesda közkórház története’ in *A Bethesda diakonissza közkórház 75 éve*, ed. by A kórház orvosi kara (Budapest: Sylvester Rt., 1941), pp. 14, 16. The lion’s share of the work, however, was done by Koenig and Biberauer. They had to raise funds annually for the beds and maintenance and deal with emerging issues. They established new bed funds for railwaymen and pupils beside the already existing German, Scottish, Swiss, English, Dutch, French, Austrian, American, and Danish bed funds. It is easy to spot that the nationalities reflected the multicultural nature of the German-speaking congregation as well as the supporters of various mission agencies of the Scottish Mission and the congregation’s work.

¹⁵ *Értesítés a Bethesda első magyarhoni diakonissza-intézet és kórház 1866-1890-ig történet fejlődéséről s huszonötödik évi jelentése* (Budapest: Hornyánszky Viktor, 1891), p.11.

¹⁶ She was the sister of Ludmilla Horváth.

¹⁷ Andrew Moody, ‘Report on the Conversion of the Jews to the General Assembly. Appendix IX. Pesth’ in *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May 1888* (Edinburgh:

institution initiated by *Hold utca* hub people is that Slovaks were also among the mission minded enthusiasts of this circle of people. Through the medical care that they provided, they were also expected to reach out to both Gentiles and Jews. Given the fact that at this time most of the Hungarian Jews were still German-speaking, despite their desire to be identified as Hungarians, this facilitated the deaconesses in their outreach to Jewish patients in the hospital. Koenig wrote, 'Our deaconesses are trained to love Israel'.¹⁸ On the other hand, the fact that many of the deaconesses came from 'Slovakian and German villages' limited their effectiveness in helping to establish hospitals in other parts of the country.¹⁹ The idea of founding a Hungarian training house (motherhouse/*anyaház*) proved difficult to achieve. Koenig retired from being the director and minister of the hospital board in 1891 and his successor was Karl Gladischefscky. In 1894 the board managed to 'recruit six new Hungarian candidates for deaconry and the over all numbers of deaconesses grew to fourteen sisters and three probationers'.²⁰ This seemed to have been an encouraging sign of the cultural adaptation of the hospital to Hungarian culture. When Theodor Biberauer and Sophie Wehn retired from the hospital in 1899, the German-speaking congregation organised an independent status for a chaplain to the hospital. The new position was subject to the condition that the candidate had to speak German as well as Hungarian in order to change the German character of the hospital into Magyar. Eventually, Theodor Biberauer's son, Richard was elected in 1899.²¹ The character of the hospital was becoming more Hungarian due to his appointment as well as the increasing number of Hungarian-speaking deaconesses.

2.3. Home mission through colportage

2.3.1. Colportage staff: colporteurs, evangelists, Bible-women and a medical missionary

Colportage was the third pillar of the Mission's activity and it was vital to prepare the ground for possible converts. By the 1880s, most colporteurs were employed by the National Bible Society of Scotland with only two - Riedel and Mestitz – being directly

[n. pub.], 1888), 3-16, (p. 13). Szabó also highlighted the fact that Slovaks worked at the Bethesda. Aladár Szabó, 'Nagy és nevezetes fordulat a diakonisszaügy terén', *PEIL*, 52. 4 (1909), 53-55 (p. 54).

¹⁸ Rudolph Koenig, 'Report on the Conversion of the Jews to the General Assembly. Appendix IX, Pesth' in Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May 1886 (Edinburgh: [n. pub.], 1886), 3-13 (p. 3).

¹⁹ Adolf Láng, 'A "Bethesda" kórház és diakonissza - intézet 1883-ik évi jelentése', *PEIL*, 27 (Budapest: 1884), 464-466, (p. 466).

²⁰ Sándor Zsindely, *A hetvenöt éves Bethesda* (Budapest: Magyar Kórház, 1941), p. 16.

²¹ ZsL [A Magyarországi Református Egyház Zsinati Levéltára], Lórántffy Zsuzsanna Egylet, 18 fond, Bodoky, A diakónia történetének rövid összefoglalása fols. 1-37. (fol. 14).

employed by the Mission.²² The number of colporteurs fluctuated between 9 and 13 during the last two decades of the nineteenth century.²³ They were all supervised by Koenig and later Moody who wished to extend the work of evangelisation in Hungary on the basis of this group of people.

Additional support came from the Dutch Reformed Church, when Koenig was put into contact with the Rev. Dr. Beets of Utrecht. He exhibited interest 'in [the] evangelistic labour in Hungary, [and] has along with esteemed colleagues placed the means for an additional colporteur' at Koenig's disposal.²⁴ This connection coincided with the return of Béla Kenessey from Utrecht to Hungary.²⁵ He had been a student at Pest Theological Seminary. Taking a special interest in mission, he became heavily involved in the evangelistic work of the Scottish Mission from 1890.²⁶ Kenessey's significance cannot be underestimated, as he later became a professor at Pest Theological seminary and Bishop of the Transylvanian Church Province.

2.3.2. Methods of the colporteurs

The colporteurs were required to keep a diary out of which articles were inserted into the *Monthly Record*, and the *Report for Conversion of the Jews* published annually. It is rare to notice self-criticism in the reports. Nonetheless, it could occur as colporteur Ignác Mestitz in his 1883 report lamented, 'I can do little else than repeat the same experience from year to year'.²⁷ Mestitz was a Jew, converted at the age of fifty-six in 1874 and soon became an employee of the Mission as a colporteur.²⁸ He visited the coffee houses in Pest, which 'were frequented exclusively by Jews' as his 'chief field of labour'. Koenig received weekly a large supply of 'excellent popular sermons' published each Saturday in Berlin by 'friends of the Sabbath'. Of these sermons, Mestitz and other colporteurs

²² 'Annual Report of the National Bible Society of Scotland for the Year 1894', in *National Bible Society of Scotland Annual Reports 1886-1899*, ed. by, 10 vols (Glasgow: MacLure & MacDonald & Co., 1895), III, p. 15. Hornyánszky, the well-known publisher and bookseller paid two-thirds of the cost of two colporteurs.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

²⁴ Rudolph Koenig, 'Report on the Conversion of the Jews to the General Assembly. Appendix IX Pesth' in *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May 1882* (Edinburgh: [n.pub.], 1882), 7-17, 30-33, (p. 15).

²⁵ Jenő Zoványi, *Magyarországi Protestáns egyháztörténelmi lexikon*, ed. by Sándor Ladányi, 3 enlarged edn (Budapest: A Magyarországi Református Egyház Zsinati Irodájának Sajtóosztálya, 1977), [Thereafter Zoványi] p. 306. First he was a teacher at Pest Theological Seminary and bishop in Transylvania. Perhaps Kenessey had contacts to these persons as he studied in the Netherlands in Utrecht.

²⁶ Anne-Marie Kool, *God Moves in a Mysterious Way: the Hungarian Protestant Foreign Mission Movement 1756-1951* (Zoetermeer: Uitgeverij Boekencentrum B.V., 1993), p. 144.

²⁷ Ignác Mestitz, 'Report on the Conversion of the Jews to the General Assembly. Appendix IX Pesth' in *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May 1883* (Edinburgh: [n. pub.], 1883), 19-33, (p. 21).

²⁸ Kálvin téri Ref. Egyházközség Keresztelési Anyakönyv, Budapest [Baptism Register of the Calvin square Reformed Church of Budapest] 1870-76 májusig. V. kötet. fol. 258. Mestitz was baptized by Koenig.

distributed a good many to Jews.²⁹ They distributed the following tracts and literature; Conder's *Life of Jesus*, Schaff's, *The person of Christ*, Gaussen's *The first chapter of the book of Genesis*, a book on *Zwingli's Life*, further, *The martyrs of Hungary*,³⁰ Angus' *Bible Handbook*, Adolf Saphir's, *Christ and the Scriptures*, Boyd's *Way of Life*, Luther's *Apologetics*.³¹

Each colporteur was responsible for a certain geographical area. They sold Bibles and tracts just like Mestitz, at cafés and market places engaging in conversation and often referring the inquirers to the Pest missionaries. The missionaries, in accord with the Jewish mission board, found this means of evangelism effective. They stated, 'our colportage brings living intercourse, acting like leaven, among Jewish inquirers, widely scattered throughout Hungary'.³² Certainly, it was true in some cases. One may cite a number of cases, when the inquirers were referred to the missionary, which finally led to conversion. The proselytising activity was not entirely one-sided as there were instances when the colporteurs, being former Jewish converts, were approached, even with money to re-convert.³³ Yet all of them resisted these attempts. The determination of the colporteurs and missionaries came from their deeply rooted religious conviction. Consequently, they used all means to enable them to have a better chance of conveying the gospel for the people of Hungary.

One such method was a Bible-carriage. During the early 1890s, they requested it to be constructed. It was ready by 1892 and shipped from Northampton.³⁴ The carriage was a 'success' in the eyes of the missionaries during the Hungarian millennial festival in 1896. However, this success was only reflected in the number of Bible and literature sold not by converts of the Scottish Mission. The Jews of Hungary, especially those of Pest, were ready to talk but rarely converted. Their 'resistance' to the gospel was analysed by Mestitz.

²⁹ Rudolph Koenig, 'Report on the Conversion of the Jews to the General Assembly. Appendix IX Pesth' in *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May 1884* (Edinburgh: [n. pub.], 1884), 9-21, 38-42 (p. 10).

³⁰ Rudolph Koenig, 'Report on the Conversion of the Jews to the General Assembly. Appendix IX Pesth' in *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May 1885* (Edinburgh: [n. pub.], 1885), pp. 3-17, (p. 6).

³¹ Rudolph Koenig, 'Report on the Conversion of the Jews to the General Assembly. Appendix IX Pesth' in *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May 1887* (Edinburgh: [n. pub.], 1887), 4-12 (p. 5). They adhered strictly to the practice of selling them at designated areas.³¹

³² Rudolph Koenig, 'Report on the Conversion of the Jews to the General Assembly. Appendix IX Pesth' in *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May 1888* (Edinburgh: [n. pub.], 1888), 21-38 (p. 38).

³³ RCJ of 1886, Appendix IX, 3-13, (p. 3).

³⁴ 'Annual Report of the National Bible Society of Scotland for the Year 1892', in *National Bible Society of Scotland Annual Reports 1886-1899*, 10 vols (Edinburgh: Lorimer & Gillies, 1893), III, p. 15. See also: 'Report on the Conversion of the Jews to the General Assembly. Appendix IX Pesth' in *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May 1893* (Edinburgh: T. & A. Constable, 1893), 6-13 (p. 9).

His classification of the Jewry gives an insight into the religious convictions of different layers of Jewry as well as how Christian Jews regarded their fellows following Judaism.

2.3.3. Mestitz's classification of Jewry, theological-religious obstacles and other hindrances

Mestitz identified the first group as 'the *atheist* of whom David says, "the fool hath said in his heart, There is no God"; these I seek to avoid'.³⁵ Then, the second group was described as follows: 'they are the *deist*, who believe in the divine Creator, but not in revealed religion. These I find easily approached'. The third group was the 'Jews who *accept revealed religion*, but *refuse to believe* in the *Son of God*. From this class I draw my attentive hearers, and the secret believers who once belonged to this section of the Jews'.³⁶ The first two groups would have come mainly from the liberal trend in Hungarian Jewry whereas the third would presuppose that these people were deeply religious.

After carefully circumscribing the stances of the targeted groups, Mestitz also expounded the hindrances to the mission work. He described the factors, which aroused great obstacles to convince and persuade the Jews of his own convictions. These were the following: 'first, the Talmudic teachings, secondly, the superstitious rites and ceremonies of the Romish Church; and finally, the lack of earnest Christian atmosphere to surround and influence them'.³⁷ As for the first, the grip of Jewish life was profoundly exerted on the Jewish community through religion and its 'codex' regardless of one's personal stance as a believer. Regarding the second argument, it was without doubt that the Jews heavily resented Roman Catholicism. Their embitterment and resentment ran on at least as deeply emotional lines as those of the Protestant. Finally, what Mestitz lamented was the lack of committed Christians in the churches, the kind of people who fervently tried to live out what they preached. This indicated how tiny the Evangelical communities were in Pest.

There were some peculiar obstacles with which the colporteurs had to contend, such as the want of education, the habits of people who 'live and labour in the fields during the summer, leaving their villages totally deserted', the 'vast distances', the lack of roads and the cessation of traffic on the Danube during the winter. Furthermore, hindrances arose from the fact that there were a variety of languages within the Hungarian Kingdom.³⁸ Finally, there were many instances of Catholic opposition to colportage but one finds also positive and encouraging responses from the same religious community.

³⁵ RCJ of 1883 Appendix IX, 19-33, (p.22).

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ 'Annual Report of the National Bible Society of Scotland for the Year 1882', in *National Bible Society of Scotland Annual Reports 1870-1885*, 10 vols (Edinburgh: Frank Murray, 1883), II, 14-7, (p. 15).

Nevertheless, the most dangerous challenge was directed against not colportage but the school, which was unparalleled in the history of the Scottish Mission.

3. Antagonism between the Jews and the Mission School

3.1. The problem of religious education and conversion

The Mission School formed the fourth pillar of the Scots' missionary enterprise. It functioned for the purpose of gaining access to Jewish homes through the pupils with a view to converting their parents. The issue of conversion and religious education cannot be separated from the political-social context as the religious bills regulated both. During the 1880s and mid 1890s, religious issues had become burning topics for the members of the Hungarian parliament.³⁹ Civil birth registry was introduced instead of the ecclesiastical model, and marriage was only recognised if registration was made at the government offices.⁴⁰ This did not stop the churches performing baptisms or marriages but legal recognition could only be conferred by the state.⁴¹ State laws replaced ecclesiastical legal rights in these two regards. For the parliament, one of the issues at stake was whether to give Judaism an equal legal status in civic affairs similar to that of the 'accepted religions (*religio recepta/bevett vallás*)'. These latter were the Roman Catholic Church, and the Reformed and Lutheran Churches but Judaism was only a 'recognised religion' (*elismert vallás*) since the Law of 1868 did not emancipate the 'Jewish religion' but only the Jewish people.⁴² However, almost thirty years later the Jews were strong enough economically and politically to lobby for the full recognition of Judaism, which was finally granted through articles 43 and 45 of the law of 1895. Conversion was allowed from any of the 'accepted religions' to another on the basis of reciprocity when they reached the age of eighteen. Also the articles allowed individuals to be outside the 'accepted religions' as soon as they were eighteen years old.⁴³ However, all children under the above mentioned

³⁹ Gyurgyák, pp. 65-75.

⁴⁰ Jr. McCagg, 'Jewish Conversion in Hungary' in *Jewish Apostasy in the Modern World*, ed. by Todd Endelmann (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1987), 142-164 (pp. 154-55). For a good treatment on the topic see also: János Csohány, *Az 1894-95. évi magyarországi egyházpolitikai törvények és a református közvélemény*, ed. by Csohány, János, A Debreceni Református Theológiai Akadémia Egyháztörténeti Tanszékének Tanulmány Füzetek, 10 (Debrecen: Debreceni Református Kollégium Nyomdája, 1987), pp. 85-115.

⁴¹ György Lukács, *Az egyházpolitikai törvények és vonatkozó összes jogszabályok kézikönyve* (Budapest: Pesti Nyomda, 1896), pp. 37- 65. Article 33 of 1894 Law that introduced civil birth registry, and article 31 of 1894 Law that of Civil marriage.

⁴² Their further recognition was also hindered by the fact that the Neolog, Orthodox and Status Quo communities had no unified national organisation.

⁴³ Lukács, p. 66. See there: 1895. XLIII Law. par. 5. 'To step out of or enter into any denomination is allowed to anybody according to the condition stated by the law'. [My translation]. Cf. p. 32. The 1868 LIII. Law Par. 3. stated the change of faith was allowed only after the age of eighteen.

age were required to register with an 'accepted religion'.⁴⁴ The law also obliged every child to receive religious instruction while in school. This had a bearing on the religious education carried out at the Scottish Mission.

Initially, the Scots viewed the Religious Liberty Bill as a favourable opportunity to school matters. However, when they realised the impact of the Reception Law, they were scared of it as is seen below:

As regards the Reception of the Jews, we shall await also with some anxiety the issue. The measure will give the Jews more power, and we may be sure that they will use it. Placed on a level with the other religious communities, they will spare no effort and leave no stone unturned to obtain theoretically and practically all the rights enjoyed by others, and to have these enforced on their behalf when they regard them as infringed. They make their power felt already in a way, which impedes the course of instruction in our school.⁴⁵

It is not surprising to see that the Scots were worried by the unknown future and by the possible impact of the law on the aim of the Mission School. Although, the law allowed conversion, the following shed light on how difficult it was for an individual to leave his or her religious community. Moody reported a telling case, which describes the whole process of changing religion.

When Adolf Weism came forward for baptism, we could not receive him until, in accordance with the new regulations, he had gone with two witnesses to the Chief Rabbi and given notice of his purpose to separate himself from the Jewish Community, and until after the lapse of a fortnight he had repeated this, but we may expect that Jews who come to us timorously will be afraid of the ordeal.

This fortnight, as a time period, gave ample occasion for the community leader to dissuade the individual from making a decision in favour of Christianity. The new laws regulated in more detail the possible conversion cases from Judaism to Christianity and the missionaries resented some of its aspects. To make it clear we cite the problem that the Mission encountered,

If a Jew and his wife, for example, embrace Christianity, their children who are under seven years of age may be baptised with them, but children over seven cannot follow their parents, even though they desire it, till they reach the age of eighteen.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Mihály Bucsay, *A protestantizmus története Magyarországon 1521-1945*, trans. by Auer Kálmán, Ádámné Révész Gabriella (Budapest: Gondolat, 1985), p. 208.

⁴⁵ Andrew Moody, 'Report on the Conversion of the Jews to the General Assembly IX. Pesth' in *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May 1895* (Edinburgh: T. & A. Constable, 1895), 2-3, 7-14, (p. 8).

⁴⁶ Andrew Moody, 'Report on the Conversion of the Jews to the General Assembly IX. Pesth' in *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May 1896* (Edinburgh: T. & A. Constable, 1896), 6-10 (p. 9).

It is plain that the Scots could not baptise all children of Jewish parents when converted if their children were above seven and under eighteen years of age. This often led to a practice that some Jews, regardless of the fact that they intended to convert at the Mission or any other place, went to neighbouring countries to be baptised.⁴⁷ Parallel to the laws regulating conversion, another one dealt with religious education. Although, parents could send their children to denominational schools different from their religious adherence, the Religious Law of 1895 specifically prescribed that each child had to receive religious education according to his or her religious background. Since the Mission School was Reformed and the religious education reflected the Reformed confessional stance, the new law obliged the board of the school to allow Jewish, Lutheran and Roman Catholic children to receive religious education of the faith that they, and their parents belonged to.

This meant a change for the Scottish Mission since it could not evade the law by giving a grade only in Reformed religion to Jewish children. They had to receive a grade in religion from the teacher appointed by the Jewish community who taught at the Mission School. This resulted in offering two kinds of religious education to the Jewish children at the same time, the first being made obligatory by the school board, the second by the state law. The Scots felt forced that a different kind of religious education could and had to be conducted in *their own* [my italics] premises. This became a grievous concern for the Scots, precipitating serious conflicts between them and the Jews.

3.2. Opposition to the Mission School in Hungarian Jewish newspapers

The religious clash between the Jewish community and the Scottish Christian community became highly tense during the latter part of the 1880s. After a period of relative silence, since the opposition of the late 1870s abated by 1882, Jewish resistance was again revived in 1884. The issue between the two communities was that the Jews resented that Jewish pupils were educated at the Mission School with the purpose of ‘trafficking for their souls’.⁴⁸ The period of fierce opposition stretched from autumn of 1884 until spring of 1888. It was not by mere accident that the opposition began in 1884. By then, the Tiszaeszlár case and its aftermath had abated and the leaders of the synagogue could turn their attention to the school.

The Tiszaeszlár was the name of a village where allegations similar to medieval Christian accusations against the Jews surfaced. Some people sued three local Jewish men for the death of a girl, Eszter Solymosi charging them with using her blood at their ritual.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 10.

⁴⁸ Eleázár Szántó, ‘Az angol hittérítők iskolája Budapesten’, *Egyenlőség*, 6. 41 (16 October 1887), 6-7 (p.7).

Istóczy Győző, a member of the parliament, capitalised on the Tiszaeszlár case which contributed to the spread of Anti-Semitism all over Hungary. The court case, in which the Jewish men were interrogated, lasted for a year and finally the charges were dropped. The Hungarian government realised the danger of this movement and within a year the issue was off the agenda of the newspapers and the movement abated.⁴⁹ The rise of the first instance of modern anti-Semitism in Hungary must be considered in the context of the pogroms in Russia, Poland and Rumania.⁵⁰ The Anti-Semitic movements in the region gave rise to various ideas within the Jewish communities 'often including [such] bold alternatives [as] the advocacy of a Jewish return to Palestine [which] gained currency and respectability', Zionism and Messianic Christianity of Josef Rabinowitz.⁵¹ Rabinowitz originated one of the first Hebrew Christian movements supported by the various British societies set up for the evangelisation of the Jews including the Scottish Mission.⁵² The Jews of Pest knew of the Mission's contacts with the movement and launched their first major attack in 1884 through the Neolog weekly paper named *Egyenlőség*.

Miksa Szabolcsi, its well-known editor, wrote an article on Andrew Moody portraying him as 'a dangerous beguiler' who 'carries out his work secretly undermining Judaism'.⁵³ In the same article, he also published a letter, which Rabinowitz wrote to John Wilkinson,⁵⁴ the leader of Mildmay Mission. The comments on this letter were to support his claim that Rabinowitz was a 'common swindler' belonging to such a group of persons as Moody.⁵⁵ Since the appearance of the Rabinowitz movement in Russia, the Pest Jews kept a closer eye on the Mission. After Szabolcsi, Eleázár Szántó, who was the director of the Pest Jewish Boys School,⁵⁶ published an article on the Scottish Mission. He blew the trumpet of warning and defence as early as 1885. His first article appeared in the Orthodox

⁴⁹ Zoltán Szász, 'A magyarországi tőkés fejlődés társadalmi-politikai következményei', *A konzervatív liberalizmus kora. A dualista rendszer konszolidált időszakasza 1875-1890*, ed. by Zsigmond Pál Pach, Endre Kovács and László Katus, 2nd edn, 10 vols (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987), VI/2 pt. 3 ch. 5: *Magyarország története 1848-1890, 1257-1277*. (pp. 1273-8).

⁵⁰ János Gyurgyák, *A zsidókérdés Magyarországon*, (Budapest: Osiris Kiadó, 2001), p. 319.

⁵¹ J. Steven Zipperstein, 'Heresy, Apostasy, and the Transformation of Joseph Rabinovich' in *Jewish Apostasy in the Modern World*, ed. by Todd Endelman (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1987), 206-231. (p. 206).

⁵² Kai Kjaer-Hansen, *Joseph Rabinowitz and the Messianic Movement* (The Handsel Press: Edinburgh, 1995).

⁵³ 'Reverend Moody', *Egyenlőség*, 3. 50 (14 December 1884), pp. 3-4. See also: RCJ of 1882, Appendix IX, p. 11. Josef Rabinowitz is named as the father of the contemporary Messianic Jewish missionary movement. His religious quest started during the Russian pogroms of 1881/82 and led to his conversion and baptism. He induced other Jews to follow his views and founded a separate Hebrew Christian church. This community maintained circumcision, Sabbath observance and the Jewish festivals.

⁵⁴ Kjaer-Hansen, *Joseph Rabinowitz and the Messianic Movement*, p. 40. See also: W. T. Gidney, *The Jews and their Evangelisation*, (London: SVMU, 1899), pp. 96-97.

⁵⁵ 'Reverend Moody', *Egyenlőség*, 3. 50 (14 December 1884), pp. 3-4. See also: RCJ of 1882, Appendix IX, p. 11.

⁵⁶ B., 'A Pesti Izr. Hitközség fiuiskolájának vizsgái', *Egyenlőség*, 9. 26 (27 June 1890), 6-7 (p.7).

Jewish paper, *Magyar Zsidó Szemle*. Then, he also wrote other articles in the liberal *Egyenlőség*.

Eleázár Szántó's articles are valuable since they are one of the very few sources that show what was in the contemporaneous Jewish mind. In the Orthodox Jewish paper, *Magyar Zsidó Szemle*, the articles reveal the fact that faith communities living side by side did not have adequate knowledge of 'the other'. Szántó launched a charge against the 'English' [i.e. Scots] who send their 'immensely rich missionaries and Bible Societies as pioneers' in order to gain a foothold in a particular land.⁵⁷ He commented on the reason why the Scots pursued mission to the Jews as follows:

When the Mission was sent, the pious society was sure that in this hardly known, half-civilized land, the majority of the inhabitants practiced some kind of pagan religion, however, they have noticed that every man confesses a positive faith here, and that there is no place for conquest in the bosom of this religiously most patient nation, [then] *they extended their attention to the Jews* [italics added]. [Thus] the English mission became a Jewish Missionary Society, in spite of being 'rewarded' by complete failure. There were some Jews, now and then, who became converts so that they could also make a living as missionaries in Budapest. If they were sent to Africa, or Australia, then they went to America [instead] so as not to return from there. It happened also that, an astute Polish Jew having heard of the generosity of the missionaries, popped in [on the missionaries] unexpectedly, assumed the [Christian] faith and obtained money and was in a hurry to return home to Galicia so that he could honourably celebrate the Passover in his family circle. This was the success of [the Mission] nothing more.⁵⁸

Some observation may be drawn from his highly illuminating critique. First, it is evident that Szántó was misinformed of how the mission came into being and was not capable of tracing the real motivations of the missionaries and the theological trend they subscribed to. Secondly, his charge of Jews converting to Christianity only for gains is, understandably, biased. It is no surprise to see such a polemic angle since he could not imagine that some of his people, belonging to the same faith community, could sincerely convert. In this regard Szántó's stance was similar to the charge made against Israel Saphir more than 40 years previously.⁵⁹ He also questioned the sincerity of the converts and Scots and was not aware of the fact that the missionaries baptized only if they were entirely certain that the inquirer's intention was earnest. Naturally, this did not exclude the case of

⁵⁷ Eleázár Szántó, 'Az angol hittérítők Budapesten', *Magyar Zsidó Szemle*, 2. 6 füzet (1885), 373-78, (p. 373). See also: Eleázár Szántó, 'Az angol hittérítők Budapesten', *Egyenlőség*, 5. 49 (5 December 1886), 4-5, (p. 4).

⁵⁸ Eleázár Szántó, 'Az angol hittérítők Budapesten', *MZsSz*, 2. 6 füzet (1885), 373-78, (p. 374).

⁵⁹ See: Chapter 2. Section. 3.6. The baptism and worldview of Israel Saphir, a prominent Jewish convert

being cheated.⁶⁰ Thirdly, it was certainly a substantial observation that the Scottish Mission managed only to convert a very marginal number of the extremely fast growing Pest Jewish community. He argued, 'if the list of those who converted to the Christian faith from Judaism were before me, I could easily prove, that in comparison with the allurements of love and material gains [those were in Szántó's opinion reasons for conversion], the work of the Mission is infinitesimal.'⁶¹ The Scots acknowledged that the numbers of converts were low but as usual laid more emphasis on the never ceasing expectation of future conversion of the Jews more than on self-criticism. A citation from the annual report of the Jewish Committee illuminates this point: 'the baptism of several of our scholars must have shown them that our school-work, with the fruitlessness of which we were sometimes taunted, was exercising a powerful influence on the community'.⁶²

It has been observed that Szántó's remark on the origin of the Mission was inadequate and his comments on it were polemical. Despite this he offered an excellent analysis of why the Jews sent their children to the Mission School. His first observation was that the Jew said to himself, 'my house is my temple' meaning that parents were not scared to send their children to the Mission School since they were convinced that one or two hours of religious instruction cannot do much harm if they practice Judaism at home. Second, Szántó pointed out that 'neither the Jewish community nor the city' provided a sufficient number of public schools back in the 1840s, which naturally resulted in thriving private schooling. Since it was expensive, the Scots took advantage of this situation, and enrolled the Jewish children without a fee, moreover, books and writing utensils were supplied free of charge. Third, he emphasized that 'we must acknowledge the truth and sincerely have to say that the Scots always treated the young [Jewish] people with love'.⁶³ He also underlined that in the 'Scottish School', the Jewish pupils were not mocked as often happened in public schools.

Then, Szántó wrote of his current situation in the 1880s when the 'city had plenty of public schools [...] which were free, or cost 35 korona per month, yet the school of the missionaries is crowded with Jewish children'.⁶⁴ Szántó saw the irreligiousness of the middle-class and poor Jews as the main cause of sending their children to the Mission

⁶⁰ Such a case is mentioned in Carlyle, *Life of William Wingate*, pp. 201-7. This is the story of Isaac Levison, who after many years of cheating Wingate became a convert. Then, he worked in Jewish Mission and was the secretary of the British Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Jews. Cf. John Dunlop, *Memories of Gospel Triumphs among the Jews* (London: Partridge, S. W. & John Snow & CO., 1894), p. xiv.

⁶¹ Eleázár Szántó, 'Az angol hittérítők Budapesten', *MZsSz*, 2. 6 füzet (1885), 373-78, (p. 374).

⁶² RCJ of 1888, Appendix IX, p. 6.

⁶³ Eleázár Szántó, 'Az angol hittérítők Budapesten', *MZsSz*, 2. 6 füzet (1885), 373-78, (p. 375).

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

School rather than the economic factors. He accused the Jews of Pest of sending their children to the Mission School as follows: 'there was nobody so far, who reproached [the Pest Jewish community], and there was not yet anybody, who warned them of the shameful thing'.⁶⁵ He ironically suggested two reasons why Jews should reject the Mission School. First, it would save the Hungarian capital from being published in 'the yearbook of the English Society [that is the Annual Report for the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland] together with Honolulu, Shanghai and the Fiji Islands', second 'it would free the capital from the last primary school, which uses German as the language of education and where the Hungarian language is rather subordinated'.⁶⁶ In another article the latter charge of Germanising was repeated, 'their teachers are foreigners, who either do not, or badly speak the Hungarian language'.⁶⁷ It was a skilful point of Jewish polemics that the missionaries were anti-Magyar.

It is highly interesting that the Jews used the same charge, the slowness of Magyarisation often directed against them by Hungarians in their accusation against the Mission. Nevertheless, it was true that most of the staff at the Mission school were German-speaking. One must bear in mind that the Germanness of the Mission was also a constant complaint among the Hungarian bursars at the very same time as will be seen. It is curious to notice how Szántó proceeded on the patriotic line of argument that was a recurring theme for him. He declared that 'accomplished and patriotic Jews are convinced that it is not the proselytising activity of the Mission, which is detrimental but the fact that the patriotic feeling of the Hungarian Jewry, the enthusiasm for the sweet home language is perfidiously made suspicious, charged in contrast with the most Hungarian denomination, the Reformed'.⁶⁸ Szántó argued that even the Hungarian Reformed did not send their children to the Mission School since it was foreign and was not 'pure Hungarian stock'. He raised the question: 'Can we suffer it longer that our patriotic feelings should be wounded?'. He then set out criteria for what it means to be a Jew on religious grounds: 'We say openly that in that father who sends his child to that school, that is not beneficial for the country and that the Jewry is ashamed of, there is no feeling of honour, he is not regarded as a Jew, he has separated himself from the community'.⁶⁹ He feared that the

⁶⁵ Ibid. Again, a parallel could be drawn to the 1840s when such a claim appeared in the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*. 'Pesth im Juni (Eingefandt)', *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, 7. 30 (24 Juli, 1843), pp. 444-446.

⁶⁶ Eleázár Szántó, 'Az angol hittérítők Budapesten', *MZsSz*, 2. 6 (1885), 373-78, (p. 376).

⁶⁷ Eleázár Szántó, 'Az angol hittérítők Iskolája Budapesten', *Egyenlőség*, 6. 41 (16 October 1887), pp. 6-7.

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 6.

⁶⁹ RCJ of 1888, Appendix IX, p. 6.

Jews could also be charged by other Hungarians of not Magyarising if they sent their children to such an establishment where the German language was dominant.

Evidently, different categories of motivation were interwoven in the appeal of Szabolcsi and Szántó for the unity of the Jewish community in opposing the work of the Mission School. Patriotic, social and ideological elements intermingled in their arguments that mirrored the opinion of different groups within the Pest Jewish community. Some rejected the Scottish Mission since they thought it degrading and humiliating to be proselytised. Others regarded themselves as enlightened and opposed the proselytising activity from different premises. Again, others saw the school as a Germanising institute at the heyday of Magyarization of which most of the Pest Jews were also enthusiastic advocates.

3.3. Words Turned into Action: the Jewish opposition to the Mission School

From the beginning of September 1885, the Jewish community leaders tried to prevent children belonging to their community from coming to the Mission School. Their efforts were extraordinary, quite surpassing anything the Scots had ever experienced before. Moody complained that emissaries were sent to the houses to warn parents that ‘they would have to pay fines of five or ten florins’ if they persisted in sending their children to the Mission School. Furthermore, ‘physical force’ was also used about which Moody lamented as follows:

Then, strong men were posted on the street when the days for enrolling the children came, to turn away, if possible, those who were seen approaching our school-house. We were not at first aware of what was going on, but those who appeared began to tell the teachers that they had hardly been able to get through, because of a man who was standing in the way. Some of the teachers, on hearing this, went out to see what could be done [...] efforts were made to keep them back till the days appointed for the enrolment of scholars were over. The opposition in this particular form then ceased. [...]⁷⁰

Fines and physical threats were supplemented by legal action. After the lapse of a few weeks, the leaders of the Jewish community lodged a petition against the Scottish Mission School with the Minister of Religion and Public Instruction.⁷¹ The complaint was that the Scots allowed Jewish children who attended the school to pass from the lower to higher classes without regard to the grades given them by their Jewish teacher of religion. Their request was that the veto interposed by the Jewish teacher should have the same authority

⁷⁰ RCJ of 1886, Appendix IX, p. 8. Apparently there is a contradiction in the primary source as ‘strong men’ and ‘a man, who was standing in the way’ do not correspond. Yet the point is made regardless of this flaw in the report.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, The report mentioned that it was signed in the name of the community by ‘a leading Jewish banker, who was also a member of Parliament, and another influential gentleman’.

in the school as it had in the other schools of the city. The Scots declined it on the basis of their religious conviction.

Eleázár Szántó, writing from a Jewish aspect quite correctly remarked in his article about the Scottish mission that ‘they did meet the law *formally*, in so far as they *allowed* [Szántó’s italics], the children to attend Jewish religious instruction, but in the certificate they give marks, usually excellent, that should be normally merited from the teacher of Jewish religion’.⁷² The Scots argued that in ‘those cases’ in which they had permitted Jewish children to pass on to the higher classes without certificates of competency from their Jewish teacher, they had acted from the conviction that they could not keep back those children, ‘who in every other branch had made rapid and satisfactory progress, simply because they had not satisfied their teacher of Hebrew’.⁷³ They resented the fact that the Jews asked for a veto in their denominational school. Allowing this would have been against the autonomy granted to the Protestant churches.⁷⁴ It is probable that the Scots were not keen on emphasising that the pupils attend the Jewish religious education provided for them by law. Apparently, the injured party were the little children, who were caught between the two highly differing motives of the respective arduous champions of the religious communities.

Nevertheless, Szántó again made a grievance against the school. A year later, shortly after the commencement of the school year, he reported that on the Day of Atonement at all the thirty-six places of worship in Budapest, it was declared how dangerous the Scottish Mission was for the pupils and parents were requested to withdraw their children.⁷⁵ The Scots also mentioned this in their reports. The following line summed up the worldview of the Evangelical Scots.

On that solemn day when friends in Edinburgh were assembled praying for the conversion of Israel, they were in their assemblies, in thirty-six meeting places in this city, “breathing out threatenings” against us, and vowing that they would not rest till they had forced every Jewish child to leave our school.⁷⁶

This language indicates how incredibly strong was the interplay and application of the Bible to the lives of the Scots. The language recalls the account of biblical stories of the New Testament. The Scots viewed themselves, or to say likened their situation to that of

⁷² Eleázár Szántó, ‘Az angol hittérítők Budapesten’, *MZsSz*, 2. 6 füzet (1885), 373-78, (p. 375).

⁷³ RCJ of 1888, Appendix, p. 9.

⁷⁴ One must bear in mind that the Mission School was under the legal protection of the Pest Reformed Church.

⁷⁵ Eleázár Szántó, ‘Az angol hittérítők iskolája Budapesten’, *Egyenlőség*, 6. 41 (16 October 1887), pp. 6-7.

⁷⁶ Andrew Moody, ‘Report on the Conversion of the Jews to the General Assembly. Appendix IX Pesth’ in *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May 1888*, 3-16, (p. 6). This report is about September 1887.

the early Christians. This was a very similar phenomenon to the 1840s when describing the opposition of the Jews. The Scots saw the conflict as 'spiritual warfare' between their 'true' cause and the opposition of evil embodied in the opposition of the Jewish community.⁷⁷

In the same missionary report dealing with the autumn of 1887 one reads that 'Mr. W., the Jewish teacher of religion made it his one business to take the pupils entirely from the school'.⁷⁸ Moody expressed his grave concern that the Jewish teacher pursued his object so keenly that, instead of teaching the children, 'he spent the hour in stirring them up to rebel against our teachers, and leave our school'.⁷⁹ Then, house-to-house visitation was started, parents were visited once, twice, three times, and 'pressure of every kind brought to bear upon them, and places were found for the children in other schools, if they consented to have them enrolled elsewhere'.⁸⁰ Moody lamented that they lost many children, particularly boys, in consequence of 'this wild agitation'.

The school year of 1887/1888 signalled the climax of the conflict. It came as a strange surprise that from autumn 1888 the Jewish opposition abated. The Jews realised that their appeal did not lead anywhere and could not be successful in the long run. According to Moody, the Jewish teacher declared that the 'heads of the Jewish community did not have the intention of beginning again the same action against us as had been initiated a year ago, as it was useless. It was a Sisyphean (sic!) work'.⁸¹ Moody openly admitted that this was such good news that at first he thought it was a hoax. Indeed, the Jews had given up on dealing with the Mission. With this, the hot and bitterly debated period of 1885/86-1887/8 came an end. Perhaps it was a wise decision. The more hindrances that were placed before the inquiring Jew, the more interest was expressed. Curiosity was only fed by prohibition resulting in conversion, which was desperately rejected by the Jewry, Orthodox and Neolog alike.

3.4. The Scots' Mission to the Jews

3.4.1. *Gaining Jewish converts*

The Jewish converts of the Mission came from a variety of backgrounds and were reached by differing means. Some were attracted by the Mission's social outreach. Such were the

⁷⁷ See discussions: Chapter 2. 3.4. Clash of Jewish and Evangelical worldviews for the first time.

⁷⁸ RCJ of 1887, Appendix IX, p. 6.

⁷⁹ Ibid.,

⁸⁰ Ibid., Cf. RCJ of 1888, Appendix, p. 6.

⁸¹ Andrew Moody, 'Report on the Conversion of the Jews to the General Assembly. Appendix IX Pesth' in Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May 1888 (Edinburgh: [n. pub.], 1889), p. 25.

cases of Chaim Stern⁸² and Adolf Lewin.⁸³ The first came from a large family whose parents could not provide for the children. Lewin was picked up from the street by Dr. Lippner as 'poverty stricken' and was employed as an attendant at the Bethesda hospital. Later he left Hungary and worked in a hospital for people with mental illnesses in Westphalia, Germany. Other people were attracted to the mission through family relations. The Gerstl family is an example of this: Mrs Gerstl, from whose family the Mission had gathered four members; her son and three daughters, followed her children's decision 'after the lapse of sixteen years'.⁸⁴ Another example was Hermann Lippner, the cousin of Dr. Lippner, who helped him to find a job in Pest and introduced him to the *Hold utca* community, where he, his wife and children were soon baptised together.⁸⁵ The third means of obtaining converts was the Mission School. Moody was pleased to see the 'efficacy' of the mission of the school in 1883 via the baptism of the above mentioned Mrs. Gerstl. He rejoiced by saying, 'it is not unimportant to state, that we have been brought into connection with the family through means of the Mission School'.⁸⁶ Obviously enough, the Mission was especially delighted to see 'evidence' and tangible 'results' from its work. The missionaries were keen on emphasizing this in their reports to the supporters of the Jewish Mission in Scotland. Moody wrote:

We have been permitted to see the fruits of the work among the Jewish children in the school. Mariska Krausz and Louise Weinmann⁸⁷ were former pupils, and Adolph Weinmann is still with us in Mr. Victor's class. [...] another young Jewess, who did not herself attend our school, but was brought to us by former pupils, is receiving instruction at present.⁸⁸

What is striking from the citation is that the expected conversion of former pupils came so late. The Scots always hoped to access and convert the parents of the pupils. The missionaries and teachers were able to gain access to parents officially, thereby keeping up the appearance that they were only interested in the educational progress of the children. In fact, the main driving force behind such visitations was to evangelise.⁸⁹ Regarding the children, the Scots still had a chance to baptise them by law up until the mid 1890s when

⁸² Andrew Moody, 'Mission Work And Baptism at Pesth', *FCofSMR* (1 August 1882), p. 245. Cf. RCJ of 1882, Appendix IX, p. 8-9.

⁸³ RCJ of 1883, Appendix IX, p. 23. Cf. 1885, Appendix IX, p. 10. See also: RCJ of 1883, Appendix IX, p. 19.

⁸⁴ RCJ of 1883, Appendix IX, p. 19.

⁸⁵ RCJ of 1885, Appendix IX, p. 8-9.

⁸⁶ RCJ of 1883, Appendix IX, p. 19

⁸⁷ Kálvin téri Református Egyházközség Anyakönyvei 1884-86 VIII. Kötet. fol. 358. Krausz Mariska was baptised on 14 November 1886.

⁸⁸ RCJ of 1887, Appendix, p. 13.

⁸⁹ Not only Neumann, but also the missionaries and the teachers pursued this work. See Chapter 3. Section 3.3.2. The Form of Jewish Mission.

the Religious Bill was passed. There was no legal obstacle to the Scots receiving minors, especially if parents or guardians gave their consent. In the opinion of the Scots, the law regulating the relations of Christian ecclesiastical bodies with each other ‘forbade, for example, the Protestant churches from receiving a Roman Catholic under eighteen years of age, *had no application to the Jews* [italics added]’.⁹⁰ This peculiar lacuna in legal regulation seemingly enabled the Scots to receive minors, however, they only did so if the parents gave their consent.

Besides social, family and educational relations, colportage also directed the attention of Jews to the mission and occasionally it resulted in baptism of the inquirer either in Pest or other places. Many converted Jews, converted through the Mission became members of the Reformed Church. Apart from these categories, there were cases of conversion initially not related to the Scottish Mission. Amongst these Rabbi Lichtenstein’s conversion is the most well-known.

3.4.2. Rabbi Lichtenstein

Isaac Lichtenstein was a district rabbi in Tápiószele.⁹¹ During the mid-1880s he came to the belief that Jesus Christ was the Messiah for the Jews.⁹² His religious quest for the truth received a decisive thrust due to the short-lived Anti-Semitic case of Tiszaeszlár.⁹³ The rabbi took the initiative to meet Moody, whom he did not know. Since the work and aim of the Scottish Mission was well known among the Hungarian Jewish community, he thought to seek his advice on religious matters. During the course of Lichtenstein’s visits to Moody they developed a cordial and confidential relationship. It was on the basis of their conversations that, Lichtenstein published his first pamphlet entitled, ‘*The Talmud on its trial*’ during the summer of 1886. This did not stir the Jewish community. However, his further publications started to annoy them since the religious stance that the rabbi took was a shock. Many Jews was more willing to accept conversion as a social phenomenon, but refused to tolerate it if it was based on a religious faith decision.

What especially irritated the Jewish leaders was that Rabbi Lichtenstein wanted to remain within Judaism after his conversion, a position that no other converts had claimed

⁹⁰ RCJ of 1888, Appendix IX, p. 3. Cf. See also: Sándor Berényi, ‘Zsidó gyermek belépése valamely keresztyén felekezetbe’, *Egyenlőség*, 15. 33 (27 September 1896), pp. 2-3. Minors under seven years of age could only be baptised.

⁹¹ Walter Riggans, ‘Isaac Lichtenstein’ in *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions*, ed. by Anderson, Gerald (Cambridge U. K: William B. Eerdmans, 1999), pp. 399-400.

⁹² Isaac Lichtenstein, *Judaism and Christianity* (Edinburgh: Andrew Elliot, 1893), pp. 5-6. See also: NLS Dep. 298.255, (1887-1893), fols. 282-3, Minutes of 9 August 1893. This document testifies that it was financed by the Free Church of Scotland Jewish Mission Committee. Cf. RCJ of 1887, Appendix IX p. 9.

⁹³ Jacob Gartenhaus, *Famous Hebrew Christians* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1979) p. 124. See: Újvári Péter, *Magyar zsidó lexikon*, (Budapest: Pallas Irod. És Ny. Rt., 1929), pp. 897-9.

previously. The Jews did not regard him as a Jew (here in the sense of not being a true adherent of Judaism) any longer, whereas the Christians initially did not count him among themselves, as he was not baptised, which, according to the view of the missionaries should have naturally been achieved as a result of his new religious stance. During the ensuing years, one sees numerous instances of both camps trying to get him on their own side. The Jews were hoping that he would eventually withdraw his views, whereas the missionaries were hoping that he would make a public confession.

Moody visited Lichtenstein in Tápiószele and tried to convince him to make a public confession such as the Saphirs had done many decades previously. He could not understand why the rabbi insisted on accepting Jesus as Messiah but did not become a Christian through baptism. Many others, including James Wells, the convener of the Jewish Committee,⁹⁴ Dr. Mutchmore of Philadelphia USA,⁹⁵ Messrs Baron and Barret of Mildmay Mission, and C. A. Schönberger from Vienna⁹⁶ tried to persuade him to convert but in vain.⁹⁷ Andrew N. Somerville, the travelling evangelist also met the rabbi during the course of his evangelistic tours in Hungary.⁹⁸ His principal object was to induce him to confess Christ publicly 'by the Lord's own institution, that of baptism'.⁹⁹ Eventually, Somerville and the rabbi met on 17 January 1888 in Szolnok.¹⁰⁰ The meeting had a profound impact on the rabbi yet it was not enough to move him from his stance. Lichtenstein argued that he hoped to bring over his congregation to Christianity and 'he would do this better by remaining an unbaptised Jew, than by another course'.¹⁰¹ The rabbi's theological reasoning was as follows: 'the root and stem cannot be grafted in the branches. Judaism is not to be dissolved and disappear in Christianity, but to renew itself, gaining new life in the Resurrection of Christ'.¹⁰² Somerville found it a 'plausible objection in itself but scarcely consistent with the authoritative commission of Christ'.¹⁰³

⁹⁴ RCJ of 1892, Appendix IX, p. 7.

⁹⁵ RCJ of 1888, Appendix IX, p. 3. He was the editor of *Presbyterian*, a magazine in the United States.

⁹⁶ RCJ of 1888, Appendix IX, p. 4. Schönberger was the brother in law of Saphir.

⁹⁷ David Baron, *Rabbi Lichtenstein and His Conversion* (London and Wealdstone: Grapho, [n. pub.]), pp. 4-5. Cf. Roeder E. O. C., 'Interesting Items Regarding Rabinowitz, Lichtenstein, Schonberger, Jacobi Etc', *JHR*, 9. 7 (July 1887), pp. 116-7.

⁹⁸ George Smith, *A Modern Apostle* (London: John Murray, 1890), pp. 356-7

⁹⁹ A. N. Somerville, 'Dr. Somerville's Testimony to Rabbi Lichtenstein and Rabinowitz', *The Jewish Herald and Record of Christian Work among the Jews* (Thereafter *JHR*), 10. 7 (July 1888), 140-2 (p. 140). Cf. RCJ of 1888, Appendix IX, p. 61-2

¹⁰⁰ a+o., 'Dr. Somerville távozáza (sic!) Debreczenből', *Debreceni Protestáns Lap* [Thereafter *DePL*], 8 (2). 3 (21 January 1888), pp. 22-23.

¹⁰¹ Somerville, 'Dr. Somerville's Testimony', p. 140.

¹⁰² J. Lichenstein, 'Letters of Rabbi Lichtenstein Tápio-szele, 11th March 1888', *JHR*, 10.7 (July 1888), 139; 139

¹⁰³ Somerville, 'Dr. Somerville's Testimony', p. 140.

Neither could the Pest Jews persuade him to change his position. Although they had no juridical right over him, their leaders summoned him for interrogation.¹⁰⁴ When all their efforts proved to be in vain, the leaders of the Pest Jews accused Moody of writing Rabbi Lichtenstein's second pamphlet, 'My Testimony' published in 1886. Certainly, such publications stirred the interest and curiosity of the Jews and this brought renewed attention to the work of the Scottish Mission. This meant that during the ensuing years there were slightly more Jewish baptisms at the 'German-speaking Reformed Affiliated Church of the Scottish Mission'.

3.4.3. *The international and non-denominational character of the Reformed Hold utca hub*

The Scottish Mission was part of an international network of like-minded Evangelical people. They maintained strong ties with other Jewish missions, missionary organisations and institutes. The international character of the *Hold utca* hub of the Scottish Mission and the German-speaking congregation can be seen from the fact that the baptised Jews were not always the direct result of the Pest mission. An outstanding example of this is that Rabinowitz's wife from Russia was baptised in the *Hold utca* church by the Scottish missionaries.¹⁰⁵ Another example of this kind was Chaim Stern, who was educated in the institution of the Moravian Brethren in Gnadefeld where he converted but he was baptised by Moody in Pest. Isaac Asch, from Galicia was converted through a Baptist colporteur, and was directed by accident to the Pest mission by the Mildmay missionaries, Dr. Dixon and David Baron.¹⁰⁶ Baron and Carl Schönberger, Adolph Saphir's brother-in-law, founded the Hebrew Testimony to Israel to support Rabinowitz.¹⁰⁷ The different organisations all worked to the same end, to win Jews to the gospel but not to a particular church. Therefore, the ties of the converts were not so strong to the traditional churches rather to Christ and to the network of like-minded people.

3.4.4. *Mission to the Jews: achievement or self-justification?*

During the 1880s and 1890s, due to the Rabbi Lichtenstein case in Hungary and the emergence of the Rabinowitz movement in Kischinew, Russia, Jewish mission was more in the focus of the Jewish public. The Scottish Mission maintained links with both

¹⁰⁴ C. A. Schönberger, 'Rabbi Lichtenstein of Tapio-Szele in Hungary', *JHR*, 9. 8 (August 1887), p. 130.

¹⁰⁵ Andrew Moody, 'The Baptism of Mrs Rabinowitz', *The Free Church of Scotland Monthly Record* (1 December 1891), p. 359. Cf. RCJ of 1892, Appendix IX, p. 5.

¹⁰⁶ RCJ of 1891, Appendix IX, p. 4

¹⁰⁷ Kai Kjaer-Hansen, *Joseph Rabinowitz and the Messianic Movement* (Edinburgh: The Handsel Press, 1995), p. 115.

movements capitalising on the high interest.¹⁰⁸ As a result the Scottish evangelist, A. N. Somerville, was invited to Hungary and there was a slight increase in the number of converts during the late 1880s. The Mission's report of 1887 mentioned six Jewish baptisms by the missionaries.¹⁰⁹ A year later five more were mentioned most of them were former pupils of the Mission School.¹¹⁰ The numbers of Jewish converts on average fluctuated between four and five persons in comparison with the 15-20 baptised at the central Reformed and Lutheran churches every year.¹¹¹

These numbers are insignificant when one considers that almost every fifth person in Budapest was Jewish by the turn of the century.¹¹² Of course, Jews could also convert to Roman Catholicism and other denominations. To see how low the overall conversion rate was it is enough to cite that in 1900 only 476 Jews converted in Hungary representing 0.05 percent of the local Jewish population.¹¹³ This small figure indicates that the Jews were content with the adaptation of Judaism, their religion. Consequently, many did not find it necessary to convert to Christianity in order to assimilate to the Hungarian nation. The Scots were strict Evangelicals and demanded a faith decision to convert. Thus the ever re-occurring Jewish charge of the converts' 'dishonest' motivations could be true for others except those baptised by the Scots. The Scots always tended to attribute greater significance to this marginal conversional number, which is reflected in the following remark:

Doubtless many who come soliciting baptism are moved by worldly motives; subtracting, however, the false from the sincere. The impressive fact remains, that in the minds of a preponderating number of Israelites the light of Gospel

¹⁰⁸ Roede E. O. C., 'Rabbi Lichtenstein's Pamphlets', *JHR*, 9. 8 (August 1887), p. 132. The Scottish Mission had close ties with British Society for the Propagations of the Gospel among the Jews. The 'Rabinowitz movement' and that of Lichtenstein were often coupled in missionary reports in each other's journals: the *Missionary Record* and the *Jewish Herald*.

¹⁰⁹ RCJ of 1887, Appendix IX, pp. 12-3.

¹¹⁰ RCJ of 1888, Appendix IX, p. 3. The author had only been able to identify two Jewish converts in the Birth Register of Kálvin Tér Church. These were the baptisms of Ernestine-Hermina Aufricht and Johanna Aufricht on 12 June 1887. See: Kálvin téri Református Egyházközség Anyakönyvei 1887-1890. vol. 9., fol. 30.

¹¹¹ There are some instances when Moody asked for the figures of Jewish converts in both Pest Protestant Churches. See: RCJ of 1886, Appendix IX, p. 8. According to Moody there were 41 Jewish conversion to the Reformed and 15 to the Lutheran faith in 1885. During the following year, 1886 there were 28 Jewish converts at Kálvin tér, apart from the 4 persons converted through the Scottish Mission in that year. Cf. Kálvin téri Református Egyházközség Anyakönyvei 1884-86. vol. 8.

¹¹² Don Jehuda, and Georges Magos, 'A magyarországi zsidóság demográfiai fejlődése', *Történelmi Szemle*, 3 (1895), p. 443. Cf. László Gonda, *A zsidóság Magyarországon 1526-1945* (Budapest: Századvég Kiadó, 1992), p. 163. See also: Gyurgyák, pp. 77-78. According to the figures given by Don-Magos there were 104 290 Jews in Budapest in 1890 making up 20,6 percent of the total population.

¹¹³ Jr. McCagg, 'Jewish Conversion in Hungary' in *Jewish Apostasy in the Modern World*, ed. by Todd Endelmann (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1987), 142-164 (p. 143).

truth is an overpowering reality, to whom also it is manifest, that Jesus is the Christ and their Messiah!¹¹⁴

Despite this optimistic and ever-anticipating hope, the minds of the Jewry, by and large, were not at all attracted to Christianity in great numbers, least of all to the Scottish Mission. This 'report language' of the missionaries is often a benign exaggeration of the facts. From their perspective, the missionaries saw the decade past as fruitful in comparison with the former one; the number of converts grew and more former pupils of the Mission School turned to Christianity. It was not the number of converts but the sensation of the Lichtenstein case viewed in the context of the rise of Anti-Semitism in Eastern and Central Europe, which brought more attention to the Mission's activities. Owing to ^{the} emerging 'Jewish question' even Hungarians began to publish about Jews, including mission to the Jews, though such topic was a rarity rather than a common occurrence in ecclesiastical papers.¹¹⁵

II. The Rise of the Home Mission Movement in Hungary

1. The changing ecclesiastical leadership in Pest and beginning of Magyarisation of Mission through the bursars

Due to changes in the ecclesiastical administration in Pest at the Reformed Church and at the Mission School, the other aim, the 'revival of the church' was about to come true from the early 1880s. The changes in the ecclesiastical life of the national Church, especially that of the Budapest Reformed Church had a great impact on the Scottish Mission. The organisational unification of the different Hungarian Church provinces for the first time in Reformed history came about in 1881.¹¹⁶ This provided the basis for new developments including a response to the social changes in society that brought home mission to the attention of various church leaders. In Budapest, responding to the rapid urbanisation, new congregations were established from 1883.¹¹⁷ This development coincided with the death of Pál Török and the election of a new bishop of the Danubian Church Province, Károly Szász, who saw an available tool in the rising home mission organisations of Pest. Another

¹¹⁴ RCJ of 1886, Appendix IX, p. 3.

¹¹⁵ Lajos Szabó, 'Miszziói (sic!) törekvés a zsidók között', *Erdélyi Protestáns Közlöny*, 40, 41, 42, 43 (1887 a, b), pp. 355-7, 363-5, 373-74, 382-83. In this set of articles Szabó illustrated the full scope of Jewish Mission in Europe accentuating the role of Delitsch and the Scottish Mission.

¹¹⁶ Chapter 3. Section 1.2.1. Organizations of Pest Reformed Church: the Theological Seminary. See explanation of the unification of the five church provinces.

¹¹⁷ József Farkas, *A Pesti Református Egyház 101 éves története* (Kecskemét: Tóth László nyomdája, 1898), pp. 289-354. Confessionalism had a strong interplay with magyarization as for many promoting the Reformed faith meant also facilitating Hungarian culture since the Hungarian Reformed Church was almost exclusively ethnic Hungarian.

development favourable to the Evangelical-Pietist movement was the retirement of Mór Ballagi from Pest Theological Seminary in 1877. The other liberal voice of the Protestant Union, professor Albert Kovács, was elected a member of the Hungarian parliament in 1881, and became the leader of the National Party, a position he held until 1896. Ballagi's new successor, Farkas Szóts (professor between 1879-1918) was confession-orientated in his theological views and under his editorship *PEIL* allowed more space for articles on mission. These changes coincided with a further sign of Magyarisation at the Mission.

During the period of 1880-1900, the Mission School was pressurised by the national process of Magyarization to change the language of education from German to Hungarian. The teachers also had to take an examination in Hungarian. Consequently, the old German character of the school was challenged and the education system had to adapt to the requirements of the new patriotic government. Except János Victor, the teachers were all German speaking, and often not even citizens of the Empire, not to mention the Hungarian Kingdom. The teachers not only had to take an exam in Hungarian but also swear allegiance to the Emperor. They complained particularly on the second count, as Moody commented in a report:

It is somewhat trying to the lady teachers, who are devoted to the Emperor William, to have to swear allegiance (we hear that they must take the oath!) to his Majesty Francis Joseph. We could never have asked them to separate themselves from the German Fatherland unless it had been for the sake of the good cause, but there will be blessing with the sacrifice if it be made as unto the Lord.¹¹⁸

These German Pietist women while interdenominational in their understanding of Christianity, harboured fervent patriotic feelings towards Germany. Yet it was a male teacher, Maag, who found it so difficult to learn Hungarian that eventually this prevented him from teaching.¹¹⁹ Also he seems to have been fairly nationalist since he was not willing to take an oath and so left the school.¹²⁰ As a result, the Mission employed the first bursar, István Fa, at the school in 1882.¹²¹ The recall of Fa from Edinburgh from the second year of his studies proved to be a major breakthrough for the Mission. From this time onwards the fifth pillar of the Mission's work, the bursary programme, which was inseparably connected to the rise of the Hungarian-speaking Sunday School movement, began to exert a greater influence on the Mission as well as on the life of the Pest Reformed people.

¹¹⁸ RCJ of 1883, Appendix IX, p. 28.

¹¹⁹ RCJ of 1881, Appendix IX, p. 19.

¹²⁰ RCJ of 1882, Appendix IX, p. 12.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

2. The Pest revival through the Sunday school, YMCA and other organisations

2.1. Antecedents: The Sunday school of the Scottish Mission and the German congregation

The history of the Sunday school movement should have its proper place in Hungarian Protestant history.¹²² The origin of home mission revival in Pest was closely tied to its emergence in 1880. The antecedents of Sunday schools in Hungary reach back to the 1840s. The first Sunday school was established by Philipp Saphir, which was re-established by the Scottish missionaries within the German-speaking Reformed Affiliated Church in 1866.¹²³ Thus the credit for establishing the first Sunday school in Hungary goes to the Scottish Mission. The missionaries encouraged the Baptist colporteur, János Rottmayer to initiate a Sunday school in Kolozsvár, Transylvania.¹²⁴ Bányai, the Baptist church historian pointed out that when Morse, the secretary of the World Alliance of Sunday school movements, came to Hungary with the intention of popularising Sunday schools he was surprised to find that one already existed in Kolozsvár as well as in Pest.¹²⁵ However, these initiatives of the Scots and the Baptist Rottmayer remained among the narrow circle of Evangelicals and Pietists for years. At the beginning of the 1880s, the Scottish Mission had only two Sunday schools both of which were German speaking: one was held at the *Hold utca* church, the other in New Pest. A third was established in late 1881 by Miss Emily Gordon, and held in the large hall of Bethesda hospital.¹²⁶ Members of the German congregation as well as the Scottish Mission offered assistance as teachers at the Sunday school. In 1885, out of the fifteen teachers eight were assigned to the

¹²² For general overview see: András Mózes, *A vasárnapi iskolák története* (Cluj-Kolozsvár: Ifjú Erdély, 1935). See also: Géza Takaró, 'A vasárnapi iskolák története', in *Koszorú* (Budapest: Hornyánszky Viktor, 1911), pp. 175 ff. An up-to-date academic study of the Sunday School movement awaits publication which may well be a further study that the author considers.

¹²³ Chapter 2. Section 6.2. The establishment of the School and its aim to evangelise the Jews; See also: and Chapter 3. Section. 3. Scottish Mission working through and with the German Congregation

¹²⁴ Bernát Victor, Rudolph Koenig, Andrew Moody, *Bericht über Das Sonntags-Schul-Werk in Ungarn im Jahre 1885* (Budapest: Hornyánszky Viktor, 1886). In this report the following places of German-speaking Sunday schools are mentioned: *Hold utca* Church, NeuPest [Újpest], Bethesda, Neu-Banovce in Slavonien, Essegg [Eszék], Tápió-Szt.-Márton, Pancsova, Hertelendfalva and Klausenburg [Kolozsvár]. It is pointed out that the Hungarian Sunday schools numbered eight and were conducted by theological students. (p.12). See also: Sándor Csekey, *A református vasárnapi iskola* (Budapest: [n. p.], 1937).

¹²⁵ Jenő Bányai, 'Rottmayer János II.', *Békehírnök*, 7. 7 (1963), 6-7, p. 6. Bányai gives 1872 as the date of Morse's visit. However, András Mózes gives 1870 as the date of Morse's visit. Furthermore, he argues there was an anonymous German person 'the leader of the British and Foreign Bible Society depot' in Kolozsvár. See: András Mózes, *A vasárnapi iskolák története* (Cluj-Kolozsvár: Ifjú Erdély, 1935), p. 22.

¹²⁶ Bernát Victor, Rudolph Koenig, Andrew Moody, *Bericht über Das Sonntags-Schul-Werk in Ungarn im Jahre 1885* (Budapest: Hornyánszky Viktor, 1886), p. 6. Here it is stated that Dr. Lippner supervised it by 1885. See also: RCJ of 1882, Appendix IX, p. 16.

Mission School.¹²⁷ The number of teachers fluctuated during the ensuing years since in 1889 there were only ten teachers mentioned.¹²⁸

The Sunday schools were attractive to many parents because children received more attention than in normal classrooms. Children were organised into small groups and teaching was interactive. Prayer, singing, and Bible stories constituted the occasions then, at the end, the children recited together what they had learned. Besides, children were requested to repeat the lesson one by one.¹²⁹ All this happened within the circle of the *Hold utca* hub, which was foreign in language to the surrounding growing Hungarian culture, not least that of the Hungarian Reformed Church of Budapest. Another development was awaited, and this began as some enthusiastic Hungarian theological students came into contact with the Scottish Mission. This in turn marked the beginning of the first revival in the Hungarian Reformed Church located in Pest.

2.2. Aladár Szabó, Andrew Moody and the beginning of the Hungarian Sunday-school movement

During the period of Magyarization of the Scottish Mission School, a decisive event took place between the Scottish Mission and the rationalist Pest Reformed Theological Seminary. Aladár Szabó, a student from the Budapest Reformed Theological Seminary, who was to play a crucial role, met Andrew Moody, the Scottish Missionary in November 1881 and in a short period they began to work together. Szabó came from the family of a Reformed minister in Tác. Before beginning his theological studies, he exhibited unique talents and had already shown a deeply religious character. In his biography, he recalls that before meeting the Scots, two readings made a great impact on him. The first was Imre Révész's *Life of Calvin*, which so impressed him that initially he intended to study at Debrecen Reformed College.¹³⁰ The second was a pamphlet written by a Reformed lawyer Mihály Boros about moral religious betterment.¹³¹ Owing to these influences Szabó's piety was formed. Eventually, he began his studies at Pest Theological Seminary since it was closer to the place where he came from. In addition to the normal academic requirements

¹²⁷ Messrs. Rau, Buss, Simon, Victor senior, Victor junior, Schacht, and Bolte, and Misses Knipping, Müller, Sztranyávszky, Puchlin (Pushlin Róza, Mrs Sándor Mitley cf. Kool, p 203.) Biberauer, Rau, Engl, and Meude. See in: RCJ of 1885, Appendix IX, p.12.

¹²⁸ RCJ of 1889, Appendix IX, p. 38

¹²⁹ Aladár Szabó, *Kegyelem által* (Gödöllő: A szerző kiadása, 1941), p. 49. Cf. Sándor Csekey, *A református vasárnapi iskola*, p. 33.

¹³⁰ Bíró, Sándor, 'A szabadságharctól az első világháborúig 1849-1914', in *A Magyar Református Egyház története*, ed. by Sándor Bíró and István Szilágyi, Egyháztörténeti tanszék Kiadványa, edn (Sárospatak: 1949; repr. Sárospataki Református Kollégium Teológiai Akadémiája, 1995), p. 338. It probably draws on Szabó's book entitled '*Kegyelem által*'.

¹³¹ Szabó, *Kegyelem által*, pp. 25-6.

for theological students, he took courses at the university of Budapest from well-known teachers including Károly Szász,¹³² who was to be Török's successor after his death in 1883.¹³³ After a successful first academic year in 1881/82, Farkas Szóts, one of the professors at the seminary approached him to find out whether he would be willing to be a senior student inspector in a newly rented dormitory. He accepted the offer and with some like-minded senior students; Kálmán Tóth, Dániel Kócsy, and Kornél Schneider moved to the new place. There, Szabó began to set up Bible-study groups with the view to spiritual nourishment.¹³⁴ On one such devotional occasion, a Jewish proselyte, colporteur Hirsch appeared.¹³⁵ He was employed as a colporteur of the British and Foreign Bible Society and often visited the theological students to sell Bibles. Hirsch was highly surprised to see the theological students having a Bible study group. Through him Szabó was put in touch with Moody. It was such a remarkable meeting that Szabó even took note of its date.¹³⁶ Of his relationship with Moody, Szabó later wrote: 'slowly it became apparent to me that it was more important for me what emanated from the preaching of Dr. Moody than from [the lectures of] the teachers at the faculty, or the university. And what I have learned from Imre Révész became clearer and brighter for me increasing the desire in me to witness Jesus Christ with my preaching and my life'.¹³⁷ This testifies the influence of Scottish Evangelicalism on Szabó's traditional Hungarian piety.

Szabó, in his biography, highlighted how much he was impressed by the Sunday school work of the daughter of Theodor Biberauer, Irma.¹³⁸ He felt challenged to start a similar initiative among Hungarian children and was encouraged by József Farkas, professor of Ecclesiastical History between 1862-1908.¹³⁹ Szabó organised the first Hungarian-speaking Sunday-school in *Mester utca* with the help of Karl Rau, the teacher of the Scottish Mission, István Benkő,¹⁴⁰ a teacher of religion and former bursar, and Imre Módra, a student of theology.¹⁴¹ At the beginning of the second semester of 1882/83, more

¹³² Zoványi, pp. 570-71. Szász was a bishop between 1884-1903.

¹³³ About Szász's life see: and Sándor Novák, *Szász Károly élete és művei*, (Budapest, [n. pub.] 1904).

¹³⁴ Szabó, *Kegyelem által*, p. 32.

¹³⁵ Kálvin téri Református Egyházközség, *Keresztelési, Esketési és Halotti Anyakönyv*. 1798-1844. fol. 129. entry 4 August 1843. János Lévy-Hirsch's godparents were John Duncan and William Wingate.

¹³⁶ Szabó, *Kegyelem által*, p. 33.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

¹³⁸ Gyula Forgács, *A belmisszió és cura pastorális kézikönyve*, Református Egyházi Könyvtár, 14 (Pápa: Református főiskolai Könyvnyomda, 1925), p. 212. Forgács also pointed out this much earlier than Szabó's biography appeared.

¹³⁹ Mihály Bucsay, 'A protestáns egyelet kora (1870-1896)' in *A Budapesti Református Theológiai Akadémia története 1855-1955*, ed. by Bucsay, Mihály és Pap László (Budapest: A Református egyetemes konvent sajtóosztálya, 1955), 38-72. (p. 61-2).

¹⁴⁰ Benkő was a former bursar of 1880/81 and 81/82. See: Richárd Höresik, *History of the Hungarian Scholarship at Edinburgh*. New College, Edinburgh, HOR I, fol. 22.

¹⁴¹ Szabó, *Kegyelem által*, p. 46.

and more students joined the Sunday school work.¹⁴² The Sunday school teachers were obliged to attend a session for preparation, and were divided into groups of three or four persons.¹⁴³ They met every week for preparation first, on Fridays then, on Tuesdays.¹⁴⁴ These meetings also deepened their Christian commitment to the gospel and outreach.

The enthusiasm of the students to reach out to small children soon met some opposition. Szabó made a note of the fact that his involvement with the Scottish Mission provoked discussion within the Pest Theological Seminary. Szabó quoted the leader of the student body saying that ‘he would not tolerate supranatural doctrines’, meaning the Evangelical-Pietist way of devotion was not to his liking.¹⁴⁵ It must be born in mind that the Pest Seminary was the stronghold of liberal ideas from its outset. Nonetheless, the positive feedback apart from József Farkas’s encouragement was also shown among the younger members of the staff of the Seminary. Of the revival Moody offered a description with the title ‘Awakening among Hungarian Students’:

The heaven began to work in the College, and one student after another was led into our meetings. There were a few who mocked loudly at first when Mr. Sz.’s testimony was heard within the College walls, but the truth prevailed, and the scoffers were silenced. The whole College was moved. The director Professor Szots [sic], threw himself from the first heartily into the movement, and came himself on several occasions to see how our meetings were conducted. The desire was expressed by the young men to be themselves engaged in Sunday-school work, and Hungarian Schools were soon opened in various parts of the city, in addition to those maintained by us in which the language of instruction is chiefly German.¹⁴⁶

In the opinion of József Bodonhelyi, Szóts welcomed the home mission movement but was not entirely exempt from theological liberalism.¹⁴⁷ His involvement cannot be underestimated as the movement received official backing from its outset. Taking over the editorship of *PEIL* from Ballagi he encouraged articles to be written on home mission. He also supported the Magyarisation of the capital and ascribed an important role to organising structures of Reformed church life in Pest. It was in this context that he was keen on establishing Hungarian-speaking Sunday schools.

The Sunday school involvement of the Reformed theological students opened a new door for the Scottish Mission to make its impact felt in the fairly rational atmosphere

¹⁴² Bíró, p. 390.

¹⁴³ Szabó, *Kegyelem által*, p. 49.

¹⁴⁴ RCJ of 1891, Appendix IX, p.5. The evangelistic meetings were also a new initiative of the Scottish Mission to be discussed later.

¹⁴⁵ Szabó, *Kegyelem által*, p. 41.

¹⁴⁶ RCJ of 1884, Appendix IX, p. 17.

¹⁴⁷ József Bodonhelyi, ‘A belmisszió kora (1896-1918)’ in *A Budapesti Református Theológiai Akadémia Története 1855-1955*, ed. by Mihály Bucsay and László Pap (Budapest: A Református egyetemes konvent sajtóosztálya, 1955), 73-106. (p. 96.) See a short discussion on Szóts theological stance.

of the Pest Reformed Theological Seminary. In addition to the three existing Sunday-schools of the Scottish Mission, three new ones were established. The growth of the Sunday schools required more people to teach and the following school year (1883/84) saw increased recruitment of theological students for this mission outreach.¹⁴⁸ It was enthusiastically reported to the British and Foreign Bible Society that ‘young theological students volunteer as teachers – *a thing unheard of before* [italics added]’.¹⁴⁹ Their number rose to thirty-one persons. It was noted that ‘most of the Sunday-school scholars belong to Roman Catholic circles and have never handled a Bible before [...] the uniform testimony of the colporteur is that chiefly Roman Catholics bought the books’ which resulted in an increase in the sale of NBSS.¹⁵⁰ Clearly enough, the work was expanding. Apart from these Pest Sunday schools, there were five Sunday schools in different parts of the country connected under the superintendence of the Scottish Mission, including such places as Tápiószentmárton, Keresztes, Fóth, Tóthfalu and Pancsova.¹⁵¹ Thus, by 1883, the Sunday school began to move out of the closed circle of the Scottish Mission and the German-speaking Affiliated Church.

The climax of the enthusiasm came in 1883, when a Christmas celebration was arranged for all the Budapest participants of the Sunday schools and their parents.¹⁵² For this purpose, the large gymnasium of the city was secured free of charge.¹⁵³ Szabó invited the students of other theological faculties for this occasion with the view of commencing a nationwide network of Sunday school work but only Pápa students came. Károly Szász, who was just about to be elected as bishop after the death of Pál Török,¹⁵⁴ gave an enthusiastic speech in support of the Sunday school work about which Szabó said, ‘we

¹⁴⁸ ZsL. 17a. fond. 1. box. 1. folder. A Vasárnapi Iskolai Szövetség iratai. The announcement was probably written by Aladár Szabó. See also: Forgács, *A belmisszió*, p. 213. The first announcement was on 14 September, 1883 cited by Forgács, and the second was on 24 October 1883 cited by Szabó. See also: Sándor Csekey, *Bilkei Pap István*, ed. by Sándor Csekey, Budapesti Református Theológiai Könyvtár, 4.2 (Mezőtúr: Corvina Nyomda), p. 6. See also: Bíró, Sándor, Bucsay Mihály, Tóth Endre and Varga Zoltán, *A Magyar Református Egyház története*, p. 391.

¹⁴⁹ ZsL [Magyarországi Református Egyház Zsinati Levéltára], Vasárnapi Iskolai Szövetség iratai, 17a. fond. 1. box. 1. folder, fols. 1-6.

¹⁵⁰ Seventy-Eighth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society 1882, (London: Spottiswoode (sic!) & Co., 1883), XXXVI, p. 70. This meant that the BFBS provided the books as it was much larger than the Scottish and had its publishing place. However, it was the NBSS colporteurs and the Scottish Mission related people who spread the literature among the Catholics. Unfortunately, this passing comment is not followed up in the subsequent reports so as to enable us to find out the reason for Roman Catholic interest in letting their children attend a Sunday school run by Reformed theologians.

¹⁵¹ ‘A budapesti vasárnapi iskolák záróünnepélye’, *PEIL*, 28. 20 (17 May 1885), p. 632. Cf. Gyula Forgács, *A belmisszió*, p. 212. Cf. RCJ of 1883, Appendix IX, p. 20.

¹⁵² Tanárikarri jegyzőkönyv, Budapesti Ref. Theol. Akadémia, 1883-4. entry 42. cited by László Pap, *A Budapesti Református Theológiai Akadémia Története 1855-1955*, ed. by Bucsay, Mihály és Pap László (Budapest: A Református egyetemes konvent sajtóosztálya, 1955), p. 70.

¹⁵³ Egy teológus, ‘A budapesti magyar vasárnapi iskolák karácsonyi ünnepélye’, *PEIL*, 26. 51 (23 December 1883), 1653-57. (p. 1655).

¹⁵⁴ NLS Dep. 298.254. fols. 271-3. Minutes of 20 November 1883. Committee’s Necrology at Török’s death.

could not have found a better godfather than him' for the cause of Sunday school work.¹⁵⁵ For the second semester of 1883/4, Szabó went to Sárospatak Theological Seminary to champion the cause of Sunday-school work. Initially, he was favoured but soon he met with strong opposition and was forced to return to Pest.

2.3. The organisational separation of the Hungarian-speaking Sunday school movement

The unsuccessful attempt in the countryside did not discourage the organisational development of Sunday schools in Pest. An article appeared in the *PEIL* in order to popularise the work. It mentioned the Christmas celebration of 1883 held in Pest and also gave an account of a similar initiative in Buda. A committee was formed to supervise the Buda work that was presided over by Károly Szász. The Pest Committee had been formed earlier and consisted of Farkas Szóts, Rudolf König, Andrew Moody, Aladár Szilassy, Theodor Biberauer, and Ferenc Simon. Then the committees entrusted Simon, a who was a former bursar,¹⁵⁶ to supervise all Sunday school work from the beginning of 1884.¹⁵⁷ The writer of the article declared that 'in this way the yeast of the gospel spread from behind the walls of the Theological Seminary to the people, and thanks be to God it did so not only through our preaching'.¹⁵⁸

The Sunday school movement initiated a major breakthrough in the practical application of missionary awareness in the Hungarian Reformed Church. It has been noted that not only in Pest and Buda but also in the countryside new Sunday schools were established from 1883. There were more than thirty teachers involved and the number of Sunday schools had doubled by the school year of 1883/84 in Pest. The formation of committees was significant for organising the work into a framework. Then, the necessity of a network of Hungarian-speaking Sunday schools emerged as a consequence of first organising committees. Eventually, the 'first Budapest Hungarian Sunday school' breaking up ceremony was held in the Széna-tér, at this time Kálvin tér church in May 1884.¹⁵⁹ The young theological student, Szabó's efforts were the dominant force. A pious remark by the writer of *PEIL* praised him, 'Aladár Szabó, the fervent apostle of this cause... expounded

¹⁵⁵ Szabó, *Kegyelem által*, p. 64.

¹⁵⁶ Hörsörik, fol. 22. Bursar of 1881/82 and 1882/3. Simon was an associate in teaching Hungarian at the Mission School recommended by Török. See: 'Report on the Conversion of the Jews to the General Assembly, Appendix IX' in *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May 1881* (Edinburgh: [n. pub.], 1881), 1-38 (p. 19).

¹⁵⁷ Egy papnövendék, 'Jelentés a budapesti magyar vasárnapi iskolákról', *PEIL*, 27 (1884), 670-675 (pp. 670, 671).

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 673.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 675.

the system of Sunday schools.¹⁶⁰ Although he did not hold an official title in the Sunday school movement, he was the driving link between the Scottish Mission and the Reformed Theological Seminary in the evangelisation of young children.

To see how vital his role was in the revival related to the movement it is enough to consider that friends begged him to return from Edinburgh, where he travelled during early summer 1884 as a bursar, to revive the declining work. In spite of the efforts of other enthusiastic people the Sunday school movement was endangered for the school year of 1884/5. István Fa travelled to the countryside with the financial help of ‘the London Sunday School Union to popularise the work during the course of the summer’ but he did not exert such a great influence among the theological students as Szabó did.¹⁶¹ The students needed someone to organise and encourage them. This fact draws attention to Szabó’s charisma to make people move on.

Szabó returned to Pest in the autumn of 1884. He tried to rekindle the dampened fire of the revival but he was also burdened with congregational work as bishop Szász appointed him to one of the newly developing areas of Pest to organise congregations for the newly settled Reformed people of the countryside.¹⁶² Elemér Balogh’s¹⁶³ long account illuminates the reason why Szász was so encouraging towards any home mission initiative. The editor of the annual report on the conversion of the Jews cited from Balogh’s letter, referring to ‘a double blessing as reaped by the Reformed Church of Hungary from contact with the Free Church of Scotland’ in this vain:

[...] in Budapest where there are 30, 000 persons connected with the Reformed Church, the preaching stations have increased from two to seven, an increase due to the impulse given by Mr. Moody’s work. He testifies from his own observations how largely the attendance has grown at Mr. Moody’s meetings during recent years, and predicts that the increases will be even more remarkable as the work is brought into closer touch with the Hungarian people themselves. He tells us, moreover, that he has been commissioned to prepare a statement regarding our Mission for publication in the forthcoming Protestant Calendar (*Protestáns Képesnaptár*), and that this publication will have good effect in making the work even more widely known.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., p.673.

¹⁶¹ RCJ of 1884, Appendix IX, p. 12.

¹⁶² Szabó, *Kegyelem által*, pp. 82-3.

¹⁶³ The Scottish sources speak of E. Balogh (see RCJ of 1892 p. 4. and RCJ of 1893 p. 6.) Elemér Balogh was a bursar (a graduate of Pest Theological Seminary) of 1890/91. Elemér Balogh became a minister in Pozsony and later bishop. Hörszik mentions that Ferenc Balogh from Debrecen as a bursar of 1891/92. See: Hörszik, fol. 23). They should not be confused. Professor Ferenc Balogh’s son was in fact a bursar as Andrew Moody’s letter indicates, asking Balogh to send a formal application on behalf of his son. TtREK Ferenc Balogh Collection, R.1516.134.11. Letter from Andrew Moody dated 14 March 1891.

¹⁶⁴ RCJ of 1892, Appendix IX, p. 12.

Hungarian-speaking Sunday schools and the German-speaking ones at the 'mother' organisation, the Scottish Mission worked together. Koenig's contacts with other societies were useful as the London Sunday School Union and American Foreign Sunday School Association helped them to publish an enlarged Sunday-school hymn-book, containing sixty hymns, translated from English into German.¹⁶⁵ The Scots were quick to react to the changed circumstances since the Hungarian Sunday schools outnumbered the German-speaking ones. Therefore, the following year, the American Sunday School Union, through the Scottish Mission undertook to pay for a Hungarian language Sunday school hymnbook, which Koenig published with the assistance of several Hungarian people.¹⁶⁶ Entitled '*Gyermeklant*', it contained sixty hymns edited by Sándor Farkas, a teacher of religion from Budapest.¹⁶⁷ By 1885, it was reported that the 'Children's Special Service Mission printed at Budapest a Sunday school paper in Hungarian, entitled *Örömhír*, i.e. 'Joyful Tidings'.¹⁶⁸ The Sunday school movement rapidly expanded to other parts of the country and the Scots as well as the Reformed spared no time, energy and finance to support it.

Szabó was instrumental in championing the cause, but as we have seen, this would not have been sufficient if influential church leaders had not shown a goodwill to the work recognising the beneficial nature of religious education for children and supporting it. The enthusiasm of Szabó and his fellow students, the encouragement from Pest ecclesiastical leadership including professors from the seminary, the bishop and the ministers at Kálvin tér, finally the presence of bursars at the Mission such as István Fa and Ferenc Simon contributed to the surprisingly quick and successful spread of the Sunday School movement, which was established by the Scots in the late 1840s but never ventured, or so to say, never had the opportunity to spread further out of the boundaries of the Mission. In the light of these Moody claimed that the Sunday school movement in Hungary 'owed its

¹⁶⁵ Andrew Moody, Rudolph Koenig and Teachers of Pest School, '1883 Report on the Conversion of the Jews to the General Assembly. Pesth' in Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May 1883 (Edinburgh: [n. pub.], 1883), pp. 19-33:20, 21 This was the first publication of the Hymnbook for children but in German. Therefore, it was a precedent to the first Hungarian edition.

¹⁶⁶ RCJ of 1884, Appendix IX, pp. 12, 20. The Scots also donated money for this publication.

¹⁶⁷ Szabó, *Kegyelem által*, p.72. Cf. RCJ of 1882, Appendix IX, p. 12. Here Szabó stated that *Gyermeklant* was the hymnbook that he used in Sárospatak in spring of 1884. It contained 60 songs including 10 from the church's official hymnbook. These were as follows: '*Fel barátim, drága Jézus zászlaja alatt*', '*Az áldott orvos közeleg*', '*Sok picinyke vízcepp*', '*Ki az, Kikopog?*', '*Mester! a bösz vihar dühöng*'. See also: Jenő Bányai, 'Rottmayer János II.', *Békehírnök*, 7. 7 (1963), 6-7 (p.7.). The Baptists had one already in the Hungarian language in 1876 entitled '*Énekek a keresztyéni vasárnapi iskolák számára*'. Here, Bányai argues that from this Victor took the *Hozsánna* hymnbook (1901), which was a successor to *Gyermeklant*. However, in another of his works on the topic, he does acknowledge that the first publication of *Gyermeklant* contained many translations from English from bursars such as Kecskeméti, Szalay and Benkő. See: Jenő Bányai, *A magyarországi baptista egyházzene története* (Budapest: Baptista Kiadó, 1996), pp. 33-37.

¹⁶⁸ RCJ of 1885, Appendix, IX, p. 6.

origin, directly or indirectly, to the work of our mission'.¹⁶⁹ Undoubtedly, the Scots provided the know-how, however, the role of Hungarian participation must not be underestimated. The Sunday school movement can be seen as located in between the two pillars of the Scottish missionary establishment, that is the congregation and the school. Initially, one provided the place and the other the staff but the movement soon broke out of the *Hold utca* hub through Szabó and the bursars.

2.4. The origin of the first Hungarian-speaking YMCA

Parallel to the Sunday-School movement, was the emergence of 'Hungarian',¹⁷⁰ YMCA within the walls of Pest Reformed Theological Seminary.¹⁷¹ Although, the German congregation had seen many times a formation of a YMCA within itself back to the 1840s, then in 1866 and now in 1880 there was a mention of such, yet it did not break out of the circle of the *Hold utca* people. Thus, the visit of Charles Fermaud, the secretary of the World Alliance of YMCAs to Budapest in November 1883 cannot be underestimated. After his lectures at the 'church of the Scottish Mission in *Hold utca*' the enthusiasm of the theological students was so great that a YMCA was soon founded in the Great Hall of the Budapest Theological Seminary and the elected president was Aladár Szilassy, a lawyer, the president for youth was Béla Kenessey, the secretary was Aladár Plichta, a student of medicine and the second secretary was Aladár Szabó.¹⁷² In his autobiography Szabó alluded to the fact that this group of theological students, and some from other faculties, made a decision to organise the first Christmas celebration for the Sunday school pupils and prepared a proclamation to call upon other theological faculties to join the Sunday school movement.¹⁷³ The participants in the YMCA and Sunday school movement greatly overlapped and the two movements mutually generated each other.¹⁷⁴

¹⁶⁹ RCJ of 1891, Appendix, IX, p. 5.

¹⁷⁰ Hungarian in the sense that the native language of the members was Hungarian in comparison with the YMCA of the Congregation, which was German-speaking, though Hungarian in a sense as it was established in Hungary. Thus, there are two different usages of the same word.

¹⁷¹ Bálint Kovács, 'A Keresztyén Ifjúsági Egyesület (KIE)' in *Református ifjúsági egyesületek és mozgalmak a XX. században*, ed. by Sándor Tenke (Budapest: Magyar Református Egyház, Széchenyi Nyomda Győr, 1993), pp. 56-83. See also: Bálint Kovács, *A Keresztyén Ifjúsági Egyesület története 1883-1950* (Budapest: Magtárstúdió, Vigándpetend, 1998).

¹⁷² Szöts, Gerő, 'A budapesti református teológus ifjúság beléletéről I, ', *PEIL*, 26. 43, (1883), pp. 1428-1429. See also: Szabó, *Kegyelem által*, p. 54. Szabó's later reminiscing is in contrast with the above contemporary document since he remembers for Plichta as the elected treasurer.

¹⁷³ ZsL [Zsinati Levéltár], 17.a. fond. 1. box. 1. folder. 1883 október 24 kiáltvány másodlata. Cf. Szabó, *Kegyelem által*, p. 55.

¹⁷⁴ Pruzsinszky, *Szilassy*, pp. 22, 34. See also: Szabó, *Kegyelem által*, pp. 51-2. Cf. Szabó stated that forty-one persons bid farewell to him when leaving for Sárospatak. From this we can infer that at the theological faculty at least forty-one students were involved in the YMCA and Sunday school work.

These two organisations proved to be the core elements in maintaining the revival. The Sunday-school movement worked within the ecclesiastical structure of the Church, whereas the YMCA sought legal recognition as an independent organisation. The government was suspicious of the YMCA and declined to give legal recognition for a decade.¹⁷⁵ Though legally not recognised, the YMCA worked within a limited sphere in the church. Szabó was active in both movements as well as being deeply involved in the various activities of the *Hold utca* hub.¹⁷⁶ This connection was only further strengthened by his marriage to the daughter of Theodor Biberauer, an elder of the German congregation.

Unquestionably, there was a strong similarity between the enthusiasm of Szabó and his father-in-law. One finds the Biberauers, Szabó and the Szilassys behind many other organisations together with such key figures of the Pest Theological Faculty as Farkas Szóts, Elek Petri and Béla Kenessey to mention the most important ones as shall be seen. Sándor Bíró, in one of the major Hungarian works on nineteenth century Reformed Church history, observed that the aforementioned person were behind of all initiatives in Pest, which was a small circle of people.¹⁷⁷ Owing to this group of people new organisations began to mushroom in the *Hold utca* hub during the 1880s and 1890s.

2.5. New fruits of home mission: Children's Home, and YWCA

The triangle, the people of Pest Theological Seminary, the *Hold utca* hub and Kálvin tér church mutually generated the already existing excitement over the success of the Sunday school movement and the YMCA. The 'Mission's congregation' experienced the effect of the great enthusiasm of Hungarian people for mission activities with the foundation of new initiatives. After the long years of the lost battle over the leadership of the first Hungarian Protestant Orphanage (1859) the Scots together with members of the congregation led by Theodor Biberauer initiated the foundation of a 'Children's Home' for Jewish orphans.¹⁷⁸ Two teachers of the Scottish school, Mrs. Knipping and Mrs. Müller were also involved in it. They raised Mariska Krausz, a Jewish orphan who was eventually baptised upon

¹⁷⁵ Gyula Forgács, *A belmisszió*, p. 225. Oddly enough for the modern reader, one of the 'reasons for its refusal was the Christian (Keresztén) word in the YMCA logo'. He ascribed it to occurrence of Anti-Semitism of generated by the Tiszaeszlár case. Yet this exaggerated caution of the government seems strange for the modern reader.

¹⁷⁶ József Farkas, *A Pesti Református Egyház 101 éves története* (Kecskemét: A Budapesti Evangéliumi Reformált Egyház, 1898), pp. 358-59. Cf. Forgács, *A belmisszió*, p. 221. The same persons, Szilassy and Szabó were re-elected.

¹⁷⁷ Sándor Bíró, 'A szabadságharcotól az első világháborúig (1848-1914)' in *A Magyar Református Egyház története*, ed. by Sándor Bíró and István Szilágyi, Egyháztörténeti tanszék Kiadványa (Sárospatak: 1949; repr. Sárospataki Református Kollégium Theológiai Akadémiája, 1995), p. 396.

¹⁷⁸ RCJ of 1883, Appendix IX, p. 27.

reaching adulthood. In 1883, the visit of the famous George Müller, the father of Bristol Orphanage also re-assured them in this branch of mission.¹⁷⁹

Two years later a YWCA was established within the congregation. The first president was the energetic Mrs. Knipping.¹⁸⁰ Again, one notices that she, like Szabó participated simultaneously in many activities. Knipping was involved in the YWCA, the Children's Home, she was also a teacher of the Sunday school beside being a teacher at the Scottish Mission School. She organised the YWCA to hold yearly events of social charity. Such were held at Christmas and on 2 February, which was a Catholic holiday. At such occasions, they distributed 'free coffees', clothes and medicine.¹⁸¹ The character of the YWCA was interdenominational and multilingual as 'Reformed, Lutheran, and Roman Catholic Churches, and some of them Jewesses and Greeks [that is, Greek Catholics], respond[ed] to the invitation to enter into the work' in 1885.¹⁸²

The beginning and foundations of the Sunday-school movement (1882), YMCA (1883), Children's Home (1883), and YWCA (1885) each supported the other. It is worth noting that the Sunday school and the YMCA were Hungarian-speaking initiatives whereas the other two, the YWCA and the Gustav Adolph society was still German speaking. Yet people participated concurrently in more than one organisation and the events at the new associations greatly influenced the members and kept the spirit of enthusiasm high. These associations gathered people from three circles. First and foremost, the theological students, who regarded Szabó as their leader, played a significant role. Then, it was the *Hold utca* hub, which provided people. The missionaries and the staff of the Scottish Mission formed the other group of revivalists together with the leading, zealous members of the German-speaking congregation. Third, people from Kálvin-tér church, where bishop Károly Szász, the professors and their wives went, joined these two circles in the 1890s, as will be revealed. All three circles differed greatly: the theological students were young, were to be the leaders of Reformed churches and spoke Hungarian; the missionaries and the members of the congregation were adults, middle class and English as well as German speaking, finally the revivalists of Kálvin square consisted of upper middle class persons (the bishop, professors, leaders of the presbytery and their wives) as well as upper class women (baronesses and countesses). They all began to reach out to the people of Pest, mainly but not exclusively to the Protestants.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid, RCJ of 1883, Appendix IX, p. 27. See on Harold H. Rowdon, 'George Müller' in *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions*, ed. by Anderson, Gerald (Cambridge U.K: William B. Eerdmans, 1999), pp. 480.

¹⁸⁰ RCJ of 1885, Appendix IX, p. 16.

¹⁸¹ RCJ of 1892, Appendix IX, p. 6; RCJ of 1885, p. 15.

¹⁸² RCJ of 1885, Appendix IX, p. 15.

3. The Mission and new elements in the Bursary Programme

The fifth pillar of the Scottish missionary enterprise was the bursary programme. Its role was to broaden the scope of the Scottish Mission's influence within the Reformed Church of Hungary. The bursary programme was set up in the late 1860s with high expectations and began to make its impact in Debrecen as well as in the countryside and only to a limited extent in Pest. A change came in Pest when bursars were employed at the Mission School.¹⁸³ Moody well knew how beneficial the presence of a former bursar could be. That is why he wrote in this tone of Fa's arrival in May 1882:

His being with us in the Mission tends to draw the students of the Seminary to us. The Director of the Seminary has been inquiring with interest about our work. It is his desire, after making himself acquainted with our Sabbath school, to get the theological students enlisted in the work. Mr. Farkas¹⁸⁴, who is assistant in the Seminary and teacher of religion in the public schools is now regularly with us at our meetings, and superintends the Sabbath school in Steinbruch with Mr. Fa. His position is a most important one, and his influence for good may be great, as he has a thousand scholars in the public schools.¹⁸⁵

The returning bursars had natural ties with the former students and the fact that some remained in Pest provided an access to the Pest Reformed community. This proved to be more than advantageous. István Fa worked for the Mission for two years then he was succeeded by another bursar, Ferenc Simon.¹⁸⁶ From 1882 the involvement of bursars at the Mission School became a long standing tradition.

This link became one of the yeasts as the academic year of 1883/4 saw a revival within the Pest Theological Seminary. The other link, incidentally forged through Aladár Szabó, from 1882, was in fact decisive.¹⁸⁷ When he and his fellow students became slowly involved in the Sunday school work and other activities of the Scottish Mission, Moody was surely thinking ahead and approached the Jewish Mission Committee to provide more bursaries for Hungarian students, particularly for Szabó in due time.¹⁸⁸ He wrote:

¹⁸³ Hörcsik, Richárd, 'Az edinburghi magyar peregrináció rövid története' in *Tovább. Emlékkönyv Makkai Sándor 75 születésének évfordulójára*, ed. by József Barcza (Debrecen: Debreceni Református Kollégium Nyomdája, 1988), pp. 161-182

¹⁸⁴ Sándor Farkas was a teacher at the secondary school of the Reformed Church in Pest. He edited the Hymnbook *Gyermeklant* in 1883.

¹⁸⁵ Andrew Moody, Rudolph Koenig and Teachers of Pest School, 'Report on the Conversion of the Jews to the General Assembly. Pesth' in *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May 1882* (Edinburgh: ?, 1882), pp. 7-17, 30-33:12, 12, 12, 12

¹⁸⁶ József Farkas, *A Pesti Református Egyház 101 éves története* (Kecskemét: A Budapesti Evangéliumi Reformált Egyház, 1898), pp. 289-311. See the origin of the Buda Reformed Church which was still under the supervision of Kálvin tér. Simon became a minister in Buda and maintained close ties with the Mission.

¹⁸⁷ As a matter of fact Szabó was a bursar only after his involvement in the establishment of Hungarian speaking Sunday school movement.

¹⁸⁸ RCJ of 1883, Appendix, IX, p. 29.

We are anxious that several of the young men who will finish their four years' course at the end of June should have the opportunity of studying in Edinburgh next winter, and trust that friends may be stirred up to provide the unusual number of bursaries required.¹⁸⁹

The Edinburgh Committee responded to the increased interest with great generosity and provided a higher number of bursaries for the subsequent years (1884, 1885, 1886, 1887).¹⁹⁰ No wonder Moody felt greatly indebted to the Committee for arranging to receive four Hungarian students in a single academic year in Edinburgh.¹⁹¹

3.1. The Impact of the bursars in the capital

This new double link through the former bursars as teachers of the Mission School and student members of the Sunday school movement strengthened the existing ties with the Mission. Some of the latter, including Szabó became bursars. Due to this new connection through the Sunday school, the Scots considered having sermons in the Hungarian language. In a short time the services were introduced and József Szalay, Aladár Szabó and other bursars preached there.¹⁹² These sermons were evangelistic in character and strengthened the ties between the Sunday school teachers. Later from the early 1890s, the former bursars played a significant role in preaching and participating at the evangelistic meetings of *Hold utca* and Elisabeth Boulevard (*Erzsébet körút*) conducted also in Hungarian. Since they became highly significant they will be discussed separately.

The Mission tried to involve other bursars, who exhibited moderate interest in the Evangelicalism the Scots represented. They were invited to the Mission if they were within reach in terms of travel to give talks. On one such occasion László Dapsy, who was one of the very first bursars from Debrecen and became a professor in Budapest, gave a talk. His lecture was part of a series where other prominent persons, Arthur Patterson, author of a well-known book entitled 'Magyars: their country and institutions',¹⁹³ and Ármin Vámbéry, a Jewish convert, also lectured.¹⁹⁴ These meetings were often attended by high-class people as well as the elite of the intelligentsia such as, for instance, the British

¹⁸⁹ RCJ of 1884, Appendix IX, p. 18.

¹⁹⁰ NLS Dep. 298. 254. fols. 295-6. Minutes of 12 May 1884. It read, 'four bursars for this winter are at the disposal of the Committee for Hungarian Students and these are granted to – A. Szabó, G. Szóts, K Toth, I. Kocsi'. p. 296. These names are from the 'original five'. The minutes mentioned a fifth E (Ernestus=Imre). Sikó whom Moody also recommended an was also accepted.

¹⁹¹ RCJ of 1885, Appendix IX, p. 13.

¹⁹² RCJ of 1882, Appendix IX, p. 15. See also: RCJ of 1883, Appendix IX, p.27.

¹⁹³ Patterson, Arthur John, *Magyars: their country and institutions*, 2 vols. (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1869).

¹⁹⁴ Ármin Vámbéry, was also a Jew baptised at Calvin-Square. He was not converted through the Mission. Vámbéry was a famous Hungarian Orientalist. See: Kálvin téri Református Egyházközség Anyakönyve 1858-65 vol. III, fol. 160. Baptism on 30 December 1864.

Consul-General, Sir Arthur Nicolson, the family of the American consul, Mr. J. Black, Bishop Szász, and a number of other professors.¹⁹⁵ From these sources one can observe that the bursars interacted with the Mission, in two distinct ways. Those with Evangelical aptitude were invited to the evangelistic meeting at *Hold utca* and Elisabeth Boulevard whereas the Moderates to religious events, which had more of a social character since they offered lectures for public interest. The latter were significant since they provided links to Hungarian high society, thereby prompting the Mission to magyarise as well as establishing a good reputation for the Mission. Both Evangelical-minded as well as Moderate bursars found their place in connecting the Mission to Hungarian society.

3.2. The Impact of the bursars in southern Hungary

While all the above activities were confined to the capital, some bursars, who became ministers outside the capital, took other kinds of initiatives to the countryside. They also maintained strong ties with the Pest Mission. The two most well known persons were József Szalay of Nagybecskerek and Ferenc Kecskeméti of Békés. Both were ministers of the Hungarian Reformed Church in the southern part of Hungary and mission-minded. Both began to adapt Scottish Evangelicalism to their own congregations. Szalay and Kecskeméti set up mission societies, papers for mission and supported the evangelistic endeavours of the Scots. Perhaps out of the many bursars who helped A. N. Somerville during his evangelistic tour,¹⁹⁶ Szalay was the most useful.¹⁹⁷ Somerville underlined that Szalay interpreted for him ‘no less than twenty-five times’.¹⁹⁸ He escorted the old Somerville to Russia to visit Rabinowitz. It will be pointed out that Somerville’s trip kindled the revival movement in the southern part of the Great Plain, in which several Reformed pastors became involved. The bursars and like-minded ministers worked together and published their views in the periodical *Szabad Egyház*. Of this circle Anne-Marie Kool stated:

Among them was Károly Rác (1842 - 1925)¹⁹⁹, a fervent adherent of the Dutch pastor Friedrich Herman Kohlbrugge, (earlier edited a small missionary

¹⁹⁵ RJC of 1889, Appendix IX, p. 27.

¹⁹⁶ See section 4. The A. N. Somerville Evangelisation

¹⁹⁷ A. N. Somerville, ‘Address at the Free Church General Assembly, Inverness, 25th May 1888. On the Subject of His Late Mission in Central Europe to the Jews and Gentiles, 1887-1888’ in *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May 1888* (Edinburgh: [n. pub.], 1888), 49-68, (p. 52).

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 50, 52

¹⁹⁹ János Csohány, ‘Rác Károly (1842-1925) Lelkipásztor élete és munkássága’ in *Vallási Néprajz* (Budapest: ELTE Folklore Tanszék, 1987), pp. 156-177.

periodical *Hittérítési Tudósítások*) and Ferenc Kecskeméti (1855-1916), Reformed pastor of Békés. [...] József Szalay.²⁰⁰

Szalay was one of the first to call for the establishment of ‘the first Hungarian mission association’.²⁰¹ The Scottish missionaries welcomed this idea and began to make preparations. Moody made some inquiries regarding the possibility that a certain Rev. János Kovács, who was to become the first agent of the proposed Hungarian mission association, could hold evangelistic meetings in Debrecen.²⁰² Unfortunately Ferenc Balogh’s answer is unknown but we know for sure that the association came into being and began to work in the southern part of Hungary. Szalay published a mission paper named *Keresztyén* [Christian] from 1892 to popularize his ideas with Scottish support.²⁰³ He popularised the establishment of a national, interdenominational mission organisation which aimed at converting people hoping that they ‘would be born again’.²⁰⁴ The call found response from a wide variety of people including an ‘Orthodox priest and a Lutheran woman’.²⁰⁵ However, the organisation remained the concern of a very small circle of people and did not carve its way to the wider public consciousness.

Szalay also pioneered the publication of a small booklet entitled *Keresztyén Missziói Énekes*. It was published in 1895 containing the mission songs taught by Somerville.²⁰⁶ These songs written by Sankey and Moody became very popular.²⁰⁷ Szalay also had strong ties with the NBSS through Moody. He supervised three people as colporteurs as well as evangelists among the Serbs.²⁰⁸ This fact is evidenced by his

²⁰⁰ Kool, p. 143. It is worth noting that just like with colportage in 1882 again a Dutch influence converged with a Scottish one.

²⁰¹ József Szalay, ‘Felhívás az első magyar missziótársulat megalkotására’, *Keresztyén*, 2. 9 (1 September 1893), pp. 65-66. It had sixteen members in September 1893 when the article appeared.

²⁰² TIREK, R. 1516. 134.10. *Letter from Moody to Balogh dated as of 28 January 1891*.

²⁰³ Gavin Carlyle, *Life and Work of the Rev. William Wingate Missionary to the Jews* (London: Alfred Holness, [n.d.]), pp. 262-4. Wingate put Szalay in contact with a certain Mr. James Stevenson of Glasgow who annually supported Szalay’s paper. Zoványi, p. 567. Zoványi speaks of 1892-1899 as the period for the *Keresztyén*.

²⁰⁴ József Szalay, ‘Első magyar missziói társulat’, *Keresztyén*, 2. 7 (1 July 1893), pp. 49-50. In Szalay’s concept of mission foreign mission and home mission were held together. Concerning foreign mission, the association intended to send a certain Hevessi to Bulgaria. (József Szalay, ‘A misszió alakuló közgyűlése után’, *Keresztyén*, 3. 5 (1 May 1894), p. 37.) The home mission aspect is clearly indicated by the proposed establishment of Sunday Schools, YMCAs and YWCAs ‘to save our young people from pubs, coffee-houses, and dance which dig so many young men’s carnal and moral grave’. He also suggested the spread of inexpensive theological literature. See: József Szalay, ‘Felhívás az első magyar missziótársulat megalkotására’, *Keresztyén*, 2. 9 (1 September 1893), p. 65.

²⁰⁵ József Szalay, ‘Hírek’, *Keresztyén*, 2. 8 (1 August 1893), p. 64.

²⁰⁶ Sankey’s and Moody’s songs were so popular that all of them have survived till today. Many of them were incorporated to the *Home Mission hymnbook entitled Hozsánna*. Some even made their way to the official Hymnbooks of the Reformed Church.

²⁰⁷ József Szalay, ‘Sankey énekeiből. Ne Féj Csak Hígyj’, *Keresztyén*, 2. 10 (1 October 1893), p. 75, and József Szalay, ‘Sankey énekeiből. Ó Boldog Nap’, *Keresztyén*, 2. 9 (1 September 1893), 67.

²⁰⁸ ‘Jelentés’, *Keresztyén* 3.12 (1 December 1894), p. 92.

suggestion of Kiss for colportage to the NBSS.²⁰⁹ His colleague, Kecskeméti also launched a mission paper called *Evangyélista* [Evangelist] in 1895. Upon realising that their joint voice was more powerful they merged the two mission periodicals into a single publication named *Keresztyén Evangélista* in 1900. In Kecskeméti's congregation, there were many revivalist members of the congregation, who later broke away from the Reformed Church and joined the Baptists.²¹⁰ Both, Kecskeméti and Szalay can be considered as pioneers of the revival in southern Hungary.

3.3. Impact of the bursars in Debrecen

Debrecen Theological Seminary was clearly exposed to Evangelicalism much earlier than Pest. Both Révész and Balogh were influenced by Scottish Evangelicalism but neither can be regarded as Evangelicals, or revivalists. János Csohány made a revealing observation about the fact that both of them lack the terminology of later revivalist home mission indicating that they were among the first to adopt foreign ideas to the Hungarian piety – Csohány labels it, Debrecen Puritanism. He said:

They were not revivalists in the strict sense of the word. They did not want the trappings of the revival; its laud and spectacular concomitants. Rather they were the heirs of the silent, inwardly fervent Debrecen Puritan piety exposing itself in deeds.²¹¹

Like in Szabó's case traditional Hungarian piety was enlivened by foreign influences. Though Debrecen had not developed home mission societies similar to those of Budapest both Révész and Balogh exerted influence to revive the church. Imre Révész junior remarked that Balogh's impact on home mission awareness was not insignificant.²¹² Unfortunately, many church historians followed this remark of Révész, which does not stand. This observation needs to be corrected. Balogh was instrumental in spreading Scottish Evangelicalism through the periodical, *Evangéliumi Protestáns Lap* (EPL), and the theological society, *Hittanszaki Önképző Kör*.²¹³ Csohány argued that the society after the initial decade took a more decided approach to facilitate revivalist thinking. Articles

²⁰⁹ 'Minutes of the Eastern Committee Edinburgh, 15 April, 1895', National Bible Society of Scotland Minutes of the Eastern Committee 1893-1899, 22 vols (Edinburgh: National Bible Society of Scotland, 16 January, 1893), XV, p. 105.

²¹⁰ 'A Baptisták', *Evangyélista*, 43 (15 October 1897), pp. 30-1. See also: Jenő Szigeti, 'A békési paraszt-ecclesiólák válsága és a baptista gyülekezet megalakulása (1890-1891)' in *"Mert ahogy ezt Isten hagyta." Tanulmányok a népi vallásosság köréből* (Budapest: Magvető Kiadó, 1986).

²¹¹ János Csohány, 'A XIX. századi magyar református ébredés debreceni ága', *Református Egyház*, [Thereafter] *RE*, 24. 9 (1974), 193-197, (p. 195).

²¹² Often cited quotation but detailed research would need to be done investigating his impact through his students, especially those belonging to the *Önképzőkör*.

²¹³ See Chapter 4. Section. 7.2. The twofold impact of Bursary: Evangelicals and Moderates.

about the Basel mission,²¹⁴ about the YMCA work written with the hope of establishing one in Debrecen,²¹⁵ and home mission in Scotland, Switzerland and Germany²¹⁶ were published in quick succession in the *Közlöny* (Gazette) of the Society. Balogh was clearly advocating ideas of home mission through the most influential society of home mission. Moreover, it was Balogh, who recommended Lajos Csiky as a bursar to study at New College in 1875/6.²¹⁷

In 1881 Lajos Csiky was appointed to the Debrecen Theological Seminary as professor of Practical Theology (1881-1914). Having returned from Scotland where he was impressed by Scottish Evangelicalism he published a series of articles about the life of the Free Church, the work of Tract Societies and diaconal work.²¹⁸ He began to translate Patrick Fairbairn's work on Pastoral Theology²¹⁹ in 1877 which appeared in the Debrecen based *EPL*.²²⁰ It also appeared, though much later, as a book.²²¹ It was just the beginning of the large number of articles and books Csiky wrote, or translated.

Zoványi, the prominent church historian, said of Csiky: 'He had an extraordinary literary output and published through all contemporary Protestant periodicals, even popular texts were written by him'.²²² He often published on various issues of home mission such as mission to the prisoners, disabled and sick.²²³ He was aware of the mission to the Jews yet his primary concern was the revival of the Reformed Church. We find no indication of an explicit awareness to do mission to the Jews in his writings.²²⁴ In line with his main concern, he intended informing the church public of the work of the Evangelical

²¹⁴ Bertalan Kiss 'Levelek a debreczeni hittanszaki önképző társulat tagjaihoz.' *Közlöny* 12. 4 (1881/2), p. 29.

²¹⁵ i. e. 'Fermaid Károly látogatása Debrecenben' *Közlöny* 14. 2 (1883/4), pp. 15-16.

²¹⁶ Lajos Csiky 'Egyháziasság és belmisszió' *Közlöny* 14. 4-5. (1883/4) pp. 27-31.

²¹⁷ TtREK R.1516/178. 1-5. Letter to Ferenc Balogh from A. Moody-Stuart dated as of 30 April 1875. Cf. Hörsik, fol. 23.

²¹⁸ Lajos Csiky, *A Skót Szabad Egyház ismertetése* (Debrecen: Telegdi K. Lajos, 1877).

²¹⁹ Fairburn was the principal of the Free Church College, Glasgow and a 'distinguished divine' whose book entitled *Pastoral Theology* was published in 1875. He had long pastoral experience including the "Extension" church of Bridgeton in the city of Glasgow. James A. Wylie, *Disruption Worthies. A Memorial of 1843* (Edinburgh: Grange Publishing Works, 1881), pp. 245-252. Cf. N. R. Needham, 'Millennialism', in *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology*, ed. by Cameron, Nigel M. de S (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1993), pp. 313-4.

²²⁰ Lajos Csiky, 'Lelkipásztorkodástan (Néh. Fairbairn Patrick Hittudor, a Glasgowi Szabad Egyházi Koll. Igazgatója művének ismertetése)', *Evangeliumi Protestáns Lap*, 4. 1,3,9,30,34,35,42,44,45 (1877), 4-6;20-1; 68-9; 254-55; 287-88; 294-296;350-351.

²²¹ Lajos Csiky, *Lelkipásztorkodástan Theologia Pastoralis* (Budapest: Hornyánszky Nyomda, 1908).

²²² Zoványi, pp. 127-8.

²²³ Lajos Csiky, *Képek a magyar börtönügy történetéből*. (Budapest: Franklin Ny, 1892). About the Jews see: Lajos Csiky, 'Izraelért', *DPL*, 15. 47 (1895), 574-78. and

²²⁴ Lajos Csiky, 'Könyvismertetés. Krisztus és az Írás. Dr. Saphir Adolph György Vilmos által angolból fordított művének ismertetése', *PH Protestáns*, 1. 1 (1879), 9-10.

Alliance and the German *Innere Mission*.²²⁵ Csiky was among the first to use such terms as 'home mission' and sought to adapt Scottish Evangelicalism to Hungarian soil.²²⁶ He lectured on the history of home mission abroad and in Hungary at the annual conference of the Békés-Bánát Church District held in Nagybecskerek where Szalay was a minister.²²⁷ Csiky was also concerned to set a model of personal piety for church members. To this end he wrote about prayer, and the observance of the 'Sabbath', features on which strong emphasis was laid in Scottish Evangelicalism.²²⁸ He kept in close touch with W. G. Blaikie²²⁹ and J. G. Cunningham, both prominent in the Free Church.²³⁰ there is no doubt that Csiky exerted a great influence through his teaching as well as his publications and was keen on implementing an element of the piety he saw in Scotland. Taking all into consideration it is not an overstatement that Csiky was one of the most important forerunners of home mission having a high position in the church.²³¹

It was this second generation of bursars, like Lajos Csiky in Debrecen and Szalay and Kecskeméti in the countryside, as well as their contemporaries at Pest Theological Seminary including Szabó, Fa, Simon,²³² and Benkő,²³³ who introduced Anglo-Saxon and German revivalism into the Hungarian Reformed Church. They were the driving forces in trying to awaken the church to her missionary responsibility as they saw it. The societies, publications and activities all worked to the same end; to call for conversion and establish the kingdom of God by reaching out to the spiritual as well as physical needs of the people. Not only was the Scottish Mission influenced by the bursars, since it was becoming more Hungarian in the 1880s, but also the bursars were exposed to the influence of the Mission.²³⁴

²²⁵ Lajos Csiky, 'Lord Shaftesbury', *DPL*, 5. 45 (1885), 395-396. See also: Lajos Csiky, 'Wichern J. H., a Németországi belmisszió atyja', *Protestáns Szemle* [Thereafter *PSz*] (1895), 514-76.

²²⁶ Lajos Csiky, 'Belmissziói munka Debrecenben', *DePL*, 3. 32 (1883), p. 346.

²²⁷ Lajos Csiky, 'A belmisszió vázlatos története s jelenkori állása a külföldön és a magyarországi ev. ref. egyházban', *DePL*, 7. 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 (1887), pp. 222-3, 233-235, 243-45, 252-3, 259-260, 267-268, 274-5, 283-284.

²²⁸ Lajos Csiky, 'A vasárnapi munkaszünet', *DePL*, 11. 29 (1891), 261-3.

²²⁹ Lajos Csiky, 'Egy Külföldi Barátunk ötven éves Lelkészi Jubileuma Dr. William Garden Blaikie edinburghi teológiai tanár 50 éves lelkészkedése emlékére', *DePL*, 13. 1 (1893), 16.

²³⁰ Lajos Csiky, 'skót vendég hazánkban (Dr. Cunningham János György Budapesten)', *DePL*, 21. 42 (1901), 668-669.

²³¹ His life has not been thoroughly researched though it deserves more attention since he was also one of the first promoters of home mission movements in Debrecen.

²³² Szóts, Gerő, 'A budapesti református teológus ifjúság beléletéről I.', *PEIL*, 26. 43, (1883), 1428-1429. Ferenc Simon was also a member of the first YMCA committee in November 1883.

²³³ Jenő Bányai, *A magyarországi baptista egyházzene története* (Budapest: Baptista Kiadó, 1996). p. 33. Benkő translated the song: 'Mester a bős vihar dühöng'.

²³⁴ Interestingly enough, there has been no reference found to Duff's influence (professor of Evangelical Theology 1867-1878), who people would think imparted missionary thinking to the Hungarian bursars. It is rare to find allusion any professors' influence. One such is that of Lajos Csizmadia who underlined the

3.4. The Impact of the Scottish Mission on the bursars

Several of the Hungarian bursars regarded Scotland as ‘the land of their spiritual birth’. József Szalay said that he looked back to the years he had spent in Edinburgh as the ‘most precious’ time of his life.²³⁵ The same report claimed that Ferenc Kecskeméti ‘returned also from Edinburgh a changed man’.²³⁶ Further evidence of the Scottish influence was a letter sent to Moody-Stuart by one of the bursars. From it, an extract was inserted in the *Monthly* as evidence of the effectiveness of the bursary programme.

I never wrote a line [to you during these years], but I did feel myself very thankful to you. With you I did kneel down at first in prayer with my friend (a fellow-bursar), and I laughed at it first in myself. But afterwards the Lord did call me, and I became His servant, not for bread, but for love. I got there amongst you the science [knowledge] of the Gospel, and from that time there has been in my bones a burning fire... I use with joy those outlines which I wrote from hearing your dear sermons.²³⁷

Having read this letter, the Scots concluded that ‘the importance of an arrangement which accomplishes such results as this letter refers to is incalculably great’.²³⁸ Needless to say, the bursars were selected by Andrew Moody in Pest, and Ferenc Balogh as well as Lajos Csiky in Debrecen with the view to being receptive and susceptible to Scottish piety.

Some of the candidates went abroad with a pious orthodox and confessionalist background, which was to be fermented by the Evangelical thoughts. Others were reserved in their attitude towards Evangelicalism. Although, we have seen Szabó’s example earlier and the other example cited above, it cannot be claimed that all the students were drawn to Evangelical religion as represented by the Scots. Nonetheless, those who underwent a spiritual change in Scotland contributed profoundly to the renewal of Reformed church life in Hungary.²³⁹ Thereby, it is fair to claim that the Edinburgh Jewish Committee began to achieve one of its aims, namely the revival of the Protestant Churches. They also regarded this scheme of ‘Foreign Bursaries’ as of the greatest importance, ‘contributing indirectly indeed, but really to the furtherance of their work of bringing the Gospel before the minds of the Jews’.²⁴⁰

influence of professor Rainy on his studies and life. See: József Pongácz, *Csizmadia* Lajos (Pápa: Főiskolai Nyomda, 1930), p. 4.

²³⁵ RCJ of 1882, Appendix IX, p. 12.

²³⁶ Ibid.

²³⁷ RCJ of 1892, Appendix IX, p. 30.

²³⁸ Ibid., RCJ of 1892, p. 30.

²³⁹ Such was Ferenc Baráth and László Dapsy.

²⁴⁰ RCJ of 1891, Appendix IX, p. 31.

From the sources, at our disposal, it can only be estimated to what extent the bursars showed an interest in Jewish mission. István Fa, at least had exhibited some interest in this particular mission field. He wrote:

Having the precious opportunity to make some acquaintance with that great mission work, I am thankful to God to be a part-taker in the work founded on the sure word of promise, "All Israel shall be saved". I accepted the call to be a teacher here with manifold joy, because I obeyed so the call from above "Seek the redemption of Israel"; and on the other hand, I am most happy to have, thereby, at the same time, an opportunity to reward partly that great benefit which was granted to me by the Free Church of Scotland.²⁴¹

This is the very first reference to one of the bursars explicitly mentioning an interest in mission to the Jews. Those bursars employed at the school participated in Jewish evangelism directly. Other bursars, working a parish ministers all over the country, often reported their Jewish converts to Moody. He regarded such reports as the influence of the missionary activity of the Scottish Mission. András Hamar²⁴² was one of those who gave an account of Jewish conversions to the Mission. Moody reported:

I had a letter from Mr. Hamar, who studied recently in Edinburgh, and is now assistant minister in Kerskemét (Sic!) [Kecskemét] informing me that he was about to baptize a young Jew, D. K. whom he had been instructing "for more than three weeks for two hours every day".²⁴³

Further evidence is gathered from Moody's report of 'one Hungarian pastor, formerly a bursar of the Committee, [who] had the pleasure of receiving two Jewish converts into the Christian Church within the past twelve months after special preparatory instruction'.²⁴⁴ Besides Jewish Mission, the bursars also got involved in many newly established associations, such as the Sunday-school movement, YMCA, and YWCA to mention but a few. They often became leaders and represented their respective organisations at conferences. Szabó was a representative at the YMCA London congress in 1894 as well as at the conference of the Evangelical Alliance in 1896.²⁴⁵ Furthermore, he was even the representative of the YWCA in London in 1898.²⁴⁶ Another bursar, István Hamar attended a conference of the Student Volunteer Movement in London in 1900.²⁴⁷ It is apparent that

²⁴¹ RCJ of 1882, Appendix IX, p. 33.

²⁴² Höresik, fol. 23. Hamar was a bursar in 1888/89 from Budapest together with Imre Mindszenti sent from Debrecen.

²⁴³ RCJ of 1890, Appendix IX, p. 6.

²⁴⁴ RCJ of 1887, Appendix IX, pp. 36-7.

²⁴⁵ A Dunamelléki Református Egyházkerület jegyzőkönyvei [The Minutes of Danubian Church Province], Minutes of 23 October 1896. Entry 128. p. 211. Cf. Szabó, *Kegyelem által*, p. 125.

²⁴⁶ Szabó, *Kegyelem által*, p. 133.

²⁴⁷ István Hamar, 'Jelentés a Keresztyén Diákok Londoni Nemzetközi Konferenciájáról', *PEIL*, 43. 7, 8, 9 (1900), pp. 106-108; 119-21; 138-140. István Hamar was a bursar in 1890/91.

the bursars were primarily interested in the Evangelical revival of the church, and mission to the Jews had not yet taken a place of a conscious endeavour to evangelise them.

3.5. The impact of the Bursars on the Mission School

The bursars brought a fresh interest in the School, as evidenced in their reports sent to Scotland that convey a greater sense of realism than is generally found in the missionary reports themselves. Ferenc Simon gave a telling description of how the Jewish parents regarded the school. First, he drew attention to the fact that the common and generally used name of the school was, 'Scotch Missionary School' indicating its perception in the public eye of Budapest. Then, he hit the core issue of why there was a constant influx of Jewish pupils coming to 'such' a school. He observed:

Since the parents know the name as well as the aim of our school, one might suppose that they bring her their children, because they want them to be converted. But this would be a wrong supposition. They bring them here for the cheapness of education. There are about 100 elementary schools at Pest, but the children have to pay some fee everywhere except here. This is the reason that we get our children from the poorest and lowest class, and from amongst the Jews; poor people cannot, Jews don't like to pay. Therefore, the most of our children are Jews. ²⁴⁸

It is conspicuous that all the new Hungarian teachers were far more outspoken than the German teachers of the school. Their reports are more informative, and less pious. Fa for example gives an acute description of the kind of Jewish children they had.

The pupils can understand neither German nor Hungarian well, the most of them being very poor and neglected by parents, possess much knowledge from the street, know too much of what they should not know; especially the Jewish children, what seed they receive here, the parents at home and the religious teacher extirpate at the Hebrew instruction very soon. They intend at least to do so. ²⁴⁹

It is evident from these reports that the Jewish children came from the lower class of the Jewish community. Since the Jews traditionally laid a great emphasise on education, the parents' desire to give their children education was greater than the fear from the leaders of the Jewish community. Therefore, they took advantage of the opportunity offered by the Scots.

Besides the objective observation that the Mission attracted the poor and that this fact contributed to the 'success', that is the large number of Jewish pupils enrolled at the Mission School, the bursars observed another aspect as well. It is fairly interesting to see that the Jewish charges cited in the former missionary, Allan's report were echoed

²⁴⁸ RCJ of 1885, Appendix IX, p.14.

²⁴⁹ RCJ of 1882, Appendix IX, p. 33.

eighteen years later by Balogh. Allan complained that the Jews accused the Mission school of 'being a Germanising propaganda'.²⁵⁰ Also Szántó had already raised this objection against the school. In 1892, Balogh echoed the same criticism:

What I have to add is the opinion of my Hungarian friends. They say, the Gospel is a medicine, which was presented before to the Hungarian ears in an insolvable and not a sweet form, the addresses having been delivered in German. They, therefore, looked upon the Budapest Scottish Mission as a Germanising colony.²⁵¹

The Mission, as we have seen took steps to redress this problem by introducing the Hungarian language but Balogh's opinion indicates that it still had problems with adapting to the cultural changes in the early 1890s.²⁵² The wish to adapt to Hungarian culture was a uniform wish of all bursars, and ministers. Even the bishop of the Danubian Reformed Church Province, Szász pronounced that he looked forward to the time when all addresses would be given in Hungarian at the evangelistic meetings.²⁵³ The bursars not only criticised the Mission but also contributed to it. Their very being at the school and their involvement in the Sunday school movement revitalized the Scottish Mission and helped the spread of Evangelical ideas through home mission organisations. The missionaries carefully planned the future of the seed they planted and hoped to keep the revived interest in mission alive. To this end they invited A. N. Somerville, a well-known and respected Scottish evangelist who visited Hungary during the winter of 1887/88.

4. A. N. Somerville's Evangelisation

4.1. A. N. Somerville, the 'modern apostle'

Somerville was an influential supporter of the Evangelistic cause. As a minister of the Free Church in Glasgow, he sent a memorandum to all the Bible Societies in Scotland to propose union in 1857, which resulted in the formation of the National Bible Society of Scotland.²⁵⁴ He had closer contact with the Hungarian Reformed Church from 1866. Responding to Bishop Török's request, he collected large sums of money for the Pest Protestant Theological Seminary.²⁵⁵ He was a talented evangelist and after thirty years of

²⁵⁰ W. Owen Allan, 'Report on the Conversion of the Jews to the General Assembly, Appendix IX' in *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May 1876* (Edinburgh: Thomas and Archibald Constable, 1876), pp. 1-37. (p. 30).

²⁵¹ RCJ of 1893, Appendix IX, p. 13.

²⁵² RCJ of 1892, Appendix IX, p.12.

²⁵³ Ibid.

²⁵⁴ William C. Somerville, *From Iona to Dunblane* (Edinburgh: McLagan & Cumming Ltd., 1948), pp. 31-2.

²⁵⁵ A Dunamelléki Református Egyházkerület jegyzőkönyve [The minutes of the Danubian Church Province] 1869. p. 19. entry 65. Somerville's letter is cited indicating a donation for the Pest Seminary. Áron Kiss, *Török Pál élete* (The Life of Pál Török), ed. by Szóts Farkas, A Magyar Irodalmi Társaság Kiadványai, 18

pastorate, as late as 1876 accepted a call to undertake a mission to the world aiming at the 'English speaking people of foreign lands' and 'the non-Christian natives of those lands'.²⁵⁶ A year after he was the moderator of the Free Church in 1886, he had a plan to evangelise in Central and Eastern Europe which overlapped with the interest of the Edinburgh Jewish Committee.²⁵⁷

Somerville arrived in Hungary in late 1887 when for the first time a small spiritual awakening had already been thriving around the *Hold utca* hub. The Sunday school movements, the emergence of YMCA, and the conversion of Rabbi Lichtenstein marked a watershed in the work of the Scottish Mission and the German Affiliated Church. The Scottish Evangelical-German Pietist influence began to make its impact on Hungarian Protestantism and Jews in a slowly, but steadily expanding circle in Pest and in the countryside. Somerville came to kindle the fire at the right time. The timing was crucial and Imre Révész jun., the church historian rightly observed:

At this point of the Hungarian Reformed Revival, which still could easily have come to a standstill - he paved the way for Aladár Szabó in a cold, severe winter, after overcoming difficulties, which were trying even for young people. [In spite of adverse circumstances] his incredible energy to continue evangelising a really significant and characteristic part of the Hungarian Reformed Churches, the extremely large size congregations can only be accounted for by the extraordinary work of the Holy Spirit.²⁵⁸

Somerville had a twofold purpose just as Duncan had had many decades previously.²⁵⁹ The title of the account of his mission that he gave to the Free Church General Assembly in 1888 makes this clear: *On the subject of his late Mission in Central Europe to the Jews and Gentiles*. Plainly enough, he regarded the Jewish and Gentile missions as an inseparable entity.

4.2. Evangelising the Jews and the Reformed in Hungary

Having arrived in Pest, he addressed the Jews of the city. He gave a talk with the title "What do Christians owe to the Jew?"²⁶⁰ Many prominent Jews attended including

(Budapest: Hornyánszky Viktor Cs. és Kir. udv. könyvnyomdája, 1904) pp. 199-201. See also: László Pap, *A Budapesti Református Theológiai Akadémia Története 1855-1955*, ed. by Bucsay, Mihály és Pap László (Budapest: A Református egyetemes konvent sajtóosztálya, 1955), p. 31.

²⁵⁶ J. R. Fleming, *A History of the Church of Scotland 1843-1874*, 2 vols (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1927), I, p. 166.

²⁵⁷ George Smith, *A Modern Apostle* (London: John Murray, 1890), p. 342.

²⁵⁸ Imre Révész, 'Egy fejezet a magyar református ébredés történetéből A. N. Somerville magyarországi körútja 1887-1888', *Theológiai Szemle*, 19. 1 (1943), pp. 10-45, p. 18.

²⁵⁹ Chapter 2. Section. 1.3. Missionaries and the Protestant Churches in Pest.

²⁶⁰ 'Budapester Leben', *Budapester Tagblatt*, 345 (16 December 1887), p. 4. Cf. 'Dr. Somerville Budapestben', *DePL*, 8 (2). 1(7 January 1888), pp. 6-7. It was translated from the former, *Budapester Tageblatt*.

leading rabbis, students of the Jewish Seminary, and journalists.²⁶¹ Most of them were curious whether ‘his lectures might contain any Antisemitism’.²⁶² Unfortunately, there is no full account of his sermon just a few passing marks shed light on its content. The core of his message was that all the apostles were Jews and almost all the books of the New Testament were written by Jews so that ‘Christians owe their most treasured belief’ to the Jews.²⁶³ After such an introduction Somerville appealed to the Jews to convert to Christianity. Miksa Szabolcsi, the editor of the Neolog Jewish weekly paper *Egyenlőség* expressed his discontent with the ‘illogical conclusion of Somerville’s evangelistic talk’.²⁶⁴ To Szabolcsi, it was odd to arrive at the conclusion that the Jews had to convert to Christianity since if Christianity owed so much to Judaism it should be the other way round. Later Somerville repeated the same lecture in Nagyvárad and Arad. In the last two places he preached to large assemblies of Jews above 1000 hearers.²⁶⁵ Pertaining to the ‘expectation of the Jews’, it has to be pointed out that Somerville stood in line with the strongly convinced religious philo-Semitism of the Scottish Presbyterians. Indeed, he belonged to the circle of the former postmillennialists of the early revivalists such as Andrew A. Bonar, Robert Murray McCheyne and Moody-Stuart.²⁶⁶ Somerville believed in the national conversion of the Jews and though ‘while it is necessary to maintain local missions to Israel with schools and institutions, it is of signal importance, so as to prepare the way for the grand culminating event which cannot but be hastening on’.²⁶⁷ There is no reference to how mission to the Jews and Gentiles were connected in his theology but certainly he, like the missionaries hoped to spread the revival in the Reformed churches. During his trip the Reformed people received more attention.

²⁶¹ Miksa Szabolcsi, ‘A „Pester Lloyd” kritikusa és Renan könyve’, *Egyenlőség*, 8. 2 (13 January 1889), pp. 1-3. One of the journalists was the editor

²⁶² Gyula Debreczeni, ‘Dr. Somerville N.-Váradon’, *DePL*, 8. (2). 9 (1888), p. 74.

²⁶³ Szabolcsi, ‘A „Pester Lloyd” kritikusa és Renan könyve’, p. 1.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁵ RCJ of 1888, Appendix IX, p. 10.

²⁶⁶ Andrew A. Bonar, *Memoir and Remains of the Rev. Robert Murray McCheyne, Minister of St. Peter Church, Dundee* (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1844; repr. The Banner of Truth Trust, 1973), pp. 183, 186. Bonar published a highly fascinating document stating ‘Brotherly agreement drawn up by Mr. McCheyne in Regard to the Study of the Scripture in the Original’. This revivalist bible study group of 9 included such persons as A. H. Bonar, A. N. Somerville, Robert M. McCheyne, George Smeaton (professor of Exegetical Theology at New College), Sir Henry Moncreiff, renowned Free Church minister and Walter Wood, the first treasurer and secretary of the Edinburgh Jewish Committee. The document dates 24 May 1838, Edinburgh.

²⁶⁷ A. N. Somerville, ‘Address at the Free Church General Assembly, Inverness, 25th May 1888. On the subject of his late Mission in Central Europe to the Jews and Gentiles, 1887-1888’ in *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May 1888* (Edinburgh: [n. pub.], 1888), 49-68 (pp. 58-9).

From Budapest he travelled to Debrecen. He gave talks to the students in the Reformed College, where Lajos Csiky, a former bursar translated.²⁶⁸ There, Csiky suggested the students express their gratitude for the scholarship the Scots offered to Hungarian bursars since he was instrumental in raising funds for the bursary.²⁶⁹ Somerville faced many towering difficulties in Debrecen. His plan to visit southern Hungary was jeopardised by inclement weather, lack of an organised itinerary, and ill-health or bereavement that beset his main supporters. The strategic plan of the missionaries to further the revival in the Hungarian Reformed churches outside Budapest seemed to have come to a halt. This was a decisive moment during the evangelisation about which Somerville remarked:

Indeed, the prospect seemed a hopeless blank. [...] So completely did my way, at first, seem blocked, that two friends, Professors of Divinity, in whom I had the greatest confidence, seriously urged me to suspend my Mission (sic!) and at once to return to Scotland, as they considered it impracticable to proceed further. Other discouragements interposed, but, at the last a minister who had been in Scotland came to the rescue, and through a peculiar arrangement by which he was able to leave his own people in the charge of another pastor, he saw his way to accompany me. This led to a visitation of many cities without intermission for weeks together.²⁷⁰

The minister who translated was József Szalay, a former bursar of the Jewish Committee. Somerville sent him a telegram requesting help translating for him.²⁷¹ Szalay became Somerville's interpreter 'no less than twenty-five times' - throughout his evangelistic trip. Somerville preached all over the country, mostly the southern part, Partium and Transylvania. He started off from Budapest, and arrived at Szeged, one of the largest towns of Hungary on 25 January. There, he preached in the Reformed Church, Hotel Tisza, and three days later even in the district prison.²⁷² Then, he travelled to Hódmezővásárhely on 29 January and evangelised in the hall of the main Grammar School (*HauptGymnasium*).²⁷³ This was followed by other visits to the huge Reformed churches situated on the Great Plain of southern Hungary such as Békés, Gyoma, Mezőtúr and

²⁶⁸ 'Dr. Somerville Debreczenben', *Debreceni Ellenőr*, 15. 7 (1888), pp. 2-3. Cf. 'Dr. Somerville Debreczenben', *DePL*, 8 (2). 2 (14 January 1888), pp.16-17.

²⁶⁹ a+o., 'Dr. Somerville távozáza (sic!) Debreczenből', *DePL*, 8 (2). 3 (21 January 1888), pp. 22-23.

²⁷⁰ A. N. Somerville, 'Address at the Free Church General Assembly, Inverness, 25th May 1888. On the subject of his late Mission in Central Europe to the Jews and Gentiles, 1887-1888' in *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May 1888* (Edinburgh: [n. pub.], 1888), 49-68, (p.52).

²⁷¹ 'Dr. Somerville Szegeden', *DePL*, 8 (2). 7 (4 February 1888), 39-40 (p. 40).

²⁷² Errol a Szegedi Híradó is beszámolt amit a *PEIL* idézett cited by Mihály Révész, 'Somerville az Alföldön', , 31. 7 (1888), 213-15:213, 213

²⁷³ Mihály Révész, 'Somerville az Alföldön', *PEIL*, 31. 7 (1888), 213-15, (p. 213)

Túrkeve. Somerville also visited Nagyvárad and Arad where he targeted large Jewish audiences as well. Somerville attracted large audiences of which he wrote:

[...] Two towns, in a district where I had been prevented from preaching by the snow, sent to me urgent appeals to come and address the congregations. The welcome I received from one of these, by name Bekes (Békés), which has since seen serious inundations, filled me with astonishment. The largest congregation I had yet met with this Mission assembled there, and under heavy snow, the men mostly clothed in sheep-skins and goat-skins, accompanied by an equal number of women. At an early hour they crowded the huge edifice with double galleries to the number of 4000. This was succeeded on the following day in a neighbouring town by a congregation of 3000, and so on at other towns in Hungary with such numbers as 200, 1600, 1000, 3000, the culmination being reached at Mezo-Tur [Mezőtúr], where the audience amounted to 7000 persons.²⁷⁴

Larger audiences listened to him than he had ever come across. In Gyoma, more than 3000 people listened to him with rapt attention. Local and national church papers gave accounts of this sensational event. One of these was by Farkas Kálmán, the minister of Gyoma, 'Our church is assigned to seat 3000 people, however, the corridors were also full of people standing, even the double balcony was jammed and packed like sardines. In the literal sense we had to edge our way to get in'.²⁷⁵ He became so popular that the Mezőtúr people asked him to return. On his second visit, on 2 March 'people from all kinds of social backgrounds and denominations listened to him'.²⁷⁶ The majority of the people were Reformed but Jews and Baptists also attended his evangelistic meetings. In 1899, Somerville in a letter written to Ferenc Kecskeméti expressed how pleased and surprised he was to see the large attendance in Békés.²⁷⁷ Certainly, as much as Somerville was impressed by the extraordinary numbers so were the ministers by him and his methods.

4.3. The impact of the Evangelistic Tour: introducing evangelisation

There are many accounts of how these evangelistic meetings were conducted. Mihály Révész reported that before and during the sermon, Somerville taught songs for the entire congregation with the assistance of his grandson, who played the harmonium.²⁷⁸ In Békés,

²⁷⁴ A. N. Somerville, 'Address at the Free Church General Assembly, Inverness, 25th May 1888. On the subject of his late Mission in Central Europe to the Jews and Gentiles, 1887-1888' in Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May 1888 (Edinburgh: [n. pub.], 1888), pp. 49-68 (p. 58).

²⁷⁵ Farkas Kálmán, 'Sommerville az Alföldön', *PEIL*, 31. 8 (1888), 245-6 (p. 245)

²⁷⁶ Lajos Kecskeméthy, 'Dr. Sommerville missiói útja', *DePL*, 8.(2). 10 (10 March 1888), 83-4, (p. 83).

²⁷⁷ A. N. Somerville, 'Letter to Ferenc Kecskeméti written on 16 January 1889', *Szabad Egyház*, (16 February 1899), pp. 18-19. Cited by Jenő Szigeti, *Protestáns népi olvasmányok a XIX. században az Alföldön, Különnyomat az Ethnographia 1973 évi számából* (Budapest: 1973) 332-341 8p. 336. n. 33.).

²⁷⁸ Mihály Révész, 'Sommerville az Alföldön', *PEIL* 31. 7 (1888), 213-15 (p.213).

Somerville introduced two breaks during the sermon, then the choir of the congregation, having already rehearsed the songs, helped him to teach them. These songs were translated by Szalay and Kecskeméti.²⁷⁹ According to Farkas Kálmán, one of the songs was ‘*Fel barátaim, drága Jézus zászlója alá!*’ which became the favourite song of the Hungarian YMCA and later was integrated into the hymnbook of the Hungarian Reformed Church. As for Somerville’s preaching Farkas Kálmán was amused how biblical his sermons were. He reflected in the PEIL, writing that ‘in his enchanting speech, [...] there was nothing else but the Bible and the Bible again, and only once – with great caution – did he refer to Shakespeare so as to substantiate the point about how much man is disturbed by the remorse because of committing sin’.²⁸⁰

Apparently, Somerville’s evangelism was in many cases a novelty and sensational. First, to choose such places as a hotel, or a prison as venues for his sermons was unheard of. This clearly mirrored his commitment to bringing the gospel to the people wherever they were. Secondly, it was unusual to make the congregation sing a song, especially several times during the sermon. The songs, he introduced were new, lively, and rhythmical composed by British and American Evangelicals, and became popular.²⁸¹ Thirdly, the length of his sermons was three-quarters of an hour, much longer than the church folk were accustomed to but they clung to his words with great attention. The form of his sermon took on a fairly different tone, when compared with that of the Reformed ministers. His sermons were often described as ‘exhortative talks (*lelkésítő beszéd*)’, ‘enchanting speech’ and ‘brilliant sermons’.²⁸² Somerville, reminded Mihály Révész of a ‘Scottish Chrysostum’.²⁸³ The secular press wrote of him in this vein, ‘it was not an unctuous preacher, but a genius truly blessed by God’s grace, who stood before us. This [grace], together with his oral competence, made him able to lecture as a first class dramatic orator’.²⁸⁴

Both secular and ecclesiastical press had to look for words to describe the nature of Somerville’s sermon. Mihály Révész seemed to use a non-Evangelical language. The Evangelical and Pietist terminology had not yet been adopted in Hungary as is plain from the articles published describing the events. He used the aforementioned expression like ‘exhortative talk’ instead of the English word, evangelisation, to describe Somerville’s preaching style. This betrays that such thing was completely new to him and others.

²⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 214.

²⁸⁰ Farkas Kálmán, ‘Somerville az Alföldön’, *PEIL*, 31. 8 (1888), 245-6 (p. 245).

²⁸¹ Bányai, *A magyarországi baptista egyházzene története*, p. 32.

²⁸² Mihály Révész, ‘Somerville az Alföldön’, *PEIL*, 31. 7 (1888), 213-15 (p. 215).

²⁸³ Ibid.

²⁸⁴ ‘Dr. Somerville Budapesten’, *DePL*, 8 (2). 1 (7 January 1888), 6-7 (p. 7).

Furthermore, not only his style, but also the fact that someone had come from abroad made people really curious during the long winter months. It is probably right to say that the public and ministers had no exact idea of what Somerville's intention was except Szalay and Kecskeméti. Somerville's underpinning message was to revive the spiritual life of the Hungarian Reformed Church and excite interest among the Jews to turn to Christ.

Farkas Kálmán and other ministers sensed something of the charisma of Somerville. In one of his letters written to the editor of *DePL* (Debreceni Protestáns Lap) he admitted that 'since I was a student of theology (*legátus*) I have not entered the pulpit with such an anxiety as the day after Somerville's departure'.²⁸⁵ Other ministers found his sermons so excellent that upon demand they were repeated.²⁸⁶ The ministers, whose congregation Somerville preached, can be placed into two groups. The first did not have personal contacts with the Scottish missionaries, nor with Somerville beforehand but showed interest in his work. Farkas Kálmán, Mihály Révész and others were impressed by the new voice of the gospel. They represented a new confessional stance that was receptive to Evangelicalism. Mihály Révész hoped that the ties between the two Calvinist churches, the Hungarian and the Scots would be stronger in the future.²⁸⁷ The other group of people were Balogh, Csiky, Kecskeméti and Szalay. They had already been familiar with Scottish Evangelicalism since all of them were former bursars and introduced elements in their respective spheres from Scottish Evangelicalism. They gladly assisted Somerville in many ways. Szalay was even so zealous that he travelled to Russia, Rumania and Bulgaria with Somerville as his interpreter.

Somerville's impact was decisive to these groups of people former bursars and other ministers. Firstly, he set an example for them and introduced a new style of preaching, evangelism. Secondly, Somerville's preaching also gave a thrust to the already existing *peasant-ecclesiola* within the Reformed Churches of southern Hungary.²⁸⁸ Thirdly, the old Scottish enthusiastic missionary-minister kindled the fire of revival, which began with Aladár Szabó at the Pest Theological Seminary and gave encouragement to Evangelical-Pietist initiatives such as Kecskeméti's and Szalay's in the countryside. By

²⁸⁵ Farkas Kálmán, 'Somerville az Alföldön', *PEIL*, 31. 8 (1888), 245-6: p. 245

²⁸⁶ Gyula Debreczeni, 'Dr. Somerville N.-Váradon', *DePL*, 8 (2). 9 (3 March 1888), 23-4 (p. 24).

²⁸⁷ Mihály Révész, 'Dr. Somerville otthon', *DePL*, 8 (2). 25 (23 June 1888), pp. 213-4.

²⁸⁸ Csohány, János, 'A puritán paraszti közösségek válsága a kapitalizmus kialakulásának korában', *Theológiai Szemle*, 1-2 (1974), 36-39. See also: Szigeti, Jenő, 'Protestáns népi olvasmányok a XIX. században az Alföldön, Különnyomat az Ethnographia 1973 évi számából (Budapest: 1973). Cf. Jenő Szigeti, 'A békési paraszt-ecclesiolák válsága és a baptista gyülekezet megalakulása (1890-1891)' in "*Mert Ahogy Ezt Isten Hagyta.*" *Tanulmányok a népi vallásosság köréből* (Budapest: Magvető Kiadó 1986).

these three forms, Somerville greatly contributed to the revival, or to be more precise the beginning of a nationwide revival, which was still in its cradle.²⁸⁹

5. The strengthening home mission organisations and associations

5.1. The second wave of the Pest revival: YMCA, Lorántffy Association (YWCA), Bethania Orphanage and Blue Cross

It has been demonstrated that the Scottish Mission played a significant role in providing support for the Sunday school movement, and the YMCA in Pest and sought to integrate students, professionals, and workers in the Hold utca hub. Somerville's evangelistic tour refreshed the already enthusiastic Pest Reformed circles, and excited interest in the gospel in the countryside. His impact was more strongly felt in the countryside where he spent considerably more time than in Pest. Thus, it is possible to speak of the years from 1882 to 1884 as first wave of revival in Pest. Then, Somerville's visit during the winter of 1887/8 can be described as a time of refreshing in Pest and finally one may speak of the second wave of revival that began in 1892.

At the end of the 1880s, the former students at Pest Theological Seminary, such as Béla Kenessey (1884/86-1895) and Szabó (1888/91-1895) became teachers then professors there. They owe their places to the favourable changes of ecclesiastical leadership led by Bishop Szász. Professors Szóts, Petri and József Farkas were all supportive of the new home mission organisations and sympathetic to revival. The second thrust for the movements came with the legal recognition of the YMCA in 1892.²⁹⁰ It renewed its membership and began active work. Its purpose was to 'strengthen the faith of the members as well as to evangelise young people and carry out Christian charity work'.²⁹¹ In the same year, not only the YMCA received a fresh start but also another association, the Lorántffy Zsuzsanna²⁹² Association (Egyesület). Aladár Szabó and his wife Irma Biberauer initiated a 'Sewing hour', circle of Hungarian-speaking women in their own home with the purpose of involving them in home mission.²⁹³ As the 'Sewing Hour' grew, the foundation of an organisation followed. The president elected was Mrs.

²⁸⁹ Imre Révész, 'Egy fejezet a magyar református ébredés történetéből A. N. Somerville magyarországi körútja 1887-1888', *Theológiai Szemle*, 19. 1 (1943), 10-45 (p. 43).

²⁹⁰ Bálint Kovács, *A Keresztény Ifjúsági Egyesület története 1883-1950* (Budapest: Magtárstúdió, Vigándpetend, 1998), pp. 31-4.

²⁹¹ Sándor Bíró, 'A szabadságharcról az első világháborúig (1848-1914)' in *A Magyar Református Egyház története*, ed. by Sándor Bíró and István Szilágyi, Egyháztörténeti tanszék Kiadványa (Sárospatak: 1949; repr. Sárospataki Református Kollégium Theológiai Akadémiája, 1995), p. 395.

²⁹² Zsuzsanna Lorántffy was a noble woman, and a great supporter of Puritanism in seventeenth century Hungary. Her piety became a model for Pietist and Evangelical alike.

²⁹³ Szabó, *Kegyelem által*, p. 121.

Aladár Szilassy.²⁹⁴ The foundation of the Lorántffy Association was, in fact the *first Hungarian-speaking YWCA*, a point that has often escaped the attention of church historians. Later, the women gathered together in the Baldácsy hall of Kálvin tér church. The sewing work closed with a Bible study led by Szabó. Soon this small group of people began to do Christian outreach. 'Religious evenings' were arranged and the members supported a woman, Ilona Bontovics, to care for the poor and servants and finally decided to establish their own local YWCA. This association later expanded its work further. The Szilassy family built a centre in Család-utca for the purpose of providing a home and a sphere of work for deaconesses. The younger daughter of Szilassy, later to be married to prince Sulkowski, Mrs. Sándor Misley,²⁹⁵ Mrs József Szalay and the daughter of János Victor senior worked for this association. This list of names certainly indicates that it is possible to circumscribe who the most enthusiastic revivalists were and where they came from.²⁹⁶ Aladár Szabó, was one of the few men who were heavily involved in running the Bible studies for the YWCA. He was influential in this organisation as well and represented the local associations, Lorántffy YWCA and the YWCA of Scottish Mission at the World Congress of the YWCA in 1898.²⁹⁷ The revivalist circle to which Szabó belonged also established other home mission organisations.

In 1893, the 'Bethania Orphanage' was founded as an organisation of the German Affiliated Church.²⁹⁸ Six years later, another member of the Biberauer family, the son of Theodor Biberauer, Richard, was the leading force behind the foundation of the 'Blue Cross' within the congregation.²⁹⁹ The purpose of this temperance movement was to combat alcoholism. Through their contact with the German Pietists in this case, the Biberauers were ready to implement and introduce onto Hungarian soil what they believed to be beneficial for society.

Apparently it was a certain group of people even within the German congregation as well as Kálvin tér church, who were really eager to do mission and set up new

²⁹⁴ Forgács, *A belmisszió*, p. 219. Cf. Szabó, *Kegyelem által*, p. 122.

²⁹⁵ Kool, p. 203. Kool says that this association sprang up within the Lorántffy Association in 1907 with a view to raising support for foreign mission. This observation needs several corrections. First, an initiative was taken by the members of the Lorántffy Association, which was in fact a local YWCA, to form a *national framework* for all so far independently existing associations. Second, the initiative was taken in 1904 to establish the National Alliance of Hungarian YWCAs, though bearing a different name that translates into English as Hungarian Evangelical Christian Women Association. Third, Forgács gave 1909 as the foundation of the Mission Committee of the national YWCAs not 1907.

²⁹⁶ Szabó, *Kegyelem által*, pp. 168-9.

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

²⁹⁸ Scharpff, Paulus, *Geschichte der Evangelisation* (Basel: [n.d.], 1964), p. 276. cited by Kool, p. 111. n. 234.

²⁹⁹ Forgács, *A belmisszió*, p. 298. He pointed out the the first such association was organised by a convert who had been a drunkard. He set it up in Újvidék, southern part of Hungary.

organisations. It is notable how the Christian responsibility for mission and social outreach lived on within the same family. Richard Biberauer was also influenced by his brother-in-law, Szabó, who was his professor. Theological students such as Richard Biberauer, Gyula Forgács, Pál Nyári and Sándor Marton, István Csűrös³⁰⁰, all of whom later became proponents of the home mission movement, were student admirers of Szabó. Some of them became bursars and worked closely with the Mission. They and the members of various associations attended the famous *Hold utca* meetings and evangelisations that provided the spiritual background to all these movements.

5.2 Hungarians in Evangelisation: second breakthrough of the Scottish Mission

5.2.1. The Elisabeth-Boulevard and Hold utca evangelistic meetings from 1890

The first breakthrough of the Mission from its isolation was the emergence of the Hungarian Sunday school movement. The emergence of evangelistic meetings was the second crucial point not only for the Scottish Mission's increased integration in the life of the Pest Reformed churches but also for furthering revivalism. The mission historian, Anne-Marie Kool in her study pointed out that 'a significant influence for the Hungarian mission awakening, was [...] the realisation of Aladár Szabó and others that if the revival were to take root in Hungary, it would be important to start Hungarian speaking evangelistic revival meetings, a vision which did not materialize until 1892'.³⁰¹ It is undeniable that evangelistic meetings were held in Pest from that time, however, it must be pointed out that there were antecedents to this. In the early 1880s, there were services at *Hold utca* church in Hungarian attended by several young theological students of Pest Theological Seminary including Szabó. Moody underlined that they were all 'Sabbath-school teachers in schools connected with [the Mission]'.³⁰² These meetings were encouraging, educating and spiritually supportive gatherings strengthening them in their call to do Christian work. The influence of these early meetings at the hall of the Scottish Mission cannot be underestimated. It is best seen through the life of Szabó.

For Szabó, the *Hold utca* hub was a model in many ways. First, as early as 1887, he initiated the first Week of Prayer similar to those, which had been held by the Scots and the German congregation annually within the framework of the Evangelical Alliance since 1841. Secondly, he launched evangelistic meetings in Hungarian. Szabó modelled the

³⁰⁰ He was the editor of *Ébresztő*, the periodical of the YMCA.

³⁰¹ Kool, p. 144. Cf. Andrew Moody, 'Budapest', *FcofSM* (1 June 1897), 130-32 (p.131). Here Moody states that the meetings were initiated on 5 September 1890.

³⁰² RCJ of 1883, Appendix IX, p.19. So it was much earlier as Szalay preached in the Hungarian language. See also: RCJ of 1882, Appendix IX, p. 15.

events on the initiative of Moody who had organised evangelistic meetings on Thursdays at *Hold utca* as early as 1879.³⁰³ According to Forgács, ‘religious evenings’ were held on Wednesday evenings in the great hall of the high school [of the Reformed Church] ‘from October [1887] till Easter’. Other sources also mentioned that these meetings ran as a continuation of the Week of Prayer till Easter.³⁰⁴ Some time later, the Kálvin tér church gave a home to such gatherings on Sunday evenings led by Szabó.³⁰⁵

After these antecedents, a development took place and new arrangements were made jointly by the Mission and Hungarians. First, the evangelistic meetings of *Hold utca* were extended to another venue in 1890. Andrew Moody reported to the Committee that on the ‘fiftieth’ anniversary of the establishment of the Mission a new hall was dedicated to missionary work. His account was full of enthusiasm,

The great event of the year was the opening, on the 5th September, of our second hall for Evangelistic Meetings at Elisabethring No.7. The remarkable success of the meeting in the old hall, Mondgasse No. 17, and the fact that I had more time, having been set free from the somewhat heavy work connected with the German congregation, led to and prepared the way for the new departure. We adopted in some respect the Paris McAll method, following at the same time the special lines on which we have ourselves been providentially led. [...] ³⁰⁶

The opening of the hall created so much general interest that it was telegraphed to the *Times*. The Vienna correspondent, Brinsley Richards wrote an article on it.

Yesterday the Scottish Mission of Budapest celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of its foundation, about two hundred people were present at a soirée, which began with a concert, and was followed by speeches. The British Consul-General, Sir Arthur Nicolson, and Lady Nicolson, were present, and the Rev. A. Moody, pastor of the Scotch Presbyterian community did the honours.³⁰⁷

Béla Kenessey led the religious evenings upon Moody’s request in Elisabeth Boulevard.³⁰⁸ His sermons preached there, were collected together under the title of *Keresztyén tanítások* (Christian teachings). Forgács was of the opinion that they ‘had a fruitful impact on preaching’ in the Hungarian Reformed Church.³⁰⁹ Two years later in 1892 Szabó,

³⁰³ Forgács, *A belmisszió*, p. 217. Forgács talked of Wednesday evenings. He is wrong as far as he talks of the 1880s.

³⁰⁴ ‘Report on the Conversion of the Jews to the General Assembly. Pesth’ in Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May 1880 (Edinburgh: [n. pub.], 1880), 4-11, 25-34, (p. 11). See also: RCJ of, 1882, Appendix, p. 11; RCJ of 1883, Appendix IX, p. 27.; Cf. RCJ of 1884, Appendix IX, p. 20.

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 215.

³⁰⁶ RCJ of 1891, Appendix IX, p. 5.

³⁰⁷ Brinsley Richards’ report of the Scottish Mission. *The Times*, 25 November 1890.

³⁰⁸ Szabó, *Kegyelem által*, p. 135.

³⁰⁹ Forgács, *A belmisszió*, p. 217.

Kenessey and István Kecskeméthy³¹⁰ applied to Moody for permission to make use of the spacious school hall of *Hold utca*.³¹¹ There, Szabó often preached at the evangelistic meetings in the Hungarian language.³¹² The Scottish reports often highlight the fact these were interdenominational in character since people came from various denominations such as the Reformed, Lutheran, Roman Catholic, and Baptist churches and the Jews also attended.³¹³ Forgács, himself later a bursar and a missionary at the Scottish Mission wrote, 'these religious evenings became the new resources of Hungarian Home Mission'.³¹⁴

5.2.2. *New methods of evangelisation*

The Scots along with some Hungarians were quick to apply Western European means for spreading the gospel. They systematically advertised their events in the newspapers. They issued attractive invitation cards, distributing them in the houses, on the streets, in public conveyances, and through the post. Several of the newspaper editors were ready to insert intimation of the meetings in their news-of-the-day columns without charge.³¹⁵ The Tuesday evenings were set aside for 'lantern lectures', so called because of the use of the slides. Moody wrote:

The lantern has certainly added to our Mission *populaire* to win its way to some favour in the city on the 17th of February, when the Holy Land course of lectures was closed with an exhibition of all the pictures belonging to the series, the hall was crowded [..]³¹⁶

The popularity of such events was reflected by those attending the event. A lot of high-class people attended the events, which also naturally drew the crowds. Among those were Lady Nicolson, wife of the British Consul General with governess and children, Barnonnes Tugini of the Italian Consulate-General with governess and several professors.

The evangelistic meetings profited a great deal from the high profile the Mission thus achieved. These were held twice weekly, on Tuesday evenings in the hall in the Mondgasse, and on Friday evenings in the new hall on Elisabethring. Evangelistic meetings were designed to aim at the Jews as well as the public in general. On one

³¹⁰ Kecskeméthy became a professor in Kolozsvár, at the new theological faculty of the Transylvanian Reformed Church. He taught there from 1895-1936. His sympathy for Evangelicalism cannot be underestimated.

³¹¹ József Farkas, *A Pesti Református Egyház 101 éves története* (Kecskemét: A Budapesti Evangéliumi Reformált Egyház, 1898), p. 357. Cf. RCJ of 1892, Appendix IX, p. 6.

³¹² RCJ of 1892, Appendix IX, p. 6.

³¹³ RCJ of 1893, appendix IX, p. 13.

³¹⁴ Forgács, p. *A belmisszió*, p. 217.

³¹⁵ Andrew Moody, 'Budapest', *FCofSM* (1 June 1897), 130-32, (p.132). It was introduced in 1890 as Moody stated. Cf. RCJ of 1893, Appendix IX, pp. 7-8. See advertisement in the weekly paper entitled 'Hungary', such was, though from a later period.

³¹⁶ RCJ of 1891, Appendix IX, p. 6.

occasion, Moody made mention of Professor Carl Paul Caspari³¹⁷, a Jewish convert because ‘the story of his conversion is calculated to touch the Jewish heart’.³¹⁸ At each meeting three speakers spoke in short addresses. The teachers of the Mission School such as ‘Rau, Buss, J. Victor, and A. Victor, Dr. Lippner, and Mr. Victor, senior’ and many of the young Hungarian preachers assisted in speaking including Elemér Balogh, a former bursar employed at the Mission.³¹⁹ The co-operation of Hold utca people; members of the congregation as well as the Mission, the teachers and professor at the Theological Seminary, and leaders of Kálvin tér church had a profound influence on the future life of the Hungarian Reformed Church in Pest.

The significance of this cooperation in the evangelisation of the city lay in the fact that at such occasions the members of various associations, which had already emerged, could meet. They exchanged ideas and encouraged each other to grow in Christian faith. Furthermore, these evangelistic meetings, referred to as ‘religious evenings’ were requested all over the country and proved to be a model for the renewal of church life for many ministers.³²⁰ Third, the *Hold utca* meetings played a significant role in the beginning of the modern foreign mission interest of the Reformed Church of Hungary. The latter is best seen from the reminiscence of Irene Kunszt the first Hungarian missionary to China. She remembered these religious events with great gratitude, writing:

In the *Hold utca* hall I abundantly fed on the water of life and the spiritual manna and lived in happy fellowship with God's children ... in the course of Dr. Moody's unforgettable English sermons, during the weekday meetings of mixed language and in the Sunday classes held by the pastor Aladár Szabó.³²¹

The 1890s were a successful time for the Scottish Mission when they expanded their influence on mission thinking into spheres of the Hungarian Reformed Church via Hungarians that had never been reached before. Evangelism was conducted in the Hungarian language, by Reformed people of Hungarian stock with methods that made it attractive to the masses.

³¹⁷ Oscar Skarsuane, 'Caspari, Carl Paul' in *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions*, ed. by Anderson, Gerald (Cambridge U.K: William B. Eerdmans, 1999), pp. 119-20. Caspari was a staunch Jewish convert, who supported the Norwegian Mission to the Jews. He became professor of Old Testament in Norway in 1847.

³¹⁸ RCJ of 1891, Appendix IX, p. 6.

³¹⁹ RCJ of 1892, Appendix IX, p. 6.

³²⁰ Forgács, *A belmisszió*, p. 215-16. He cited the articles of István Hegedűs, about ‘A budapesti vallásos estélyekről’ [About the Budapest Evangelistic Meetings] in *Kolozsvári Protestáns Lap*, and an article in *Debreceni Protestáns Lap* from 1892, cikk, finally he Forgács claimed that bishop Gyurátz F. organised occasions.

³²¹ Kunst, Irén, *Önéletrajzi töredék* (Budapest: [n. pub.] 1935), p. 8. Cf. Draskóczy, László, *A magyar keresztyén külmmisszió szolgálata* (Budapest: [n. pub.], 1940), p. 61. See also: Szabó, *Kegyelem által*, pp. 144-145

6. Evangelisation through publications

Each new evangelistic association began to produce its own periodical for the first time. Among the first was the periodical of the Sunday school entitled *Örömhír* for children established through the Scottish Mission's connection in 1885. Then the Lorántffy Association (YWCA) and the YMCA of Budapest jointly published *Keresztyén Híradó* from 1894. Later each organisation published its own periodical, the YMCA's paper entitled *Ébresztő* (Awakening), edited by István Csűrös a student of Szabó whereas the Lórántffy Association published *Olajág* (Olive Branch) from 1902.³²²

These new periodicals affected the profile of the existing ones. The most spectacular was the case of PEIL. Gyula Forgács summarised the importance of this change of editorial direction of *PEIL* in the most widely read ecclesiastical periodical: 'Mór Ballagi admitted that his heart could but his mind could not come to terms with missionary endeavours'.³²³ During the 1880s Ballagi allowed space for Evangelical and Pietist ideas more than in the 1860s and 1870s. Taking over the editorship in 1889, Ballagi's successor Farkas Szóts fully supported the home mission endeavours and an increasing numbers of articles propagated home mission.

It is recalled that as a new professor, Szóts sought to find ways for the renewal of church life, and was, therefore, very supportive of the home mission movements. Though a moderate liberal himself with a growing sympathy towards Evangelicals, Farkas Szóts encouraged students like Béla Kenessey, Aladár Szabó and István Kecskeméthy to participate in mission.³²⁴ All the three students were heavily involved in the establishment of the new home mission organisations in the early 1880s and became teachers at the theological seminaries by the end of the decade.³²⁵ We have seen that Szabó and Kenessey originated the evangelistic meetings in the Elisabeth Boulevard in 1892.³²⁶ To further the cause of evangelism, shortly after the commencement of the aforementioned meetings, a weekly paper *Kis Tükör* (Small Mirror) was launched whose editors were Szóts and Kecskeméthy, recommended to the public by Szabó in its first issue. Its aim was to evangelise 'ourselves so as to leave behind the deeds of darkness, and the families so that they become the hotbed of Christian faith, patience and love, and finally the churches and the societies so the Christ be all in all'.³²⁷ It was published both in Budapest and in

³²² Gyula Forgács, *A belmisszió*, pp. 216, 221.

³²³ *Ibid.*, p. 241.

³²⁴ József Bodonhelyi, 'A belmisszió kora (1896-1918)', pp. 73-106, (p. 96).

³²⁵ Zoványi, pp. 306, 562. Kenessey became a professor in 1886. Szabó an assistant teacher in 1888.

³²⁶ See: Chapter 4. Section. 7.5.1. The Elisabeth-Boulevard and Hold Street evangelistic meetings from 1891

³²⁷ Forgács, *A belmisszió*, pp. 247-48.

Kolozsvár, the largest city in Transylvania. Aladár Szabó, in his recollections also observed that in this way the beginnings of the Hungarian revival were also taken to the countryside. The circle of readers was diverse, they came from every class of society: pastors, teachers, clerks, merchants and artisans.³²⁸ However, it mainly aimed at educating the laity. The editors promised that ‘we do not publish [...] what famous scholars, and prestigious men write in our magazine, but we just want to say only that we write everything which would be of use for our readers’.³²⁹ To facilitate the creating of a mission minded community conferences were organised for the readers at Kálvin tér church. Szabó underlined a crucial feature of his mission concept, which was a recurrent theme, that ‘before our home mission initiatives, God’s grace, the redeeming power of Jesus Christ and the renewing splendour of the Holy Spirit had been in many Hungarian souls, perhaps it grew dim, but it was there’.³³⁰ In 1893 another home mission paper came on the scene named *Hajnal* (Dawn). Its primary goal was to awaken the interest of pastors in supporting evangelistic works and spreading magazines, books and encouraging workers to become involved in home mission organisations. The publisher, Victor Hornyánszky facilitated the movement by printing the paper without charge and disseminating it all over the country for all ministers.³³¹ Anna-Marie Kool observed that ‘thus, we see a[n initiative of a] double movement to involve the local churches in the upcoming revival, ‘from below’ – to inform the grassroots – as well as giving attention to the perspective ‘from above’, to give pastors a broader vision’.³³²

Apart from *Kis Tükör*, Kecskeméthy and in the beginning Szabó edited the *Koszorú* (Wreath), the most widely read and popular series of small books to which bursars contributed. This publication contained stories about the origins of the Sunday school movement, YMCA and the Gustav Adolph Association, David Livingstone, and the ‘heroes’ of the Hungarian Reformed faith such as Gábor Bethlen, Ferenc Rákóczi, István Szegedi Kiss and alike. The comprehensive church history edited by Mihály Zsilinszky acknowledged that the *Koszorú* was ‘in fact a real awakening factor in the life of the church’.³³³ All the three publications, *Kis Tükör*, *Hajnal* and *Koszorú* were initiated by people belonging to the Hold utca Fellowship. Thus, in this regard one may talk about the

³²⁸ Szabó, *Kegyelem által*, p. 137.

³²⁹ Forgács, *A belmisszió*, p. 248.

³³⁰ Szabó, *Kegyelem által*, p. 138.

³³¹ Aladár Szabó, ‘Befejezés’, in *Új Óramutató*, ed. by Szabó, Aladár (Budapest: Hornyánszky Viktor nyomdája, 1896), p. 147.

³³² Szabó, p. 135.

³³³ *A Magyarhoni Protestáns Egyház története*, ed. by Zsilinszky Mihály (Budapest: Atheneum, 1907), p. 756.

indirect impact of the Scottish Mission. The new home mission organisations in Pest started their journey independent from the Mission but also maintaining ties with it. The Scottish Mission's influence was more pronounced in other publications since Scots supported Szalay's paper, *Keresztyén* (Christian) and also financed the publication of Szabó's devotional book for family worship entitled *Lelki Harmat* (Spiritual Dew) through the London Tract Society in 1894.³³⁴ The most significant evidence of the influence of the Evangelical-Pietist alliance at Hold utca was that two years later Szabó published the first book on home mission entitled, *Új Óramutató* (New Clockhand). There were various essays on missions in *Új Óramutató*, which Szabó edited, addressing issues of evangelisation, colportage, diaconal work, Sunday schools, foreign mission, and home mission. The contributors came from both the Reformed and the Lutheran church and included some former bursars of the Mission such as professors Lajos Csizmadia, Lajos Csiky, Aladár Szabó, and some of their colleagues professors Gyula Ferenczy and József Pokoly from Kolozsvár, and Lajos Erős, bishop of the Transilvanian Church Province.³³⁵ Szabó hoped that the book would 'fill the dead members of the evangelical church with living faith, that they lead the members of non-evangelical parishes to that chief pastor whose love heals, gives life and comforts'.³³⁶ Szabó's significance for home mission lay in the fact that he personally was involved in the new organisations. He put his ideas into practice and did it with great success, which eventually led to the spread of home mission organisation from Pest to the countryside.

Conclusion

In examining the rise of the home mission movement in the Hungarian Reformed Church during the final decades of the nineteenth century, this chapter has shown that it created a way for the Scottish Mission to escape the isolation into which it had drifted while it remained tied to its German-language orientation, and to re-connect itself with a dynamic growth with the mission-consciousness of the Hungarian Reformed Church.

The credit for inspiring the home mission development must go in part to the Mission itself, and to the 'Hold utca hub' that sustained the leaders of several of the home mission organisations. In part also the credit must go to younger members of the Hungarian Reformed Church who had studied in Edinburgh as bursars of the Scottish

³³⁴ Forgács, *A belmisszió*, p. 249.

³³⁵ *Tanulmányok a Magyar Református egyház történetéből* in *Studia et Acta Ecclesiastica*, ed. by Tibor Barta and László Makkai, V vols (Budapest: Magyar Református Egyház Zsinati Iroda Sajtóosztálya, 1983), 5, (227-37) p. 232.

³³⁶ *Új Óramutató*, ed. by Szabó, Aladár (Budapest: Hornyánszky Viktor nyomdája, 1896), p. 4.

Mission. This combination of factors in the growth of the home mission network is personified in the close relationship that developed, from 1882, between Andrew Moody and Aladár Szabó. This proved to be a key relationship that opened opportunities for the missionaries to work with the Pest Reformed Church that now constituted the ecclesiastical base for the Mission in place of the former German-speaking Affiliated Church with which the Mission ceased to have a formal relationship in 1888. Through Szabó and other bursars an increasingly strong cooperation was formed between the Scottish Mission and several of the Hungarian church leaders in Budapest. Bishop Szász realised how usefulness of the Scottish Mission in organising the newly developing ecclesiastical structure in Budapest. The Sunday school movement, the YMCA, YWCA and other organisations provided a framework for a religious-social life that was attractive to young people who were rootless in the fastest growing capital of Europe. It is beyond doubt that these associations made congregational life in the city more vibrant.

If the rise of the home mission movement under Szabó and Szász signalled the ascendance of an Evangelical-Pietist understanding of renewal and mission, the retirement of the ultraliberal Ballagi from the editorship of *PEIL*, the most widely read Protestant periodical, offered space for a different editorial policy that was more hospitable to Evangelical views. This proved to be the case under the editorial leadership of Farkas Szóts, another friend of the Mission.

A similar shift of theological orientation was evident in the theological colleges. Whereas earlier decades of the nineteenth century has seen a rivalry of theological view between the orthodoxy of Debrecen and the liberalism of Pest, particularly in Debrecen's antagonism in the 1870s against the liberally-inspired Protestant Union that Kovacs and Ballagi organised in Pest, the growing concern for reviving church life along Evangelical lines was marked by the appointment of a new generation of professors in Pest, in people such as Aladár Szabó and Béla Kenessey. They were supported by the traditional and confessional-minded professors and ministers such as Farkas Szóts, József Farkas and Elek Petri. This development in Pest influenced both the culture and content of theological education in favour of Evangelical revival, and supported the development of the home mission movement with a new emphasis on practical theology and Christian mission. These changes enabled the Mission to connect itself with the Pest Theological Seminary for the first time in its history, since the possibility of cooperation had previously been closed by Ballagi, and the relationship with the *Kálvin tér* church, the Mission's original mother church was revived.

The period examined in this chapter also saw the culmination of the process of Magyarisation in the Mission school in its new and enlarged premises. Here again the evidence shows that bursars played a significant part in the re-orienting the school, and extricating it from the Jewish criticism of its being an agent of Austro-German influence that was opposed to the nationalist movement in Hungary.

Equally significant was the success of the bursars and the home mission movement in extending the influence of Evangelical Christianity beyond the urban centres of Pest and Debrecen into the rural regions of Southern Hungary. Credit for this development goes largely to Csiky, Kecskeméti, and Szalay, as well as Szabó, who pioneered the concept of evangelistic meetings in the countryside, and inaugurated home mission groups that addressed the needs of rural people, complementing the urban character of the organisations in Pest. This can be identified as a second wave of the home mission awakening.

The accumulative effect of these home mission developments was signalled by Aladár Szabó's foundation of a new publication, *Új óramutató* [New Clockhand], in 1896, that called for the introducing of home mission into the national body of the Hungarian Reformed Church. For purposes of the argument of this thesis, this event may be taken to mark a moment of achievement for the Scottish Mission. This is not to argue that the Scottish Mission was uniquely responsible for nurturing the concept of home mission in the mind of revivalists in the Hungarian Reformed Church. Indeed, at the very time that Szabó made his appeal, Csiky was endeavouring to make the German model of *Innere Mission* better known to the Hungarian public through his through publications.³³⁷ But the home mission development was a realisation of the one of the two original goals of the Scottish Mission, namely the Evangelical revival of the Hungarian Reformed Church. Given that the Scottish Evangelicalism of the founding fathers was open to German influence as well, it is reasonable to conclude that they would have found satisfaction in the combination of visions that were now articulated by Szabó and Csiky.

If the Mission's revivalist goal was thus in sight of fulfilment, the evidence of this chapter suggests that its achievement was at the expense of the Mission's primary goal of Jewish evangelism. There was, at least, a shift of emphasis and energy from mission to the Jews to home mission, for there is no evidence in this initial stage of the growth of home mission organisations that they espoused the Mission's concern for the Jews. The final decades of

³³⁷ Lajos Csiky, 'Fliedner Tivadar élete és működése', *Protestáns Szemle* 6.7 (1894), 497-510, pp. 591-603. See also: Lajos Csiky, 'Wichern J. H., a németországi belmisszió atyja', *Protestáns Szemle* 7.9 (1), pp. 514-76.

the nineteenth century were also a period of intense Jewish criticism of the Mission. If the political events of Tiszaeszlár (1882) and its aftermath, and the excitement caused by the Religious Bill (1895) served to distract the attention of Pest Jewry from the activities of the Mission, the much publicised case of Rabbi Lichtenstein (1885-8) and the Somerville evangelistic tour (1887/8) renewed Jewish opposition to the Mission and Jewish proselytism. Whereas this had formerly been expressed through the German language, and was therefore confined to the German-speaking minority of the population, the Neolog Jews now pressed their criticisms of the Mission through their first Hungarian-language publication. The allegations were the same as in the past, a mixture of religious (e.g. the Sabbath issue) and socio-political (e.g. Germanising propaganda) accusations. The difference was that these criticisms were now heard by a wider cross section of the Hungarian populace at large, and this compounded the challenge that confronted the Mission to present a convincing case for Jewish evangelism as part of national mission of the Hungarian church, and an inherent element of its Evangelical revival.

Chapter 6: The Maturation of the Scottish Mission: the Development of the Home Mission and the Revival of the Hungarian Reformed Church (1903-1914)

Introduction

This chapter will investigate three major themes: the maturation of the work of the Scottish Mission, the development of the home mission organisations of the Hungarian Reformed Church, and the impact of the Scottish Mission in the church's theological colleges through the influence of Edinburgh-trained bursars and others. First, it will be shown that these three dimensions coalesced in the Magyarisation of the Scottish Mission and its associated organs, with the result that the radical Evangelical Piety first introduced by the Mission through the German language, became a nation-wide patriotic force as it translated itself into the medium of Hungarian language and culture. This achievement of the Mission in the early years of the twentieth century will be illustrated through examination of the development of the Mission School, the colportage and growth of home mission organisations within the Hold utca network that served as models for the Hungarians.

Second, the development of the home mission associations in the Reformed Church will be explored as the means whereby the Mission was able to achieve its aim of reviving the Reformed Church. Close attention will be paid to the major split that occurred in one of the main home mission organisations in 1902/3, showing that it marked a sort of "rite of passage" in the development of the home mission movement to 'adulthood'. Although Aladár Szabó had to stand down from his position in the Lorántffy Association, his continuing influence over other home mission agencies meant that the evangelical approach was to have a wider influence in the Hungarian Reformed Church as a whole. It was largely due to Szabó and the Hold utca people, therefore, that awareness of home mission carved its way into the minds of the Hungarian Reformed people both in Budapest and the countryside, and this eventually led to an interest in foreign mission as well. Furthermore, it will be shown that during this period some Hungarian home mission organisations began to stand independently of the Mission itself, thereby realising the aim of the Mission, the revival of the Hungarian Reformed Church.

Finally, the impact of the Scottish Mission through the Edinburgh-trained bursars and other Hungarian revivalists will be scrutinized with a view to assessing their influence

on the Hungarian Reformed Church. It will be shown that the bursars were instrumental in extending the Pest-initiated home mission movements across the country, laying the ground for the reception of home missionary ideas and exercising leadership roles in the home mission movements themselves, a fact that has often been neglected by the Pest-centred historiography of home mission movements.

The chapter will begin in 1903, the year in which, some twenty years after the creation of the home mission movement, a split occurred among some of its leaders that determined its future direction under the theological influence of Aladár Szabó and like-minded radical Evangelicals. The terminating date for the period under review is the outbreak of the First World War that entailed the departure of the Scottish missionaries from Budapest.

I. The Work of the Scottish Mission through its Educational Institutions

1. The challenges of the government and the Jewish community

At the beginning of the century the Mission 'showed sign of lagging' as McDougall, a writer of the Mission's history observed.¹ There was a sharp decline in pupils attending the Mission School by 1902. Moody stated that 'comparing the six years ending in 1896 with the six years ending in 1902, the average number of pupils enrolled annually in the latter period is a third less than in the former, being in round numbers about 300 against 450'.² Of the three hundred pupils 170 were girls, 52 being Jews.³ By 1904 the number of pupils had fallen to 169 in total, out of which only 55 were Jews or Jewish Christians. This was the lowest number enrolled at the school for a very long time.⁴

The low figure deeply concerned the Scots and the causes of the decline can be explained in relation to the socio-political context. Since 1868 the Hungarian government had been pressing for standardised national education. From 1879, it required the Hungarian

¹ David McDougall, *In Search of Israel: a Chronicle of the Jewish Missions of the Church of Scotland* (London: T. Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1941), p. 123.

² 'Report on the Conversion of the Jews to the General Assembly 1902, Appendix VIII', in *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the United Free Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May, 1903* (Edinburgh: T. & A. Constable, 1903), pp. 4-5.

³ 'Women's Jewish Missionary Association's Report for 1902 with a Statement of the Funds, Appendix VIII A', in *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the United Free Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May, 1903* (Edinburgh: T. & A. Constable, 1903), p. 6. The exact figure of all Jewish pupils including boys and girls out of the total 300 is not given. However, the proportion of Jewish girls from the total number indicate that less than thirty percentage of the girls, and most likely out of all pupils, were Jews.

⁴ 'Women's Jewish Missionary Association's Report for 1904 with a Statement of the Funds, Appendix VIII A.', in *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the United Free Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May,*

language be taught in all schools including denominational and private schools.⁵ In the early 1880s the government obliged teachers, who had obtained their degree abroad, to pass a Hungarian language exam. Their qualifications also had to be approved. The Magyarisation as well as modernisation of education reached its climax in the first decade of the twentieth century when further laws on education were introduced in favour of Magyar culture.⁶ It was under the pressure of these laws, including article 46 of the law of 1908 which prescribed that education was now to be free, that the Mission School was compelled to Magyarise itself fully.⁷ The school's advantage up to now had been that it alone among its competitors offered free education.

Apart from the pressure for the Magyarisation of education, the accusation of the Jewish leaders presented a challenge to the Mission. Although the government promoted the Hungarian language, the Scots continued to offer German as a subject to pupils as well as free lessons in French, English, Latin and typewriting to attract Jewish pupils. This seemed attractive to Jewish parents who thought that the more languages their children could speak the better chance they would have of a career in the multi-ethnic capital that was becoming increasingly Hungarian speaking. It is not surprising that the leaders of the Pest Jewish community accused the Mission school of Germanization, not 'caring about the national aim' by teaching 'the German language as a normal subject in all grades'.⁸ The anonymous author of the liberal Jewish newspaper, *Egyenlőség*, deeply resented the fact that the Scots advertised their lectures and called for enrolment in daily papers mostly read by Jews to 'recruit more and more Jewish pupils to the only true Scottish religion' and offered free language lessons as extras.⁹

Defending themselves against the charge of Germanisation, the missionaries argued: 'were our Mission organised by a German society, we might by teaching German at all,

1905 (Edinburgh: T. & A. Constable, 1905), p. 6. There were only five teachers employed. Mrs. Buss, Miss Müller, Miss Rau, Mr. A. Victor and Mr. J. Victor and in the Girl's Home Miss Burgess. See: *Ibid.* p. 4.

⁵ István Mészáros, *A magyar nevelés és iskolatörténet kronológiája 996-1996* (Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó: Budapest, [n.d.]), p. 60. See also: Aron Moskovits, *Jewish Education in Hungary 1848-1948* (New York: Bloch Company, 1964), p. 147. Moskovits cited the Annual Public School Law of 1879 Act VIII. Moskovits, referring to the aforementioned law, claims even more saying that 'all subjects be taught in the Hungarian language in 1879'. However, this seems to be a misunderstanding since such a law was introduced only in 1908.

⁶ István Mészáros, *A magyar nevelés és iskolatörténet kronológiája*, pp. 69-70. Cf. Lajos Illyefalvi, *A közoktatásügy Budapesten a világháborút megelőző években*, Statisztikai Közlemények (Budapest: Székesfőv. háziiny., 1933).

⁷ Miklós Szabó, 'A közoktatás fejlődése', *Politikai gondolkodás és kultúra Magyarországon a dualizmus utolsó negyedszázadában*, ed. by Zsigmond Pál Pach, Endre Kovács and László Katus, 2nd edn, 10 vols (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987), VII/2 pt. 12p ch. 1: *Magyarország története*, pp. 581-608, (p. 878).

⁸ 'A hold-utcai budapesti térítő iskola', *Egyenlőség*, 22. 35 (30 August 1903), p. 8.

⁹ *Ibid.*

expose ourselves to the danger of its being said that there was a German propaganda [Webster's underlining], but this danger does not threaten the 'Scottish' Mission'.¹⁰ Regardless of what the missionaries thought, the school was again, as in the 1880s, exposed to the charge of Germanisation. When the Jewish leaders realised that the government did not heed their accusation they changed tactic. They were greatly disturbed by the proselytising efforts of the Mission. To John Hall, an ardent member of the Jewish Committee, evangelisation was an essential element of Jewish mission. He said, 'it is vital that [...] the true knowledge of the faith of Jesus be disseminated far and wide among Jewish families'.¹¹ However, the Jews did not share his opinion and launched a house-to-house visit to dissuade parents from sending their children to the Mission School.¹² Finally, the strong Jewish opposition to the Mission School coupled with the governmental push for change resulted in great losses of pupils, especially boys. As a response to both challenges, a remodelling of the school structure took place.

2. The response of the Scottish Mission to the challenges

In Hungary it was normal that the contemporary educational systems offered separate classes for boys and girls in the same school. The 'Boys' School' (Department)¹³ was closed in 1904, because it was easier for parents, who were persuaded by the Jewish community leaders to find schools for boys. Therefore, the Mission concentrated on the development of the Girls' Department with more resolution.¹⁴ The initiative took a definite shape by 1907. The Scots thought it wise to extend the scope of the school to include an 'Intermediate Department' between the elementary and secondary levels in order to meet the competition for pupils amongst the schools of Budapest.¹⁵ This meant that the girls could be retained until the age of fifteen, two years beyond what was possible in the primary department alone. For the 'Intermediate Department', a headmistress was appointed named Miss Margit Prém, who was the grandniece of Mr. G. R. Lederer, a former convert from the 1840s.¹⁶ At the same time the 'Primary Department', was be reorganised. It was entrusted to August

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ John Hall, 'Our Jewish Mission', *Israel in Europe*, 3 vols (Edinburgh: United Free Church, 1914), II, p. 41.

¹² RCJ of 1904, Appendix VIII, p. 7.

¹³ The classes of different grades were classified into larger units according to sex, such as Boys or Girls Department, forming separate sections of the school.

¹⁴ RCJ of 1905, Appendix VIII, p. 5.

¹⁵ NLS Dep. 298.259. fol. 87. entry 89. Minutes of 26 February 1906.

¹⁶ Hall, p. 39. See also: RCJ of 1906, WJMA Appendix VIII A, p. 5. 'Her grandfather and grandmother were baptised in the forties of last century by Mr. Wingate, and were long in the service of the Mission, through which other relatives were likewise brought to Christ. The family is well known in educational circles; and her

Victor to superintend the school's work.¹⁷ Slowly the numbers of pupils began to rise, and by 1909 a total of 248 pupils were enrolled.¹⁸ Thus the Mission had again two 'schools', one for older and the other for young girls. Apart from the educational development at school, the Mission decided to lay more emphasis on full-day instruction best obtained through a boarding school.

In 1894 a 'Girls' Home' had been attached to the Mission School in order to provide residential boarding education. It aimed at giving 'education in a serious religious spirit'.¹⁹ This began on an experimental basis, but was formalised as a major element of the school's policy in 1904 when it was decided to close the Boys' Department entirely. Improvements were introduced in the Girls' Home with a full time matron, Miss Burgess, being appointed in autumn 1904.²⁰ The pupils were mostly Jewish but the Scots thought it desirable for Christian girls also to be enrolled so that 'the intermingling of the different quantities in the gracious solvent of a true Christian home' may be beneficial to the Jewish pupils.²¹ The fees for the boarding school were set quite high so that only well-off families could afford to send their children. The pupils' lives were organised 'under the most careful influence at the hands of the matron and staff'.²² Numbers steadily increased, and by 1913/14 there were fifty-two boarders. Nonetheless, the girls boarding at the Girls' Home, made up only a small percentage of the total number of pupils enrolled at the school. John Hall enthused over this initiative, writing 'it [had] proved to be one of the most valuable adjuncts' of the Mission's work.²³ By the end of 1913, Burgess resigned and Miss Anna Wilson of Paisley took over her responsibilities to continue this 'promising' work.²⁴

What the Scots hoped to gain from this boarding school was to have access to Jewish homes just like it was with the School as a whole. The expensive boarding school signalled a new element in mission to the Jews since earlier the overwhelming majority of Jewish pupils

uncle, Professor Fröhlich of Budapest University, holds the honorary degree of LL D. from the University of Glasgow'.

¹⁷ Hall, p. 40.

¹⁸ "Women's Jewish Missionary Association's Report for 1909 with a Statement of the Funds, Appendix VIII A.", in *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the United Free Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May, 1910* (Edinburgh: T. & A. Constable, 1910), p. 7. Elementary School a total of 118, Higher School a total of 71, Evening School a total of 59. Out of the overall figure of 249, only 99 were Jewish extraction.

¹⁹ E. K. Buergess, 'Szülők figyelmébe', *Élet és Munka* [Thereafter *ÉM*], 1. 2 (May 1909), p. 15.

²⁰ James Webster, 'Reformed Church', *Hungary* 2.24 (1 November, 1904), p. 12. Cf. NLS Dep. 298.259, fol. 2. entry 124. Minutes of 26 April 1904. Cf. RCJ of 1905, WJMA Appendix VIII A, p. 6. She was a Scottish woman and was a former member of the Constantinople staff until her appointment in Budapest.

²¹ Hall, p. 38.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 38.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

²⁴ T. James Webster, 'Changes and Prospects at Budapest', *The Missionary Records of the United Free Church of Scotland* [Thereafter *MRUFChS*], 13. 155 (November, 1913), 543-3 (p. 544).

had been from a poor background. However, the Mission began to aim at the well-to-do middle class Jews extending the scope of their mission in the Jewish community. Indeed, some years later a significant proportion of pupils came from the 'well-to-do portion of the population'.²⁵ The three areas, namely better-off Jewish pupils, the development of the Girls' Home, and the structural changes regarding the 'Departments' marked a shift in the character of the School and also helped the Mission to move the enrolment numbers upwards. The Mission School was more accommodating in its attitude than earlier. Indeed, the responses to the challenges were appropriate and quick.

3. Social challenge and its impact on the Mission School

The part of the city, where the *Hold utca* Mission was located, was undergoing a change of character in the early twentieth century, becoming a place for public offices rather than local residence. Most of the Jews who had been living there now migrated to other districts of Pest. Therefore, the Mission decided to follow the migration of Jewish residency in the district and obtained a new site in *Vörösmarty utca*.²⁶ The old building was sold to the Department of Religion and Public Instruction for a sum that was less than half of what was required to erect the new building.²⁷ However, donations were made in Scotland and Hungary, and the necessary amount of money was procured. Even the City Council gave some support, which the Scots regarded as significant as 'a very unusual testimony to the value of our educational work for a majority of the Town Council [were] Jews'.²⁸ This may have been wishful thinking on the part of the Scots, since it is more likely that the Council was acting on a policy of equal support to all educational establishments. The new school building at *Vörösmarty utca* was completed in 1910.²⁹ Webster declared that it was the 'largest building in the world dedicated to Jewish evangelisation'.³⁰

The new building could accommodate many more classes, and therefore required more staff.³¹ Most of the old German-speaking members of staff retired and were replaced by other new Hungarian-speaking teachers who offered a wider range of subjects that in turn

²⁵ John Hall, 'The Special Mission at Budapest', *MRUFCS*, 15. 158 (February 1912), 63-4, (p.63).

²⁶ RCJ of 1909, Appendix VIII, p. 5.

²⁷ F, Gy, 'A Hold utcai imaterem', *ÉM*, 2. 7 (July 1910), p. 52. Here the author also talks about the merit of Hold utca evenings as having a profound impact on many home mission societies.

²⁸ Hall, p. 51.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 50. See also: Gyula Forgács, 'A Skót Misszió új épületének felavatása', *ÉM*, 2 (1910b), pp. 65-66.

³⁰ McDougall, p. 122.

³¹ Gyula Forgács, 'A Budapesti Skót Misszió ünnepi hete 1910. Szept. 4-11.', *PEIL*, 53. 38 (8 September 1910), pp. 595-7. See also: Gyula Forgács, 'A Budapesti Skót Misszió ünnepi hete 1910. Szept. 4-11 (Folytatás)', *PEIL*, 53. 39 (25 September 1910), pp. 610-11.

increased the appeal of the school.³² Enrolment rose to 412 by 1910,³³ with Jewish pupils representing 58 percent of the total in contrast to the average of 40 percent in previous decades.

The *Vörösmarty utca* school with its modern educational facilities was a great challenge to the Jewish community.³⁴ Although the opposition campaign continued, the school board was clearly less concerned at its possible effect, and expressed its confidence that 'as the enrolment shows, there was no consequence of the exerted agitation'.³⁵ It seems, however, that the general improvement of educational standards in the Mission school may not have been reflected in the provision of Jewish religious education. Margit Prém, the headmistress of the Girls School commented that the 'Israelite religious education [at the Mission School] is not carried out with proper exactitude and the teaching is often done by substitutes who have no letters of procuration'.³⁶ In contrast to earlier situations, it was now the school board that appealed to the Jewish community leadership for well-qualified teachers of religion.³⁷

During the last period of the Mission under study, the tug of war went on between the two communities, which characterized their relationship from the beginning. In the early 1900s, the Jewish leaders seriously challenged the school, which resulted in the closure of the Boys' Department. However, they never managed to undermine the operation of the school so much that it would have ceased to function since the 'ecclesiastical' control over their people was not effective. Also the full Magyarisation of the school by 1910 eliminated the possibility of further charges of Magyarisation. The Mission successfully capitalised on the fact that there were less schools for girls and the migration of Jews to the capital

³² NLS Dep. 298.258, fol. 98 entry 72. Minutes of 23 December 1902. Miss Knipping retired; RCJ of 1905, Appendix III, p. 5. Müller stopped teaching in 1905 as she is not listed in the following year's report; See: 'Report on the Conversion of the Jews to the General Assembly 1910, Appendix III', in *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the United Free Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May, 1911* (Edinburgh: T. & A. Constable, 1911), pp. 50-80; (Budapest 58-61), p. 57. Here, there is a list of the teachers: Misses M. Prém, Kristály, Benke, Nemes, Hasenauer, Mandula, Rau, Reidner, Roda, Mrs Buss, Misses Mansell, Bruce, Lueff and Mlle Jequier. There were only two male teachers Messrs John Victor and August Victor.

³³ RCJ of 1911, Report on the Conversion of the Jews Appendix VIII., 2 Tabular view of Schools in 1910, p. 76. See also: RCJ of 1911, Appendix III, p. 6.

³⁴ J. T. Webster, 'Jewish Opposition in Budapest', *MRUFCofS*, 13. 140 (August 1912), p. 363.

³⁵ Budapest Fővárosi Levéltár (BFL onwards), *Skót Misszió Iskolagyűlési Jegyzőkönyvek 1909-1933* VIII.256.a.4., Minutes of 7 September 1911. The minutes read: 'a warning of the Jewish community was read which was circulated among the Jewish children attending the Mission School during the summer past with a view to exert an official pressure on parents sending their children to our school. The managing board of the school took cognisance of it, but did not find it necessary to act upon it because as the enrolment shows there has been no effect of the Jewish agitation'.

³⁶ BFL, *Skót Misszió Iskolagyűlési Jegyzőkönyvek 1909-1933* VIII.256. a. 4., Iskolagyűlési Jegyzőkönyvek 1909-1933, Minutes of 23 January 1914. The minutes inform of János Victor's retirement from the school.

provided enough Jewish pupils to enrol at the Mission School and the new educational developments again attracted them. Finally, throughout the many decades of the Scottish Mission, generations grew up who gladly sent their children back to the school.

4. The bursars, the Hungarian Reformed Church and Magyarization

The fourth challenge presented to the Mission was that of the Hungarian Reformed bursars. This was different to the three challenges discussed above as it was a challenge from inside. The Hungarian bursars had always pointed out the slowness of the School to adapt to the host culture. By 1910 the Mission became fully Magyarised.³⁸ The appreciation of the Mission becoming Magyar is best expressed by Forgács writing at the time that the Vörösmarty utca school was opened:

If we look to the past and reflect on the fact that some decades ago this Mission conducted its religious events, Sunday schools and evangelistic meetings in a language that was odious to the Hungarian ear and heart, we are flabbergasted to see that the Hungarian evangelical endeavours were initiated by this German-speaking example. It is sure that had the Mission used the Hungarian language from its outset, it would have been far more advanced.³⁹

Forgács's view clearly indicates how the Hungarians regarded the Mission. He, like Aladár Szabó and other bursars, had a strong sense of patriotism.⁴⁰ They were all of the view that the Mission should Magyarize if it was to reach out to the Hungarians and revive the church. The participation of Hungarian bursars in the Mission from 1882 onwards was a major shift towards Magyarization.⁴¹ They connected the Mission with the Hungarian Reformed Church mostly through the home mission bodies and became forerunners of many organisations. According to István Hamar, the key event in the Magyarisation of the Mission came in 1906 with the 'organisation of a position for a Hungarian minister' and the employment of Gyula Forgács as an Assistant Missionary.⁴² Forgács was the first bursar to work with the Mission

³⁷ This stands in sharp contrast to the issues of the 1880s when the missionaries did not consider the grade given by the religious educator sent from the Jewish community.

³⁸ Chapter 5. Section II. 3.5. The impact of the Bursars on the Mission School. See Balogh's comments.

³⁹ Gyula Forgács, 'A Budapesti Skót Misszió ünnepi hete 1910. szept. 4-11 (Folytatás)', *PEIL*, 53. 39 (1910), 610-11 (p. 610).

⁴⁰ Chapter 8. 1. Nationalism and mission. Cf. Chapter 5 I. 3.2. Opposition to the Mission School in Hungarian Jewish newspapers. This patriotism was different to the Jews. The Jews were often accused of not being good enough Hungarians and they often had to justify and prove themselves to be Hungarian due to the accusations. In contrast to this, the Reformed being ethnically almost entirely Hungarian were naturally bearers of the banner of patriotism.

⁴¹ See: Chapter 5. Section. 5.2. Hungarians in Evangelisation: second breakthrough of the Scottish Mission.

⁴² H. I. (Hamar, István), 'Az egyesült skót szabad egyház zsidómissziója', *PEIL*, 49. 41 (7 October 1906), pp. 648-9.

for more than two years, assisting Webster between 1906-1910.⁴³ From this time onwards the bursars began to play a more prominent role in the life of the Mission.

The credit for pressing ahead with the policy of Magyarization goes to Andrew Moody and James T. Webster. Upon the retirement of Moody,⁴⁴ Gyula Forgács, the former bursar declared, 'it was to his merit that the Scottish Mission became Hungarian'.⁴⁵ Moody was undoubtedly the first to encourage Magyarization. He lobbied for more scholarship places in the 1880s, employed the first bursars at the school, and even learned Hungarian in the 1870s. This contrasted with Koenig who remained essentially Germanic in orientation throughout his long missionary service in Pest. Moody's policy was continued and enhanced by J. T. Webster who acquired better Hungarian than his predecessor Moody and was able to write sermons in the Hungarian language that he later published under the title of *Evangéliumi Beszédék* [Evangelical Sermons].⁴⁶ István Csűrös, a prominent leader of the YMCA, praised Webster's work as well as Andrew Moody's *Szeresd az igazságot* (Love the Truth) as rare examples of foreigners learning the Hungarian language.⁴⁷ The full adaptation of the Mission to Hungarian soil is best illustrated by the launch of a monthly paper, *Élet és Munka* (Life and Work) in the Hungarian language, edited by Webster.⁴⁸ Thus, acquiring the language, preaching and publishing in Hungarian marked a decided change in the character of the Mission, and facilitated a closer relationship between the Mission and the Hungarian Reformed Church.

Less is known of the degree to which J. A. Campbell, the new Scottish missionary who arrived in Pest from Glasgow in 1910, contributed to the Magyarisation process.⁴⁹ He came to help Webster, and take responsibility for the evangelistic work while Webster looked after the school, the boarding school and the colportage.⁵⁰ Campbell and Webster

⁴³ Forgács lists a number of students who were then assistant missionaries after he left. See: Gyula Forgács, 'A száz éves Skót Misszió', in *És Lőn Világosság Ravasz László hatvanadik életéve és a dunamelléki püspökségének huszonadik évfordulója* alkalmából (Budapest: Klny, 1941), pp. 412-429.

⁴⁴ RCJ of 1905, Appendix VIII, p. 5.

⁴⁵ Gyula Forgács, *A belmisszió és cura pastorális kézikönyve*, Református Egyházi Könyvtár, 14 (Pápa: Református Főiskolai Könyvnyomda, 1925), p. 256.

⁴⁶ Gyula Forgács, 'Könyvismertetés. Evangéliumi beszédék', *ÉM*, 4. 1 (January 1912), p. 4.

⁴⁷ István Csűrös, 'Utóhang', *ÉM*, 4. 3 (March 1912), p. 20.

⁴⁸ László Ötvös, *Balogh Ferenc életműve (1836-1913)*, (Debrecen: Karcagi Nyomda, 1997), p. 206.

⁴⁹ NLS Dep. 298.259, fols 83-4. entry 273. Minutes of 28 March 1911.

⁵⁰ Hall, p. 42. cf. 'Hírek. Forgács Gyula', *ÉM*, 2. 4 (April 1910), p. 30. Here it is stated that Forgács was invited to Pécel. RCJ of 1911, Appendix III, p. 65. Campbell musical talents seemed to be very beneficial for the Mission's evangelistic profile as reports state.

worked with the former bursars, who assisted them in all areas of evangelisation, Sunday school work, and teaching in the school.⁵¹

5. The Agreement between the Scottish and the Hungarian Church

An official 'agreement' was made in 1909 between the United Free Church of Scotland's (UFCS) Jewish Mission Committee⁵² and the Budapest Reformed Church concerning the governing of the Mission School.⁵³ While the archival sources give no information about the genesis of this agreement, it seems probable that the planned building of the new *Vörösmarty utca* complex of the Mission prompted both parties to review the legal relationship since the Scottish Mission School, though run by the missionaries and entirely financed by the Edinburgh Jewish Committee, formally belonged to the Budapest Reformed Church. The latter appointed some of its elders to the School Board of Directors, which also included the headmasters of the Scottish Mission School and the missionaries.

Most of the delegated representatives of the Reformed Church were connected to, or familiar with the Mission's work. These persons included Elek Petri, the head minister of Kálvin tér church, and his former colleague, Farkas Szóts, professor at the Seminary. They were both great supporters of the Sunday school movement from the 1880s and had cordial ties with the Mission. Other members of the School Board were István Hamar and Lajos Komáromy⁵⁴ both bursars and finally Károly Kiss, a lawyer of the church province. After Komáromy retired another bursar, István Pap Bilkei, a professor at the Seminary was elected as a delegate.⁵⁵ The board was to supervise the work of the school as required by Hungarian law. One of its duties was to decide the salaries of the teachers upon the recommendation of the Mission. Owing to the legal requirements such issues had to be approved by the higher ecclesiastical power, the Transdanubian Church Province.⁵⁶ Although there was a more visible presence of the ecclesiastical framework over the Scottish Mission, in practice the missionaries had a free hand in the matters of running the enterprise. A good co-operation

⁵¹ NLS Dep. 298.259, fol 16. entry 43. Minutes of 27 September 1904.

⁵² J. H. S. Burleigh, *A Church History of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Hope Trust, 1983), p. 367. In October 1900, the Free Church of Scotland and the United Presbyterian Church merged forming the United Free Church of Scotland.

⁵³ BFL, *Iskolagyűlési Jegyzőkönyvek 1909-1933 VIII. 256. a.4.* Minutes of 12 November 1909.

⁵⁴ Komáromy was a teacher at the Secondary school of the Reformed Church between 1869-73, then taught at the Budapest Teacher Training College from 1879 onwards. See: József Farkas, *A Pesti Református Egyház 101 éves története* (Kecskemét: Tóth László nyomdája, 1898), p.283.

⁵⁵ BFL, *Iskolagyűlési Jegyzőkönyvek 1909-1933 VIII.256.a.4.*, Minutes of 6 May 1913.

⁵⁶ Ráday Könyvtár, Dunamelléki Református Egyházkerület Jegyzőkönyvei 1912, entry 232, pp. 318-9.

was maintained between the two churches.⁵⁷ When the United Free Church withdrew James Webster due to the outbreak of the First World War, the Hungarian Reformed Church offered strong administrative and moral support to the Mission.⁵⁸

The 1909 Agreement marked the renewal of the incorporation of the Scottish School into the Hungarian Reformed Church, and its recognition as the 'Hungarian' School of Budapest Church. Since the school constituted the most systematic form of missionary outreach to the Jews, the Agreement can be said to mark an important achievement for the Mission: namely, to have its commitment to Jewish evangelism confirmed by the Budapest Reformed Church as part of its – i.e. the Church's – missionary priority. Admittedly it was the Scottish missionaries that gave the task of Jewish evangelism the most active attention, but the 1909 Agreement makes clear that they were fully supported in this by the Budapest Reformed Church and by some of the bursars through the responsibilities they exercised in the school.

II. The Work of the Scottish Mission through its Other Means

1. Maintaining the alliance at Hold utca with but changing responsibilities

Though the Mission and the German-speaking Affiliated Church had officially separated in 1888, the missionaries, the school staff, the colporteurs and the Jewish converts all attended the church that continued to have close ties with the Mission School. The Mission continued to hold its own services in English in the building of the Affiliated Church, with an average attendance of between 40-50 persons, including the English-speaking residents of Budapest.⁵⁹ While the Mission became slowly Magyar during the first decade of the century, though maintaining its English sermons, the congregation remained Germanic in character. Since the revivalist people from the Mission, the German congregation, and those from the

⁵⁷ Jenő Sebestyén, 'Budapest és a skót misszió', *PEIL*, 56. 20 (18 May 1913), p. 308. Sebestyén acknowledges the cordial relationship between the Budapest Church and the Mission in this article but, for the sake of making an appeal to the Scots to financially support a proposed establishment of an 'urban mission' minister, he emphasized that the Mission's move to Vörösmarty utca had made its mission isolated. In his opinion it was due to the fact that the district was not populated by Reformed people and geographically it was difficult to approach. Apparently enough, Sebestyén was oblivious to the Jewish mission purpose of the mission since it was the 'Jewish' district. Later Sebestyén, who was a teacher of religion at that time, was appointed as professor of Systematic Theology in 1918 in Budapest.

⁵⁸ BFL, *Iskolagyűlési Jegyzőkönyvek 1909-1933* VIII.256.a.4., Minutes of 6 November 1914. The minutes wrote that the board of the school took on the responsibility for governing it together with the two directors. Dr. Károly Kiss was approached to manage the finances. The boarding school together with its separate finances from that of the school was entrusted on the director, Margit Prém.

⁵⁹ RCJ of 1903, Appendix VIII, p. 6. Cf. James A. Campbell, 'Impressions of Work in Budapest', *MRUFCoFS*, 13. 137 (May 1912), 213-14. (p. 214).

Seminary were mostly bilingual, they were able to attend each other's services and maintain the awareness of home mission through revivalism. Their number was small but enough to function as a yeast both in the 'Gentile and the Jewish' communities.

The two traditional means of Scottish missionary work beside the school, the medical mission and colportage, had undergone some changes. The organisational separation of the Mission and the German-speaking congregation left the Bethesda hospital entirely in the hands of the presbytery of the Affiliated Church.⁶⁰ Throughout the 1890s the hospital tried to adapt itself as a Hungarian home mission organisation. The only link with the Mission was the work of the ageing Jewish doctor, Lippner, who was supported by the Free Church as an 'unordained medical missionary' and later as an evangelist.⁶¹ His reports almost entirely ceased to appear in the missionary reports from Pest. Although the Mission had given enthusiastic reports about the Bethesda in the former decades, the Edinburgh Jewish Committee had never regarded it being as important as the school, or the bursary programme. They supported the enterprise because of their missionary, Koenig was instrumental in its establishment and its maintenance. However, their gradual withdrawal clearly indicates that the whole enterprise depended on Koenig rather than the Jewish Committee.

The other tool of mission, the supervision of the NBSS colportage and the business of running the Tract Society traditionally rested on the shoulders of the Scottish missionaries. The supervision of the Tract Society had passed to Gladischefsky after Koenig's retirement.⁶² He moved the administrative centre of operations to *Alkotmány utca* (Constitution Street) for some ten years. The work was then taken over by Richard Biberauer as the official representative of the London Tract Society (LTS), and he in turn was followed by J. T. Webster.⁶³ The other organisation doing colportage work, the NBSS remained in the hands of the missionaries.⁶⁴ Thus, apart from the short period of the LTS

⁶⁰ Chapter 5. 2.2. Home Mission: the Bethesda Hospital. We are to deal with the Bethesda in relation to the foundation of Philadelphia Diaconal Association in a separate section because of its importance in the indigenisation of medical home mission.

⁶¹ NLS Dep. 298.259, fol. 2. entry 124. Minutes of 26 April 1904. Lippner was still an Unordained Medical Missionary of the Scottish Mission in 1903, but from the minutes it becomes clear that his role changed since he received a note that 'his services as a Medical Missionary will not be required after July [1904] but he will receive 50 pounds a year for three years, subject to the condition that he does evangelistic work under Mr Webster's direction'.

⁶² 'Annual Report of the National Bible Society of Scotland for the Year 1906', National Bible Society of Scotland Annual Reports 1900-1912, ed. by, 10 vols (Edinburgh: Lorimer & Chalmers, 1907), III, pp. 23-4. Webster took over the supervision of colportage from Moody in 1905.

⁶³ NLS Dep. 298.258, fols. 41-42, Minutes of 25 June 1901; Cf. J. T. Webster, 'A skót misszió történetéből', *ÉM*, 3. 11 (November 1911), p. 82.

⁶⁴ Chapter 5. Section. I. 2.3. Home mission through colportage.

management, the work of NBSS and LTS in Hungary was always under the auspices of the Scottish missionaries.⁶⁵

Upon Andrew Moody's retirement, Webster was entrusted to superintend both agencies.⁶⁶ Besides the colporteurs, the former bursars employed as Assistant Missionaries participated together with the staff of the school and the missionaries in the dissemination of Evangelical literature.⁶⁷ They travelled to the countryside or even abroad to Romania, Serbia, and Russia giving testimony about Christ and distributing tracts.⁶⁸ There is a record that Forgács, as an assistant missionary worked as a colporteur.⁶⁹ Aladár Szabó also travelled to the north and east of Hungary in summer together with colporteur Achs in 1911 to evangelise.⁷⁰ Webster himself participated in many trips.⁷¹ When compared to the similar initiatives of Moody in 1870s one may observe that Webster, just like Moody, tried to do it on a regular basis. These itinerant tours attempted to excite interest in the work of the Mission with the hope of conversions from both the Jewish and Gentile communities.

2. Mission activities and new initiatives at the Scottish Mission

The Scots regarded the work of their own YWCA and the Sunday school groups as a 'means to take up the work done in the school'.⁷² The Mission' Sunday schools were held in the Mission' building and in Újpest, the new extending part of Pest. The staff consisted of eighteen teachers and the roll of pupils numbered 200. The aim of the work was expressed as follows: 'this is a strenuous attempt to conserve the work already accomplished in the day school; the text-book is invariably the New Testament'.⁷³ No doubt the different activities of the Mission were seen holistically, in a sense that home and foreign mission were regarded

⁶⁵ J. T. Webster, 'A skót misszió történetéből', *ÉM*, 4. 2 (February 1912), p. 12

⁶⁶ Webster J. T., 'Our Jewish Mission. Christian Literature', *MRUFCoFS*, 8. 76 (April 1900), 173.

⁶⁷ There were 16 colporteurs beside Achs who were directly employed by the Mission in 1903. RCJ of 1903, Appendix, p. 7. Each colporteur seems to have had a base from where they conducted their work. A rare list of colporteurs from 1911 is highly illuminating as to which geographical areas were covered. Bokosin Nagybecskerek, Csorba Munkács. Goger Felsőlövő, Gyenge Kossuthfalva, Hevessy Nagyszalonta, Kántor, Neszmély, Kinkel Mucsfa, Lellek Besztercebánya, Mányó Záhony, Mányó Debrecen, Pavkov Nagybecskerek, Róth Mezőberény, Szabó Miskolc, Varga Biharszeg. See 'Hírek. Bibliaterjesztés', *ÉM*, 3. 12 (December 1911), p. 94. Cf. 'Hírek. Bibliaterjesztés', *ÉM*, 4. 12 (December 1912), p. 92.

⁶⁸ Hall, p. 52.

⁶⁹ 'Report on the Conversion of the Jews to the General Assembly 1907, Appendix VIII', in *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the United Free Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May, 1908* (Edinburgh: T. & A. Constable, 1908), p. 6.

⁷⁰ 'Hírek. Missziói körút', *ÉM*, 3. 8 (August 1911), p. 63. See also: RCJ of 1912, Appendix III, p. 66.

⁷¹ Webster J. T., 'Our Jewish Mission. Budapest Mission', *MRUFCoFS*, 8. 76 (April 1900), p. 173. Cf. 'Annual Report of the National Bible Society of Scotland for the Year 1906', National Bible Society of Scotland Annual Reports 1900-1912, ed. by, 10 vols (Edinburgh: Lorimer & Chalmers, 1907), III, pp. 23-4. His first trip was to Serbia and Croatia.

⁷² Hall, p. 43.

as inseparable entities. This is substantiated by the fact that the pupils attending the Sunday school of the Mission supported an orphan boy in India with their collections and members of the YMCA always invited people to the aforementioned evangelistic meetings.⁷⁴

A YWCA within the Mission continued to be organised from the girls of the Mission School by Mrs Webster, Miss Burgess and Miss Rau.⁷⁵ The meetings took the form of a sewing class that was held in Miss Rau's house. On these occasions Christian teaching was imparted and missionary ideals set before the members. From these meetings some members drafted a 'Ladies' Missionary Association and Work Party' in 1905. It had forty-seven members, half of them being Jews.⁷⁶ This association began to launch various forms of evangelistic endeavours maintaining, like the Sunday school movement, a holistic view of mission. Concerning home mission, their social outreach programme provided 'free coffee' to the poor and distributed clothes to people at Christmas. They also donated money for the 'Girls' Home' betraying a sense of mission to the Jews. Foreign mission was equally in their focus since they collected money for missionaries of the Hungarian Evangelical Foreign Missionary Society (MEKMSz).⁷⁷ Also a native catechist was supported in Santo, New Hebrides, who was under the Rev. Fred. G. Bowie.⁷⁸ Their work was so popular that by 1906 a new branch was founded in Újpest and the membership rose to almost seventy under the guidance of Mrs Prém.⁷⁹

The Scots were always creative in finding out new forms of mission. Such was the endeavour of founding a church in one of the Buda hills, the Schwabenberg.⁸⁰ Moody, who was about to retire in 1904, usually spent his summer holiday there. He organised a church

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ RCJ of 1904, Appendix VIII, p. 8. See also RCJ of 1908, Appendix VIII, p. 6. The seven Sunday schools at the Hold utca congregation also collected money.

⁷⁵ RCJ of 1905, Appendix VIII A, p. 7. It is a habit of the revivalist to establish new associations within the already existing ones. The YWCA of the Mission set up a Ladies Working Party to collect money for the poor for distributing it during the Christmas season. Cf. Chapter 5. Section. 2.6. New fruits of home mission: Children's Home, and YWCA.

⁷⁶ 'Our Mission at Budapest', *MRUFCofS*, 7. 61 (January 1900), 30-1. (p. 30).

⁷⁷ RCJ of 1906, Appendix VIII. A, p. 7. Forgács, *A belmisszió*, p. 274. MEKMSz in Hungarian was Magyar Evangéliumi Keresztyén Missziói Szövetség, earlier Magyar Külmissziói szövetség.

⁷⁸ Anne-Marie Kool, *God Moves in a Mysterious Way: the Hungarian Protestant Foreign Mission Movement 1756-1951* (Zoetermeer: Uitgeverij Boekencentrum B.V., 1993), pp. 219-21. They also gave money for foreign mission supporting Géza Simon of Munkács at Basle Missionary Institution and Gyula Dabi of Nagybecskerek at Liebenzell, Württemberg training for the China Inland Mission. See: RCJ of 1903, Appendix, VIII A, p. 6. Cf. Hall, p. 44.

⁷⁹ 'Report on the Conversion of the Jews to the General Assembly 1906, Appendix VIII', in *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the United Free Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May, 1907* (Edinburgh: T. & A. Constable, 1907), p. 6. They raised £83 in comparison with the former year of £80. In 1911 the collected sum was over £100 despite of the fact that many donated to the new school building. See: RCJ of 1911, Appendix, VIII A, p. 8. This report indicates that the collection was again above £100.

⁸⁰ Andrew Moody, 'Budapest', *FCofSM* (1 September 1899), p. 206.

there with the help of several young preachers and students. Eventually, the Evangelical influence of the Scottish missionary led to the foundation of a Reformed Church in Buda, which was the third church established with Scottish assistance.⁸¹ This new initiative contributed to the growth of the Reformed Church in expanding Budapest and served the need of a local Buda community. A not negligible fact about which unfortunately there is little information, is that wealthy Jews, including a certain ‘Mr. Szt., one of the heads of department in the Ministry of Commerce, the son of a former New Pest Rabbi, [who was] a member of the Reformed Church’, cooperated with Moody’s initiative.⁸²

Another new means of evangelisation was brought into being, the publication of a Hungarian Weekly paper, *Élet és Munka* in 1909. Its significance cannot be underestimated since it was the Mission’s first periodical in Hungary, and printed in the Hungarian language reflecting a successful adaptation to Hungarian culture. Its twofold aim was, according to Webster ‘to make ourselves as a mission better known in the country, and to create an interest in mission in general’.⁸³ To accomplish this end, the Mission issued 14,000 copies annually providing articles on missions, religion, items of missionary news, and biographies of missionaries for ministers and laymen alike.⁸⁴

Apart from the aforementioned mission works (YWCA, Sunday School, the establishment of a Reformed Church, the foundation of a periodical) where mission to the Jews and Gentiles as well as home and foreign mission consciousness had shown a careful balance, new and specific means of Jewish mission were created. Such was the ‘Hebrew Hour’, where participants read the passages from the Bible and translated them into German or Hungarian.⁸⁵ This outreach does not seem to have been an effective form of evangelisation as there is not one record of anybody thus becoming a convert. Another similar initiative was the opening of a new ‘Reading Room’. The missionaries observed that Jewish students were in a desperate situation to find even to find a bed in the capital. Hall gave a terse description of it: ‘in winter, however with the thermometer well below zero, his [the Jew] condition is a pitiful one, unless perchance a friendly head-waiter in some coffee-

⁸¹ RCJ of 1903, Appendix VIII, p. 6. The first was Bauhofer’s Lutheran Church in Buda to which the Scots significantly contributed, the second was the German-speaking Reformed congregation, and the third was the above mentioned one.

⁸² RCJ of 1900, Appendix IX, p. 6.

⁸³ RCJ of 1910, Appendix VIII, p. 10.

⁸⁴ Hall, p. 48.

⁸⁵ József Farkas, *A Pesti Református Egyház 101 éves története* (Kecskemét: A Budapesti Evangéliumi Reformált Egyház, 1898), p. 357. See also: RCJ of 1893 Appendix IX, p. 6.

house give him permission to sit on until he can steal away to his bed'.⁸⁶ This realisation led to the establishment of the Reading Room, where Christian literature was provided, starting in late 1902. Webster reported that during the course of six and a half months more than 1200 Jews visited it. He further added: 'when we get this work properly established, we shall find it our most successful agency in drawing Jews in the city'.⁸⁷ To capitalize on the unprecedented response of the Jewry, he pleaded to the Edinburgh Committee for 'an efficient Hebrew Christian evangelist'.⁸⁸ This initiative provoked the same old kinds of criticism from the Pest Jewish community because the Mission had a similarly high rates of converts like during the 'Pentecostal times' of the 1840s.⁸⁹

3. The 'efficiency' of the Jewish missionary enterprise

Jewish mission came under severe criticism in the early 1900s within the United Free Church. The charges were that the energy, time and money invested in Jewish mission did not produce numerical success. The Edinburgh Committee was determined to refute such accusations. Hall's apologetic remark throws light on the innate need of people involved in mission to the Jews to offer an explanation for the situation. He wrote: 'Instead of the ill-informed cavil that so meagre a success attends the effort to give Christ to the Jew, the marvel is that so much has been accomplished on the merest border of the field. The eyes of the Church should be turned without delay to the claims and [the] needs and possibilities in respect of Mission work amongst the Jews in Eastern and South-eastern Europe'.⁹⁰

To refute the charges, Hall writing in 1914 stated that 'the actual baptisms during the last ten years are sixty'.⁹¹ He did not fail to highlight that the 'majority of these have been people of position, and education and culture'.⁹² There was a social factor behind the

⁸⁶ Hall, p. 45.

⁸⁷ RCJ of 1903, Appendix VIII, p.6.

⁸⁸ RCJ of 1903, Appendix VIII, p. 6.

⁸⁹ McDougall, pp. 125-6. See also RCJ of 1917, Appendix IV, p. 8.

⁹⁰ Hall, p. 5

⁹¹ He must have referred to the data of 1903 and 1913 gained from the Report for the conversion of the Jews. To compare his information with the data gained from the primary sources between 1903 and 1913, the number of Jewish converts was minimum 67. This figure does not include those who had been converted and baptised as the result of colportage. Nor those Jews baptised elsewhere counted among the Budapest Scottish Mission converts. The number of eighty converts is based on the RCJ from 1903 till 1913. The repartition is as follows. 1903 (2), 1904 (9), 1905 (3 not certain), 1906 (16), 1907 (8 not certain), 1908 (8), 1909 (2 not certain), 1910 (15), 1911 (6), 1912 (7), 1913 (4). The numbers are 67 on the minimalist approach. All together is 67, which is the minimalist approach. Interestingly enough, during the First World War conversion was not reported but it could well be due to the fact that the missionaries themselves were not on the spot. There were no converts mentioned either in 1914 or in 1915. The report for 1916 is missing. Again there is nothing in the reports of 1917 and 1918. Secondly, 'another 'testimony' for the Scots was the fact that 'ninety-nine cases of conversion were known to have taken place in that year [1913] due to colportage.

⁹² Hall, p. 48.

conversion of the middle classes. Jewish conversion became a phenomenon in Hungarian society. McCagg observed that it was 'careerism' which gave rise to conversions until 1914.⁹³ The liberal minded Jews tried to assimilate more to Hungarian society and in this context the Mission was only one of the places where they converted to Christianity. One of course, may suppose that the converts at the Mission were 'faith converts' that their conversion should not be regarded as a socially motivated decision. However, conversion either motivated by careerism, or faith decision fostered fuller assimilation, which was a desire for some Jews. The fact that Jews often suppressed their Jewish background is reflected in the missionaries' observation, similar to that of the 1860s, that the Jews were willing to 'merge quietly' with a Christian church rather than forming a Hebrew Christian congregation.⁹⁴

A further argument for the effectiveness of the Mission work was that 'the first Hungarian to be set apart for missionary service and proceeding to German East Africa' was the son of one of the Mission's colporteurs, Roth from Mezőberény.⁹⁵ Henrik Roth, a former pupil of the Mission school, was influenced by the literature that his father circulated.⁹⁶ For Webster, his commitment to foreign mission 'marked an advance of late in the direction of Mission work - both home and foreign - on the part of the Hungarian Protestant Church'.⁹⁷ His claim of Roth being the first Hungarian overseas missionary is right in the sense that Roth was the first missionary of the MAHEM.⁹⁸ However, this ignores the fact that Irene Kunst had been working in China from 1904 with the Liebenzell Mission and was therefore the first overseas missionary of modern Hungary.⁹⁹ She attended the evangelistic meetings

⁹³ William McCagg Jr, 'Jewish Conversion in Hungary' in *Jewish Apostasy in the Modern World*, ed. by Todd Endelmann (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1987), 142-164. (pp. 156-7).

⁹⁴ Rudolph Koenig, 'Work among the Jews at Pesth. Letter from Rev. Mr. Koenig', *New Series, Free Church of Scotland Monthly Record*, 2. 22 (2 May 1864), 512-4 (p. 513). Koenig remarked 'In addition to this, we secure a fuller attendance of Jews, it being a fact that they mix more readily with an established Christian congregation than they would join a service specially set apart for themselves'. Cf. Hall, p. 49.

⁹⁵ 'Új magyar misszionárius', *ÉM*, 3. 6 (June 1911), p. 47. Cf. Hall, p. 47. Roth's farewell speech was intimated in an article 'Von Unserem Missionfeste', *Missziói Lapok*, 14. 1. (1912), p. 12. Henrik Roth was a missionary of MAHEM. He was to go to Kilimandjaro in East Africa through the Leipzig Mission.

⁹⁶ James T. Webster, 'Reviving Life in Hungary', *MRUFCofS*, 4. 42 (June, 1904), 246-8. (p. 248). Cf. 'Annual Report of the National Bible Society of Scotland for the Year 1912', *National Bible Society of Scotland Annual Reports 1900-1912*, ed. by, 10 vols (Edinburgh: Lorimer & Chalmers, 1913), IV, 17-20 (p. 18).

⁹⁷ 'Report on the Conversion of the Jews to the General Assembly 1912, Appendix III', in *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the United Free Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May, 1913* (Edinburgh: T. & A. Constable, 1913), p. 56.

⁹⁸ Kool, p. 274. Two foreign mission organisations established in the first decade of the twentieth century, the MEKMSz and MAHEM (Hungarian Lutheran Mission Association).⁹⁸ The former was initiated by people belonging to the Reformed churches with openness to interdenominational cooperation, while the latter was established by members of the Lutheran Church who were more inclined towards their denominational stance.

⁹⁹ For a full discussion see Kool, pp. 236-39. Kool points out that Kunst was also a convert of the Mission in the early 1890s.

in Hold utca and was converted by Moody.¹⁰⁰ She actively participated in Gentile and Jewish mission through the work of the Mission's Sunday school as well as its YWCA work.¹⁰¹ Both Roth and Kunst were related in different ways to the Scottish Mission, or people influenced by the Scottish Mission. However, in both cases a Pietist influence can also be discerned since Szabó and the Hold utca had strong connections to German revivalism. This has been demonstrated by Kool with regard to Roth.¹⁰² Roth's case shows that the Scottish missionaries liked to take full credit for issues that were due only partly to their influence.

A more clear-cut example of the Mission's influence can be seen in the establishment of the first Hungarian foreign mission association, MEKMSz. John Hall claimed that Webster's first Jewish convert, Gyula Fleischer¹⁰³ became the founder of the Foreign Missions Association (MEKMSz).¹⁰⁴ The MEKMSz grew out of the Budapest Reformed YMCA through the work of Fleischer, the second secretary of the YMCA and Gyula Forgács.¹⁰⁵ This new foreign mission organisation was instrumental in sending Kunst and others to various mission training centres in Germany.¹⁰⁶ These testimonies provide evidence that the Scottish Mission had a crucial role in initiating foreign missionary enterprise besides the home mission organisations of the Reformed Church.

Both these pieces of evidence; the numerical growth of Jewish converts, and the monopolising claim of the 'first' Hungarian missionaries as 'theirs', accentuating the Jewish convert Fleischer's role in the MEKMSz, indicate the Scottish Mission was supportive of all aspects of evangelisation. The Mission together with the German-speaking Affiliated Reformed Church disseminated not only the missionary responsibility for the Gentiles but also for the Jews. The indigenisation of the 'Hold utca hub' initiated mission organisations (Sunday school, YMCA, YWCA and alike) were to serve the spiritual awakening not only of Pest but also the nationwide Reformed Church. The home mission organisations took firm

¹⁰⁰ Aladár Gáncs, *Krisztus első magyar női követője Kínában. Kunst Irén élete és munkája 1869-1934* (Budapest: [n. pub], 1931), pp. 40-48. RCJ of 1894, Appendix IX, p. 8. Here it is mentioned that she was one of the Sunday School teachers in Elisabeth Boulevard already in 1893/4.

¹⁰¹ Andrew Moody, 'Budapest', *FCofSM* (1 August 1899), p. 180. See also: RCJ of 1900, Appendix IX, p.5.

¹⁰² See: Kool, pp. 274-6. Ernő Bárdy, who was the minister of Mezőberény, where Roth came from, put him into contact with the Leipzig Mission.

¹⁰³ Kálvin téri Református Egyházközség Anyakönyvei (Birth Register of Kálvin square Reformed Church) 1898-1902 vol. 8., fol. 64. Fleischer was baptised on 6 March 1898. See also: Webster James T., 'Baptism at Budapest', *FCofSM* (2 May 1898), p. 111. Fleischer was also the second secretary of the YMCA in 1902.

¹⁰⁴ James T. Webster, 'Reviving Life in Hungary', *MRUFCS*, 4. 42 (June, 1904), 246-8. (p. 248). Webster reports that the treasurer of the MEKMSz, was also a converted Jew, the brother-in-law of one of the Mission School teachers. Cf. Kool, p. 197. n. 28. She lists Adolf Szabady, as the treasurer of the MEKMSz.

¹⁰⁵ Kool, p. 197. In Hungarian their name was BRIE abbreviating *Budapesti Református Ifjúsági Egyesület*.

¹⁰⁶ Forgács, *A belmisszió*, pp. 262, 274-5.

root in Hungary after a severe split in 1902/3, then spread all over the country trying to revive the life of the church, influencing its multifaceted missionary awareness.

III. Indigenisation of the Scot-implemented Home Mission

Organisations

1. Implementation, and local adaptation of missionary ideas through the Hold utca hub

The acceptance and implementation of home mission ideas into the Hungarian Reformed Church was mainly due to the initiatives of the Scottish Mission, the revivalists of the German-speaking Affiliated Reformed and students and professors from the Seminary. During the last two decades of the nineteenth century the Hungarian revivalists of the *Hold utca* hub came to be more active in the founding of local mission societies and organisations than those in Debrecen, or southern Hungary. The *Hold utca* fellowship can be likened to the hub of a wheel, the many spokes of which comprised the bursars, revivalists and others, who were committed to the spiritual renewal of the Hungarian Reformed Church as a whole. The Hold utca meetings challenged the strict nationalist barriers of mission concepts and were instrumental in encouraging people regardless of their denominational background to participate in various forms of home mission which had been expanding.¹⁰⁷ However, at the beginning of the century, internal tensions within the various home mission societies weakened the impact of the Hold utca meetings, which continued to be held until 1910 when the Mission moved to Vörösmarty utca. The conflicts and crises within the home mission organisations impeded the expansion of revivalism for a while but by the latter part of the decade the Pest originated mission societies spread across the country from the Hold utca hub creating a national network. The Scottish Mission encouraged this endeavour through people such as John Victor senior, who became the father of the national Sunday school movement, John Victor junior and József Pongrácz, each of whom promoted student mission, Gyula Fleischer and József Szalay who were active in the field of foreign mission, Lajos Csiky who led the way in developing the concept of mission in the local congregations, and Aladár Szabó who was an influence in many of these societies first as a

¹⁰⁷ Kool, p. 153.

student, later as a professor in the Pest Theological Seminary (1887-1905),¹⁰⁸ and finally as minister of Kálvin tér church.

2. The crisis in home mission: the split in the Lorántffy Association

Aladár Szabó originally came to prominence through his association with Moody. In the 1890s he was influential in promoting revivalist ideas through the Sunday school movement, YMCA and the YWCA, the latter often known as the Lórántffy Zsuzsanna Association. Together with Szabó, who exercised leadership of the Sunday school movement, Aladár Szilassy and his wife were the main figures in the YMCA and the YWCA respectively. These three originally worked as a team each committed to the revival of the Church, until an issue arose in 1903 that caused a split between the members of the Lorántffy Zsuzsanna Association, and affected all the Pest home mission societies.¹⁰⁹ The issue at stake was the underlying concern of the participants of home mission organisations as to whether it was only a philanthropic attempt of Reformed people to cure the social problems of society, or a committed Christian outreach to bring the gospel to people through practical realisation of Christian love. The conflict also touched on how conversion, as criteria for committed Christian outreach, was to be understood.

The dispute originated when Aladár Szabó expressed his discontent with the traditional form the ‘confirmation’. By tradition young people of a given Reformed community were admitted to church membership annually in the week before Pentecost, when they were required to make public confession of their faith according to the Second Helvetic Confession and the Heidelberg Catechism, the doctrinal bases of the Hungarian Reformed Church. Szabó regarded this as more of a formality than a true ‘decision of heart’. He argued that ‘there is no true confirmation unless a person experiences joy in becoming a follower of Jesus Christ, and endeavours to make disciples for him’.¹¹⁰ Accordingly, he decided to set up a group in which ‘souls are led by the Bible to rejoice joyfully in the truth of the Scripture and accept the obligation of leading others to the grace of God and to the fountain of the redeeming love of Jesus Christ’.¹¹¹ He began to push this revivalist concept

¹⁰⁸ During his seventeen years of teaching, he influenced such key persons such as Gyula Forgács, Richárd Biberauer junior, István Csűrös, and István J. Kováts to name a few. See also: Chapter 4. Section. 7.4. The Second Wave of the Revival: YMCA, Lorántffy Association, Bethania Orphanage and Blue Cross.

¹⁰⁹ Aladár Szabó, *Kegyelem által* (Gödöllő: A szerző kiadása, 1941), p. 31. It was 1881/2 when Farkas Szóts, a professor at Pest theological Seminary approached the young Szabó to superintend a new dormitory of the Seminary that he began the first Bible-study group eventually becoming involved with the Sunday School work of the Scottish Mission from 1882/3.

¹¹⁰ Szabó, *Kegyelem által*, p. 150.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

in the Buda affiliated association of the Lorántffy Zsuzsanna Association (LZsA) where Benő Haypál¹¹² was minister.

Szabó seems to have been indebted in this matter to an American revivalist group called “Christian Endeavour” that was established by a Boston minister, Francis Clark.¹¹³ Szabó’s wife, Irma Biberauer, (daughter of Theodor) had made contact with the German branch of Christian Endeavour in Wiesbaden in 1897.¹¹⁴ It was she who introduced Szabó to the method of requiring new church members, on confirmation, to ‘pledge to be a conscientious, diligent member of Christ and his church, not be ashamed of their faith, to read the Bible, pray and have the courage to take initiatives’.¹¹⁵ Szabó and his wife promoted this Pietist-Evangelical understanding of confirmation in the sense of conversion, and were deeply concerned about the spiritual growth of new members of the Church.

The Lorántffy Zsuzsanna Association through which they pressed their ideas proved unwilling to accept them. The 1903 annual report read, ‘people, who are familiar with the work and struggles of our association, know how much trouble was caused and is being caused [by the new initiatives] – our Protestant society, [...] often made objection to the exorbitant pietistic trend within our association’.¹¹⁶ Szabó was charged with ‘not [being] exempt from excess’, and the general assembly of the LZsA under the presidency of Mrs Aladár Szilassy ‘declared with overwhelming majority that it [i.e. the work of Szabó] is not desirable’ for the association.¹¹⁷ As a result, Szabó was ousted from the association in whose establishment he had taken a decisive role.¹¹⁸

One cannot help drawing a parallel with the events of 1857 to 1860 through which the German-speaking congregation came into being in 1863. The revivalists themselves were aware of this comparison. It is not by mere coincidence that Theodor Biberauer’s

¹¹² Jenő Zoványi., *Magyarországi Protestáns egyháztörténeti lexikon*, ed. by Ladányi, Sándor, 3 enlarged edn (Budapest: A Magyarországi Református Egyház Zsinati Irodájának Sajtóosztálya, 1977), p. 244. Haypál was member of the Bethany CE and a great supporter of home mission and Jewish mission. As for the latter see: ‘Miért is térítik a zsidót?’, *Egyenlőség*, 22. 9 (1 March 1903), pp. 5-6.

¹¹⁴ Béni Szikszai, *Ahogy én láttam. Ébredés története 1890-1974*, manuscript, 1974, fol. 30. According to Szikszai Mrs. Aladár Szabó started the first CE in 1900 among enthusiastic young people of the Sunday School.

¹¹⁵ Forgács, *A belmisszió*, p. 287. Quotation is translated by Anne-Marie Kool. See Kool, p. 200.

¹¹⁶ Bodoky, *A diakónia*, fol 2. ZsL. LZsA 18 fond. Bodoky cited Mrs Aladár Szilassy’s presidential report of Lorántffy Association of 1902, pp. 5-6. Cf. *Emlékkönyv a Lorántffy Zsuzsanna Egyesület huszonöt éves jubileumára* 17 (Budapest: Hornyánszky, 1917), p. 20.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Lorántffy, Mrs Aladár Szilassy’s presidential report of 1902, pp. 5-6. cited by Bodoky ZsL, LZsA 18 fond. Bodoky, *A diakónia*, fol 2.

¹¹⁸ Szabó, *Kegyelem által*, p. 121. The first persons who left were: Aladár Szabó, Mrs. A. Szabó, István Kecskeméthy and his wife, finally Mrs. Gyula Vargha [Polixenia Szász] who was the daughter of Bishop Szász.

explanation of the earlier event, which he interpreted in terms of conflict between liberals on the one hand and Evangelical-Pietists on the other, was written in 1902, the year when the LZsA affair was coming to ahead.¹¹⁹ In both cases divergent approaches to the revival of the Hungarian Reformed Church produced a strident clash that resulted in schism. Strangely enough, this crucial point has escaped the attention of everyone writing later about the split. Furthermore, historians have often failed to underline that the ‘liberals’ of the early 1900s should have been regarded as ‘moderate Evangelicals’ versus the ‘radical Evangelicalism’ of Szabó and the Biberauers. The Szilassys’s theological stance was probably much closer to Szabó than that of Ballagi in spite of the conflict.

Szabó himself leaves us with no written explanation of the core issue of the conflict. The historian of the Biberauer family, Richard Bodoky, interpreted it in terms of an antithesis between the idealistic rationalism of Mrs Aladár Szilassy and the evangelical-pietistic radicalism of Szabó.¹²⁰ A later prominent leader of the Bethany Association, Lajos Csia is more informative:

When Aladár Szabó founded the Lorántffy Zsuzsanna Association, testimony of one’s conversion¹²¹ was not yet a requirement of admission. Many socially prominent women, or, to say the least, women of worldly thinking, entered the association and gained a majority control. More serious minded members of the LZsA being more faithful to the Scripture began to form a filial association in Buda. [...] This group condemned dancing, and other worldly entertainments as being morally objectionable.¹²²

It was no wonder that this group of revivalists ran foul of the liberal opposition. Csia also retold in his memoir of the Bethany CE, that Evangelicals and Pietists of the same stripe joined from the Lorántffy Association and the YMCA. Most of these people attended the Hold utca evangelisations and longed for a ‘more serious [form] of Christianity’. They formed their own organisation in February 1903, which coincided with the ‘22nd birthday of the world alliance of Christian Endeavour. Béni Szikszai, also a later leader of CE explained the LZsA split in terms of the social and class difference within the association between the socially elite women and those of lower classes, who found it difficult to work together in

¹¹⁹ See: Chapter 3, section 1.3. The First Conflict between Pietism-Evangelicalism and Liberalism, pp. 18-9.

¹²⁰ ZsL, Lórántffy Zsuzsanna Egylet, 18 fond. It contains a manuscript: Richárd Bodoky, *A diakónia történetének rövid összefoglalása*, fol. 1-37 (fol.2.). See also: Bodoky Richárd, *Anyae gyházi diakónia az egyházban* (Budapest: [n. pub.], 1942), p. 208.

¹²¹ It was a tradition to give an account of one’s conversion when joining the CE. This method could not escape a tendency, when a fixed date of one’s conversion was becoming a condition of admittance to membership.

¹²² ZsL, A Bethánia Egylet iratai (1903-1943), 28a. fond/ 1 folder, fols. 1-39. (fol. 5).

the same association. With an implied irony, he caricatures the ladies of the Protestant elite as representing a 'drawing room Christianity'.¹²³

Each of these interpretations is true to a different aspect of the conflict. Fundamentally, the issue of the conduct of one's spiritual life was the most decisive line of division on which the motive of being involved in home mission was based. Radical Evangelicals rejected the 'broad church' attitude to mission, laying an emphasis on the conversion of the individual, who out of Christian compassion reached out to the people. Forgács, a contemporary recalling the events many years later, thought that the conflict was ultimately beneficial. He argued:

Concepts were clarified, the scope of work was regulated, the methods softened, and the work was carried out humbly and better prepared. In three to four years time everybody finds his or her place, and sphere of work and realises that all are also brethren, who work on different areas and with different methods serving the Lord.¹²⁴

The catharsis, in fact, enabled each society to crystallize its own concept of mission. Having lost his place in the LZsA, Szabó concentrated his effort in the Bethany that developed as its area of activity the Sunday schools, diaconal work, Blue Cross Mission, mission to the gypsies, to the servants, to the miners and the blind, and also to the Jews.¹²⁵ Not only did the Bethany become a very influential home mission organisation, but also many of its members 'played an active role in the early development of MEKMSz (Hungarian Foreign Mission Organisation). Among them were such persons as Árpád Lászlófalvi Eördögh, its chairman, Lajos Kovács, Gyula Forgács, Irma Pauer, and Edit Somogyi, and later especially baron Pál Podmaniczky, János Victor and Sándor Csia'.¹²⁶ The Bethany, under the leadership of Szabó, also attracted leaders of the YMCA such as István Csűrös, and others involved in student work, for example, Gyula Forgács. Aladár Szabó, his wife and the Biberauer family remained prominent figures in many other independent home mission organisations amongst which was the Philadelphia Association to which we shall now turn.

¹²³ Béni Szikszai, *Ahogy én láttam. Ébredés története 1890-1974*, manuscript, 1974, fol. 34. The expression 'drawing room Christianity' referred to the room of the house where high class people held their social meetings.

¹²⁴ Forgács, *A belmisszió*, p. 278.

¹²⁵ Aladár Szabó, *Ungarn und Die Evangelische Bewegung* (Budapest: Alexander Nagy, [n.d.]) p. 4-5. Interestingly enough, Szabó does mention the Jewish Mission but as a sphere of the Scottish Mission together with the 'Studenten Vereinigung', the MKDSZ. Nevertheless, Szabó listed them also amongst the home mission organisations, which worked with the aim 'to save souls for Christ'. cf. ZsL, A Bethánia Egylet iratai (1903-1943), 28a. fond. I folder, fols. 10-16.

¹²⁶ Kool, p. 202. Hungarian foreign mission is fully and brilliantly researched by Kool and our focus is home mission and its relation to the Scottish Mission.

3. Philadelphia and the Bethesda hospital

To understand the significance of the Philadelphia Association, it is necessary to review developments in the Bethesda Hospital in the late 19th century. Under the authority of the the Affiliated Church that, as we have seen, remained Germanic in orientation, difficulties arose as the need for Magyarization of the hospital made itself felt. In 1899 Richard Biberauer was appointed as the first Hungarian chaplain to the hospital. Three years later, in 1902 he succeeded Karl Gladischefsky as the director of the hospital board.

As a first step towards responding to the new cultural-linguistic climate of Budapest, he founded a “motherhouse” for training Hungarian deaconesses with the intention of ending Bethesda’s dependence on Kaiserwerth for the provision of deaconesses who were all German speaking. However, some of the German-speaking members of the Affiliated church opposed this change, and when this led to a split among the board members, Biberauer was forced to resign in March 1903.¹²⁷ Against the cultural tide, the Affiliated church presbytery tried to establish a German training house for deaconesses to staff Bethesda, with continuing assistance from Kaiserwerth. A new chief deaconess, Agnes von Ullgren, was sent from Germany to work with the three deaconesses and six probationary sisters who remained after Biberauer’s resignation.¹²⁸ This initiative failed, however, and with the withdrawal of Kaiserwerth in early 1904,¹²⁹ the hospital was reluctantly forced to employ secular nurses for the first time in its history. Apart from the above mentioned developments, the fact that the congregation was not able to finance the necessary refurbishment of the hospital also contributed to the change since it had weakened in numbers and strength during the previous decades.¹³⁰

Biberauer’s leaving the hospital coincided with his brother-in-law, Szabó’s separation from the Lorántffy Association. Both felt forced to leave their respective fields of mission. Biberauer intended to work in a congregation but due to Aladár Szabó’s persuasion, they created an association, named Philadelphia in May 1903.¹³¹ It was established with the

¹²⁷ Sándor Zsindely, *A hetvenöt éves Bethesda* (Budapest: Magyar Kórház, 1941), p. 17.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

¹²⁹ ZsL, Lórántffy Zsuzsanna Egylet, 18 fond, Bodoky, *A diakónia történetének rövid összefoglalása*, 1-37. (föls. 13, 29).

¹³⁰ Forgács, *A belmisszió*, pp. 224-5.

¹³¹ The list of participating members is of particular interest. Benő Haypál, Aladár Szabó, Richard Biberauer, Mrs. Biberauer, Mrs. Gyula Vargha, Lajos Kováts, Mrs. Gyula Radnótfáy, Mrs. Géza Antal, Theodor Biberauer, Piroska Fülöp, Irma Pauer. See: ZsL, Lórántffy Zsuzsanna Egylet, 18 fond, Bodoky, *A diakónia történetének rövid összefoglalása* fol. 1-37. (fol. 13). Bodoky also regarded Szabó as the inspiring person behind the diaconal work of Lorántffy from its beginning. fol. 12.

purpose of giving a legal and financial background to the proposed Hungarian deaconry work.

The marginalisation of Richard Biberauer lasted for a short period but this time was enough to establish the Philadelphia Association. Faced by the failure of their alternative strategy, the Bethesda board invited Biberauer to resume the leadership of Bethesda with twelve deaconesses whom he trained. From March 1904, therefore, the relationship between Bethesda and the Philadelphia Association was secured, and thereafter the executive members of the Philadelphia Association were all members of Bethany CE.¹³²

Parallel to these developments, the Lorántffy Association also took steps to found a Hungarian diaconal home in February 1904 with the assistance of the German deaconesses who did not return to Germany when Kaiserwerth withdrew its support for the hospital. Matild Müller, a retired member of the Scottish Mission staff, began to work for the Lorántffy Association and eventually became the director of the Diaconal Training Home.¹³³ János Victor senior and junior supported this initiative of the Lorántffy Association, and helped restore its sense of missionary outreach that was disseminated through its two publications, *Olájjág* (Olive Branch) and *Örömhír* (Good Tidings), complementing the Philadelphia Association's *Filadelfia Híradója* (Herald of Philadelphia).¹³⁴

The rivalry between moderate revivalist and radical Evangelical-Pietist groups within the home mission movement thus resulted in the creation of two homes for deaconess training in Budapest, each responding to the demand for indigenous and locally-trained staff for the hospital and other home mission organisations.

The Bethesda hospital continued to be faced, however, by financial problems after the withdrawal of Kaiserwerth. This led the German Affiliated Church to offer the hospital for sale in 1906.¹³⁵ An initial approach to the Budapest Reformed Church, where Szabó was now one of the ministers of the Kálvin tér congregation, proved unsuccessful.¹³⁶ But Szabó was willing and able to respond in his capacity both as president of the Bethany board and

¹³² ZsL, A Bethánia Egylet iratai (1903-1943), 28a. box/ 1 folder, fols. 1-39. 8. fol. 14.

¹³³ Edit Dessewffy, Titkári jelentés, Lorántffy Zsuzsanna Egyesület évkönyve az 1905-ik esztendőről (Budapest: Hornyánszky, 1906), p. 8.

¹³⁴ Forgács, *A belmisszió*, p. 293.

¹³⁵ Aladár Szabó, 'Nagy és nevezetes fordulat a diakonisszaügy terén', *PEIL*, 52. 4 (24 January 1909), 53-55 (p. 54). See also: Szabó, *Kegyelem által*, p. 54. This would have meant that the mother congregation had bought the hospital from its filial church, the German-Speaking Congregation.

¹³⁶ ZsL, Filadelfia Diakonissza Egylet iratai (1891-1961) II. Ügyintézési Iratok 18. doboz. Letters of Richard Biberauer, director and minister of Philadelphia and Bethesda. Aladár Szabó's letter to the minister of the Affiliated Church. On 8 December 1908. On the heading is 'A Budapesti Református Egyház Lelkészi

the Philadelphia Association.¹³⁷ Since the two associations, of which the Bethany was far larger, held their annual conferences together, a great opportunity was offered to start a national collection.¹³⁸ Szabó published an article in January 1909 in which he urged members of both associations to support a campaign to secure funds for the purchase of the hospital arguing that ‘it is a patriotic obligation to make the Hungarian Protestant [sic!] Church thrive’.¹³⁹ In 1909, the Philadelphia bought the Bethesda from the German-speaking Church.¹⁴⁰ The funds were obtained through a campaign that was remarkable in that it was the first occasion on which Hungarian revivalists successfully adapted the strategy of voluntarism as developed by Evangelicals and Pietists in the West. In accomplishing this, Szabó received great support from the former bursars who formed the backbone of leadership in different home mission organisations that grew up in Hungary at this time.

In was in this manner, therefore, that the Bethesda hospital that began as an Evangelical Pietist enterprise initiated by the Scottish Mission and the German congregation, adapted itself as a leading agency of the home mission activities of the Hungarian Reformed Church, under Hungarian ownership and leadership. The gradual withdrawal of the founding agencies, or more precisely of the visionaries, first with Koenig retiring from the board in 1891, then Theodor Biberauer in 1899, and the fact that the Affiliated congregation sold the hospital, clearly indicates that the medical mission was the main concern of a few fervent revivalists rather than that of the two former supporting agencies. Of course both the Mission and the Affiliated Church gladly supported the hospital until Koenig and Biberauer, through their contacts, raised the funds to run the hospital.

In this situation further challenges arose. By the turn of the century the congregation had grown weak numerically and financially. Also some of its members resisted the hospital becoming Magyar and worried about the finances. The latter precisely justified the earlier observations about the character of the German-speaking congregation that not all the members were revivalists and thought similarly to their predecessors – Koenig and Biberauer - first comes the mandate to do mission, then God will provide the needs. The

hivatala. IX. kerület, Kálvin-tér 7. szám’. ZsL, 19. fond 18 doboz, Filadelfia Diakonissza Egylet iratai (1891-1961) Cf. Szabó, *Kegyelem által*, p. 55.

¹³⁷ Szabó, *Kegyelem által*, p. 172.

¹³⁸ Kováts, Lajos Dr., ‘A Bethánia és Filadelfia egyesületek ünnepéye márczius 24-27. Belföld., *PEIL*, 54. 15 (9 April 1911), pp. 237-38.

¹³⁹ Aladár Szabó, ‘Nagy és nevezetes fordulat a diakonisszaügy terén’, *PEIL*, 52. 4 (1909), 53-55 (p. 54).

¹⁴⁰ Ráday Könyvtár, Dunamelléki Református Egyházkerület Jegyzőkönyvei 1909, entry 107, p. 118. Cf. Mihály Bucsay, ‘125 Jahre Deutschsprachige Reformierte Gemeinde in Budapest (1859-1984)’, *Kirche Im Osten*, 28 (1985), 16-25 (p. 24). Bucsay gives 1910 as the date of the sale. Cf. Forgács, p. 293. He cites 24 May 1909 as the date of purchase.

congregation slowly had to realise and acknowledge its incapability to run medical mission without really committed revivalists. The work of the Bethesda narrowly escaped the fate of closure owing to the new generation of Hungarian-speaking revivalists, Richárd Biberauer and Aladár Szabó. Biberauer carried on the work of his father whereas Koenig, the missionary of the Scottish Mission, was not directly succeeded by anybody from the Mission. Szabó can be regarded as a person related strongly to the Mission who assured the line of strong Evangelical-Pietist character for the medical mission, which became a fully adapted Hungarian home mission agency. He worked together with bursars such as Richard Biberauer, who was the managing director of the hospital in the Philadelphia, and Géza Takaró who later became his successor in the Bethany CE.¹⁴¹ Like Szabó, Takaró and Biberauer had been bursars in Edinburgh, and being strongly involved in home mission organisations were able to draw on the support of other mission organisations, especially the YMCA with which István Pap Bilkei, a professor and long time supporter of missions, was closely connected.¹⁴²

4. YMCA, the home mission crisis and the Mission's assistance

If the Bethesda hospital survived the split between the forces of radical and moderate, often labelled as 'liberal' approaches to home mission that was an ubiquitous feature of the revival of the Hungarian Reformed Church in this period, the case of the YMCA shows that these clashes could also be the cause of the weakening of home mission organisations. With the turn of the new century, the YMCA underwent a crisis that had several causes.¹⁴³ On the one hand it was suffering the strain of internal social tensions among its members. Originally an association of mainly theological students, the YMCA had traditionally catered to their interests, its meetings being held in the theological seminary, and its programme comprising lectures on subjects of interest to theological students. As its membership had grown to include non-theological students studying, for example, law or the arts, an internal pressure arose for a wider range of issues to be addressed. Tension arose from a second direction as non-students joined the association, mainly young artisans who were active in the Sunday school movement, but had less of an interest in academic theology or other scholarly topics.

¹⁴¹ Aladár Szabó, 'Nagy és nevezetes fordulat a diakonisszaügy terén', *PEIL*, 52. 4 (1909), pp. 53-55. See also: ZsL, A Bethánia Egylet iratai (1903-1943), 28a. fond. 1 folder, fol. 4.

¹⁴² Thaly, Kálmán dr., 'A "Filadelfia" hálaünnepé', *PEIL*, 56. 22 (1913), pp. 343-5.

¹⁴³ Forgács, *A belmisszió*, pp. 261-65. On YWCA See: Forgács, *A belmisszió*, pp. 270-72. See also: 'Hírek. Keresztyén nők világggyűlése', *ÉM*, 2. 4 (April 1910), p. 30. The conference was held in Berlin and the following participated; Mrs. Aladár Szilassy, Mrs. Gyula Vargha, Mrs. József Szalay, Mrs. Sándor Misley, Miss Matild Müller.

If this reflected a social tension between artisans and students, it also raised issues of the nature of mission itself.¹⁴⁴

In 1900 these tensions led to the formation of a separate *Gábor Bethlen Association*, made up of students of law and arts such as Elemér Miklós, Mihály Papp, Károly Barsi and Béla Megyericsy, though the latter was an exception being a student of theology.¹⁴⁵ While they were committed to the renewal of the church, their association was not distinctly revivalist, but rather more liberal, a revived Calvinist Christianity being seen as an essential part of the Hungarian patriotism, which underlay all their activities.¹⁴⁶

In an effort to revive itself, the YMCA launched a periodical entitled *Ébresztő* (“Wake up”) under the editorship of Szabó’s former student, István Csűrös. It thought to awaken the spiritual responsibility of committed young people to reach out to their fellows. However, in just three years after the first internal split of the YMCA, the Bethany CE attracted the most ‘revivalist-minded’ members. Given the fact that many were former students of Szabó, to name but a few, István Csűrös, Árpád Eördögh, Gyula Forgács, and Pál Nyáry, this move is not surprising.¹⁴⁷

The YMCA would have faced total decline, if the Hold utca hub had not offered the background support. Recognising that spiritual revival needs to engage social issues, the leaders of the YMCA found a helping hand in the Scottish Mission, that offered its great hall in Hold utca every Sunday for the discussion of issues that would be of interest to the young artisans whose working life was spent in the midst of the social issues facing Hungarian society. These ‘working-class’ YMCA men were particularly involved in teaching in the Sunday schools.¹⁴⁸ Webster also alluded to their enthusiasm since they established new Sunday schools for those who had to be turned away due to the lack of space in the Scottish Mission’s Sunday school.¹⁴⁹ Another outreach was a small initiative of Gyula Fleischer, the second secretary of the YMCA, to evangelise the Jews.

This included recognition of outreach to the Jews. The Annual Jewish Report gave an account as follows: ‘some members of the YMCA kept in touch with young men including Jews’ that Webster was in the habit of meeting, and they carried on the work of

¹⁴⁴ Forgács, *A belmisszió*, p. 277.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 230.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 231.

¹⁴⁷ ZsL, A Bethánia Egylet iratai (1903-1943), 28a. fond. 1 folder, Sándor Csia, *A Bethánia története*, fol.1.

¹⁴⁸ Forgács, *A belmisszió*, p. 227.

¹⁴⁹ RCJ of 1912, Appendix III, p. 66. RCJ of 1909, Appendix VIII, p. 7.

distributing literature written ‘especially for the Jews’.¹⁵⁰ The Budapest YMCA also invited Arnold Frank, a missionary to the Jews in Hamburg to give a speech at one of their regular meetings.¹⁵¹ The enthusiastic leaders of the YMCA encouraged members to attend evangelistic meetings conducted by Szabó at Hold utca.¹⁵² The Scottish Mission was supportive of the movement since it lent the great hall in Erzsébet körút [7. Elisabeth Boulevard] for such purposes as the Sunday school and other activities in 1906.¹⁵³ The encouragement of the Scottish Mission was indispensable for the feeble YMCA, which had no place in which to gather and run its activities. András Koczogh in his memoir recalled that shortly after moving into the new place the movement went through its third crisis. The revivalist leaders called upon the members ‘to work with us according to the gospel, or leave the association’ since there were many members ‘who could not identify themselves with the spirituality’ of the YMCA’s mission. This call from the radical revivalists resulted in a decline from 100 members to 40 but ‘only approximately fifteen were committed Christians’.¹⁵⁴ Gyula Forgács, who became the secretary of the YMCA as well as being employed as Missionary Assistant of the Scottish Mission published an article in *Ébresztő* with the title ‘New Beginnings’ propagating a radical Evangelical message of the gospel.¹⁵⁵ The new programme meant to employ a ‘travelling secretary’ for evangelisation. Gábor Kónya, a former student of Ferenc Balogh in Debrecen was employed, bearing another testimony of Scottish Mission related bursars on the renewing work of the YMCA. To give a full picture, István Hamar and István Pap Bilkei, professors at the theological seminary were both members of the YMCA, the former was its treasurer, the latter its president from 1905 succeeding Aladár Szilassy.¹⁵⁶

Though the YMCA was indeed weakened as an organisation by several successive splits between liberal and evangelical trends, Bálint Kovács and Forgács are correct in observing that the clash made the organisation aware of its original missionary focus. Kovács also underlined that, ‘after 1900, many new movements sprang from the YMCA, such as the foreign mission organisation (MEKMSz), the Gábor Bethlen Association, the

¹⁵⁰ RCJ of 1904, Appendix VIII, p. 9.

¹⁵¹ ‘Magyar Evangéliumi Keresztyén Diákszövetség’, *Ébresztő*, 5.2. (1905), pp. 23-4. Cited by Kovács, *A Keresztyén Ifjúsági Egyesület története*, p. 50.

¹⁵² Kovács, *A keresztyén*, p. 51

¹⁵³ Forgács, *A belmisszió*, p. 227.

¹⁵⁴ András Koczogh, *Emlékeim a KIE 60 éves múltjából*, (Budapest: [n. pub.], 1933), p. 19.

¹⁵⁵ Gyula Forgács ‘Új kezdet’ *Ébresztő*, 6.10 (1906), pp. 145-7.

¹⁵⁶ Sándor Csekey, *Bilkei Pap István*, ed. by Sándor Csekey, Budapesti Református Theológiai Könyvtár, 4.2 (Mezőtúr: Corvina Nyomda, 1943), p. 13.

White Cross (Association), and the MEKDSz (WSCF of Hungary)'.¹⁵⁷ While this is true enough, it is important to acknowledge the influence of the Scottish Mission and its bursars in these developments, for it was within the circle of Hold utca that the YMCA found its continuing mission.

5. The Hungarian-speaking Sunday school Alliance and the Scottish Mission

It has been noted that the roots of the Sunday school movement in Hungary go back to the 1860s, or even earlier to the 1840s, when, under the influence of the Scottish Mission and the German-speaking Affiliated Reformed Church, it emerged as a German-language initiative.¹⁵⁸ It was not until Szabó and other revivalists became involved that the Sunday school movement was adapted to Hungarian cultural needs, through the Hungarian language. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the leading figure in the movement was János Victor senior, son of Bernát Victor, the depot keeper of the British and Foreign Bible Society at Deák tér. János Victor was a teacher at the Mission School, and now emerged as the 'father' of the Hungarian Sunday school movement. The Scottish Mission continued to be integrally involved with the movement, and provided Victor with access to the western Sunday school network. Thus, Andrew Moody wrote, 'a committee in connection with the Sunday School Union London, which will soon be much enlarged, becoming the Sunday-School Committee of a general Home Mission Association,¹⁵⁹ the constitution and rules of which have just been confirmed by the Ministry of Interior'.¹⁶⁰ Forgács is therefore correct in arguing that it was the London Sunday School Union that encouraged Hungarians to expand the sphere of Sunday school work, and gave them financial support. The Sunday School Union of Budapest was inaugurated on 3 December 1904, with János Victor senior as president.

The new organisation was quick to extend its work outside Pest itself, and Sunday schools were established in Karcag, Csurgó, Szalkaszentmárton and Veszprém. A parallel development took place among the Hungarian-speaking Reformed people in Transylvania through the work of revivalists from Pest, Béla Kenessey and István Kecskeméthy, who as it

¹⁵⁷ Bálint Kovács, 'A Keresztyén Ifjúsági Egyesület (KIE)' in *Református ifjúsági egyesületek és mozgalmak a XX. században*, ed. by Sándor Tenke (Budapest: Magyar Református Egyház, Széchenyi Nyomda Győr, 1993), 56-83 (pp. 63-4).

¹⁵⁸ See: Chapter 2, Section 2.2. The first inquirers: Jews, Catholics and Protestants, p. n. 109. Allan held the first Sunday school. and Chapter 3 Section 3.1 Mission to the Youth, Children, the Poor and the Needy. p. 27. It is about Maag's work with YMCA who was one of the teachers at the Mission School.

¹⁵⁹ Probably the Bethany Christian Endeavour established by Aladár Szabó was legally recognised in 1903. The CE had many missionary branches, amongst them was the Sunday school.

¹⁶⁰ RCJ of 1904, Appendix VIII, p. 8.

will be recalled, initiated together with the Mission the first Elisabeth Boulevard evangelistic meetings in the 1890s.¹⁶¹ Thanks to these two men, a Hungarian Sunday school movement took root in Kolozsvár and other places in the late 1890s. Their initiative, after some opposition, was renewed in the next decade by the Gábor Bethlen Association with the support of Lajos Imre, and the future bishop Imre Révész junior.¹⁶² Thus, the revivalist vision of a Hungarian-speaking Sunday school in all the congregations of the Hungarian Reformed Church began to gain ground all over the country.

Members of the Hungarian Sunday school movement were sent as delegates to foreign conferences. János Victor senior attended a Sunday school conference in London in 1906. In 1907 Gyula Forgács was the official delegate to a Sunday school congress in Rome, where he was accompanied by twelve Hungarian Sunday school teachers coming from the Reformed, Lutheran, and Baptist churches.¹⁶³ The day before the opening of the Rome conference an article in *Budapesti Hírlap* provided general information about the origin and purpose of the Sunday school movement.¹⁶⁴ The conference was subsequently reported in Szalay and Kecskeméti's periodical, *Keresztény Evangélista*.¹⁶⁵ Having arrived from abroad, a series of five evening meetings were held in the great hall of the Scottish Mission to publicise the ideas of the Rome conference. These included the appointment of a travelling secretary to co-ordinate the work of Sunday schools in different countries. A former Hungarian bursar, Géza Takaró, was approached to undertake this task, but due to the lack of ministers in the Hungarian Reformed Church had to decline. The movement nonetheless continued to grow, and it was legally recognised by the government in October 1909.¹⁶⁶

In 1912 Mr. J. Davidson, secretary of the Scottish National Sunday School Union, visited Hungary, and relayed the following information to the Jewish Committee in Edinburgh: 'there are now about 400 Sunday Schools with some 9000 scholars and 800 teachers in the country – all this also a development of work initiated by the Mission'.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶¹ Jenő Bányai, 'Rottmayer János I.', *Békehírnök*, 7. 6 (1963), pp. 6-7.

¹⁶² András Mózes, *A vasárnapi iskolák története* (Cluj-Kolozsvár: Ifjú Erdély, 1935), pp. 22, 24.

¹⁶³ NLS Dep. 298.259, fol. 147. entry 115, Minutes of 26 March 1907. Webster received the official invitation as it appears in the minutes. Cf. RCJ of 1908, Appendix VIII, p. 7.

¹⁶⁴ 'Protestáns kongresszus Rómában', *Budapesti Hírlap*, 27. 118 (18 May 1907), p. 7.

¹⁶⁵ Gyula Forgács, *Gyermek a Krisztusért. Emlékezés a Vasárnapi Iskolák V. világgyűléséről, mely Rómában 1907. május 18-23-án tartatott* (Budapest: A Londoni Traktátus Társulat, 1907), pp. 3-4. Géza Takaró, was a former bursar, Attila Csojják, András Udvarnok, Gusztáv Szabady, were all leaders of the Baptist church, Vilmos Pfeiffer, Henrik Meyer and his wife were also Baptist, Aranka Szabady and Ilona Muraközy were members of the Lorántffy Zsuzsanna Association, finally the countryside was represented by Endre Kájel from Losonc [later down on p. 4. However, Somogy-Endréd is given instead of Losoncz!], József Szalay from Nagybecskerek, József Balogh from Hajdúböszörmény.

¹⁶⁶ Forgács, *A belmisszió*, p. 266. Cf. RCJ of 1910, Appendix VIII, p. 9.

¹⁶⁷ RCJ of 1912, Appendix III, p. 66.

Indeed, during the period studied the number of Sunday schools rose from 138 in 1903 to 448 by 1913.¹⁶⁸ While it is true that the work had been initiated by the Scottish Mission, the prime mover in its expansion was János Victor senior who became the leader of the national movement in 1911. In addition to his duties in the Mission School, he found time to travel extensively throughout the country, and encouraged a great number of both laymen and ministers to become active in the network.¹⁶⁹ Conferences were held on a regular basis at the Mission, which became a training base for the Sunday school teachers of Hungary. Drawing on the resources of the London and American Sunday School Societies, the missionaries and staff of the Mission School were able to enhance the skills of Hungarian Sunday School teachers in ways of instilling biblical stories into the hearts of children.¹⁷⁰ Textbooks, guidelines and hymnbooks were published by the Tract Society based in Hold utca. A bi-weekly periodical appeared named *Fecske* (Swallow) with a supplement, and also another periodical *Csendes Percek* (Quiet Moments) to assist teachers.¹⁷¹ All these publications disseminated the evangelical purpose of the international Sunday school movements that now had its impact on the Hungarian Reformed Church.¹⁷² But if the Scottish Mission provided the bones of the movement, it was the Hungarian leaders and teachers who added the flesh.

Whereas one of the features of other revivalist forces in the home mission organisations was a tendency to division, the Sunday school movement provides significant evidence of interdenominational co-operation in mission work. Once the movement was able to outgrow its original character as a German-language initiative to become an indigenously Hungarian network. It succeeded in attracting the support of Lutherans and Baptists as well as members of the Reformed Church, all of whom would gather at the meetings held in the Mission's previous premises at Hold utca, and from 1910 in Vörösmarty utca in a harmonious relationship that made the first national Sunday school congress in Budapest, held at the Mission in 1911, a significantly interdenominational

¹⁶⁸ Forgács, *A belmisszió*, p. 267.

¹⁶⁹ RCJ of 1909, Appendix VIII, p. 7 Cf. RCJ of 1912, Appendix III, p. 66. Victor said that the growth of the movement was due to the interest of mostly laymen but 'now it is the ministers who see that the Church can no longer afford to neglect the children'.

¹⁷⁰ Egy teológus, 'A budapesti magyar vasárnapi iskolák karácsonyi ünnepélye', *PEIL*, 26. 51 (23 December 1883), 1653-57, (p. 1656). See the discussion in Chapter 4, Section 4.2.2. The Sunday School of the Scottish Mission and the German Affiliated Church.

¹⁷¹ Forgács, *A belmisszió*, p. 268. The latter provided daily devotional reading for meditation.

¹⁷² Sándor Csekey, *A Református Vasárnapi Iskola* (Budapest: [n. pub.], 1937), p. 6. As the movement grew the Hungarian Church gradually domesticated this foreign Home Mission movement.

event.¹⁷³ In this regard, also, it may be claimed that the Scottish Mission's ecumenical approach to home mission was beginning to bear fruit.

6. The birth of a student mission organisation, the MEKDSz and the Mission

This section seeks to illuminate the influence of the Scottish Mission on the MEKDSz (Magyar Evangéliumi Keresztyén Diák Szövetség)¹⁷⁴ as the student mission movement that first encouraged Hungarians to engage in home and overseas mission. It will be argued that the Scottish missionaries' role in nurturing and fostering the student movement escaped Anne-Marie Kool's attention. Therefore, light will be shed on this decisive element that was neglected in Kool's otherwise detailed research.

The beginning of the movement can be located at the turn of the century when two Hungarian students, through the contacts of the Scottish Mission, attended a conference of the Student Volunteer Mission (SVM) in London in 1900. On return to Hungary one of them, a former bursar named István Hamar, professor at the Theological Seminary in Pest, challenged Hungarian students to respond to a 'great and glorious calling in the promotion of God's kingdom' by evangelising "themselves and their own generation".¹⁷⁵ A campaign was thus launched, and Aladár Szabó gave it his full support, initially through a lecture for a group of students in the Budapest YMCA in which he informed them about the Student Volunteer Mission.¹⁷⁶ Following this up with an article in the YMCA paper, *Ébresztő*, he urged students to follow the example of those in other countries who after graduation 'committed several years, or their whole life to the cause of the conversion of the Gentiles'.¹⁷⁷ He suggested the first responsibility of Hungarian Christian students should be to evangelise Hungarians living in other countries, for example in America or Vienna, rather than seeking to convert other Gentiles. This clearly indicates his patriotic sense of mission to the Hungarian Diaspora, however, this priority did not lead Szabó to deny the necessity of foreign mission since he zealously supported MEKMSz initiated by Fleischer.

¹⁷³ Bernát Victor, Rudolph Koenig, Andrew Moody, Bericht über Das Sonntags-Schul-Werk in Ungarn im Jahre 1885 (Budapest: Hornyánszky Victor, 1886). We find the same denominations in the *Bericht* written by Bernát Victor, Koenig, and Moody. Cf. Forgács, *A belmisszió*, p. 267.

¹⁷⁴ MEKDSz, *Magyar Evangéliumi Keresztyén Diák Szövetség* was the Hungarian branch of the World Student Christian Federation.

¹⁷⁵ István Hamar, 'Jelentés a keresztyén diákok londoni Nemzetközi missziói konferenciájáról', *PEIL* 43. 9 (1900), p. 140.

¹⁷⁶ István Draskóczy, *A MEKDSz története*, (Lajoskomárom, Manuscript, 1977) p. 5. Probably influenced by the Hungarian translation of 'Önkéntes Diák Misszió' he did not use the name 'movement', but 'mission'.

¹⁷⁷ 'Evangéliumi mozgalmak (a magyar külmissziói mozgalom)', *Ébresztő* 3. 4. (1903), p. 46.

This initial stimulus to mission was quickly supported by the Scottish missionary, Webster, who invited H. W. Oldham,¹⁷⁸ a delegate from the British College Christian Union, to address the students in March 1904. This visit enabled Oldham to address thousands of Hungarian students, at one meeting no less than 1500 gathered to listen to his message. His call resulted in the creation of a student committee.¹⁷⁹ A second such visit, this time by J. H. Maclean,¹⁸⁰ a Scottish missionary to India, who was also an agent of the World Student Christian Federation, kindled the fire of reviving interest in student mission through his evangelistic lectures in Budapest, Kolozsvár, Pápa and Sopron.¹⁸¹ Due to his and Webster's efforts, on 23 October 1904 ten higher institutions sent representatives to found the Hungarian branch of WSCF, the MEKDSz.

Initially, formed within the framework of the Budapest YMCA, with Ferenc Balogh, a former bursar, now professor in Debrecen, as its president, the aim of the organisation was 'to win the Hungarian educated young people for the gospel of Christ and help associations with similar purposes to do effective Christian work, as well as to send representatives to the conferences of the World Student Christian Federation'.¹⁸² Many of the members were bursars, or were to become bursars connected to the Scottish Mission, while others found this forum their first Evangelical thrust.¹⁸³ Anne-Marie Kool has rightly pointed out that 'despite these [preliminary] attempts, it seems this vision did not really catch the Hungarian students until 1908'.¹⁸⁴ The reasons for the 'delay' could well be found in the aftermath of the split in LZsA and YMCA since the home mission associations needed time to reorganise

¹⁷⁸ William was the brother of the famous J. H. Oldham. Unfortunately there is little information about W. H. Oldham. Even the Hungarians mistake William Henrik for his brother. See: Bucer, 'W. Oldham Henrik', *Ébresztő*, 4. 7 (1 April 1904), pp. 107-8. On his brother see: Keith Clemens, *Faith on the Frontier. A Life of J. H. Oldham* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1999).

¹⁷⁹ T. James Webster, 'Reviving Life in Hungary', *MRUFCofS*, 4. 42 (June, 1904), 246-8 (p. 247). Cf. Gyula Forgács, 'A magyar egyetemi ifjúság figyelmébe', *Ébresztő*, 4. 10 (1 September 1904), 160-162, (p. 162)

¹⁸⁰ Maclean was a missionary of the United Reformed Church of Scotland in India, Conjeeveram. See: 'Hírek. Híres misszionárius Budapesten', *ÉM*, 4. 1 (January 1912), p. 6.

¹⁸¹ T. James Webster, 'Budapest. Christian Work among Students', *MRUFCofS*, 10. 104 (August, 1909), p. 363.

¹⁸² Bucer, 'Magyar evangéliumi keresztyán diák-szövetség', *Ébresztő*, 5. 2 (1 November 1904), pp. 23-24. Cf. 'A Magyar Evangéliumi Keresztyén Diákszövetség Alapszabályai', *Ébresztő*, 5.8 (1905), pp. 115-16.

¹⁸³ Gyula Forgács, 'Titkári jelentés', *PEIL*, 48. 19 (1905), pp. 295-6. Cf. Gyula Forgács 'Titkári jelentés' *Ébresztő*, 5.8. (1905), pp. 117-120. See also: Bucer, 'A Magyar Evangéliumi Keresztyén Diákszövetség Alapszabályai', *Ébresztő*, 5 (1904), pp. 23-24. The participants are of interest to us. The list is as follows. J. T. Webster, missionary, Gyula Forgács, elected as temporary secretary of the MEKDSZ both, from the Scottish Mission, then József Pongrácz from Pápa, and Géza Takaró – a theological student –, István J. Kováts – a lawyer – all three were to become Scottish bursars (Takaró (1905-6) Kováts and Pongrácz (1906-7). Together with Ferenc Balogh and Forgács that was five bursars! János Victor, junior, a student of theology also related to the Scottish Mission hub through his father. The other group of people were the leading figures of the home mission. Aladár Szabó, who was the champion of Sunday School movement initiated together with the Scots and the leader of Bethany C. E., also attended. Aladár Szilassy, president of Budapest YMCA [BRIE], Gyula Fleischer, lawyer, secretary of MEKMSZ and member of BRIE and András Koczogh, teacher member of BRIE.

themselves and articulate their rationale for mission. It was again the Scottish Mission that took the initiative to sustain interest during this period. Webster was determined to facilitate this movement and invited John Hall, a member of the Edinburgh Jewish Committee to visit Hungary in order to revive the famous Hold utca meetings, which had not escaped the side effects of the conflicts among Hungarian home mission organisations.¹⁸⁵ In November 1908, his evangelistic meetings started to unify 'Christian workers in different circles' of Budapest, against the doubts of those who resigned themselves to thinking that this was impossible.¹⁸⁶ Hall in two weeks of evangelisation created a generally favourable climate for the planned evangelistic tour of John R. Mott who was the general-secretary of the WSCF.¹⁸⁷

It was also part of the strategic plan of the Scottish missionary to enable two students to attend the conference of SVM in Liverpool in the same year.¹⁸⁹ One of them was János Victor, the son of János Victor senior,¹⁹⁰ who was a student of theology from Budapest, the other person was József Pongrácz, a former student of theology from Pápa, at that time a bursar in Edinburgh.¹⁹¹ Kool notes the impact of this conference on the two Hungarians. On returning home Victor 'overwhelmed by the urgency of the task reported, "Now is the time! Five more years, maybe even less and the opportunity is over! The East will not want to have any more of your missionaries"!'.¹⁹² Pongrácz wrote an article about the conference in which he emphasised: 'in a person's life Christ is either Lord over everything, or he is not Lord at all. Either we give him everything we have, or he does not want anything we have'.¹⁹³ Of the impact of the Liverpool conference on missionary thinking in Hungary, Kool has observed:

Quite likely, the testimony of these two Hungarian theology students led to the decision to hold yearly lectures on missions at some theological institutes and gave an impetus to the beginning of study groups on foreign missions. The

¹⁸⁴ Kool, p. 208.

¹⁸⁵ NLS Dep. 298. 276. fol. 226. entry 33. Minutes of 28 July 1908.

¹⁸⁶ RCJ of 1909, Appendix VIII, pp. 5-6.

¹⁸⁷ T. James Webster, 'Budapest. Christian Work among Students', *MRUFCS*, 10. 104 (August, 1909), p. 363. On John Mott See: Norman E. Thomas, 'John Mott' in *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions*, ed. by Anderson, Gerald (Cambridge U.K.: William B. Eerdmans, 1999), pp. 476-7. Mott was a missions and ecumenical statesman who originated the WSCF in 1895 and was its first general secretary (1895-1920). He was also a leading figure in the YMCA and SVM (Student Volunteer Mission).

¹⁸⁸ Forgács, *A belmisszió*, p. 277.

¹⁸⁹ 'Diákmozgalom', *Ébresztő* 8.3 (December 1907), p. 48. Here the names of Pongrácz and Victor are mentioned as the delegates to be sent to Liverpool.

¹⁹⁰ József Bodonhelyi, 'A belmisszió kora (1896-1918)', in *A Budapesti Református Theológiai Akadémia története 1855-1955* (Budapest: A Református egyetemes konvent sajtóosztálya, 1955), 73-106 (p. 92).

¹⁹¹ Hörcsik, fol. 25.

¹⁹² Victor János 'A Liverpooli diákgyűlés' *Ébresztő*, 8.4 (1908), 79-83 (p. 81).

¹⁹³ See: József Pongrácz's article in *Szövétnek* (8 January 1908), cited by Draskóczy, p. 12.

motives for responsibility for the present generation, urgency of the task and commitment to follow Christ whatever the cost so characteristic of the SVM were to root in the lives of some other key Hungarian students too, who would play a significant role in the development of the Hungarian mission cause.¹⁹⁴

Unquestionably, Victor junior's and Pongrácz's enthusiasm kindled the fire in Kolozsvár in February 1909 at a conference of theological students. Other people also helped to maintain the enthusiasm for student mission. The YMCA world-secretary, Charles Fermaud paid a visit to Hungary shortly before Mott's arrival. Gábor Kónya, the travelling secretary of the Hungarian YMCA toured all over the country and excited student interest in mission.¹⁹⁵ J. T. Webster wrote on the eve of John Mott's trip to Hungary to the Jewish Mission Board:

The directing of this movement is practically in our hands. Mr. Forgács as secretary managed to get a summer conference together last year. "It was held", he writes "at Lake Balaton and was a success. Dr. Fries, the president of the World's Federation, was present. All the Protestant Colleges were represented, and the students, sixty in number, have carried the good seed and planted it in their colleges". We are expecting Mr. John Mott in April and are hoping great things from his visit. He did not see his way to come to when I [Webster] asked him five years ago, nor did he think the time ripe when I saw him a year later in Holland, but now the way has been prepared, and we trust he will come in the fullness of the blessings of Christ.¹⁹⁶

Also Forgács attributed a great significance to the Scottish Mission's role as he wrote: 'it was due to Webster's zeal that the MEKDSz was founded [...] he invited, for the first occasion, John Mott for a student evangelistic tour lasting for several weeks'.¹⁹⁷

After such a thorough preparation, Mott visited Hungary for two weeks in the spring of 1909, during which he travelled from Budapest, to Sopron, Sáropatak, Debrecen and Kolozsvár.¹⁹⁸ An invitation card in the Pápa Church Archives tells us that he held three evangelistic meetings in the new town hall of Budapest.¹⁹⁹ On one occasion, he gave not one but two speeches on the same evening, so great was the interest of the audience. At the end of the second, Mott announced that he was prepared to give a third lecture but they had to leave the town hall since it was late in the evening. Seventy students decided to accompany

¹⁹⁴ Kool, p. 209. n. 89. She cited the following as an argument: 'The Kolozsvár conference of the Protestant theology students made a significant decision ... that the young people would annually deliver a lecture on mission at the theology academies and organize a collection for the purposes of mission'.

¹⁹⁵ Students, 'Mott R. János', *ÉM*, 1. 1 (March 1909), pp. 1-2

¹⁹⁶ RCJ of 1909, Appendix VIII, pp. 7-8. The report could well have been written as usual by March 1909 latest so that it could go through the publisher's hand ready to be issued by the May Annual General Assembly.

¹⁹⁷ Gyula Forgács, 'A száz éves Skót Misszió', in *És Lón Világosság. Ravasz László hatvanadik életéve és a dunamelléki püspökségének huszonadik évfordulója alkalmából* (Budapest: Klny, 1941), 412-429 (p.426).

¹⁹⁸ Stud., 'Mott János és a magyar diákok', *ÉM*, 1. 2 (May 1909), p. 10.

him to the Hold utca hall of the Scottish Mission to listen to his lecture on the basic principles of the Christian faith.

His tour in the countryside also excited students and awakened some liberal minded students in Kolozsvár to their mission responsibility by challenging their faith. Amongst the students were such figures as the future Bishop Imre Révész and Bishop László Ravasz. The evangelistic meetings created such an interest that after his tour in the countryside Mott had a two-day consultation with forty representatives of the student movement from different parts of the country.²⁰⁰ During the course of the meeting, a new leadership was elected consisting of János Victor junior as travelling secretary, Gyula Forgács as general secretary and József Pongrácz as treasurer.²⁰¹ From this point of ‘second birth’, MEKDSz developed its independence from the Scottish Mission and became a strong independent Hungarian movement under the leadership of János Victor junior.

The Hungarian WSCF, the MEKDSz owes its birth to the ‘former Hold-utca hub people’ but most of all to the Scottish Mission’s influence. Webster reflecting on the future of the movement soon after Mott’s departure wrote:

There is [sic!] nothing will work more for the spiritual uplifting of this country than to get its educated youth into touch with the Word of God, and some of us who have been dreaming dreams see fulfilment drawing nigh. *It has fallen to myself largely to direct this movement during the past ten years, or rather to foster its beginnings* [italics added], and here, in the grace of God, we seem to see miracles performed.²⁰²

It is neither without justification, nor unusual, to find a Scottish missionary assuming the largest portion of credit for the revivalist development within the Hungarian Reformed Church. Indeed, Webster was instrumental in obtaining the money for the two students to attend the Liverpool conference and the preparation of Mott’s trip. He invited Oldham and MacLean as part of his strategic plan to mobilise student mission. Also the publication of *Élet és Munka* commenced just a month before Mott arrived in Hungary with its front-page headline about John Mott. The aim of this monthly periodical was ‘to facilitate serious

¹⁹⁹ He gave lectures on the following topics: ‘the hardest struggle in the life of the student’ (23 April), ‘a lelki sorvadásról’ (24 April), and on ‘the students’ response to Jesus’ call’ (25 April), See on the Invitation card located at ‘Meghívó’, DREL [Archives of the Transdanubian Church Province in Pápa] O1160.

²⁰⁰ Stud., ‘Mott János és a magyar diákok’, *ÉM* 1.2. FIND (February 1909), p. 10.

²⁰¹ ‘Hírek. A Magyar Ker. Diákmozgalom’, *ÉM*, 2. 2 (February 1910), p. 14. Cf. János Mott, ‘Visszaemlékezéseiben’, quoted by Draskóczy, p. 16.

²⁰² RCJ of 1910, Appendix VIII, p. 10.

Hungarian endeavours' amongst which the first achievement was the establishment of MEKDSz.²⁰³

The influence Mott exerted on the student movement is summarized by Forgács as follows: 'students understood what is at stake is neither denominational interests, nor carrying foreign [Christian working methods] to excess, but really the gospel, God's good-news'.²⁰⁴ János Victor junior, who was committed to the cause of foreign as well as home mission, initiated together with others a periodical, the *Diákvilág* (Student's Life), which became a channel for a great number of articles on missions uniting students of different Protestant denominational backgrounds. It is evident that the Scottish bursars, Balogh, Forgács and Pongrácz, played a crucial role together with the son of the Scottish Mission schoolteacher, János Victor senior embodying the denominational openness of the Scottish Mission. Kool saw the foundation of the new interdenominational student movement as a work 'grounded on the Gospel, for a united effort for one purpose: the progress of the gospel in the world'. Then, she added, 'it was exactly the lack of cooperation, which till then had hindered the development of the Hungarian mission cause'.²⁰⁵ The present writer agrees with Kool's analysis and assessment. Similarly to the Sunday school movement, another mission association was brought into being with an interdenominational character, where the Reformed, being the largest Protestant denomination, took the lead. Kool is certainly right in assuming that the birth of MEKDSz marked a milestone both in home as well as foreign mission. The MEKDSz united many students from different home mission organisations setting a common goal before them: evangelisation of the world in this generation, which was for them to reach out to fellow students as well as to the Gentiles. Thus, in this regard the Hungarian development of WSCF was a mission organisation that treated home and foreign mission equally. On the international stage the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh in 1910 consolidated interdenominational co-operation in world mission. While there was only one Hungarian observer (see below), the delegates all came from the well established missionary societies mainly in Britain, the United States, Germany and Holland. It is significant that within two years of its meeting MEKDSZ was able to launch the Hungarian Student Volunteer Movement (MÖMM) in 1912.²⁰⁶

²⁰³ Besides Webster, János Victor junior, and Gyula Forgács, women such as Miss Prém and Miss Kristály played a significant role in exciting interest in the movement amongst female students. The other group of people were related to the YMCA and Bethany and to some extent to Aladár Szabó.

²⁰⁴ Forgács, *A belmisszió*, pp. 282-283.

²⁰⁵ Kool, p. 211.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 212-18. Kool lucidly deals with the aftermath of Mott's trip and its bearing on foreign mission awareness. She pointed out that the MÖMM was to become 'a decisive factor in the rebirth of MEKMSZ

IV. The Scottish Mission's Influence Represented through the Bursars at the Theological Seminaries

The Scottish Mission played a significant role through the bursars in the birth of the MEKDSz, the Hungarian Sunday School movement and in the YMCA. Nonetheless, there was another area, the theological institutes, where their influence on the missionary awareness of the Reformed Church was felt. J. T. Webster regarded this as among the greatest achievements of the Mission: 'the majority of the professors in at least four of the five theological colleges are men of true evangelical spirits [...] who can measure the good done or the impetus given during the past forty years through the provision of bursaries [...], many [bursars] now holding important positions in the Church'.²⁰⁷

Indeed, it was the Scottish trained bursars who, as they rose to leadership positions in the theological colleges, home mission organisations and churches, were able to consolidate and extend the spirit of Evangelical revival through active commitment to Christian mission at home and overseas. While it would be excessive to claim that all the leadership positions were held by Scottish trained bursars, it can fairly be asserted that the revival leaders who had not themselves been bursars were deeply influenced by those who were. This influence was most clearly asserted through the *Hold utca* network which, as we have seen, formed the hub of most of the home mission organisations particularly, the MEKDSz and Sunday school movement.

By the early years of the twentieth century Scottish bursars were to be found in important positions in three of the five Protestant Colleges: Pest, Debrecen, and Pápa. The other two colleges, Sárospatak and Kolozsvár, felt the impact of the Scottish Mission through the *Hold utca* related people. The bursars all agreed that Evangelicalism could be imparted in two ways, through teaching and participation in home mission organisations. If Debrecen was the first of the theological colleges to put these ideas into practice in the 1860s and 1870s, Pest took the leading role from the 1880s onwards as it won over radical

(Hungarian Evangelical Foreign Mission Association). Kool observed the followings about the MEKMSz: 'The pioneers of the foreign mission movement themselves, however, carefully laid out as their main purpose to establish an interdenominational Missionary Society, "which should be Hungarian and national, independent of foreign countries. The question is, whether this accusation was justified, that the founders failed to indigenise foreign missions. It is quite likely that one of the factors causing this argument to come up, was that foreign missions challenged the frontiers of Hungarian Protestantism, with its strong nationalistic tendencies'. The participant was István J. Kováts, a former bursar and professor whose work shall be discussed in the last section of this chapter.

²⁰⁷ T. James Webster, 'Reviving Life in Hungary', *Missionary Record of the United Free Church of Scotland*, 4, 42 (June, 1904), 246-8 (pp. 247-8)

Evangelicalism and Pietism, and it continued to hold sway during the first decades of the twentieth century.

In Pest there was a gradual shift from the liberal stance of the Ballagi era to a more confessionalist one represented by Szöts, Petri, and Farkas. Kenessey's and Szabó's appointment ushered in the next new era of a more decided tone of revivalism. This trend grew stronger as several Edinburgh-trained bursars were appointed to professorship between 1903 and 1914. Amongst the bursars Szabó was the most prominent who started teaching philosophy and pedagogy in 1888 and held his professorship until 1905. Seventeen years at the Seminary enabled him to influence an entire generation of students, including such characters as István Csűrös, who became the leader of the YMCA, Richard Biberauer, Gyula Forgács and other key figures in the home mission organisations. In 1905, Szabó was elected to become one of the ministers of the prominent Kálvin tér church where, as we have seen, he was able to devote much energy to the work of Bethany CE that kept him in close touch with leaders of most of the home mission organisations.²⁰⁸ Szabó's successor at the theological faculty was Pál Pruzsinszky (professor 1905-09). Though he was not a bursar but was a great supporter of missions.²⁰⁹ In 1909 he took over the department of ecclesiastical history after the death of József Farkas.²¹⁰

Szabó was succeeded in the theological faculty initially by Pál Pruzsinszky, who held the chair of philosophy and education from 1905 to 1909 during which time he proved to be a great supporter of missions. However, the more influential proponent of the causes for which Szabó stood was István J. Kováts who was professor between 1914 and 1945.²¹¹ While a full analysis of his career lies beyond the scope of this thesis, it should be noted that he went as a bursar to Edinburgh in 1906/7 on the recommendation of J. T. Webster.²¹² Upon his return he became a great supporter of the Budapest YMCA, the Lorántffy Zsuzsanna Association and the Blue Cross organisation that existed to combat alcoholism. He was instrumental in establishing the *Örömhír*, and was coeditor of *Kálvinista Szemle*.²¹³ Through the assistance of the Scottish Mission, Kováts attended the 1910 World Missionary

²⁰⁸ József Bodonhelyi, 'A belmisszió kora (1896-1918)', in *A Budapesti Református Theológiai Akadémia története 1855-1955* (Budapest: A Református egyetemes konvent sajtóosztálya, 1955), pp. 73-106 (p. 98).

²⁰⁹ Kool, pp. 226, 290. See also: József Bodonhelyi, 'A belmisszió kora (1896-1918)', p. 103. In 1909, Pruzsinszky moved to Church History as the successor of József Farkas 1862-1908 after having worked for three years in Szabó's place. Cf. Zoványi, p. 490.

²¹⁰ There was a period of transition at the department of philosophy and education since between 1909 and 1913 the teachers of the faculty took turns to teach the subjects.

²¹¹ Zoványi, p. 342.

²¹² Höresik, fol. 25.

²¹³ Csia, p. 4. and 20. Zoványi, p. 342.

Conference as an observer, and he later wrote about his experience in the Scottish Mission publication *Élet és Munka*, in which he encouraged students to become involved in mission.²¹⁴ He was held in high regard as a scholar conversant in several languages, and as a Christian leader with political connections among the Budapest Protestant elite that were beneficial to the home mission organisations in which he participated.

Another bursar, István Pap Bilkei became a professor of practical theology and canon law in Budapest in 1905 succeeding the liberal Albert Kováts.²¹⁵ He received his first Evangelical impetus from Szabó and the Scottish Mission while taking part in the establishment of the Sunday school movement in 1882. In Edinburgh he came under the influence of J. G. Cunningham, minister of St. Luke's church and John Kerr whose 'Lectures on the History of Preaching' proved to be a useful teaching tool.²¹⁶ Throughout his thirty years professorship, Bilkei clearly stood for home mission. One of his students, Sándor Csekey – who later became professor himself remarked that he 'instilled the love for home mission in the students'.²¹⁷ In Bilkei's opinion, the main concern of the home mission organisations should be 'how to revive the life of the church?' [Csekey's italics].²¹⁸ Bilkei regarded home mission as an essential part of the Christian life of the members of the Church following the example of Jesus: 'Jesus was the first home missionary, in the literal and most sacred sense of the word. He was sent by the Father to find and keep what had been lost'.²¹⁹ In addition to his teaching practical theology, Bilkei wrote extensively on mission.²²⁰ His most popular book was entitled *The Heroes of Home Mission* published in 1912, in which he called for a renewal of missionary commitment among lay people.²²¹ In an article about 'Wichern and the Home Mission', he set the work of the father of German Innere Mission as a role model for pious Christian work and life.²²² He also championed home and foreign mission by national ecclesiastical gatherings such as the meeting of the Association of Presbyters [elders] of the Hungarian Reformed Church.²²³

²¹⁴ K. L., 'Missziói mozgalmak a magyar református egyházban', *ÉM*, 2. 11 (1910 november), p. 85. Cf. Edinburgh, 'Az edinburghi világmissziói konferencia', I+II. *PEIL*, 53. 26 (26 June 1910), pp. 408-9 and 422-23

²¹⁵ Coincidentally, it was the same year when Szabó left, thereby the Evangelical-Pietist trend did not lose ground rather, it gained another important foothold.

²¹⁶ Sándor Csekey, *Bilkei Pap István*, p. 7. Kerr's work was translated by another bursar Lajos Csizmadia.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.* p. 8.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*

²¹⁹ István Pap Bilkei, 'A belmisszió története', *PEIL*, 48. 49 (3 December 1905), 775-6 (p. 776).

²²⁰ István Pap Bilkei, 'A magyar belmisszió I.', *PEIL*, 49. 1 (1 January 1906), pp. 7-8.

²²¹ István Pap Bilkei, *A belmisszió hősei* (Budapest: Magyar Protestáns Irodalmi Társaság, 1912).

²²² István Pap Bilkei, 'Wichern és a Belmisszió', *Protestáns Szemle*, 20. 4 (1908), pp. 201-212.

²²³ István Pap Bilkei, 'Bel és külmisszió a Magyar Ref. Egyházban', *PEIL*, 54. 52 (December 1911), pp. 840-2.

In terms of his own participation in home missions, he succeeded Aladár Szilassy as president of Budapest YMCA (BRIE), and became also the editor of its paper, *Ébresztő* from 1910.²²⁴ Apart from youth work he supported the Good Friday Reformed Orphanage and the Protestant Orphanage. Moreover, he became president of the National Sunday school Association supporting the work of János Victor senior.²²⁵ The former bursars teaching at Budapest Reformed Theological Seminary gladly co-operated of which the best example is Bilkei and Kováts joint publication about the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference in 1910.²²⁶

The fourth bursar to be appointed to a Pest professorship was István Hamar in 1896.²²⁷ He took over the Old Testament department from Béla Kenessey, who left for Kolozsvár Theological Faculty in Transylvania.²²⁸ Hamar was also involved in the work of the Budapest YMCA from its legal recognition holding the treasurer's position for sixteen years.²²⁹ He was well connected with the Pest Reformed elite through his early years as secretary to Bishop Szász for three years. Between 1905 and 1912, he was the editor of PEIL in which he not only allowed plenty of opportunity for articles on home mission but wrote many of them himself.²³⁰ Though he was not involved in home mission to the same extent as Bilkei and Kováts, he was supportive of it and of the Scottish Mission. Hamar, together with another bursar, Lajos Komáromy²³¹ was on the school board of the Scottish Mission delegated by Budapest Reformed Church.²³²

²²⁴ Bálint Kovács, *A Keresztyén Ifjúsági Egyesület története 1883-1950* (Budapest: Magtárstúdió, Vigándpetend, 1998), p. 55. See also József Bodonhelyi, *A Budapesti Református Theológiai Akadémia története 1855-1955*, ed. by Bucsay, Mihály és Pap László (Budapest: A Református egyetemes konvent sajtóosztálya, 1955), p. 102.

²²⁵ See also: József Bodonhelyi, *A Budapesti Református Theológiai Akadémia története 1855-1955*, ed. by Bucsay, Mihály és Pap László (Budapest: A Református egyetemes konvent sajtóosztálya, 1955), p. 102.

²²⁶ 'Hírek. Érdekes gyűlés', *ÉM*, 2. 7 (July 1910), p. 54. István J. Kováts, Zsigmond Szabó and Edith Roda participated.

²²⁷ Höresik, fol.23. He was a bursar in 1890/91.

²²⁸ It was Kenessey with whom Szabó initiated the Elisabeth Boulevard and Hold utca Evangelisations in 1892 with the help of the Scottish Mission. See: Chapter 4, section 7.5.1. The Elisabeth-Boulevard and Hold Street evangelistic meetings from 1891.

²²⁹ Aladár Szabó, 'Befejezés', in *Új Óramutató*, ed. by Szabó, Aladár (Budapest: Hornyánszky Viktor nyomdája, 1896), p. 143. He was the treasurer of the Budapest YMCA (BRIE). Bálint Kovács, *A Magyarországi Keresztyén Ifjúsági Egyesület története 1883-1950* (Budapest: KIE Szeniorok Pógyor István Köre, 1997), p. 46. It was pointed out that he represented the Hungarian YMCA in London in 1900. Barna Nagy, 'A történelmi kálvinizmus kora (1918-1944)', in *A Budapesti Református Theológiai Akadémia története 1855-1955* (Budapest: A Református egyetemes konvent sajtóosztálya, 1955), pp. 106-148, (p.114).

²³⁰ István Hamar, 'A Brit és Külföldi Bibliaterjesztő-társulat működése 1905-ben I, II.', *PEIL*, 49. 20, 22 (13 May and 27 May 1906), pp. 312-13, 345-46.

²³¹ Höresik, fol. 20. He was a bursar of 1866-7 with Lajos Felméri from Pest and Lajos Tabajdy from Debrecen recommended by Andrew Moody.

²³² BFL, *Skót Misszió iskolagyűlési jegyzőkönyvek 1909-1933*, VIII. 256. a.4. See the names of the school board: J. T. Webster, 'A Skót misszió történetéből', *ÉM*, 2. 6 (June 1910), pp. 44-5.

Komáromy was a professor not at the theological faculty but at the Budapest Teachers' Training College.²³³ He was also part of the Budapest church elite, and was the contemporary of the earlier bursars, like Ferenc Balogh with whom he had a common interest in propagating the work of the Bible societies. In an article about the distribution of Bibles, he asked the Hungarians why they did not give money for such purpose, whereas the Scots who were also a poor nation, donate generously.²³⁴ He greatly admired the Scottish voluntarism and encouraged Hungarian Protestants to emulate this example.

The Pest bursars occupied three professorships, Philosophy-Pedagogy, Practical Theology and Old Testament and they became the prominent voices instead of the old generation professors, Farkas Szóts (professor of systematic theology 1879-1918) and József Farkas (professor of 1862-1908) who were also open to the revival of the church. Indeed, they had allowed space for changes supporting the revivalist Aladár Szabó, Béla Kenessey and István Kecskeméthy's endeavour that resulted in their appointment as professors in the late 1880s. There were other bursars who were very active in home mission organisations already discussed such as Richárd Biberauer, Gyula Forgács, Géza Takaró and Zsigmond Szabó.²³⁵ The bursars at the Theological Seminary, in the home mission organisations were all linked in various ways to the Scottish Mission. The role of bursars as professors cannot be underestimated as their position owed a prestige to home missions and their active involvement greatly facilitated the spread of home mission organisations originating in Pest to the countryside.

The fact that other bursars paved the way for the expansion of Evangelical-Pietist originated home mission organisations in Pest is highly significant. The positive reception of such work as YMCA, Sunday school and alike is due to the work of bursars in the countryside. At Debrecen College Ferenc Balogh, professor of Ecclesiastical History and Lajos Csiky, professor of Practical Theology maintained close contacts with the Scottish missionaries and the home mission organisations long before the organisation began to make their way to Debrecen. Balogh, who belonged to the old generation of bursars, became the

²³³ Farkas, p. 283.

²³⁴ Lajos Komáromy, 'Miért és hogyan adhatnak a biblia terjesztésére a skótok oly sokat és a magyarok olyan keveset? -holott Skóciában csak annyi a protestáns, mint Magyarországon és a skót nép szegény', *ÉM*, 1. 2 (May 1909), p. 36. His main argument is that voluntarism and donation, aspects of religious life are instilled into the little children.

²³⁵ Zsigmond Szabó translated 'The Life of James Chalmers'. ['Hírek. Chalmers élete', *ÉM*, 3. 12 (December 1912), p. 95] and extensively published articles on the Scots. Szabó is missing from Höresik's list. See: Höresik, fol. 35. Cf. *ÉM*, 2.6. (June 1910), p. 46. See also: Zsigmond Szabó, 'A Presbiteri Szövetség budapesti gyűlésén elhangzott előadások', *PEIL*, 54. 40 (1 October 1911), pp. 654-56, 656-7. See also: 'Livingstone, Dávid - Afrika hőse', *ÉM*, 4. 11 (1912), p. 96.

first president of MEKDSz in Hungary in 1904 and had an impact on Gábor Kónya, the first travelling secretary of the YMCA.²³⁶ He found the distribution of Bibles a useful way of conveying the gospel, and worked closely with the British and Foreign Bible Society for many years.²³⁷ As recognition of Balogh's cooperation with the Bible Society, he was elected an honorary member of the society in 1904.²³⁸ Balogh influenced Lajos Csiky, who held a great sway on theological students. Csiky produced many articles on mission and also translated literature from Scottish as well as German sources.²³⁹ He also encouraged the bursars to do likewise.²⁴⁰ For example, Antal Vargha, a bursar of 1908/9 translated a tract into Hungarian entitled 'Naámán megtisztulása' which was revised by his future father-in-law, professor Csiky.²⁴¹ Thus, the Debrecen bursars were also invited to translate tracts. They also produced articles about the life of the Scottish Church. Bursars naturally formed a circle of like-minded Evangelicals. Lajos Szűcs, a bursar from Debrecen wrote about his fellow bursar István Benkő junior²⁴² becoming the new travelling secretary of the MEKDSz in 1912.²⁴³

Debrecen had always been sympathetic to the Scottish work since Imre Révész's senior time. Debrecen found the Scottish Presbyterianism represented by the missionaries more akin to their theological stance than the extreme liberalism of Pest during Ballagi's time. By the beginning of the first decade of the twentieth century, Debrecen had Sunday schools and other forms of home mission works but the leading role was that of Pest.

The third theological college, where bursars had exerted influence as professors was Pápa, the college of the Transdanubian Church Province. It began to sense Scottish Evangelicalism when Lajos Csizmadia (1858-1928), one of the earliest bursars (1883/4) became professor of practical theology in 1901, a post he held until his retirement in 1926.²⁴⁴ He translated a number of books such as Henry Drummond's 'Natural Law in the Spiritual Life' and John Kerr's book mentioned earlier through which he imparted Scottish

²³⁶ Gyula Forgács, 'Titkári jelentés', *PEIL*, 48. 19 (1905), pp. 295-6,

²³⁷ Londoni Napló [London Diary] Debreceni Egyetemi Könyvtár Kézirattára, Balogh Ferenc, Ms 28/2, fol. 56. It record his first encounter with the work of the Bible Society with left an indelible imprint on his life and led to a life-long relationship with the Society.

²³⁸ László Ötvös, *Balogh Ferenc életműve (1836-1913)*, (Debrecen: Karcagi Nyomda, 1997), p. 141.

²³⁹ See: Chapter 3. Section II. 7.2. The twofold impact of Bursary Programme: Evangelicals and Moderates.

²⁴⁰ Zoványi, p. 128. See a selected list of his literary enormous literary output there.

²⁴¹ Pápai Református Gyűjtemény [Thereafter PRGy], Pongrácz József Collection, DREL 22. d. Andrew Moody's letter to Pongrácz on 23 June 1909.

²⁴² Hörsik, fol. p. 25. These were the bursars of 1911/12: István Benkő junior, (son of István Benkő bursar 1880/81, 1881/82)s from Budapest, Lajos Szűcs from Debrecen and the first Sárospatak student was László Deme. Benkő became the Dean of Pest County Church District.

²⁴³ Lajos Szűcs, 'A Budapesti Evangéliumi Keresztény diákegyesület', *ÉM*, 4. 9 (1912), p. 71.

²⁴⁴ Hörsik, fol. 22.

Evangelicalism.²⁴⁵ Csizmadia was a member of the Bethany CE, and due to his strong ties with the Mission the young József Pongrácz was put into contact with the missionaries. It is fascinating to see how the networking of revivalists worked in the case of József Pongrácz. Before becoming a bursar he was already involved in the life of home mission representing Pápa in 1904 at the foundation of MEKDSz.²⁴⁶ It was Gyula Forgács, at that time minister in Kőbánya in Pest, who put him into contact with the MEKDSz.²⁴⁷ Two years later, he obtained the bursary together with István J. Kováts. Pongrácz stayed one year longer than Kováts in Edinburgh from where he travelled to the WSCF conference in Liverpool. Upon his return to Hungary he became secretary to the bishop of the Transdanubian Church Province, just like István Hamar in Pest and soon secured a professorship at Pápa Theological Seminary in 1910.²⁴⁸ He was an expert on New Testament and emphasised the importance of reading the Bible daily just like Szabó.²⁴⁹ Pongrácz regarded Bethany C. E. and MEKDSz as a means of leading others to Christ.²⁵⁰ He prompted his students to become involved in Sunday school work as well as prayer meetings for foreign mission. László Pataky, one of his students, mentioned in his memoirs how seriously Pongrácz took prayer life.²⁵¹ This is further confirmed in his report about the Liverpool SVM conference in 1912 where eleven persons represented Hungary. Pongrácz expressed his view that ‘the whole conference was nothing else but a unique prayer’.²⁵² During the conference various Christian traditions were represented reflecting the interdenominational understanding of mission in

²⁴⁵ Zoványi, p. 129. Cf. Hörsik, p. 23. He was bursar of 1886/7 and 87/88. There is a contrast here as Zoványi gives 1883-4 as the year for Csizmadia's bursary. Csizmadia's main translations from English are as follows: Henry Drummond, *'A természeti törvény a szellemi világban'* (Budapest: Hornyánszky Viktor, 1895), John Kerr *'Egyházi beszédek'* (Pápa: Főiskolai Nyomda, 1905), Charles M. Sheldon, *'Az ő nyomdokain'* (Budapest: Magyar Protestáns Irodalmi Társulat, 1903), F. Hastings, *'Van Isten'* (Budapest: Magyar Protestáns Irodalmi Társulat, 1906), N. Dalhoff, *'A keresztyén szeretet munkái'*, (Budapest: Magyar Protestáns Irodalmi Társulat, 1906).

²⁴⁶ Szabó, *Kegyelem által*, p. 44. Csizmadia was the brother-in-law of Aladár Szabó from Tác. Szabó wrote ‘my younger sister is the widow of Lajos Csizmadia, professor at Pápa Theological College my older sister Vilma was the widow of Gyula Kálmán district dean [esperes]’. A further interesting point is that both came from the same place. It was Csizmadia who introduced Szabó, as a bursar, to Edinburgh life in 1883 as his predecessor still staying in the country. See: Szabó, *Kegyelem által*, p. 77.

²⁴⁷ László Pataky, ‘Az imádkozó Pongrácz József’, Pongrácz József emlékülés Pápán 1985 november 15, ed. by Kövy Zsolt, *A Pápai Református Gyűjtemény évkönyve* (Pápa: A Dunántúli Református Egyházkerület Nagykönyvtára, 1988), 45-56 (p. 48).

²⁴⁸ Zoványi, p. 482.

²⁴⁹ Pongrácz József, *Bibliolvasás*, ([n. p.] Klny., 1908), 1-11 (p. 2). This was a paper read at the MEKDSz conference in Nagybecskerek. cited Török, István, ‘A teológus Pongrácz József’, Pongrácz József Emlékülés Pápán 1985 November 15, ed. by Kövy Zsolt, *A Pápai Református Gyűjtemény évkönyve* (Pápa: A Dunántúli Református Egyházkerület Nagykönyvtára, 1988), pp. 27-44 (p. 28).

²⁵⁰ PRGy, Pongrácz József Collection, DREL 22. d., Letter of József Pongrácz date 2 October 1910.

²⁵¹ László Pataky, ‘Az imádkozó Pongrácz József’, Pongrácz József emlékülés Pápán 1985 november 15, ed. by Zsolt Kövy, *A Pápai Református Gyűjtemény évkönyve* (Pápa: A Dunántúli Református Egyházkerület Nagykönyvtára, 1988), pp. 45-56

²⁵² Pongrácz, József, ‘A liverpooli világgyűlés’, *ÉM*, 4. 2 (1912), pp. 9-10.

Britain. Pongrácz was deeply impressed, ‘throughout the conference Baptists and Anglicans could sit with a great peaceful acceptance of one another, I have personal talks with people coming from a very diverse variety of denominations and I felt that we are fighting for the same aim, therefore we are, indeed, one’.²⁵³ He, like Csizmadia, Bilkei, and Csiky was very productive in translating books from English into Hungarian. His correspondence with the retired Andrew Moody in Hungarian resulted in the publication of *Jézus és Zákheus* (originally Sought and Saved)²⁵⁴, *Az üdvösség napja* (The Day of Salvation),²⁵⁵ and *Diadalom* (Triumph) to mention just a few.²⁵⁶

The Mission extended its influence to the other two Protestant Colleges, through personal contacts as well as the Home Mission organisations. Concerning the Kolozsvár Protestant College of the Transylvania Church Province Béla Kenessey and István Kecskeméthy, though never bursars themselves, were well connected with the Hold utca hub where their voices were heard as confessionally loyal Christians whose piety was permeated by Scottish Evangelicalism.²⁵⁷ When Protestant theological education was transferred from Nagyenyed to Kolozsvár, Kenessey became its first dean, and Kecskeméthy became a professor at the faculty (1895-1936). They introduced home mission through the Sunday school, Bethany CE and later the MEKDSz.²⁵⁸ The most pronounced feature of Scottish influence came to the fore through John Mott’s evangelisation. Imre Révész junior recalled at a General Assembly of MEKDSz that a particular Transylvanian group of students was influenced by the Hold utca Evangelical-Pietist ideas, especially through Mott. He underlined that none of the theological colleges was so profoundly influenced as the one in Kolozsvár where he was a student at the time of Mott’s visit.²⁵⁹ This aforementioned group of theological students from Kolozsvár became leaders of the Hungarian Reformed Church. Their influence as future church leaders is outwith the scope of the period of research but it is worth mentioning that they participated in home mission movements. László Ravasz (1882-1975) was influenced by Mott and was one of the executive members of the

²⁵³ Ibid. p. 9.

²⁵⁴ Pápai Református Gyűjtemény, [Thereafter PRGy] Pongrácz József Collection, DREL 22. d. Letter from Andrew Moody to Pongrácz 16 April 1909.

²⁵⁵ PRGy, Pongrácz József Collection, DREL 22. d. Letter from Andrew Moody to Pongrácz 7 May 1909.

²⁵⁶ PRGy, Pongrácz József Collection, DREL 22. d. Letter from Andrew Moody to Pongrácz 16 February 1909.

²⁵⁷ Chapter 5. Section. 5.2.1. The Elisabeth-Boulevard and Hold Street evangelistic meetings from 1890

²⁵⁸ Csia, pp. 4, 7.

²⁵⁹ Imre Révész jun., *Mit köszönhetek én az Evangéliumi Keresztyén Diákmozgalomnak?* ([n. place]: Szövétnek Könyvkiadó Vállalat, 1925), pp. 8-10.

MEKDSz' national board.²⁶⁰ Similarly, Imre Révész junior (1889-1967) actively participated in the MEKDSz and acknowledged its profound impact on his personal piety. He was also a pioneer figure in the Sunday school movement in Transylvania together with Ravasz.²⁶¹ It is no surprise that he wrote with great sympathy and affection about the great benefits of Somerville's evangelistic tours as a church historian. Sándor Makkai, (1890-1951) also showed the impact of Scottish Evangelicalism.²⁶² In later years each of these men rose to become bishops, Ravasz (1921-48) in Budapest, Révész (1938-49) in Debrecen, and Makkai (1926-36) in Kolozsvár. Also they were professors of Practical Theology in Kolozsvár and Debrecen (Ravasz and Makkai) and Church History in Debrecen. Each one of them referred in their memoirs, and writings to the indirect Scottish influence through MEKDSz. It is a remarkable fact when it is considered how influential they became. They were friendly and sympathetic in their ecclesiastical dealings with the old and future revivalist movements. Thus, the young students of Kolozsvár were exposed to Evangelicalism through the Scottish Mission initiated home mission organisations, especially MEKDSz under the wings of the older generation of revivalists, Kenessey and Kecskeméthy.

Only Sárospatak Reformed College with its theological seminary seemed to be exempt from the Scottish influence.²⁶³ Nonetheless, it does not stand as many of MÖMM [Hungarian Voluntary Student Movement] / MEKMSz founders studied there.²⁶⁴ It is likely that the direct result of the new contact was that Sárospatak sent its student, László Deme to

²⁶⁰ László Ravasz, *Emlékezéseim* (Budapest: A Református Egyház Zsinati Irodájának Sajtóosztálya, 1992), pp. 112-113. He was the presiding bishop of the Hungarian Reformed Church between the two World Wars. Though Mott's influence is acknowledged, Ravasz's role was not so unequivocal as he does not seem to be an unconditioned supporter of the home mission movements. Rather, Ravasz launched heavy charges against the YMCA such as 'English disease [rachitis], sectarianism, and becoming Baptist' at the conference of the Kolozsvár Church District. From István Pap Bilkei's article one may infer just how enmical he became to this home mission movement. See: Bilkei Pap István, 'Az ifjúsági egyesületek', *PEIL*, 53. 19 (8 May 1910), pp. 294-7. This may have a possible connection to the Gábor Bethlen Kör of Kolozsvár – not to be confused with the Pest one of 1900- being turned down by the MEKDSz. In spite of the above criticism Ravasz relied on the support of his MEKDSz friends János Victor, Imre Révész, István Benkő and others. See, *Emlékezéseim*, pp. 182-4.

²⁶¹ András Mózes, *A vasárnapi iskolák története* (Cluj-Kolozsvár: Ifjú Erdély, 1935), pp. 22, 24.

²⁶² Imre Révész, *Vallomások. Teológiai önéletrajz és válogatott kiadatlan kéziratok* (Budapest: [Ref. Zsinati Iroda Sajtóosztálya], 1990), pp. 32-35. See also: Sándor Makkai, *Szolgálatom. Teológia önéletrajz 1944* (Budapest: Ref. Zsinati Iroda Sajtóosztálya 1990), p. 37. Imre Révész junior was the grandson of Imre Révész. According to János Csohány Révész as well as together with Ferenc Balogh melted the traditional orthodox piety of the Debrecen Puritanism with Scottish Evangelicalism. Imre Révész junior was a historian and became bishop of the Transtibiscan Church Province. Sándor Makkai was a future professor of practical theology from 1936.

²⁶³ Kool, pp. 214-17.

²⁶⁴ 'A liverpooli diákgyűlés', *ÉM* 4.2 (1912), p. 1. See also: 'A magyar diák mozgalom története 1912 őszeig', *Diákvilág* 5.1. (1913), p. 34.

Edinburgh in 1911/12.²⁶⁵ He attended the conference of SVM in Liverpool on 28 January 1912.²⁶⁶ However, the Evangelical impact on Sárospatak was short-lived. The students held a MEKDSz conference in Debrecen during the course of the summer and in the autumn they started a Sunday school in Sárospatak without seeking the permission of the local pastor. Officially this was the reason why many of them had to leave the seminary but in fact their 'pietistic behaviour' was rejected. The expelled students enrolled in Debrecen, Pápa and Budapest. Home mission in Sárospatak was greatly hindered by this event, but it prospered at the other four theological colleges.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the cultural transformation of the Scottish Mission and its associated agencies as they adapted to the policies of Magyarisation that were introduced by the Hungarian government during the last three decades of the nineteenth century, and matured during the first decades of the twentieth century. It has been shown that the Mission proved itself more able to adapt to the new cultural and social realities than the German-speaking Affiliated Church that gradually declined during this period. The Scottish missionaries who were contemporary with, or succeeded Koenig, each acquired good command of the Hungarian language and were willing for the Mission to adapt to Hungarian culture, a transition that can be said to have been achieved by the early 1910s.

The real test lay in the evolving character of the Mission School which, after initial resistance, effectively transformed itself into a Hungarian-language institution that enabled it to serve the needs of its Jewish and Christian clients. A similar transformation was evident in other home mission organisations in whose genesis the Mission had been involved, and which now emerged as mature organisations within the life of the Hungarian Reformed

²⁶⁵ Hörsik, fol. 25. Cf. Bertalan Csillik, 'Előhang. A sárospataki külmissziótanulmányozó kör II. évi első gyűléséről', *Diákvilág*, 3. 4, (1911) pp. 53-8. There are conflicting claims here since Hörsik regarded only Deme Sárospatak student and Lajos Szűcs from Debrecen whereas Csillik, in his article speaks of him as a student from Sárospatak. The puzzling problem seems to be solved if one considers that the revivalist students of Sárospatak met opposition and were forced to enrol at other seminaries since they started to initiate a Sunday school without seeking permission. The striking similarity between this initiative and that of Szabó in 1884 did not escape Kool's attention. Cf. Kool, p. 217.

²⁶⁶ Pongrácz intimated that there was 11 of them. On the contrary Kool said: 'Bertalan Csillik and nine others attended the SVM conference in Liverpool'. Kool gives a list of nine names – probably on the basis of Bertalan Csillik, 'Előhang,' pp. 53-8. This list is as follows: István Benkő junior (himself also a bursar of 1911/12, the son of István Benkő senior bursar of 1880/81 and 1881/82), László Deme (Sárospatak-Debrecen), Lajos Szűcs (Sárospatak-Debrecen) Further names were József Baráth, Kálmán Kállai, József Pongrácz (Pápa), Sándor Szőnyi (Sárospatak), Rezső Novák (Sopron) and Károly Erdős. See: Kool, *God Moves*, p. 215. A list is mentioned in Pongrácz, József, 'A liverpooli világggyűlés', *ÉM*, 4. 2 (1912), pp. 9-10. See also: Rezső Novak, 'A liverpooli diákggyűlés', *Harangsó* (8 January 1912), pp. 112-113.

Church. It has been shown that the key factor in this cultural change, and in the growth of indigenous leadership within the home mission associations, was the growing influence of the Hungarian bursars who were exposed to Scottish Evangelicalism during their studies in Edinburgh, and who, on return to their home country, were able to disseminate the ideas and methods they had learned in Scotland.

Forgács has argued in his major study of the Hungarian Reformed Church that the home mission organisations came to standstill at the beginning of the twentieth century. He argues that the leaders of these movements ‘desired to gain [i.e. convert] the masses... but that the great lesson of history is that the awakening of the masses can only be achieved when truly converted individuals work in mutual support of each other’.²⁶⁷ The other telling observation was made by Bíró who he argues that the leadership of the home mission associations lay in the hands of too few people, notably the ‘two Aladárs’, Szabó and Szilassy.²⁶⁸ Much of the evidence that has been reviewed in this chapter supports Forgács’ and Bíró’s conclusion. The lines of argument between socially liberal and evangelically radical factions tended to be dominated by the same few people, and tended therefore to recur with some predictability.

However, due consideration needs be given, as Kool has pointed out, to the growth of interdenominational co-operation among Reformed, Lutheran and Baptist revival activists, especially through the growth of their shared commitment to international mission through the development of the MEKDSz and MÖMM organisations. This chapter has drawn attention to the important influence of the Scottish Mission in this regard, reflecting the new vision of the WSCF led by John Mott, and the 1910 Edinburgh Mission conference of which he was also one of the prime organisers.

It has also been shown that the Scottish Mission was able to play a crucial role in maintaining good relations with both the Evangelical and moderate revivalist, often labelled as liberal trends within the Hungarian Reformed Church, and was able on occasion to act as mediator between both groups. Its intermediary role should not be underestimated since people working at the Mission such as Forgács, Victor senior, Matild Müller, Fleischer and others participated in home mission organisations on both sides of the conflict. The bursars also created a natural bridge to the wider community in Pest. When the conflict abated, the

²⁶⁷ Forgács, *A belmisszió*, pp. 275-79.

²⁶⁸ Sándor Bíró, ‘A szabadságharcotól az első világháborúig (1848-1914)’ in *A Magyar Református Egyház története*, ed. by Sándor Bíró and István Szilágyi reprint (Sárospatak: Sárospataki Református Kollégium Theológiai Akadémiája, 1995), p. 396.

Mission managed to bring together the people of various home mission associations in the *Hold utca* circle. The visits of John Hall (1908) and John Mott (1909) brought fresh insights into the relationship between the spiritual and social dimensions of revival, and prepared the way for acknowledging the common goals of mission in a desire to revive the Hungarian Reformed Church.

Forgács is also inclined to generalisation in asserting that ‘The [home] mission initiated in Budapest had found favour in Debrecen and Pápa but in the Cistibiscan and Transylvanian Church Provinces, especially in Sárospatak and Kolozsvár, the leaders of the church opposed the new movement’.²⁶⁹ This is only partly true. While this chapter has given attention to the leading role of Pest, Debrecen and Pápa, it has also drawn attention to the extension of the revivalist movement in southern and eastern Hungary. The Scottish Mission did not overlook these regions, either in the work of colportage, or in arranging the itineraries of visiting speakers from abroad, and the bursars also had significant impact through the churches and theological colleges. Thus, in Kolozsvár for example, many leading persons of the Hungarian Reformed Church first encountered and adopted the teaching and spirit of the Evangelical-Pietist revival from 1908.²⁷⁰ Kolozsvár thereafter became a centre of home mission activism up to the outbreak of the First World War.

The chapter has also drawn attention to the durability of many elements of the revival that were first introduced by the Scottish Mission in the middle of the nineteenth century. The Evangelical Alliance prayer meetings at the beginning of the year, the ministerial conferences, the diaconal work and the Sunday School movement not only survived within the *Hold utca* hub, but moved out of this close circle to permeate the whole of the Reformed Church. New movements were established such as the YMCA, Lorántffy Zsuzsanna Association, the Bethany C. E., MEKDSz and other home mission organisations. By the early twentieth century these organisations became nationwide movements within the Hungarian Reformed Church, led by Hungarians. It was in these ways that the Scottish Mission’s goal of reviving the church can be said to have been significantly fulfilled during the period with which this chapter is concerned.

²⁶⁹ Forgács, *A belmisszió*, p. 278. It is interesting for us to notice that the charges were Phariseeism, Pietism and ‘preparing the ground for Baptist and Sects.’

²⁷⁰ It is true that there was some opposition to home mission from Bishop György Bartók (1899-1897), but the other centre of ecclesiastical power, Béla Kenessey, the dean of the theological seminary at Kolozsvár held a sway over the institute and in the Transylvanian Church Province to the extent when Bartók died, he was the person to succeed him as a bishop from 1908.

While this must be credited as a success of the Mission, the chapter has shown that it was largely at the expense of the Mission's other original goal, that of evangelism of the Jewish community in Pest. The Scottish members of the Mission never relinquished this goal which in their minds continued to be inherently connected with that of the evangelical revival of the Hungarian Reformed Church, the former in the original vision of "Rabbi" Duncan and other, being the precursor of the latter. It is equally true, however, that the home mission movements initiated and supported by the Scottish Mission, and the Hungarian bursars, did not give anything like the same priority to Jewish mission as did the Scots. Although they did not renounce this goal, it rested inert in the activities of the home mission associations. It is equally true that the Scottish missionaries were able to make little progress in Jewish evangelism beyond the work of colportage and the Mission School. The latter, as has been shown, was under constant criticism from the Jewish community, and even Webster's ambitious plan in the construction of a new educational complex failed to increase significantly the Mission's achievement in this regard. It was not to be until the end of the period under research in the thesis that the Scottish Mission managed to set a home mission movements in motion that undertook Jewish evangelism, as will be discussed in the following chapter.

While emphasising the relative success of the Scottish Mission in these regards, this chapter has shown that the achievements of the Mission are inseparable from those of the bursars who were associated with it. They played a crucial role by creating a network of like-minded people, drawn to evangelical revival through active participation in the home mission movement. They planted home mission ideas in the various centres of the national church, and were often at the forefront of efforts to extend the reach of these organisations into the countryside. Many of the bursars secured influential positions in the national church, and exerted their influence through securing appointments in the theological faculties, or as ministers of prominent congregations, or leaders of home mission organisations. It is in this important sense that the achievements of the Scottish Mission can be said to have arisen from the partnership between the Mission and the bursars, so much so that, with hindsight, it may be suggested that singly the most far-sighted decision of the Mission was to institute the bursary programme that was, by the period under review in this chapter, to prove of such value in instilling Scottish evangelical radicalism into the heart of the Hungarian Reformed Church.

Chapter 7: The Mission to the Jews in Hungary: Attitudes, Context and Success or Failure

Introduction

This chapter is the first of two thematic studies, the aim of which is to analyse and assess the manner and degree in which the Scottish Mission achieved its twin goals of Jewish evangelism and revival of the Hungarian Reformed Church. In this chapter we will offer an overview of the attitudes towards mission to the Jews in the Free Church of Scotland and the Scottish Mission between 1841 and 1914. These will be examined in three major eras: changing theological perspectives with the Free Church; attitudes and approaches within the Mission itself; and the emerging appreciation of the importance of Jewish evangelism in the Hungarian Reformed Church. The degree to which the Mission achieved its goals will then be examined in the light of statistical evidence of the numbers of converts. Finally, the chapter will consider whether the Mission succeeded in sustaining its original conviction that Jewish evangelism is the precursor of evangelical revival within the Church itself. We will ask to what degree the Mission was successful in involving Hungarians in the task of Jewish evangelism, as a step towards reviving the Hungarian Reformed Church. The chapter will conclude with evidence that, albeit only at the very end of the period studied, the Hungarian Reformed Church began to show signs of an independent consciousness of the priority of evangelising the Jews of Hungary.

I. Changing attitudes and challenges to mission to the Jews

There were three distinct stages in the development of attitudes in Scotland towards mission to the Jews. The first period lasted from 1838 until the early 1860s. The prelude of mission to the Jews was deeply connected to the rise of Evangelicalism in the Established Church and also inseparable from the pre-Disruption atmosphere when there was 'an air of apocalyptic excitement in Scotland'.¹ The Evangelical leaders of the Church of Scotland believed that the main mandate of the Scottish Kirk was to evangelise the world and took pride in reiterating the motto, 'our church is the first church' to carry out mission, including Jewish mission. Among the prominent Evangelicals, the main propagators of

¹ Don Chambers, 'Prelude to the Last Things the Church of Scotland's Mission to the Jews', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, 19 (1977), 43-58 (pp.53-4). See also for the background: J. Stewart Brown, 'The Ten Years' Conflict and the Disruption of 1843' in *Scotland in the Age of Disruption*, ed. by Stewart J. Brown and Michael Fry (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993), pp. 1-27 (p.15. n. 46).

Jewish mission held the view that this mission had to be a priority over other fields of mission as *primus inter pares*.² This stance was also reflected when millenarian supporters of Jewish mission declared that, for the aforementioned reason, the 'Jewish Report' should have the first place among the reports of the General Assembly every May.³

This view was clearly expressed by John Duncan, the distinguished professor of Hebrew, who said that Jewish mission had to 'be set above every other department of evangelistic labour'.⁴ The idea materialised as the Deputation travelled to Palestine in 1839, a date that marked the beginning of what may be styled the first era of Scottish Mission to the Jews, an era that lasted until the early 1860s. John Duncan, the main actor in this period, was guided by millennialist belief that the world had entered into its last days. He said: 'we are living in times of much unsettlement and commotion, and many things seem to portend that the end is fast approaching'.⁵ His inspiration for reaching out to the Jews was derived from the Biblical assurance, 'they shall prosper that love thee' (Gen 12:3).⁶ Although he never sketched a scheme of the last days, his belief that the end of history was dawning imbued him with a sense of urgency that the Jews should be evangelised, an obligation that he, together with Alexander Black who joined the Deputation, believed the Christian church had neglected for long centuries.⁷ Excited by the belief that they lived in the last days when the Gospel was to be preached to every nation – to Jews first, then to Gentiles - the Scots invested large sums of money in educational developments; establishing and extending school premises, employing a great number of teachers and missionaries. It was the time when new Jewish mission stations were established in Jassy, Pest, Constantinople, Amsterdam, Breslau and Prague. Among the Jewish mission stations Pest was the most significant since between the 1840s and 1860s the highest number of Jewish converts was registered there.⁸

There was a change in the climate of mission to the Jews from the beginning of the 1870s onwards, marking the second stage in the Jewish mission enterprise of the Kirk. Mission to the Jews began to lose its previous popularity among the general public of

² *Rich Gleanings After the Vintage from "Rabbi"* Duncan, ed. by Sinclair, J. S (London: Chas. J. Thynne & Jarvis, 1925), p. 381.

³ Chapter 1. Section III. 3. 3.3 Millennialism.

⁴ *Rich Gleanings*, p. 360.

⁵ Proceedings 1867, p. 30.

⁶ Genesis 12:3

⁷ Preface by Alexander Black in, *Conversion of the Jews; a Series of Lectures Delivered in Edinburgh by the Ministers of Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh: John Johnstone, 1842), p. vi.

church people. The best indicator of this diminishing interest was the low income for Jewish mission. The particular Sundays assigned for annual collections to support Jewish evangelism failed to cover the budget of the Jewish Mission Committee in Edinburgh.⁹ The Jewish Committee also found it difficult to recruit missionaries even to their most prestigious station, Pest. The cases of William Affleck, Andrew Thom, and William Owen Allan also betray how hard a task the Committee had to face.¹⁰ The third sign of lack of public zeal for Jewish mission is a reference from the minutes of the Edinburgh Committee that theological students were disinterested in Jewish mission, as evidenced by a disappointing evening meeting dedicated to recruiting New College students in 1875.¹¹

The declining interest in mission to the Jews was the result of the convergence of many independent factors. Concerning the general context, the emancipation of the Jews in Britain between 1833 and 1871, changed public opinion about the 'strangeness of the Jews' and consequently the 'Jewish issue' lost its intriguing appeal for the public mind.¹² Writing of the experience of the London Jewish Mission Society, Mel Scult observed that the original Puritan hope for the conversion of the entire Jewish nation was effectively abandoned in favour of an Evangelical concern for the conversion of Jews as individuals.¹³ The Free Church of Scotland, however, resisted this shift. A. Moody Stuart, the long-term convener of the Jewish Committee, continued to hold onto the vision of the national conversion of the Jews. He believed that this would happen when the 'fullness of the Gentiles is come in', though he was reluctant to speculate as to when this would occur, being content to accept that 'it is not for us to know the times', adding that 'what this fullness means will probably be known only after the event'.¹⁴ If the Scots resisted the change that swept the approach to Jewish evangelism in England, it is clear that they tended to modify the earlier millennialism of John Duncan to a more moderate position.¹⁵ Instead of speaking rhetorically of the conversion of the whole Jewish nation, they began

⁸ From the Registers of Baptism it becomes clear that some 60 Jews were converted between 1843-1851, and 1857-60. See: Kálvin téri Református Egyházközség Keresztelési, Esketésí és Halotti Anyakönyv. I. kötet. (1798-1844), II. kötet. (1845-1857). III. Kötet (1858-65).

⁹ A further line to pursue could be: What did paying people think of their donation to Jewish Mission? However, the author found no evidence on this matter.

¹⁰ See Chapter 4. 1. Challenge to the Evangelical-Pietist Alliance: conflicts between the Jewish Committee, the missionaries and the teachers. Cf. NLS Dep. 298. 253. fol. 158. Minutes of 22 September 1874.

¹¹ NLS Dep. 298.253. fol. 237. Minutes of 16 November 1875.

¹² 'Emancipation', *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, ed. by Cecil Roth and Geoffrey Wigoder, 16 vols (Jerusalem, Israel: Keter Publishing House, 1971), 6 Di-Fo, pp. 770-701.

¹³ Mel Scult, *Millennial Expectations and Jewish Liberties*, ed. by Neuser, Jacob, Studies in Judaism in Modern Times, vol 2 (Leiden: E. J Brill, 1978).

¹⁴ *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May, 1879* (Edinburgh: [n. pub.], 1879), p. 25.

to think rather in terms of the 'remnants' – i.e. Jewish converts that were preparing the way for the nation as a whole.¹⁶

In addition to the socio-political factor of Jewish emancipation, the various mission fields in which the Kirk was engaged competed for donations from the same pool of people. Alexander Duff devoted his furloughs to lobbying successfully for money to support mission in India and Africa. His focus was on mission to "the heathens", and, as Fleming has pointed out, was able to present this in terms of progress towards civilizing what were presumed to be "backward" societies; the educational work of William Miller at Madras, and James Stewart at Lovedale, South Africa, were telling examples.¹⁷ Duff later succeeded, as convener of the Church's foreign mission committee, in persuading the General Assembly to establish a chair of Evangelistic Theology that would seek to 'integrate missions into all theological disciplines, as well as to introduce theological students to the history, culture and religions of the non-Western world'.¹⁸ These considerable achievements had the unintended effect of overshadowing the earlier enthusiasm for Jewish mission, which now seemed less exciting than mission to the 'heathen' of foreign lands. The scale of such new mission enthusiasm, measured in terms of staff, investment and locations, far exceeded what the Church could muster for mission to the Jews. While it remained on the missionary agenda of the Kirk, it was no longer the *primus inter pares* of Duncan's vision.

The second half of the nineteenth century also saw a change in the theological climate of the Free Church of Scotland that had a negative impact on mission. As the German historical-critical approach to Biblical scholarship crept into the theological faculties of the Free Church in the 1870s, the Evangelically-dominated church faced unexpected challenges. The case of Marcus Dodds, a minister in Glasgow, shocked the members of the church when, in 1876, he challenged the inerrancy of Scripture.¹⁹ Then William Robertson Smith advocated a greater openness towards higher critical interpretation, and caused the great upheaval in the Free Church that led to his expulsion in 1881.²⁰ Public support for missions in general came to be questioned by this new

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ J. R. Fleming, *A History of the Church of Scotland 1843-1874*, 2 vols (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1927), I, p. 233.

¹⁸ Andrew F. Walls, 'Missions', in *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology*, ed. by Cameron, Nigel M.de S (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1993), 567-94. (p. 572).

¹⁹ J. H. S. Burleigh, *A Church History of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Hope Trust, 1983), p. 359.

²⁰ D. W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), p. 185.

phenomenon, and in the theological colleges increasing numbers of students were concerned with theories of evolution, biblical criticism and the socio-political issues of their time. If this did not undermine, it certainly began to re-shape the understanding of mission. As Fleming has pointed out, insofar as Scottish Christianity retained its Evangelical belief and practice, much of the credit is to be given to the influence that culminated in the Moody and Sankey revival at home with its far-reaching consequences abroad.²¹

All these factors had an indirect impact on Jewish mission.²² Gone were the days when the first generation of the Disruption confidently believed in the millennialist imperative for Jewish mission.²³ Many prominent leaders of Jewish mission such as Duncan, Black and McCheyne had died. Of the original members of the Deputation only A. A. Bonar survived, but he was one of the 'traditionalists [who were] becoming a dwindling minority'.²⁴ Their spiritual successors in the Committee, except perhaps A. Moody Stuart, neither held the same theological views, nor could carry the same influence in the General Assembly.

The consequences of the transitions of this second stage became fully apparent in the era between 1880 and the 1910s that can be identified as the third phase of the Scottish Mission to the Jews. One of the effects of the former era was to polarise people between those for and those against mission to the Jews, and this became an issue in the Kirk. Though the aforementioned changes in the second era did not influence the Jewish Committee itself, the Church as a whole underwent a change, as the earlier millennialist vision was replaced by the growing agenda of social concerns that quickly re-shaped the understanding of mission in a changing intellectual and scientific environment. Dodd's appointment to the New Testament chair in New College in 1890 inaugurated an era of transition in theological orientation, from a traditional Evangelical stance to a more liberal Evangelical understanding of the Christian faith.

This was noticed in Edinburgh. At the golden jubilee (1889) of the foundation of the mission in Pest, Adolph Saphir commented on the 'change of religious opinion' in Scotland,²⁵ and attributed the decline in public interest in Jewish mission to the 'immense

²¹ Fleming, I, p. 231.

²² Bebbington, pp. 184-5.

²³ Burleigh, p. 360.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Gavin Carlyle, "Mighty in the Scriptures" A Memoir of Adolph Saphir, D.D. (London: John F. Shaw and Co, 1893), p. 314.

amount of latent Socinianism in the congregations' and the 'preaching of humanitarian views of Christ'.²⁶ He also noticed that mission to the 'heathen' was being preferred over mission to the Jews, and that the value of Jewish mission was being questioned on the utilitarian grounds that the numbers of Jewish converts did not match those of the heathen. To these concerns Saphir replied: 'Were not the faithful who waited for the consolation of Israel in Christ's time small in number?'.²⁷ He denied that the number of Jewish converts was in fact as small as the detractors of Jewish mission claimed, pointing out that there were 'three hundred Jewish converts working as ministers' in Europe, and that the 'marvellous work of Rabinowich' was, for those with open minds, a 'sign of the times'.

Yet the charge that Jewish mission was ineffective lingered on for decades. The alleged failure to convert the Jews in significant numbers, and the supposed 'poor quality' of the few converts, prompted severe criticism within the circles of the Free Church around the turn of the century.²⁸ In defence of Jewish mission against the argument of low numbers of converts, it was argued that the numbers of Jewish converts in the world were comparatively higher than those of Gentiles.²⁹ For example, Professor Thomas Nichol³⁰ argued in 1903:

Assuming that there are a thousand millions heathen in the world, the fruits of a century of missionary labour, reckoned by us for this comparison at twenty millions, are as *one in fifty* [italics inserted]. Assuming that there are in all ten millions of Jews, the fruits of labour in their evangelisation – estimated at a quarter of a million – are as *one in forty* [italics inserted].³¹

Rebutting the other allegation about the 'poor quality' of converts, apologists like Saphir, never missed the chance to draw attention to prominent figures among the converted Jews such as Franz Delitzsch, Alfred Edersheim, Isaac Da Costa³², Carl Caspari,³³ Adolph

²⁶ Adolph Saphir's speech, 'The Jewish Evening at the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland 24th May 1889', in Report on the Conversion of the Jews to the General Assembly 1889, Appendix IX, Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland held at Edinburgh May, 1889 (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1889), 1-31. (p. 28).

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Cf. Chapter 6. Section. II. 3. The 'efficiency' of the Jewish missionary enterprise.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ NLS Dep. 298. 275. fol. 22. Minutes of 24 April 1911, Nichol was so highly esteemed that he was approached to represent the Committee at the International Jewish Conference held in Stockholm.

³¹ Thomas Nichol, 'Success of Jewish Mission. Extract from Jewish Missionary Herald', *Missionary Record of the United Free Church of Scotland* [Thereafter *MRUFCoS*], 3. 29 (May 1903), p. 221.

³² Jan A. B. Jongeneel, 'Isaac Da Costa' in *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions*, ed. by Anderson, Gerald (Cambridge U.K: William B. Eerdmans, 1999), p. 153.

³³ Jacob Gartenhaus, *Famous Hebrew Christians* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1979), pp. 53-6.

Saphir and many others to highlight the effectiveness of Jewish mission.³⁴ The converts' liberal endowments were exalted and compared to the alleged lack of comparable prominent converts of foreign missions. The chairman of the Jewish Mission Committee, W. Ewing, published an article in defence of the success of Jewish mission that drew on the reports of the International Jewish Missionary conference held in London in 1903 to draw the same conclusion as Professor Nichol. The only difference in his arguments, besides numerical justification and listing prominent Jewish converts, was that he spoke of larger numbers of converts who were now part of Christian ministry stating that '750 Jewish converts are to-day occupying Christian pulpits'.³⁵ John Hall, the Edinburgh minister, was approached by the Edinburgh Committee to produce a book with a view to promoting mission to the Jews as well as refuting the recurrent charges. He, like Saphir, Nichol and Ewing, drew attention to the quality of Jewish converts claiming that the 'majority of these [converts] have been people of position, and education and culture'.³⁶

These defences notwithstanding, the high expectations, the dominating presence of some influential leading Disruption 'divines', and the generously donating public within the Kirk during the early period of Scottish mission to the Jews could not find their match in the last period, and the founding fathers would have found it hard to imagine the situation in the early twentieth century when the supporters of Jewish mission had to defend themselves. The pendulum had swung from one tangent to another, but in fact the main character of mission to the Jews did not really change. There was, however, still a small circle of religious enthusiasts, especially among devout Evangelicals, who remained committed to the evangelisation of the Jews. The Scottish Mission was able to call on this loyal group to raise funds for the schools and hospitals at various locations in Europe and Palestine. These people continued to believe that the Gospel would find its way to Jewish hearts, and that there would be a full conversion of Israel – whether or not this entailed their return to the land of Israel – that needed to be prepared by the conversion of individuals on behalf of the many. These religious enthusiasts therefore celebrated each conversion as a success, anticipating 'greater things' in the fullness of time. This mode of thinking resulted in a 'success language' that ran like a thread through the three periods we have identified.

³⁴ Thomas Nichol, 'Success of Jewish Mission. Extract from Jewish Missionary Herald', *MRFCofS*, 3. 29 (May 1903), p. 221.

³⁵ W. Ewing, 'Has Jewish Mission Been a Failure?', *MRFCofS*, 4. 44 (August 1904), 349-50 (p. 350.)

³⁶ John Hall, 'Our Jewish Mission', *Israel in Europe*, 3 vols:(Edinburgh: United Free Church, 1914), p. 48.

II. Jewish Mission: success or failure?

1. Success language at the Scottish Mission in Budapest

The Scottish Mission, the missionaries and the board always perceived and presented themselves in terms of ‘success’ that could be measured by ‘evidence’. Among the earliest examples is David Brown who pointed to Israel Saphir’s conversion as evidence of the early success of the Pest Mission.³⁷ The interrelatedness of success and evidence can also be seen in the following: ‘As evidence of the success of [the Mission] School, it may be mentioned, that the Jews have made the most energetic efforts to increase and enlarge their own schools, introducing considerable improvements, and facilitating the admission of children’.³⁸ Reports about converts were written in the same tone. Such was Webster’s claim that the conversion of the Jews in the first decades of the twentieth century was more successful than in the ‘Pentecostal times’ of the 1840s.³⁹ Another typical claim was reflected in Moody Stuart’s remark about the school:

In reading it [Koenig’s letter as a report of 1871-72], we cannot but be filled with gratitude for the hold, which the Lord has given us on the Jewish population in Pesth. Confessedly there is no Christian Hebrew school in the world *so successful* [italics inserted]; and apparently there is no city in the world where there is the same entrance into the Jewish community.⁴⁰

These examples should be read as evidence of the missionaries’ need for self-assurance, and to satisfy the Edinburgh Committee. The present author would argue, however, that understandable as the preoccupation with numbers of converts may be, it diverts attention from the real achievement of the Mission in Pest. This lay not in the number of Jews who were converted to Christianity, but in the fact that the many home mission agencies, that the Mission was instrumental in creating in Pest, had such an extensive and long-lasting impact on the lives of many individuals in both the Jewish and Gentile communities.

This focuses our attention on the quality rather than quantity of Jewish converts. The Scottish Mission in Pest can be considered successful in the sense that it produced some of the most outstanding Jewish converts, whom other Jewish mission agencies often referred to as ‘icons’. The early converts of the Mission in Pest, Adolph Saphir, Alfred

³⁷ David Brown, *Life of the Late John Duncan*, 2nd rev. edn (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1872), pp. 333-4.

³⁸ National Library of Scotland, Church of Scotland Minutes. Free and United Free Church of Scotland (1853-1863), Deposit 298.251, fol. 245.

³⁹ David McDougall, *In Search of Israel: a Chronicle of the Jewish Missions of the Church of Scotland* (London: T. Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1941), pp. 125-6. See also RCJ of 1917, Appendix, IV, p. 8.

⁴⁰ RCJ of 1872, Appendix IX, p. 18.

Edersheim, and Rabbi Lichtenstein all became well-known and respected figures of Evangelicalism, the like of whom not many Jewish missions could boast.⁴¹ There is another aspect that was undoubtedly a success for the Mission in Pest, which has escaped the attention of even the meticulous missiologist, Kool.⁴² John Hall pointed out that James Webster's first Jewish convert, Gyula Fleischer, became the founder of the Hungarian Evangelical Foreign Missions Association [MEKMSz].⁴³ He was surely the driving force behind this initiative. Furthermore, one of the first pioneer Hungarian missionaries to Africa was the son of a colporteur, Roth from Mezőberény, who may have been a convert's son, though of this there is no conclusive evidence.⁴⁴ However, many of the BFBS colporteurs were Jews, including Bernáth Victor, the head of the Hungarian branch. For the Scots, Roth's becoming a missionary 'marked an advance...in the direction of Mission work - both home and foreign - on the part of the Hungarian Protestant Church'.⁴⁵

2. Numbers of Jewish converts at the Scottish Mission in Pest

Having made the point that it is the quality of the Jewish converts, rather than their number, that needs be taken into consideration in assessing the achievement of the Scottish Mission, it is necessary to return to numbers since it was on this matter that so much of the nineteenth century debate turned.

In the course of its history of some seventy years, the present writer calculates that the numbers of Jewish converts during the whole period of the Scottish Mission with which this thesis is concerned fell rather short of a thousand people altogether.⁴⁶ The former missionary Gyula Forgács puts the number at 743 for the period 1841 to 1918. His information is most thorough in establishing a statistical measure of the Mission's success. However, it is possible to translate Forgács' raw figures into a pattern of conversion that the present researcher has gleaned from the archival sources.

⁴¹ We know of not a single person of such great significance in any other Jewish mission station [for instance, Breslau, Jassy, Constantinople] of the Free Church.

⁴² Kool, p. 197. n. 28.

⁴³ Hall, p. 61. See also: James T. Webster, 'Reviving Life in Hungary', *MRFCS*, 4. 42 (June, 1904), 246-8.

⁴⁴ 'Új magyar misszionárius', *Élet és Munka*, 3. 6 (June 1911), p. 47. Cf. Hall, p. 47. Roth's farewell speech was intimated in an article 'Von Unserem Missionfeste', *Missziói Lapok*, 14. 1. (1912), p. 12. cited by Kool, p. 269. Was it Henrik Roth the Missionary of MAHEM. He was to go to Kilimandjaro in East Africa from the Leipzig Mission.

⁴⁵ RCJ of 1913, p. 56.

⁴⁶ Gyula Forgács, 'A száz éves Skót Misszió, in *És lőn világosság. Ravasz László hatvanadik életéve és a dunamelléki püspökségének huszonadik évfordulója alkalmából* (Budapest: Klny, 1941), 412-429 (p.413). Forgács states that from 1841 until 1918 the Mission had 743 converts.

A comparative analysis of the percentage of Jewish converts in relation to the overall Jewish population in Pest, between the earliest (1843-1851) and latest (1903-1911) periods of this research, reveals a pattern of decline in Jewish conversion. William Wingate tells us that the Pest Mission had no fewer than 78 between 1843 and 1851.⁴⁷ The total Jewish population of Pest in 1851 being 12,642 persons, this means that the converts constituted 0.6 percent. Turning to the late period of research (1903-1911), John Hall stated in 1914 that 'the actual baptisms during the last ten years are sixty'.⁴⁸ A careful analysis of the Register of Baptisms at Kálvin tér Church puts the figure slightly higher, at a minimum of 67.⁴⁹ By 1910 the number of the Jews in the capital was 203,687 persons,⁵⁰ as a percentage of which the Jewish converts had sunk to 0.03 percent. We must conclude, therefore, that the rate of conversion, in relation to the total population, decreased by comparison with the early period. This suggests that within Forgács' statistics there is a progressive decline in the number of converts, year by year, and that the low percentage of Jewish converts in relation to the total Jewish community by the end of our research period indicates that the missionaries tended to inflate the number of converts and were over-optimistic in their assessment of Jewish inclination towards Evangelical conversion.⁵¹

If we amalgamate the numbers of converts in the early and late periods, and subtract this from the overall figure of 743 given by Forgács, we are left with 598 converts over the five decades from 1851 to 1900, and five years between 1913 and 1918. This puts an average conversion rate for a decade at approximately 110 persons. It is striking that this is actually a higher figure than the number of converts in either the initial

⁴⁷ Gavin Carlyle, *Life and Work of the Rev. William Wingate Missionary to the Jews* (London: Alfred Holness, [n.d.]), pp.124-126. Though in this list, from our knowledge it is clear that not all the converts such as the Rawlins were Jews, but the majority were undoubtedly Jews.

⁴⁸ He must have referred to data of 1903 and 1913 gained from the Report for the conversion of the Jews.

⁴⁹ This figure does not include those who had been converted and baptized as the result of colportage. Nor those Jews baptised elsewhere counted among the Budapest Scottish Mission converts. The number of eighty converts is based on the RCJ from 1903 until 1913. The repartition is as follows. 1903 (2), 1904 (9), 1905 (3 not certain), 1906 (16), 1907 (8 not certain), 1908 (8), 1909 (2 not certain), 1910 (15), 1911 (6), 1912 (7), 1913 (4). The numbers are 67 on the minimalist approach. All together is 67, which is the minimalist approach. Interestingly enough, during the First World War conversion was not reported but it could well be due to the fact that the missionaries themselves were not on the spot. There were no converts mentioned either in 1914 or in 1915. The report for 1916 is missing. There is no information on Jewish converts in the reports of 1917 and 1918. Secondly, 'another testimony of success' for the Scots was the fact that 'ninety-nine cases of conversion were known to have taken place in that year [1913] due to colportage.

⁵⁰ János Gyurgyák, *A zsidókérdés Magyarországon* (Budapest: Osiris Kiadó, 2001), p. 79.

⁵¹ If we subtract (78+67=) 145 from the overall figure, 743 given by Forgács we receive 598 persons. There were five decades between 1851 and 1900, and 5 years between 1913 and 1918. This time scale accounts for the remaining numbers. It is highly surprising to notice that on average the figures for a decade on average would be approximately 110 persons, a figure that is higher than those of the Pentecostal times. Therefore, it is fair to say that the personal experience, the exciting stories, the significance of converts' prominence led to overstatement of claiming more converts during such times. It is very likely that before Forgács took time to count the converts in 1941, not many missionaries had done the same.

or final periods that were examined in the previous paragraph. Insofar as the missionaries tended to acclaim the initial periods as a 'Pentecostal time' in the history of the Mission, basing their optimism on the number of converts, this also can be seen as a pious exaggeration. It was, rather, the middle decades of the Mission's history, when the Mission was defined through the painstaking work of the school, hospital, colportage and other home mission activities, that produced a flow of converts that, if gradually declining, included people of distinction who contributed to planting the evangelical missionary spirit in the Hungarian Reformed Church.

III. Jewish Mission, a Challenge to the Reformed Church of Hungary

1. The relationship between the two aims of the Mission

While the main object of the Scottish Mission in Hungary was to convert the Jews, Duncan was aware that Protestantism in Hungary at the time was of a kind that would impede the endeavour to proselytise Jews. Hungarian Reformed religion was nationalist and rationalist, in marked contrast to the Scottish Evangelicalism with which Duncan was familiar. Realising this, Duncan suggested that, in order to achieve the goal of Jewish evangelism, the Scottish Mission should at the same time seek the Evangelical revival of the Hungarian Protestant Church. This led the Mission to espouse as its second goal, directly related to the first, the re-shaping of the Reformed faith in Hungary in the likeness of Scottish Calvinism. In setting this goal, the Mission hoped that the future members of the revived Hungarian church would continue the mission to the Jews that the Scottish Mission had initiated.

In the course of the Mission's history, as our evidence has shown, this original concept came to be revised as the Mission, particularly under the influence of the first bursars, sought the revival of the Hungarian Reformed Church as a goal in itself. It was, of course, essential to their understanding of revival that a revived church would be a true mission church, but this was envisaged primarily in terms of home mission as Hungary was emerging as a modern state. As regards mission to the Jews, the Scottish Mission seemed to content itself, from the 1860s, with creating small circles of revivalist Hungarian Christians who could provide a warm and welcoming community for converted Jews. In this regard, the Mission's role in creating the German Affiliated congregation, and supporting it as a place of Evangelical renewal in relation to the Pest Reformed Church can be considered a positive achievement, as it nurtured a place where Jewish converts could

find a Christian community that took its Evangelical commitment seriously in the practice of home mission. By the end of the 1870s the Evangelical-Pietist alliance became strong through the congregation, hospital and colportage, though these activities fell short of a specific mission to the Jews.

In the 1880s and 1890s there was a conscious endeavour on the Mission's part to help the emerging Home Mission organisations in the Hungarian-speaking part of the Reformed Church. Consequently, the focus of the Mission swung towards initiating the revival of the Reformed churches of Hungary. However, the Scottish Mission never lost sight of its original intention, nor did it ever give up the hope of persuading the Hungarian Reformed Church to take up Jewish evangelism itself. A significant advance in this direction was achieved when an independent Hungarian home and foreign mission emerged from the 1900s, which began to show the first signs of conscious obligation to mission to the Jews. However, mission to the Jews was and remained mainly the concern of the Scottish Mission itself. Insofar as it was able to attract local support, it was through the members of the German-speaking congregation, who included Jewish converts.

2. Implanting awareness of mission to the Jews into the Hungarian Reformed Church

To implant an awareness of mission to the Jews was not an easy task for the missionaries. Initially, there were three groups of people to carry out mission to the Jews: the colporteurs, the teachers in the Mission school aided by some members of the German-speaking congregation, and the bursars.

The colporteurs were Jewish converts who participated in proselytising among their own people from the very outset of the Mission and contributed to its enterprise. Other Jewish converts, for instance Adolf Lippner who served as a medical missionary, and again others who were not employed by the mission societies, also took part in the Jewish evangelisation.

The second group who shared in mission work among the Jews comprised the revivalists of the German-speaking congregation. The Jewish Committee decided to support the foundation of the congregation on the condition that its members would participate in Jewish mission.⁵² It is to be recalled that it took a while for even the leading voices of German-speaking Pietists to respond to the Jewish Committee's appeal.⁵³

⁵² NLS, Dep. 298.251, fol. 442. See discussion in Chapter 3. Section. II. 3.3.1. Theology: Jewish Mission Seen as the Task of the Church.

⁵³ See Chapter 4. Section. II. 2. Conflict between the Jewish Committee and the Congregation.

Gradually, the Pietist teachers of the Mission school, who were also the most active members of the congregation, began to become involved in Jewish evangelism. By the early 1870s the teachers' annual reports to the Edinburgh Committee included references to their progress in winning Jews by means of the education that the Mission School provided.⁵⁴ It is clear, also, that they were supported in this work by some members of the Affiliated Church such as Biberauer and the Jewish converts who were not involved in the running of the School itself. However, the Affiliated Church did not undertake any corporate responsibility for Jewish mission, and this must be registered as a failure on the part of the Mission to seed its priority for the conversion of the Jews in the life of the German-speaking congregation as a whole that was designed to present a model of a true missionary congregation to the Hungarian Reformed Church.

The Mission had greater success, however, with the Hungarian bursars who, from the 1880s, showed some signs of awareness of the importance of Jewish evangelism. The bursars' main concern was the revival of their church along the lines of the Free Church as they had experienced it in Scotland, especially its organisations for home and foreign mission. Nationalism was a driving concern for them, and provided the context in which they sought to create a lively and renewed national, Hungarian Church. Early bursars like Balogh, Csiky, Szalay and Kecskeméti, who exhibited an interest in mission, were all primarily concerned with introducing home mission to the national body of the Reformed Church.⁵⁵ It was only later that their minds turned to the necessity of Jewish mission, once the bursars saw the fruits of their efforts to root the concept of home mission among their fellow Hungarian Protestants. Not before 1882 do we find evidence of a bursar, István Fa, expressing definite interest in mission to the Jews. This was due to the fact that he was employed by the Mission as the first bursar to teach in the Mission School on a regular basis.⁵⁶ Yet his initiative was not, nor could it have been at this time, independent of the Mission. One must bear in mind that both the Jewish converts and the members of the congregation were at this time German-speaking. This impeded communication between them and the Magyar-speaking Hungarians of the Reformed Church. It was only with the growing Magyarisation of Jews, and of the home mission organisations, that Hungarian

⁵⁴ See Chapter 4. Section. II. 5.1. The missionary character of the school: the Aim of their teaching

⁵⁵ For instance see the author's discussion on Balogh and Csiky of Debrecen. See: Chapter 4. Section. 5.3. Impact of the bursars in Debrecen

⁵⁶ RCJ of 1882, Appendix IX, p. 33. See discussions of Chapter 4. section. 5.3. The Impact of the Scottish Mission on the bursars

interest in mission to the Jews began to emerge separately from the work of the Scottish Mission itself.⁵⁷

It is the 1880s and 1890s, therefore, when the first home mission organisations were taking root, that we find examples of growing awareness of Jewish mission on the part of bursars. András Hamar is the first person to appear in the missionary reports as consciously undertaking mission to the Jews on his own initiative.⁵⁸ Lajos Szabó,⁵⁹ the first bursar from Transylvania, wrote an article in the provincial periodical of his church about the importance of Jewish mission, explaining the work of various Jewish missionary societies.⁶⁰ Never short of imaginative ideas, Aladár Szabó, suggested in an article in *Új óramutató* that Jewish converts should form separate churches: 'if the Jews convert in great number, organise them into a Hungarian Jewish-Christian church'.⁶¹ This ran counter to the Scottish Mission's approach of seeking to integrate Jews into existing churches as part of the process of reviving them evangelically, though it must be acknowledged that he later seems to have modified his idea by integrating Jews into the Reformed Church especially through the work of Bethany CE.⁶²

It was not until the early twentieth century, however, that these first rudimentary signs of Hungarian Reformed outreach to the Jews began to take real shape in various home mission associations. From 1903 YMCA members regularly participated in spreading the good news to Jews by way of distributing tracts.⁶³ Their periodical, *Ébresztő* often published articles on mission to the Jews in other parts of Europe, such as one about Lichtenstein's life,⁶⁴ and also discussed Jewish mission in Hungary.⁶⁵ It should not be overlooked that the leaders of the Hungarian foreign mission organisation, MEKMSz, also carried out mission to the Jews since Gyula Fleischer, the secretary and Árpád Szabady,

⁵⁷ Viktor Karády, *Zsidóság, polgárosodás, asszimiláció* (Budapest: Cserépfalvi, 1997), p. 164. Here Karády says that between 1880 and 1910, the number of Hungarian speaking Jews doubled.

⁵⁸ Andrew Moody, 'Report on the Conversion of the Jews to the General Assembly. Pesth Appendix IX' in *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May 1890* (Edinburgh: [n. pub], 1890), pp. 1-28. (p. 6).

⁵⁹ Richard Hörcsik, *History of the Hungarian Scholarship at Edinburgh*, HOR I (1985), fol. 23. Szabó was a bursar during 1887/8 from Nagyenyed.

⁶⁰ Lajos Szabó, 'Misziói (sic!) törekvés a zsidók között', *Erdélyi Protestáns Közlöny*, 40, 41, 42, 43 (1887 a, b), pp. 355-7, 363-5, 373-74, 382-83.

⁶¹ Aladár Szabó, 'Befejezés', *Új Óramutató*, ed. by Szabó, Aladár (Budapest: Hornyánszky Viktor nyomdája, 1896), p. 148.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ See: Chapter 5. Section II. 3. YMCA. There, the following are cited. RCJ of 1904, Appendix VIII, p. 9.

⁶⁴ 'Lichtenstein, Ignác Rabbi', *Ébresztő*, 7. 11 (1908), pp. 175-6.

⁶⁵ Gyula Fleischer, 'A világmiszió', *Ébresztő*, 4. 8 (1904), 119-135 (pp.131-32).

the treasurer of the organisation were both Jewish converts.⁶⁶ They organised a biweekly prayer meeting for the conversion of the Jews.⁶⁷ Also they held a charity evening for the support of the victims of the Russian pogroms in 1906.⁶⁸ Indeed, the MEKMSz's aim was to reach out to 'the heathen' abroad and the Jews in Hungary.⁶⁹ In this way the MEKMSz combined the focus on 'foreign mission' that is included in its title with home mission to the Jews in Hungary. Mór Vai, a member of the Budapest YMCA, argued that Hungarians had a mission to the Jews as well as the Muslims throughout the Balkan region.⁷⁰ But it was mission to the Jews in Hungary that became the distinguishing feature of the Hold utca related people who realised that a firm base in home mission is essential to a successful initiative in mission to other parts of the world, the two aspects being justified in the Biblical vision of the Gospel being shared with both the Jews and Gentiles.⁷¹

A further indication of the growing awareness of mission to the Jews among Hungarians is found in the initiatives taken by some ministers. Webster noted in a report of 1904: 'it was a particular joy to find in various parts of Hungary that the ministers of the Reformed Church are awakening to a *sense of their responsibility towards the Jews* [Webster's italics]. In one place I found that the minister had been the means of leading quite a number into the Church, and I know of many others elsewhere who have had a life of privilege'.⁷²

Reference has been made in passing to Szabó's change of mind on the question of integrating Jewish converts into the Hungarian Reformed Church through the Bethany C. E. Csia's history of the Bethany does not include any specific reference to mission to the Jews, yet it does refer to some examples of Jewish conversions and lists the names of several Jewish converts. Amongst these the most intriguing are the conversions of two Jewish commissars of the Bolshevik dictatorship; it was atheist Jews, therefore, Sándor

⁶⁶ James T. Webster, 'Reviving Life in Hungary', *MRUFCoJS*, 4. 42 (June, 1904), 246-8. As for Szabady, Webster remarked that he was 'the brother-in-law of one of our mission school teachers'. (p. 248). Cf. Kool, *God Moves in Mysterious Ways*, p. 197. n. 28. Here, Kool cites the list of officials in MEKMSz, which included Fleischer.

⁶⁷ 'Külső Misszió. A zsidókért', *Ébresztő*, 9. 4 (1909), p. 73.

⁶⁸ ZsL. MEKMSz 12. fond. 3. box. There is a copy of an invitation for a charity evening held 27 January 1906. Cf. 'Tea estély az üldözött orosz zsidók számára', *PEIL*, 49. 6 (4 February 1906), pp. 86-7.

⁶⁹ 'Külmisszió. A Magyar Missziói Szövetség', *Ébresztő*, 9. 3 (1909), p. 52. See also: Gyula Forgács, *A belmisszió és cura parochialis*, p. 274.

⁷⁰ Mór Vai, 'Magyar külmisszió', *Ébresztő*, 1. 5 (1900), pp. 92-94.

⁷¹ ZsL, MEKMSz iratok, 12.fond/1/box. See MEKMSz Constitution paragraph 10.

⁷² RCJ of 1913, p. 59. It must be underlined that there were voices within the Lutheran Church appealing for doing mission to the Jews by Hungarians. The Pietist mission orientated reasoning is saturated with nationalism, a peculiar development of argument for the imperative of mission to the Jews. Scholtz was upset that a Jewish rabbi regarded the execution of Jesus 'legal' as he deceived people from monotheism. The

Szabados and Henrik Kalmár, who were converted to evangelical faith through the Bethany.⁷³ Csia also gives numerous references to Aladár Szabó assisting the Mission in the Christian education of Jewish converts prior to their baptisms.⁷⁴

In all these instances we see signs of Hungarian Reformed Christians beginning to take their own initiatives in Jewish evangelism. If it still fell short of a fully institutional commitment on the part of the Hungarian Reformed Church, István Hamar's criticism had some force: 'If we, Hungarian Protestants [the Hungarian Reformed Church] are not carrying out either Jewish or Gentile mission why should we not at least support the noble endeavour of the United Free Church of Scotland?'⁷⁵ But the tide was beginning to run in the right direction, at least from the point of view of the Scottish Mission. Its understanding of the imperative of Jewish evangelism continued to be featured, now in the Hungarian language, through its journal, *Élet és Munka*. Their theological premise lay on the Pauline emphasis that 'God has not rejected his own people' (Romans 11:1), and in Jesus' commandment to go to the lost sheep of Israel (Matthew 10:6) till the fullness of the Gentiles has come (Romans 11:25). They pointed out that as a missionary Paul always went first to the synagogue, showing that the priority belongs to Jewish mission.⁷⁶

Evidence that the Scottish message was beginning to be embraced by the Hungarians is found in an important series of articles, published between 1913 and 1915, by Pál Podmaniczky, a member of Bethany and leader of the MEKMSz,⁷⁷ in the Hungarian foreign mission paper, *Hajnal*.⁷⁸ His discussion of the lives of several converted Jews excited public interest.⁷⁹ He emphasised the importance of witnessing to the Jews,

article was published in *Egyetértés*, a Jewish paper and an answer was written in *Evangélikus Egyházi Szemle* on which he commented. Ödön Scholtz, 'Zsidómisszió', *Külmiszió*, 8. 1 (March 1904), p. 18.

⁷³ ZsL [A Magyarországi Református Egyház Zsinati Levéltára], A Bethánia Egylet iratai (1903-1943), 28a. fond/ 1 folder, fol. 16. Cf. Gyurgyák, p. 102. Here one finds a list of Bolsheviks of Jewish origin participating in the dictatorship of Communism and amongst the names listed we find surprisingly the aforementioned two persons.

⁷⁴ J. T. Webster, 'Budapest', *MRUFCofS*, 13. 133 (January 1912), p. 111.

⁷⁵ H. I. (Hamar, István), 'Az egyesült skót szabad egyház zsidómissziója', *PEIL*, 49. 41 (7 October 1906), 648-9 (p. 649).

⁷⁶ 'Zsidó misszió', *Élet és Munka*, 3. 11 (1911 november hó), pp. 82-4.

⁷⁷ *AMK*, p. 197. See also on his life.

⁷⁸ See an article on Jewish Mission. 'Zsidómisszió', *Hajnal*, 7. 6-8 (1916), pp. 1-24. This latter described the conversion of Rabinowitz, Ignác and Károly Róbert Gottlieb and mentioned Lichtenstein as well as Schönberger. He also exalted Delitzsch's work. The mission periodical *Hajnal* appeared, first as a supplement to the *Ébresztő* (1907-1908) and in 1909 as an independent periodical. It would not gain momentum till in 1913 the pioneer and coordinator of the MÖMM, Pál Podmaniczky, became its editor. Under his leadership and vision the *Hajnal* grew to a high level mission periodical.

⁷⁹ P., 'Delitsch Ferenc', *Hajnal*, 3. 2 (1913), pp. 11-12. The anonymous writer, P. Probably Podmaniczky, paid tribute to Delitzsch on the anniversary of his 100th year birthday.

especially in Eastern Europe – Poland and Russia⁸⁰ -- where, he observed in a note of criticism of the Hungarian Church, Finnish and Danish missionaries were already at work among Jews even though these areas bordered on Hungary and should therefore be thought of as a natural sphere of mission for the Hungarian Church: '[we] must acknowledge with shame [...] that we, Hungarians do not do anything for the spreading of the Gospel among the Jews'.⁸¹ He drew attention to what had been achieved among the Jews in Hungary by the Scottish Mission in Budapest, while pointing out that this was the work of a 'foreign' Christian nation. Urging the public to respond to his call, Podmaniczky argued that the Scottish Mission had brought blessings to both the Hungarian Jews and Hungarian Christianity. He called on the Hungarian Christians to wake up to their responsibility for reaching out with the gospel to the Jews not only of Hungary, but also Galicia, which he reasoned, 'should really be our field of mission work, too'.⁸² Revealing his personal passion for this mission vocation, Podmaniczky expostulated: 'Oh, if only the love of sharing Christ compelling us to work was ignited in us for the unhappy people of Israel who deserve our compassion'.⁸³

Podmaniczky's call to mission to the Jews in Hungary was published in the years when Europe was becoming convulsed in the First World War that was to have devastating consequences for Hungary and for Jewish-Christian relations in Hungary. Although the war and its repercussions lies outside of the scope of this thesis, it is to be noted that the significant involvement of secularised Jews in the Bolshevik dictatorship, the character of which was shaped by Communism that reflected Jewish 'millennial' expectations that were pursued in rejection of the former 'Christian' rule of the Hungarian landed nobility, resulting in a fierce alienation between Hungary's Christian and Jewish populations. In this context the Jewish mass conversion of 1919 merits careful academic scrutiny, as do the responses of the Christian home mission associations to it. However, at the end of this chapter that has sought to review and assess the achievement of the Scottish Mission in disseminating an understanding of, and commitment to Jewish evangelism in the Hungarian Reformed Church, it can fairly be said that the seeds had been sown, and that plants were beginning to grow that would be tested in the utterly new environment of the post-war situation. An intimation of the things to come can be seen in the remarkable willingness of the Bethany CE to embrace, as converts, two former pro-communist Jewish

⁸⁰ Hall, p. 53. See also: RCJ of 1912, Appendix III, p. 67. This is rather of all Hungary.

⁸¹ *Hajnal*, 6.3. (1915), p. 12.

⁸² *Hajnal*, 6.3 (1915), p. 12.

⁸³ *Hajnal*, 7. 6-8 (1916), p. 24.

commissars of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, Szabados and Kalmár, in a spirit of reconciliation that witnessed the very heart of the Gospel message itself.⁸⁴

Conclusion

An objective assessment of the degree to which the Scottish Mission to the Jews in Pest may be considered successful needs to take account of the following factors. It has been shown that the commitment of the Free Church of Scotland to Jewish mission was modulated during the period of research. What began as a theologically articulate vision of the evangelisation of the Jewish people as the essential prerequisite, or at least a complement to the revival of a national church, flourished at the time of the Disruption, when the Disruption ‘divines’ embraced this vision as part of the missionary revival of the church as a whole. This moment produced a commitment to Jewish mission on the part of the Free Church as a whole, and resulted in the establishment of the Scottish Mission in Pest. As the influence of the first generation of Free Church enthusiasts for Jewish evangelism declined, it fell to the Jewish Committee to sustain the initiative. In Pest itself the Mission was not entirely successful in implanting its millennialist ideas either among the German-Pietists of the German-speaking Reformed Affiliated Church (excepting the staff, whose employer, i.e. the Mission, expected them to hold these ideas) or among the Hungarian people. Indeed, the German-speaking congregation did not embrace an institutional commitment to Jewish evangelism, despite this being a condition of the moral and financial support that was undertaken by the Edinburgh Committee. This led to some discontent on the part of the Committee, while the Mission satisfied itself with the response of individual members of the congregation, some of them Gentiles, others Jewish converts.

The case with the Hungarian Reformed Christians is somewhat different, and shows a more favourable picture. While the Hungarians were primarily concerned with the revival of the national church, once this showed promising signs of achievement, the nascent home mission organisations began to show interest in Jewish mission. It has to be

⁸⁴ Another great example of witnessing to the Jews is Pongrácz’s life. He published an article on Samuel Schereschewsky, a Jewish convert but he acted quietly without labelling it specifically as mission to the Jews. See: Pongrácz, József, ‘Kína apostola, Schereschewsky Sámuel Izsák József’, *Hajnal*, 25. 1 (1939), pp. 4-7 Cf. József Éliás’s letter to the memorial congress’ dated 10 November 1985 published in Pongrácz József Emlékkülés Pápán 1985 November 15, ed. by Kövy Zsolt, *A Pápai Református Gyűjtemény évkönyve* (Pápa: A Dunántúli Református Egyházkerület Nagykönyvtára, 1988), pp. 130-31. József Éliás mentioned that once Pongrácz’ wife bought him a complete set of clothes and explicitly forbade him to disclose who helped him. Éliás together with other people led the Good Shepherd Committee of the Reformed Church and worked in close collaboration with Scottish Mission staff to save the Jews during the Second World War.

acknowledged that most regarded Jewish evangelism as simply part of the mission to the nation as a whole, but the MEKMSz was the first to emulate the theological model of the Scottish Free Church that made an integral link between the evangelisation of Jews and Gentiles, the former leading to the latter. Though it cannot be claimed that this was given sufficient institutional expression in the period of our research, the fact that the link was made indicated that the Hungarian Reformed Church was arriving as a distinct awareness of the importance of mission to the Jews as an essential part of the whole missionary nature of the Church by the beginning of the First World War. Even though the Hungarian Reformed Church's relations with the Jews was to enter a new phase in the aftermath of the First World War, the fact that, by the eve of the war, the Church was beginning to accept its responsibility for Jewish evangelism must be attributed as a success of the Mission.

The following chapter will assess the degree to which the Scottish Mission succeeded in laying the foundations of Evangelical revival within the Hungarian Reformed Church. By way of concluding this chapter, it may fairly be said that the Scottish Mission's vision of Jewish evangelism as part of the revival of the Christian Church succeeded, albeit to a lesser degree that the Disruption 'divines' would have hoped, in introducing an Evangelical understanding of the Church's mission that was previously non-existent in Hungary, where Reformed theologians were captivated by a nationalistic concept of mission that relied more heavily on nineteenth century liberalism than the New Testament vision of the evangelism of Jews and Gentiles, in that order of priority.

Chapter 8: The Impact of the Scottish Mission on the Revival and Missionary Awareness of the Hungarian Reformed Church

Introduction

Continuing the thematic focus of the final two chapters of this thesis, this chapter will assess the degree to which the Mission succeeded in achieving its second goal, the revitalising the Hungarian Reformed Church by seeding the Evangelical faith within it. The various operative concepts and motives that the Mission used to achieve this goal will be examined in relation to three major themes that set the social and religious context within which it operated: nationalism (Magyarization), confessionalism and social changes in the society. These will be elucidated through reference to the views of the most prominent Scottish and Hungarian representatives of the various mission concepts. The primary sources of information are the mission publications, of which there were many in Scotland and fewer in Hungary through the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, where views of mission were keenly discussed. The chapter will seek to assess how effective the contributors were in disseminating their understandings of mission within the Reformed society in Hungary at large.

I. Nationalism and mission

The first major challenge that confronted the Scottish Mission was the spirit of nationalism that marked every aspect of Hungarian life throughout the period studied. During the early nineteenth century Hungary was subject to a policy of Germanization on the part of the imperial Habsburg government in Vienna. Under pressure from the Hungarian political and social elite, this was gradually replaced by Magyarization and by the end of the nineteenth century Hungarian language and culture were firmly established in all national institutions. This major shift in political-social culture had profound implications for the Scottish Mission, particularly since it incorporated into the Hungarian Reformed Church in Pest that was one of the bastions of Magyar nationalist identity. In her study of Hungarian mission in the early nineteenth century, Anne Marie Kool pointed out that while the Germanization policy held sway, ‘German home and foreign mission influences entered Hungary relatively easily, and reached especially the German speaking Lutherans’.¹ The Reformed Christians,

¹ Anne-Marie Kool, *God Moves in a Mysterious Way: the Hungarian Protestant Foreign Mission Movement 1756-1951* (Zoetermeer: Uitgeverij Boekencentrum B.V., 1993), p. 153.

by contrast, were only marginally influenced by Pietism.² They were more open to the impact of British Evangelical contacts with Hungary in the early nineteenth century, and this increased with the arrival of the Scottish Mission in Pest in 1841.³ But at this time the Scottish Mission itself accepted to work through the medium of the German language. This was true of the first generation of Scottish missionaries, and, after their expulsion from Pest, through the continental European missionaries who were employed by the Edinburgh Jewish Committee to run the mission on behalf of the Scots. These German-speaking missionaries were resistant of the cultural-linguistic changes that were sweeping Hungarian society, and under their leadership the Mission remained foreign to the Hungarian Reformed Church to which it belonged, and to which it sought bring the spirit of evangelical revival. It was not until the second half of the nineteenth century, with the appointment of Moody and Webster that the Scottish Mission proved willing to embrace Magyarization that enabled it to relinquish its foreign character, and became an organic part of the Hungarian-speaking ecclesiastical body. It was greatly helped in this direction by the increasingly influential role that the Edinburgh-trained bursars began to play in the Mission at this time.

Language, however, was not the only challenge that the Scottish Mission has to face during the second half of the nineteenth century. Its faith stance of Evangelical-Pietism had to compete with the liberal nationalist understanding of mission that was predominant in Pest. Kool grasps this feature of Hungarian Protestantism when she says, ‘Hungarian nationalism, [...] in the nineteenth century had not failed to affect Hungarian Protestantism in general, as well as their concept of mission’.⁴ The clash between these two concepts of mission first came to a head in the conflict over the establishment of the Protestant Orphanage in 1859. Recalling the foundation of Orphanage, Ballagi wrote that ‘during the glorious days of national awakening, it occurred to some zealous men to make use of the favourable public sentiment to *do good to the advancement of mankind*, and they *proposed an idea so beneficial to the society* [italics added], the institution of an orphanage’.⁵ Ballagi’s understanding of mission was inspired more by cultural Protestantism than confessional Reformed theology. His liberalism was intertwined with the nationalism of the day, and his understanding of mission bore the mark of it. It is also evident that he regarded the extent of

² See: Chapter 1. Section. I. 3.1 Maria Dorothea’s influence on Hungarian Protestantism before the arrival of the Scots

³ John V. Eibner, ‘British Evangelicals and Hungary 1800-1852’, *The Journal of the United Reformed Church History Society*, 3. 2 (1983), pp. 45-54.

⁴ Kool, p. 150.

⁵ Mór Ballagi, *A Protestáns Országos Árvaház épületére tett kegyes adakozások részletes kimutatása és bevezetésül a ház ünnepélyes megnyitáskor tartott beszédek* (Pest: Hornyánszky Viktor, 1870), p. 7.

Hungarian Protestant mission to be confined to Hungarian-speaking people. Thus, the Protestant Union that Ballagi initiated with Albert Kovács⁶ accepted a missionary responsibility in Slavonia, that was part of the Hungarian Kingdom, but did not envisage a wider mission to non-Hungarian peoples.⁷ Their purpose was to spread Hungarian Protestant culture, and advance religious and moral life. They considered this task of national importance as the way of restore the relationship between nation and religion in Hungary as an independent Protestant state.⁸

Another example of such nationalistic tendency in mission is that of József Erdős who became professor of New Testament at the Debrecen Theological Faculty in 1888.⁹ His view of mission was expressed in the pages of *Debrecen Protestáns Lap* (Debrecen Protestant Paper), where he argued that the purpose of mission was 'to awaken, strengthen and preserve the Hungarian Reformed Christian consciousness' of those Reformed German and Serbs of Hungary, who lived among the Romanians and Croats, with a view to saving them for the country and the Reformed Church.¹⁰ Erdős perceived mission as a patriotic task: 'the general patriotic and Hungarian national aspirations must be used, created and applied everywhere and in every area, in the way of promoting Magyar moral standards'.¹¹ Erdős illustrated how this school of thought used the words 'Magyar' and 'Reformed' synonymously. According to this view, by spreading, and maintaining the Reformed faith, Hungarian consciousness was also strengthened. Erdős' argued that patriotic love for the nation would strengthen the 'desire for the heavenly things'.¹² While emphasizing that 'the expansion of the spiritual kingdom is the main responsibility of the Church [...] since the church is an institution of salvation',¹³ he linked this with the vision 'our country before all, God's kingdom above all'.¹⁴ It is clear that nationalism, for Ballagi, Kovács, and Erdős, to differing degrees, was an underpinning motive for mission. Regarding the first two persons, the ideas of liberalism and nationalism converged whereas for Erdős confessionalism and nationalism shaped the concept of mission. For all three persons, the

⁶ József Bodonhelyi, 'A belmisszió kora (1896-1918)', in *A Budapesti Református Theológiai Akadémia története 1855-1955* (Budapest: A Református egyetemes konvent sajtóosztálya, 1955), pp. 63-5.

⁷ Mission work in Slavonia and Croatia as well as in the Banat province had been undertaken since 1858, on a Reformed, Lutheran and Protestant basis. In different degrees the motive of Hungarian national interest played a role. See Kool's discussions. Kool, p. 151.

⁸ See: 'A szeremségi misszió ügye', *Keresztény Család* 1.23 (1872), pp. 177-179. Cf. Chapter 3. Section. 1.2.2. Mission, Spirituality and main theological trends in the 1850s and 1860s.

⁹ Zoványi, p. 179.

¹⁰ József Erdős, 'A Magyar Ref. Egyház és a misszió II.', *DePL*, 5.38 (1885), 325-326 (p. 325).

¹¹ József Erdős, "A Magyar Ref. egyház missziója a jelenben", *DePL* 5. 45 (1885), 392-393 (p. 392).

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 393.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 392.

scope of their mission field lay within the realm of Hungarian kingdom and was also mainly concerned about the Reformed groups within Hungary, as well as with the Hungarian Reformed Diaspora outside the country.¹⁵

In opposition to this nationalist view of mission stood the Evangelical and Pietist concept of evangelism. Mission in this revivalist perspective was dedicated to combat the evils of the society and to manifest God's love by calling men and women to conversion as the pre-requisite of spreading the Gospel among the people of the Reformed Church as well as Hungary at large. They stressed the need for the experience of personal conversion that would in turn lead to Christian outreach and pious behaviour.¹⁶ In the middle years of the nineteenth century it¹⁷ was the Archduchess Maria Dorothea who represented this approach to mission in her position of influence at the very heart of the Hungarian state. She made no secret of her Pietism; for example, she was renowned for not throwing balls (in the sense of formal dances) in accordance with the conventions of state, and the expectations of the high society to which she belonged; she had contempt for the theatre and card games, regarding both to be 'the Bible of evil'.¹⁸

Such ideas were shared by the Scottish missionaries who also had a highly intense view of the fight between the work of Satan and God as a reality of their life. They shaped the cultural life of the the German Affiliated congregation and of all the Evangelical-Pietist activities that came to be associated with the Hold utca fellowship. They were disseminated in the wider Hungarian Reformed society through the home mission movements that the Scottish Mission helped bring into being. For example, an article in the YMCA's periodical, *Ébresztő*, summarised the common opinion of all the revivalists that swearing, lechery, the drinking of any alcohol, and even horse races should be condemned.¹⁹ The revivalists warned other believers, and prospective converts about these 'dangers' that were particularly dangerous temptations for young people. Szalay wrote about the bad affect of smoking.²⁰ Richard Biberauer founded the Blue Cross Society to combat alcoholism. The missionaries, German Pietists of the congregation and bursars all encouraged personal devotion, the daily reading of the Bible, attending Bible studies, and prayer meetings. These issues of life style marked a sharp line between liberal and Evangelical-Pietist concepts of Christian

¹⁵ Kool, pp. 124- 135. Márton Czelder was the first Hungarian missionary to the Hungarian Diaspora in Rumania.

¹⁶ See: Chapter 6. II. 1. The crisis of the implemented home mission: a fateful split in Lorántffy Association.

¹⁷ Chapter 2. Section. II. 3.3. Clash of Jewish and Evangelical worldviews for the first time.

¹⁸ Sándor Payr, 'Mária Dorottya nádorasszony II. Az emberbarát', *PSz*, 20. 2 (1908), 85-95, (pp. 91-92).

¹⁹ 'Légy Erős! Szózat az ifjúsághoz, Biegler után', *Ébresztő*, 8. 8 (May 1908), pp. 273-278.

²⁰ József Szalay, 'Hogyan hagyjuk el a dohányzást', *Keresztényen*, 2. 8 (1 August 1893), p. 64.

discipleship, and were evident in their respective approaches to mission as both parties reached out to the poor, the needy and other parts of society.

The three major issues over which these contending views of mission came into contention were²¹ the 'orphanage conflict of 1859', the 'Protestant Union case' of the early 1870s, and the 'split of 1903'. In the conflict over the orphanage conflict, the 'Scottish' missionary, van Andel, and Biberauer challenged the liberal nationalism of Ballagi and others, but failing to win the argument, they found themselves expelled from the administration of the initiative for which they had been responsible.²² Ballagi was also one of the contenders in the second issue, but this time he was opposed not by the German-speaking staff of the Scottish Mission, but by Révész and Balogh, Hungarian Protestants in Debrecen who were now firmly identified a position of orthodox-confessionalism which was similar to that of the Evangelicals and Pietists of Pest. By the time of the 1903 conflict, the issue of dispute was not longer between the Evangelical-Pietists and liberal nationalist approach to mission, as formerly represented by Ballagi, but among revivalists themselves over the issue of on what spirituality should sway home mission organisations, a more radical Evangelical tone stressing conversion, or a moderate revivalist stance with a cultural and nationalist orientation and much less emphasis on conversion.

The changing composition of these conflicts is a measure of the influence that the Scottish Mission in disseminating Evangelical-Pietist concepts of revivalism and mission during the second half of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century. The first conflict, over the orphanage, was in effect a dispute between foreign missionaries and Hungarian nationalists. It was confined to a particular location, Pest, and had no impact on the wider national situation. The second conflict, over the Protestant Union, concerned a larger scale of ecclesiastical public.²³ It is also the first time that the Edinburgh-trained bursars began to make their voice audible in the ecclesiastical press. Their concepts of mission, permeated by Scottish Evangelicalism, challenged Ballagi's influence, the liberalism of his theological views, and his nationalist approach to mission. Representing the revivalist position, Balogh's periodical, *Evangéliomi Protestáns Lap*, published an article by a certain 'R' that called for the creation of a Hungarian Reformed Mission abroad.²⁴

²¹ The reason the author omitted the Ballagi contra Filó conflict is that it remained purely theological in nature and did not have practical implications to societies, churches or any mission orientated initiative. However, it has significance in anticipation the major conflict prompted by the claims of Protestant Union.

²² See: Chapter 3. Section II. 1.3. The First Conflict between Pietism-Evangelicalism and Liberalism

²³ See: Chapter 4. Section. I. 4. Religious divisions in the Reformed Church of Hungary: Protestant Union and the 'Orthodox-Evangelical' Alliance.

²⁴ R. and Balogh, Ferenc, 'Szemle Belföld. Magyar missió', *EPL*, 1. 50 (1875), pp. 442-3.

Balogh himself offered an editorial comment on this article, in which he accepted the legitimacy of overseas mission, but thought it expedient to postpone it until sufficient progress had been made with home mission: 'first we have to start with home mission', he wrote, and only then would it be feasible to send Reformed Church ministers to Basel for overseas mission training.²⁵ Balogh's former student, Lajos Csiky also propagated mission in many of his articles in the mid 1890s displaying familiarity with the German branch of the Evangelical Alliance initiated by British Evangelicals.²⁶

If the 1903 split in the leadership of the LZsA showed that moderate Hungarian revivalists were not willing to entertain Szabó's enthusiasm for borrowing an overseas model of Evangelical conversion, the method of Christian Endeavour, it was Szabó nonetheless who presented the greatest challenge to the nationalistic views of mission. He argued that the missionary task was 'to lead every nation to the knowledge of the Saviour, according to the Commandment of the Lord, as the desire to bring non-Christians; heathens, Jews and Muslims into the bonds of Christianity'.²⁷ Szabó successfully instilled his idea of mission into the heart of theological students as well as other young people through the several home mission organisations through which he continued to exert his influence: the YMCA, the Sunday school movement, and other home mission organisations. Kool has argued that Szabó's significance was not merely in exposing the limitations of nationalism for mission but in showing practically how these could be overcome.²⁸

It should not be assumed, however, that the Evangelical-Pietist approach to mission was any less patriotic than the liberal nationalism that it overcame. Insofar as the Scottish Mission was the original instigator and disseminator of the Evangelical-Pietist position, its effectiveness increased proportionately to its cultural self-transformation from a Germanic to a Magyar identity. Its adoption of Hungarian nationalism differed, however, for the liberal nationalist position in being both more radical in terms of Christian conversion and life style, and more global in terms of holding together the concerns of home and overseas mission. This is the position that Szabó himself articulated when he was at the height of his influence in the early twentieth century. Always a fervent Hungarian Protestant, he displayed his patriotism in establishing Philadelphia Association in 1909, and securing its financial security through the public funding appeal that he organised for the purchase of Bethesda

²⁵ Balogh, Ferenc, 'Edinburgh', *EPL*, 1. 50 (1875), p. 446. The Basel connection is obvious from the fact that Ferenc Márk studied in Basel before moving to Edinburgh.

²⁶ See his list of publication on Fliedner, Wichern and others.

²⁷ Aladár Szabó 'A protestantizmus és a külmiszió', *PSz*, 2.2 (1890), 8 (pp. 800-801).

²⁸ Kool, p. 156.

hospital. He wrote, 'it is a *patriotic obligation* [italics added] to make the Hungarian Protestant Church [that is the Reformed Church] prosper'.²⁹ At the same time his strong support of overseas mission shows that he was able to transcend a concept of mission based primarily on nationalistic interpretation of the Gospel and promote an Evangelical view of mission that was global in its outreach, while being rooted in the faith of Hungarian Reformed Church.

II. Confessionalism of the Hungarian Reformed Church and the interdenominational stance of the Scottish Mission

A second issue that faced the Scottish Mission, connected with nationalism, was the confessionalism of the Reformed Church of Hungary. The core of the issue was aptly articulated by 'Rabbi' Duncan: 'the Magyars would die for Calvinism; I wish I could add that they will live for it'.³⁰ Since all the members of the Reformed Church were ethnic Hungarians, there was an overlap between their national and ecclesiastical identity. Moreover, the adherents of Reformed Christianity saw this as the 'true' form of Hungarian religion in contrast to Catholicism, the religion of the Habsburg Empire that denied Hungary its independence.³¹ Throughout the centuries of foreign occupation, the Austrians monarchs, being devout Catholics, sought to eliminate Hungarian opposition by trying to uproot or seriously disadvantage Protestantism, fearing always that a strong Protestant Church would strengthen the separate identity of the Hungarian people.³² It is not surprising, therefore, that the Reformed Church was alert to, and resistant of any form of Catholic 'proselytising', and sought to forestall this by keeping its distance from the Catholic Church. This feeling of polarisation was carried over to the more settled time of Dualism after the 1867 Agreement when the civil rights of Protestant considerably improved.³³ Fear of any kind of proselytising can also be seen in the Reformed Church's opposition to the extension of Lutheran Church among Hungarian-speaking people.³⁴ While Reformed Christians were prepared to cooperate with Lutherans, and even with Jews in the political arena to resist the dominant Catholic influence within the Empire, there was a narrow degree of tolerance in the ecclesiastical domain among Protestant denominations. Reformed-Lutheran tensions extended towards Baptists and Nazarenes if they began to proselytise among the members of

²⁹ Aladár Szabó, 'Nagy és nevezetes fordulat a diakonisszaügy terén', *PEIL*, 52. 4 (1909), 53-55, (p. 55).

³⁰ T. James Webster, 'Reviving Life in Hungary', *MRUFCofS* 42 (June 1904), p. 246.

³¹ This understanding is due to the fact that most of the wars of liberations from 1606 onwards against the Catholic Habsburg were led by Reformed Hungarian Prince of Transylvania, or Reformed noblemen from the area of the Transtibiscan Church Province. See: Chapter 1.

³² Chapter 1. Section. I. 3. Emancipation of Protestantism: Antagonism between Catholics and Protestants

³³ Chapter 3. Section I.1.1. The Neo-absolutist State and the Reformed Church

either of their churches.³⁵ Attitudes to mission among the various Protestant denominations in nineteenth century Hungary, particularly the Reformed Church, was directly affected by this antagonism toward proselytism.

It was into this scene that the Scottish Mission arrived in the mid-nineteenth century with a very a different view of the Christian mission. From the beginning the Scots adopted an interdenominational approach. For example, they had no hesitation in employing Baptists for the work of the National Bible Society of Scotland as colporteurs under the superintendence of the missionaries. There were also Baptists among the members of the Sunday school movement from its beginnings.³⁶ As a new initiative such co-operation was not always without its tensions, but this did not impede them working together.³⁷

Initially this interdenominational dimension was confined to the activities of the Mission itself, and did not directly impact the Hungarian Reformed Church. This began to change as the bursars themselves became involved in the Mission's activities, while being at the same time fully involved in the life of the Reformed Church. They became conduits through which the more interdenominational practice of the Mission began to influence the Reformed Church in Pest and other locations from the 1880s. Nineteenth century Evangelicalism in Britain advocated unity among Evangelicals based in their common commitment to the Gospel, irrespective of denominational backgrounds, as evidenced by the growth of the Evangelical Alliance. The bursars, permeated by the concept of Evangelical unity that they encountered in Scotland, displayed greater willingness to work co-operatively in mission with other Protestant denominations in Hungary.³⁸ Thus, in 1893 Szalay proposed the foundation of a foreign mission association on an interdenominational basis, with the view of 'bringing people to conversion' both in Hungary and abroad.³⁹ Balogh had made a proposal two decades earlier to establish a mission society, which would cooperate with the interdenominational Basel Mission but this did not materialise. Both these initiatives pale before the success of the Pest-based movements that Szabó originated. His personal

³⁴ Gyula Andorka, 'Az evangélikus missió ügye', *EEL* 8.40 (1890), pp. 321-322 cited by Kool, p. 153.

³⁵ Jenő Szigeti, *Protestáns népi olvasmányok a XIX. században az Alföldön, Különlenyomat az Ethnographia 1973 évi számából* (Budapest: 1973).

³⁶ Bernát Victor, Rudolph Koenig, Andrew Moody, *Bericht über Das Sonntags-Schul-Werk in Ungarn im Jahre 1885* (Budapest: Hornyánszky Victor, 1886). See also: Chapter 5. Section. II. 2.1. Antecedents: The Sunday School of the Scottish Mission and the German congregation.

³⁷ A Magyarországi Baptista Egyház Levéltára (Archive of the Baptist Church of Hungary) *Die Autobiographie von Meyer Henrik*, I. box. 1. folder, fol. 32. (Unfortunately his data is no properly catalogued) One such conflict was that the Baptist baptised with immersion some members of the 'Scottish Mission' congregation', that is the German-speaking Reformed Affiliate Church. Koenig and Theodor Biberauer terribly resented this step from the new Baptist leader of Pest German-speaking Baptist congregation.

³⁸ This aspect would require further research and it would be fruitful to pursue this line of inquiry.

involvement in the leadership of several organisations prepared the ground among Hungarians for co-operation that overarched denominational differences to evangelise the Hungarian society at large.

There was a significant difference between the origins of the interdenominational stance of the bursars such as Balogh and Szalay on the one hand, and Szabó on the other. While the first two were primarily influenced by Scottish Evangelicalism, Szabó bore the mark of Evangelicalism and Pietism at the same time.⁴⁰ From the establishment of the Mission in 1841 relationships with Württemberg Pietism were formed through Maria Dorothea, and especially with the interdenominational Basel Mission.⁴¹ This connection was revived after the resettlement of the Mission and even extended by further relationships with the movements of Fliedner and Wichern. These two streams - Scottish Evangelicalism and German Pietism - converged in the *Hold utca* establishment. . The meetings that the Scottish Mission organised in this hub, as well as the prayer week of the Evangelical Alliance, played a crucial role in breaking through the strong confessional and nationalistic barriers that separated the Hungarian Protestant churches. Szabó wanted to realise his missionary ideas along the lines he learned from Moody and Biberauer.

Szabó elaborated his ideas in his book entitled *Új Óramutató* [New Clockhead]. In this work Szabó called for the establishment of a building as a centre for home mission in Budapest, the foundation of a daily Christian paper that would have nothing to do with political issues, and the setting up of an Evangelical home mission association. He also championed foreign missionary enterprises, though as has already been noted, he reckoned that first one 'has to lay down the foundations' in effective home mission. He was also concerned for the development of theological education in directions that would introduce a more practically orientated curriculum, in which Practical Theology would have its proper place, where the students could learn about evangelical biblical exposition as well as Hungarian church history.⁴² Szabó also unveiled his theological approach to relations with other denominations: 'I identify myself rather with those Lutherans who walk in the footsteps of the crucified and resurrected Christ than with those Reformed, who do not follow him'.⁴³

³⁹ József Szalay, 'Első magyar missziói társulat', *Keresztényen*, 2. 7 (1 July 1893), pp. 49-50.

⁴⁰ It does not mean that the first bursars were not familiar with the German *Innere Mission* as we have seen that they were well informed of it.

⁴¹ One may recall that the founder of the Mission's school, Philip Saphir went to Württemberg through Maria Dorothea's connections.

⁴² Aladár Szabó, 'Befejezés', *Új Óramutató*, ed. by Szabó, Aladár (Budapest: Hornyánszky Viktor nyomdája, 1896), pp. 144-6.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

Thus, the most important element of a Christian identity was to subscribe to an Evangelical-Pietist understanding of the Gospel. He hoped to overcome the strict confessionalism of the Hungarian Reformed tradition by creating a common identity, unity in Jesus Christ. As for the other denominations, he had a most unusual vision of the foundation of a Church for Roman and Orthodox people ‘which leads them to Christ’.⁴⁴ It is possible to infer that he envisioned lively churches of other denominations beside the revived Hungarian Reformed. In the *Új Óramutató* he hoped that spiritually awakened Catholic people would burst the shackles of ‘non-evangelical doctrines’ and form themselves into a separate church body. According to Lajos Csia, the historian of Bethany C. E., Szabó’s sharp and ‘bellicose view of Roman Catholicism and the smaller denominations such as Baptist and Nazarenes eased’ in the course of time.⁴⁵ When one of his aims, the establishment of a home mission association came into being (1903) the Bethany C. E. attracted people from other denominations and could work well with them.

The split of 1903 that settled in the foundation of Bethany C. E. was significant for the home mission movement in three ways. First, it crystallised the concepts of both the Evangelical and the Moderate parties as to how to understand mission. Second, the Bethany movement that Szabó started attracted the support of people who were committed to the great task of reviving the churches of Hungary, regardless of their denominational stance. Third, the Bethany sought to overcome class differences uniting all believers regardless of their social background. It reached out to an exceptionally wide range of people with special mission to miners, servants, disabled persons, sailors, and prostitutes.

III. The social challenge for the church: from feudalism to capitalism

The third great challenge that faced the Scottish Mission, and the Hungarian Reformed Church as it embraced the Mission’s radical Evangelical Pietism, lay in the rapidly changing social structure of Hungarian society that marked the second half of the nineteenth century. When the Scottish Mission first arrived in Pest in 1841, Hungary was still a feudal society. The estates of nobility could not be alienated so the banks, which were just being introduced during that time, were reluctant to give credit. The lack of credit did not allow space for essential improvements. Noblemen were exempt from taxation so that there was a need for the abolishment of aviticity. Peasant were unfree and had to robots and it was only in 1835

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 148.

when the Diet made a few concessions such as they were entitled to commute their dues and services for a money rent although not to buy holdings.⁴⁶ The socio-economic structure of Hungarian society was subject to rapid change from the time of the Neo-Absolutism of 1850s when a capitalist economy was first introduced in Pest. The *Ausgleich* Compromise of 1867 served to accelerate this socio-economic change, and the Hungarian Kingdom entered a transitional phase of what is best described as 'feudal capitalism' since the economic and legal status of the peasants comprising the largest sector of the society was behind that of the West. Also the privilege of the noble classes remained and the franchise was limited to a very small layer of the society.

The Scottish Mission arrived in Hungary just before these first changes had begun. In its initial years the Mission was entirely dependent on the protection of the Archduke's consort, Maria Dorothea, and thus fitted into the aristocratic structure that sustained the feudal economy. The same was true of the Hungarian Reformed Church, except that its popular base lay among the rural populations that provided the feudal work force. During era of modernisation (1850-1914) many these people left, or were alienated from the church all over Hungary.⁴⁷ The capitalisation of the economy that formed the backbone of modernisation produced a rural migration to the cities, especially Pest, and to the development of an urban working class that provided the work force for the newly-created industries.⁴⁸

Faced by this new situation, the Scottish Mission concentrated its outreach on the people most affected by this socio-economic change. In Pest, many initiatives were undertaken by the Scottish Mission in conjunction with the leaders of the German-speaking Affiliated Church, in the social domain. The proposed Apprentice Association (YMCA) aimed at combating gambling and alcoholism to which young workers often succumbed, and tried to foster Christian morals.⁴⁹ The orphanage was also a mirror of Christian social responsibility for the socially disadvantaged. The Bethesda hospital provided health care for

⁴⁵ A Magyarországi Református Egyház Zsinati Levéltára, A Bethánia Egylet iratai (1903-1943), 28a. fond/ 1 mappa, fols. 1-39. (fol. 2). See also: Sándor Csia, *Für Christus Und Die Kirche: Erinnerungen Eines Alten Ungarisches EC-Lers* (Kassel: Born Verlag, 1962).

⁴⁶ C.A. Macartney, *The Habsburg Empire 1790-1918* (London and Edinburgh: Morrison and Gibb Limited, 1968), pp. 245-47.

⁴⁷ Imre Révész, *History of Hungarian Reformed Church*, trans. by Knight, George A. F. (Washington D.C.: The Hungarian Reformed Federation of America, 1956), pp. 138-140.

⁴⁸ László Katus 'A népesedés és a társadalmis szerkezet változásai', *Magyarország története 1849-1890*, ed. Zsigmond Pál Pach, 10 vols (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1976-), 6/2. pp. 1119-1164.

⁴⁹ Richárd Bodoky, *Jövevények és vándorok. Polgári családtörténet. A Biberbauer-Bodoky krónika*, 2 vols (Budapest: Dr. Bodoky Richárdné, 1996), I. p. 200. Bodoky cites Első évi tudósítvány az Evangyéli Legényegyletről, Pest 2 May 1860 (Pest: Wodianer F., 1860).

the poor. The Scots acted this way as an extension of the social mission that they were familiar with in Scotland adapting it to Hungarian social change by introducing models of radical social mission.

At this time the Reformed Church had no comparable social outreach of its own. The Church continued to be rooted in the feudal order of Hungarian society, providing spiritual and pastoral support for rural congregations. The challenge of developing urban ministry in Pest and other cities was something that was without precedent in its earlier history. It was in this area, therefore, that the social outreach of the Scottish Mission was both timely and original, and even though it was expressed through the medium of the German-language, its significance for the Hungarian Church was to become clear. If the Mission and the Affiliated Church were acting largely on their own through the 1860s and 1870s, by the late 1880s with the new Hungarian ecclesiastical leadership in the Danubian Church Province and the Pest Theological Seminary was articulate in its espousal of the priority of urban mission. This changes made social outreach as a feature of the home organisation attractive to the ecclesiastical authorities in the church.

Social outreach to the peasantry that remained working on the land was, by contrast, something that individual ministers of the Reformed Church undertook of their own initiative, this being an area in which the Mission could exert little direct influence. The Mission's only significant excursion into the rural areas was through the colporteurs whose primary goal was to distribute Christian literature among the rural Jewish and other religious communities. This focus widened with as the bursars became involved in the work of the Mission, and it was they who extended the Mission's urban-based home mission activities into the countryside, addressing the enormous impoverishment in the peasantry due to lack of education, especially in agricultural development, and the extortionate rates of interest that were charged on financial loans. Besides the bursars, there were some other voices such as that of Ödön Lukácsi, dean of a Church District within Transibiscan Church Province, drew attention to the impoverishment of the peasantry, which traditionally constituted the Hungarian Reformed Church in that area. He argued that the usury took advantage of the uneducated peasantry, and resulted in a decrease in tithe-paying members of the church.⁵⁰ He urged that 'the least that every minister can do is to warn the people of the terrible deprivation they entailed by their improvidence'.⁵¹ Others also addressed the problem.

⁵⁰ Lukács took for granted that the reader knew what happened. One is left with guesses. The most probable explanation is that the indebted peasants moved away from the village.

⁵¹ Ödön Lukács, 'Tárca. „Zsidókérdés” a Protestáns Egyházban', *PEIL*, 23. 39 (1880), 1257-1260 (p. 1257).

Gyula Ferenczy in his essay in *Új Óramutató* castigated the leaders of the national church for neither caring about the material prosperity of their rural members, nor helping them solve their economic problems. It was again Aladár Szabó who drew attention to the example of the minister in Szada who established an agricultural association and helped his congregation to achieve economic self-sufficiency.⁵² While there is no evidence of unified action on the part of the Church as a whole in the nineteenth century, the fact that Szabó was able to point to the resourcefulness of individual ministers in initiating local projects that addressed rural problems suggest that the influence of the Scottish Mission, while indirect, was nonetheless telling.

The possibility of a united response to the social challenge was precluded for a long time by the fact that, prior to 1881, there was not organisational unity among the Hungarian Reformed Church provinces at a national level.⁵³ This made it very difficult for innovative ideas about mission that were current in Pest and Debrecen to influence the churches in other provinces. A second problem, to which Imre Révész draws attention, is the social distinction in the church between the old nobility and the rising middle class, both of whom were rationalist and secularist in outlook, and tended to drift away from regular church attendance in the expanding urban environment of the Hungarian cities, and the peasant labourers who remained in the rural areas. Révész correctly points out that ‘the peasantry never completely deserted the Church’, and he is equally right in observing that ‘the ministry had now fallen into a hopelessly poor condition; moreover, being depressed materially, it was also depressed spiritually’.⁵⁴ In Pest we have seen that the leaders of the church, Bishop Szász and the teachers of the Theological Seminary realised the growing alienation of people from the church, and sought to remedy this by integrating new associations into the church that were qualified to engage with the contemporary social challenges. In this they found practical support from the Scottish Mission through which the first associations came into being. Bursars, young theological students and non-clerical persons served as a bond between the Pest church leadership and the Mission to effect the change. It was, however, Aladár Szabó who was pre-eminent in bridging the social gulf between the middle and lower classes, between the urban professional class and the rural peasantry, and he did so through the home mission organisations that he controlled, into

⁵² Gyula Ferenczy ‘Az egyházi adózás reformjáról’ in *Új Óramutató*, ed. by Szabó, Aladár (Budapest: Hornyánszky Viktor nyomdája, 1896), pp. 100-105. See also: Aladár Szabó, ‘Befejezés’, in *Új Óramutató* p. 142.

⁵³ Chapter 3. Section. I. 2.2.1. Organizations of Pest Reformed Church: the Theological Seminary

which he recruited lay people as well as theologically-trained ministers. His radical appeal to the transformation of personal life according to spiritual and ethical standards of the Gospel meant that membership of these home mission agencies tolerated neither economic nor distinctions, and although this provoked voices of opposition, as the 1903 split illustrates, there is no doubt that Szabó's way was increasingly influential.⁵⁵ As Kool observes, 'In a situation in which old feudalism was strong, even among the church leaders, he [Szabó] sought to strengthen the small beginnings of the last decades of the 19th century in the church by involving lay people, students and women in his mission work. In short, he tried to mobilize ordinary church members'.⁵⁶

A major threshold of institutional change was crossed when the national Synod of the Hungarian Reformed Church decided to introduce home mission into the theological curriculum at all the faculties in 1911.⁵⁷ Bearing in mind that it was Edinburgh-trained bursars who took initial responsibility for teaching Practical Theology in three of the faculties, and that they were able to draw on the experience that they had accumulated through the various home mission organisations in which they had already been active, one may infer the influence of the Mission. In Debrecen Theological Seminary a separate chair of home mission was established, to which Ferenc Kiss was appointed.⁵⁸ These developments clearly indicate that the Hungarian Reformed Church had awakened to its responsibility to revive the church through active promotion of mission as the church's *raison d'être*.

Conclusion

The evidence that has been presented and examined in this thesis, and evaluated in this chapter, draws us to the conclusion that the Scottish Mission succeeded in implanting an evangelical and interdenominational concept of mission in the Hungarian Reformed Church that gained prominence over the nationalist and confessional understandings of mission that had previously prevailed. These different approaches to mission contended with each other

⁵⁴ Imre Révész, *History of Hungarian Reformed Church*, trans. by Knight, George A. F. (Washington D.C.: The Hungarian Reformed Federation of America, 1956), p. 139.

⁵⁵ Bíró, Sándor, Bucsay Mihály, Tóth Endre and Varga Zoltán, *A Magyar Református Egyház története*, ed. by Bíró Sándor and Szilágyi István, Egyháztörténeti tanszék Kiadványa (Sárospatak: 1949; repr. Sárospataki Református Kollégium Theológiai Akadémiája, 1995), pp. 396-7.

⁵⁶ Kool, p. 154.

⁵⁷ *Tanulmányok a Magyarországi Református Egyház történetéből 1867-1978*, *Studia et Acta Ecclesiastica*, ed. by Tibor Barta and László Makkai, 5 vols (Budapest: Magyar Református Egyház Zsinati Iroda Sajtóosztálya, 1983), V, p. 227. Cf. Forgács, p. 308.

⁵⁸ *A Debreceni Református Kollégium története*, ed. by József Barcza (Debrecen: A Magyar Református Egyház Zsinati Irodájának Sajtóosztálya, 1988), p. 248.

from the middle part of the nineteenth century, but by the early twentieth century it is clear that the evangelical approach of the Scottish Mission became the dominant mode of missionary thinking within the Hungarian Reformed Church, especially among those ministers and mission leaders who, as bursars, had had the opportunity of studying in Edinburgh.

Two main reasons explain this change. Firstly the network of home mission organisations succeeded in extending itself all over the country, and after 1881/82 when the previously independent church provinces were organised into the single ecclesiastical body of the Hungarian Reformed Church, this home mission network provided an efficient way of promoting co-operation among Christians in different parts of the country, off-setting the growing social and economic gulf between the cities and the countryside. Secondly, the new mission thinking of the Edinburgh-trained bursars and others who were part of the Hold utca network made itself felt in the theological faculties and the governing ecclesiastical bodies.

A key element in the achievement of the Scottish Mission was that it seeded ideas and allowed them to grow, without seeking to control every aspect of their implementation. In an obvious sense the Mission had no option but to follow this course since the number of missionaries, either from Scotland or from the Continent, was always small. But it is important to acknowledge that as part of the progressive Magyarisation of the Mission the Scottish (as distinct from the Prussian) missionaries were willing to let Hungarians take the lead in adapting Scottish concepts and methods of mission to the Hungarian situation. As the network of Hungarian home mission organisations spread, it became increasingly independent of the Scottish Mission. The Mission gave the final thrust to Hungarian revivalism with its support for MEKDSz as a Hungarian missionary society that embraced a global understanding of the missionary imperative, raising the sights of the Hungarian Reformed Church beyond the necessary but confining priority of home mission.

Beyond its influence in initiating the growth of home mission agencies in the Hungarian Reformed Church, the impact of the Mission can be seen in its sowing the seeds of an interdenominational approach to mission that at the same time mobilised lay people as well as ordained ministers. This enabled the home missions to overcome the gulf between classes and regions as the Hungarian state passed through a period of accelerated modernisation. The achievement of the Mission in this regard cannot, however, be attributed merely to effective organisation. Equally important was its persistent emphasis on the value of Practical Theology in relation to evangelical revival and mission that secured its influence in the theological life of the Reformed Church. This confirms the point that has already been

made about the Mission's willingness, certainly by the later decades of the nineteenth century, to let Hungarians take the lead. It was the bursars who had been trained in Edinburgh, and the people they influenced within the Hold utca circle, who began to exercise theological leadership from the 1880s.

It may be concluded, therefore, that the Scottish Mission achieved its goal of infusing the spirit, life-style and theology of evangelical revival through a process of mediation and exemplification. The initial creation of the German Affiliated Church threatened, while under the injudicious leadership of van Andel, to form a break-away church, separate from the Reformed Church in Pest. Notwithstanding the difficulties of the situation, the Edinburgh Committee exercised effective ecclesiastical diplomacy that led to the new church, with its strongly Evangelical-Pietist identity, being affiliated to the Pest Reformed Church. Gradually the Mission institutions that it spawned were able to adapt themselves to the Magyarisation of Hungarian society that marked the history of the second half of the nineteenth century. In the process they served as effective means by which Scottish missionary ideas were translated into the theological and organisational milieu of Hungarian Reformed culture, and modelled forms of mission, both home and overseas, that by the end of the nineteenth century the Hungarian church itself espoused.

This shift from Scottish Mission to Hungarian Church, from expatriate initiative to indigenous leadership, is the most fascinating feature of this Mission-Church partnership through the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁵⁹ As a result the Mission itself ceased to be seen as "Scottish", except as a traditional way of referring to it, for it effectively became entirely Magyar. It was this achievement that enabled the revivalism that the Mission had introduced to survive the outbreak of the First World War that forced the remaining Scottish missionaries to withdraw from the country as Hungary embarked on a new and shattering era of its history.

⁵⁹ See: Chapter 5. Section. 1.4.1. The Treaty between the Scottish and the Hungarian Churches.

Conclusion

The Scottish Mission was the first Protestant missionary organisation to take root in Hungary.¹ Initially it was meant to be a mission to the Jews, but ‘rabbi’ Duncan, the effective founder of the Mission, adapted this goal by adding to it a second, the Evangelical revival of the Hungarian Reformed Church, on the rationale that the former would not be practicably possible without the latter, and that latter was impossible theologically without the former. Therefore, ever since its foundation in 1841, the Mission had two goals of equal standing, each complementing the other in mutual inter-dependence: mission to the Jews, and the revival of the Reformed Church with a view to its participating in the evangelisation of the Jews. Although the balance between these two goals was adjusted during the 73 years period that has been reported in this thesis, as the Mission engaged the Jewish community and the Reformed Church in Pest, it can fairly be concluded that the Mission never lost sight of the original combination of its goals. If they were implemented to some degree separately and sequentially, it is equally true that, in the early decades of the twentieth century, the missionary institutions of the Hungarian Reformed Church that owed their existence to the Evangelical inspiration of the Scottish Mission were themselves alert to the theological and practical importance of Jewish evangelism.

The changing socio-political and ecclesiastical environment in Hungary constantly presented the Scottish missionary enterprise with the challenge of adaptation. In each of the five ‘eras’ the missionaries reacted differently to the circumstances influencing their work. There are striking differences between how the missionaries related to the external and internal challenges. Duncan, Wingate and Smith as well as the later missionaries Moody and Webster were sympathetic to the nationalist expressions of Magyars, whereas van Andel and Koenig seemed not to be in tune with the Hungarian culture.

The first generation of Scottish missionaries in Pest identified themselves closely with the Hungarian movement for the democratisation of the country, the logical outcome of which would be national independence from the Habsburg Empire. The Scots were arguably prone to this, due to their own anti-Romanist history in Scotland, and it is hardly surprising that in Hungary they found common ground with the Pest Protestant elite that was connected to the liberal party in the Hungarian Diet. For the same reason it was easy for them to develop a close relationship with the Palatina, Maria Dorothea, who, being Protestant and

¹ This is not to say that there were no other organisations trying to disseminate Evangelical ideas, for instance, the BFBS, but their colporteurs were not missionaries.

pro-Hungarian, was prepared to show her dislike of Catholics interference in Protestant internal affairs. In return for her indirect political support, channelled through liberal Hungarian politicians, that enabled the Mission to establish itself in the latently hostile environment created by a Catholic imperial government, the Evangelical missionaries accommodated themselves to Maria Dorothea's Pietism, and evolved what can be described as an Evangelical-Pietist alliance. It was under these conditions that, during its first period in Pest, the Mission was able to lay the foundations of the institutions that continued to define its practical approach to evangelism throughout the period under research: a worshipping congregation, a school whose educational purpose and teaching curriculum was guided by evangelical principles, and a network of colportage through which the missionaries, and increasingly the Jewish converts, were able to extend the influence of the Mission within the Jewish community of Pest and other parts of Hungary. In all this, it must be added, the first generation of missionaries were careful to work in a close and harmonious relationship with the Reformed Church in Pest.²

Following the expulsion of the Mission when the Habsburg government ruthlessly suppressed the Reform Era, the Mission was left with no option but to adapt itself to the procedure of appointing Continental Europeans as the missionaries of a mission that was integrally part of the Free Church of Scotland. While this enabled the Mission to continue its work, it was at the cost of some tensions between the former allies in mission; the leaders of Protestant elite in Pest and the Edinburgh Jewish Committee. The Dutchman, Adrian van AnDEL, showed great inadequacy in dealing with the situation he found himself, and this resulted in strained relations between the Mission and the Reformed Church. It is uncertain where van AnDEL stood in relation to Hungarian nationalism, except in terms of his support for the Church's struggle in the 'Patent fight', but it is clear that his enthusiasm for the implementation of Evangelical- Pietist ideas in the Hungarian Reformed Church led to circumstances that threatened to destroy the relationships that the first missionaries had created. The Edinburgh Committee was slow in realising the nature or gravity of the problem in Pest, but its eventual intervention restored the situation, and opened the way for Koenig to exercise a more cautious and constructive leadership.

With the establishment of the German-speaking Affiliated Church in 1864, the Mission presented itself as a German-speaking enterprise, just at the time when the political and social developments of Hungary were heading in the direction of Magyarisation. The

² Chapter 2. Section. II. 1. Three elements supporting the foundation of the Mission.

evidence indicates that this was not an intentional shift from the Mission's original pro-Hungarian stance. Indeed, it could be justified on the premise that the Mission's first goal was the evangelisation of the Hungarian Jews who, at this time, were still mostly German-speaking, although they strongly supported the pro-Magyarisation policies of the Dualist government. But it was the combination of the cultural orientation of the Mission leaders, the Prussian Koenig and the Hungarian German Biberauer, and their dependence on Kaiserwerth for the provision of deaconesses from 1866, that explains the Mission's linguistic identity. As this thesis has shown, the German identity of the Scottish Mission created a cultural environment for its work that impeded the effectiveness of its outreach to the Hungarian Reformed Church.

The evidence for this is provided in the development of the Mission school and hospital. Under Israel Saphir's management the school had employed teachers who were mostly German speaking, but as natives of Hungary their nationalist credentials could not be questioned. With the school's increasing dependence on German-speaking deaconesses imported from Kaiserwerth, and with the extension of this practice to the staffing of the mission hospital, the 'Germanisation' of the Mission made it vulnerable to the criticism of its Jewish opponents as being anti-Hungarian, while at the same time placing it on just the opposite end of the nationalist scale than the Hungarian Reformed Christians would have wished.

Had this situation pertained, it is questionable whether the Mission would have survived the socio-political transformation that was re-shaping Hungary in the second half of the nineteenth century. Koenig seems to have been as devout a Prussian as he was a Pietist, and both he and the expatriate staff of the school and hospital were keen on supporting the rising German nationalism led by Prussia in opposition to Austria. One would expect from this anti-Austrian stance that made the pro Magyar. Rather, it was just the opposite case. They resented the Magyarisation of the Hungarian government and, symbolically, one of the teachers, Maag, decided to leave the school rather than adapt to the new situation.³

The tide changed, however, with the appointment of Andrew Moody to direct the Mission in Pest. The Edinburgh Committee wanted to see the re-affirmation of the Scottish Evangelical element in the enterprise, and Moody became quickly aware of the need to reach out to the Reformed Magyars, the ethnic group that comprised ninety nine percent of

³ Chapter 5. Section II. 1. The changing ecclesiastical leadership in Pest and beginning of Magyarisation of Mission through the bursars.

the Hungarian Reformed Church. He learned the Hungarian language sufficiently to be able to preach in it, and this was the first sign that the Mission realised the importance of operating in the language of the Church that hosted it.

The Magyarisation of the Mission was, as the evidence indicates, a gradual process. The Germanic subculture was deeply ingrained in the Pest Reformed Affiliated Church, and it was not until the later nineteenth century that the effect of Magyarisation could be seen in the Mission's institutions. The change was really brought about, from 1865, by the introduction of the bursary programme for Hungarian scholars to study in Edinburgh. As a policy this indicated that the Jewish Committee wished to reconnect the Mission to the Hungarian Reformed Church. At the same time, it implied a prioritisation of the Mission's goal of introducing Evangelicalism into the Hungarian-speaking Pest Reformed population. Naturally it took time for the bursary programme to show its first impacts. But our research shows that Scottish Evangelicalism with its formative commitment to mission was set before the eyes of the Hungarian Reformed Church through the work of the Hungarian bursars in the 1870s.

Clearly the two aims of the Mission continued to be complementary in theory, but they were being forced apart in practice by the impact of linguistic change in Hungary. While the Hungarian Jews remained predominantly German-speaking throughout the nineteenth century, the shift of their language affiliation only becoming evident from the 1880s, the Hungarian Reformed Church was ethnically Hungarian, and linguistically Magyar. The Mission, with its combined goals, was caught between the two. Jewish evangelism was a German-speaking effort of the Mission, whereas the aim of revitalising the Hungarian Reformed Church could only be achieved through the Hungarian language. While this contradiction within the Mission's goals endured, it was out of the question that Hungarians could participate wholeheartedly in mission to the Jews: the lack of common language of communication, and the prevailing identification of the Church with nationalism and confessionalism gave no priority to Jewish evangelism.

These considerations press us to the conclusion that it is hardly surprising that the Scottish Mission to the Jews did not produce the successes for which the missionaries hoped, and which they optimistically predicted in their reports to the Jewish Committee in Edinburgh. On a smaller scale, however, it is to the Mission's credit that it involved Jewish converts in evangelising not only their own people but Hungarians as well. In addition to resolving the tension between the Mission's twin goals, this was achieved against the opposition of the Jewish community, both Orthodox and Neolog that equally disagreed with

the aims of the Mission and used every possible means to resist them, even to point of attempting to expunge converts from their religious subculture. This opposition was partly neutralised by the fact that the Mission, previously vulnerable to the charge of Germanisation, was more and more perceived as part of the 'Magyar Church' to the increasing degree that it embraced Magyarisation, and many of the liberal nationalist political figures were Reformed people. Moreover, the identity of the Jews as Hungarians, following Emancipation Law of 1867 that removed civic disabilities from the Jewish community, tied them to the Hungarian Protestants who played an important part in helping them to achieve the full emancipation of their religion in 1895. It is not surprising, therefore that the number of Jewish converts was much smaller than the Mission and the Edinburgh Committee cared to admit. As this thesis has argued, it is the quality of Jewish converts rather than their quantity that offers a surer measure of the Mission's success. It has to be recognised, however, that the Scottish vision of the conversion of the Jews as a nation proved elusive in reality, and that the Jewish Committee failed to instil this vision into the mind of the Affiliated Church, even as it made Jewish evangelism a condition of its financial support. Although some German-speaking Pietists among the school and hospital staff, and the colporteurs, attempted to adapt Jewish mission to Hungarian soil, the Hungarian Reformed Church itself remained relatively impervious to this dimension of evangelical renewal until the early twentieth century.

The lack of real passion for evangelising the Jews did not mean, however, that the Affiliated Church or the Pest Reformed Church, to which it was affiliated, lacked a commitment to mission. The Affiliated Church was the first congregation in the Hungarian Reformed Church to introduce home mission activities, such as Sunday school, and the YMCA and YWCA. It did so, however, through the medium of the German language, and the full adoption of these initiatives by the Hungarians had to wait until the Edinburgh-trained bursars were able to exercise their influence so that the Scottish Mission could break out of its culture of isolation.

If Andrew Moody was the first missionary to realise from the early 1880s that Magyarisation was the way of the future, it was Aladár Szabó who played the vital role in translating the Mission's ideas into forms of revival that impacted the life of the Hungarian Reformed Church as a whole. His involvement with the Hold utca hub was crucial in guiding the Mission to adapt its means of evangelism to the conditions of Hungarian Protestantism, and disseminate the Evangelical spirituality that the Mission had nurtured in the life of the German-speaking congregation.

Szabó's connection with the Mission represents the maturation of the Mission's Magyarisation, itself a long process that began with the employment of the first bursar on the Mission staff in 1882. By 1910 the entire staff of the Mission was Hungarian speaking. It was during this time that the focus of the Mission shifted from Jewish evangelism to promoting the revival of the Reformed Church through the bursars, home mission movements, Somerville's evangelistic tours and the Hold utca meetings together with evangelisations in the Elisabeth Boulevard.

Webster was the second of the Scottish missionaries who actively supported the Magyarisation of the Mission by setting the example of becoming a fluent Hungarian speaker himself. This facilitated the indigenisation of the home mission movements that the Mission had inspired. It influenced the decision of the national synod of the Reformed Church to introduce mission as a subject to be included in the curriculum of the theological colleges in each church province. Moreover, as the Hungarian Reformed Church integrated home mission into its thinking and practice, with the continuing encouragement of the Scottish Evangelicalism and German Pietism of the Hold utca hub, the first signs of Hungarian awareness of the importance of mission to the Jews appeared. Through many challenges, tests and conflicts the Evangelical Presbyterianism of the Scottish Church together with its German Pietist ally imbedded itself into the spirituality of the Hungarian Reformed Church with promising prospects now to reach out to both Gentiles and the Jews.

This thesis has shown that it was the introduction of the concept and practice of home mission that enabled the Scottish Mission, especially with the assistance the Edinburgh-trained bursars, to mobilise the missionary commitment of the Hungarian Reformed Church in relation to the needs of the Hungarian people as a whole. The creation of the first Protestant hospital, the YMCA and the YWCA, and the Sunday school movement each left its imprint on the Church's maturing understanding of mission. This is evident in the Church's espousal of the defining characteristics of Scottish Evangelicalism: voluntarism, biblicism, crucicentrism and conversionism. It is legitimate to conclude, therefore, that the Scots shaped the piety of Hungarian Reformed Christianity in the likeness of Scottish spirituality indigenised in the Hungarian cultural milieu.

The thesis offered Szabó's success in creating a voluntary fund for the purchase and support of the Bethesda hospital in 1909 as the classic example of Hungarian voluntarism. Biblicism was more readily accepted since the personal discipline of Bible reading had

always been a trait of Hungarian Reformed Christianity.⁴ A captivating example is Ferenc Balogh's life whose grandmother's read the Bible on a regular basis (*bibliás keresztyén*) and instilled this practice into his heart. Balogh learned about the work of BFBS while studying in Scotland, and thereafter became a lifetime advocate of its work. This was the foundation upon which Hungarian Reformed spirituality responded to the Scottish encouragement to affirm Evangelicalism over against the 'rationalist' wing of Hungarian Reformed Church. By contrast, neither crucicentrism nor conversionism had been conspicuous characteristics of Hungarian Reformed faith prior to the arrival of the Scottish Mission. On the contrary, Hungarian Reformed Christianity was imbued by the confessionalist features of Calvinism, translated through the patriotic context into constant antagonism against the Roman Catholic Church. Into this situation the Scottish Mission broke new ground by introducing an interdenominational and trans-national understanding of the Protestant faith, interpreted through the lenses of Evangelical interpretation of the Bible. Duncan, Maria Dorothea, van Andel, Koenig and Moody all were part of a network of Evangelicals and Pietist that connected them regardless their national background and denominational stance. Duncan's conversion through the Swiss Cesar Malan, Maria Dorothea's connections to the *Revél* group, and van Andel's and Koenig's Pietism found like-minded people among the Scottish Evangelicals. The Evangelical-Pietist alliance that resulted was sustained through the *Hold utca* network, and instilled the feature of conversionism to Hungarian spirituality. When Aladár Szabó, József Szalay and other contributors to the YMCA's *Ébresztő* produced articles about the kind of Christian life they cherished, one sees the impact of the Evangelical-Pietist blend. Bible studies, personal prayer and devotion were preferred to dancing, playing cards, theatre, drinking and smoking. These external manifestations of conversion reflect a personal commitment to serve Christ as their underlying concern. In spite of the fact that the sources offer little by way of theological reflection on the meaning of conversion, these external features of Evangelicalism and Pietism show the strong line of division between the committed Christians who experienced conversion, and the rest of the church whom the revivalists regarded as nominal Christians.

This summation of the evidence presented in this thesis justifies the conclusion that the Scottish Mission achieved a significant measure of success in respect of its goals of witnessing the Gospel both for the conversion of Hungarian Jews, and for the revival of the Hungarian Reformed Church. With the Magyarisation of the Mission in the latter decades of the nineteenth century, the second goal was given the greater prominence, in contrast to the

⁴ Such well-known figures of reading the Bible regularly were Prince Gábor Bethlen, and Kata Bethlen.

former that had sustained the Mission during earlier phases of its development. But as the Hungarian revivalists, influenced by the Evangelical-Pietist alliance of Hold utca, gradually awakened Hungarian Protestants to the imperative of mission to all layers of the Hungarian society, two further advances were undertaken in consequence: the Church began to realise its responsibility for mission beyond the Hungarian nation, to Hungarian communities in other parts of Central Europe, and equally to Jews in Hungary but also in Poland and Russia.

This research has shown that missionary awareness was an integral part of the revivalist concept of mission, contrary to nationalist approaches. So it can be concluded that the revivalism that was initially introduced through the Mission's German-speaking congregation succeeded in translating itself into the Magyar medium through a combination of efforts on the part of Scottish missionaries and Scottish-trained Hungarian bursars, with the result that the Evangelical revival implanted itself in the life of the Hungarian Reformed Church, and stimulated Hungarian Protestants to engage firstly in home mission, and then, through awareness of the significance of Jewish evangelism, in mission beyond the confines of the Hungarian state.

This could not have been achieved by the Scottish Mission – whether under its Germanic or Magyar orientation – alone. It was the result of the Mission's ability to form an effective Evangelical partnership with the Hungarian Reformed Church in which the Edinburgh-trained bursars and the home leaders mission organisations eventually took the lead in pioneering Hungarian participation in foreign mission as well. The thesis has shown that Jewish evangelism constituted the link between these two dimensions of mission. It may therefore be concluded that the Scottish Mission succeeded in holding to the two goals that its founders set: Jewish evangelism and the Evangelical revival of the Hungarian Reformed Church. It was for the Hungarians to determine the order in which these goals were achieved, but insofar as the Hungarian Reformed Church committed itself to both, it demonstrates that no foreign impact had been so profound upon it as that of the Scottish Mission. It is no exaggeration, therefore, to conclude that the influence of the Scottish Mission on the Hungarian Reformed Church was nothing short of a second Reformation, though in the case of Hungary, unlike Scotland, it did not cause a "Disruption".

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Appendix I.

Draft Reply of the Edinburgh Jewish Committee to the proposal of agreement from German-Speaking Reformed Affiliated Congregation

17th November, 1863

The Sub-committee appointed at last meeting reported that they had communicated with Mr. Andrew Moody, probationer, with the view of his going out to Pesth and found him no disinclined to entertain a proposal from this Committee. The Report was approved and it was resolved to invite Mr. Moody to go out to Pesth immediately, and to offer him the Salary of £150 a years. More particular directions as to his work there to be deferred till he has had some experience of the place, and it be ascertained that the climate will suite his health.

The Sub Committee gave in the following draft of a reply to the Church Committee of the German Reformed Affiliated congregation at Pesth containing articles of agreement between them and this Committee which were approved and ordered to be engrossed, signed by the Convenor and formally transmitted to Pesth:-

Draft Reply by the Committee of the Free Church of Scotland for the Conversion of the Jews to the proposal of an agreement transmitted to them by Mr. Biberauer on behalf of the German Reformed Affiliated Congregation at Pesth.

The Committee of the Free Church of Scotland for the Conversion of the Jews having maturely considered the proposal of an agreement transmitted on behalf of the German Affiliated Congregation at Pesth bearing date 11th October 1863; and also an explanatory document of date 28th October 1863, signed by elders of the said Affiliated Congregation.

Resolved

1. That it was not the intention of the Committee by their statement of February last, to interfere with the autonomy of the Hungarian Reformed Church, nor to disannul the Resolution of the Congregational Meeting of the 6th January, 1863.

2. That this Committee, recognizing the said congregation, constituting a member of the Hungarian Reformed Church, and dependent on its laws, consider themselves bound in all cases to abstain from interfering with autonomy. And they regret that any negotiations of theirs, entered into with the London Society on the basis of a principle understood and acted upon by both bodies should have occasioned any inconvenience to the Congregation.

3. That this Committee recognize the canonical privilege of the Reverend Superintendent, in virtue of which he appoints his vicars, who likewise cannot be removed without his knowledge or against his will.

4. That this Committee cordially accepts the offer made by the congregation to renew their friendly alliance with the Free Church of Scotland, assuring them that such alliance cannot be any hindrance to their maintaining fellowship with other evangelical Churches.

5. That this Committee rejoice to know that the members of the Congregation, having learnt by personal intercourse in every respect to esteem and appreciate the Rev. Mr. Koenig, are prepared to welcome the offer made by this Committee to permit their Missionary to officiate statedly as pastor of the Congregation.

6. That this Committee from their past experience of the kindly feelings entertained towards them by the Reverend Superintendent have no doubt that he will at all times be ready to listen to any reasonable proposal made to him by the Committee or the Congregation.

7. That this Committee will authorize their missionary Mr. Koenig, to enter into any arrangements with the Reverend Superintendent respecting the exercise of his vicariate which shall no be inconsistent with he laws of the Free Church of Scotland: and they beg that he may be furnished as soon as possible with a copy of the ecclesiastical statutes and laws of the Reformed Church of Hungary for his own use and that of the Committee.

8. That this Committee consent that it shall be in the power of either party, that is, of the Congregation or of the Committee, to dissolve the relation as vicar, now propose to be formed between the Congregation and the Missionary of the Committee upon giving six months notice of their intentions.

9. That this Committee agree to pay one half of the rent of a place of worship for the Congregation provided always that the always that the sum required of them shall no exceed Eighty pounds sterling. And they stipulate that, in return, they shall have the use of this place of worship for all meetings and services authorized by their missionaries, at all times when it shall not be required for the worship of the Congregation and that in conducting such meetings and services the Missionaries shall remain under the sole direction and superintendence of this Committee.

10. As it is the object of the Congregation as well as the Committee to give all moral aid and support to the Mission to the Jews, the Missionaries of the Committee while acting as vicar of the Reverend Superintendent, and in this capacity officiating in the congregation shall be at liberty to use the ordinary services of the congregation for mission purposes, such for example, as the baptism of the converts or addresses to them: it being always understood that this article shall not construed as to permit any one to claim right to officiate in the Congregation, or to conduct any of its services, except as vicar and by the authority of the Reverend Superintendent.¹¹

¹ NLS, Church of Scotland Minutes. Free and United Free Church of Scotland (1853-1863), Minute Book of the Committee of the Free Church of Scotland for the Conversion of the Jews. Deposit 298.251, fols. 438-42.

Appendix II.

The Contract Between the Scottish Mission and German Affiliated Church

19th January, 1864.

The Convenor mentioned that he had received information of Mr. Moody's safe arrival at Pesth.

The following letter from the Presbytery of the German Reformed Affiliated congregation at Pesth finally confirming the arrangement between them and the Committee was read and ordered to be engrossed:-

Translation: Reply of the Presbytery of the German Reformed Affiliated congregation at Pesth to the Committee of the Free Church of Scotland for the Conversion of the Jews in Edinburgh.

The letter of the Committee, dated November 11th 1863 relative to the future relation of this Committee to the German Reformed Affiliated congregation at Pesth, was communicated to the Presbytery at their meeting held December 3rd, and in consideration, that the wishes expressed by the congregation were fully responded to in this letter, it was resolved to accept with gratitude the offer of the Free Church of Scotland, contained in it *to permit their missionary to officiate in this congregation as Vicar* and to communicate to the congregation the satisfactory result of their negotiations.

This was done by the Rev. P. Török, pastor of the congregation, on December 13th at the close of the service on which occasion he also introduced the Rev. R. Koenig as his vicar.

The Presbytery in making this communication to the Committee of the Free Church of Scotland declare themselves also willing to meet the wishes expressed by the Committee, namely

1. The Presbytery consider themselves bound in case the congregation should resolve to discontinue the engagement entered into with the Free Church of Scotland to intimate their intention to the Committee at least six months before

2. In conformity with the Committee's desire the Rev. R. Koenig will be furnished with the laws and regulations of the Church relative to his functions.

3. The Presbytery will be happy to allow the Missionaries of the Free Church of Scotland the use of their place of worship for missionary purposes at all such times when it is no used for their services.

Finally [4.], the Presbytery desire to express their gratitude to the Committee of their kind contribution towards the rent of the place of worship, and they rejoice to be able to add that its situation in the midst of a quarter chiefly inhabited by the Jews, fits in very specially for the furtherance of the interest of the Mission. And with sincere wish that the blessing of the Lord may richly rest in this agreement between the Committee and the German Reformed Affiliated congregation, in the name of the Presbytery of the German Reformed congregation at Pesth (signed) Paul Török Pastor, Thodor [sic!] Biberauer Curator. Pesth, December 26th 1863. [This was the date of the original letter]¹

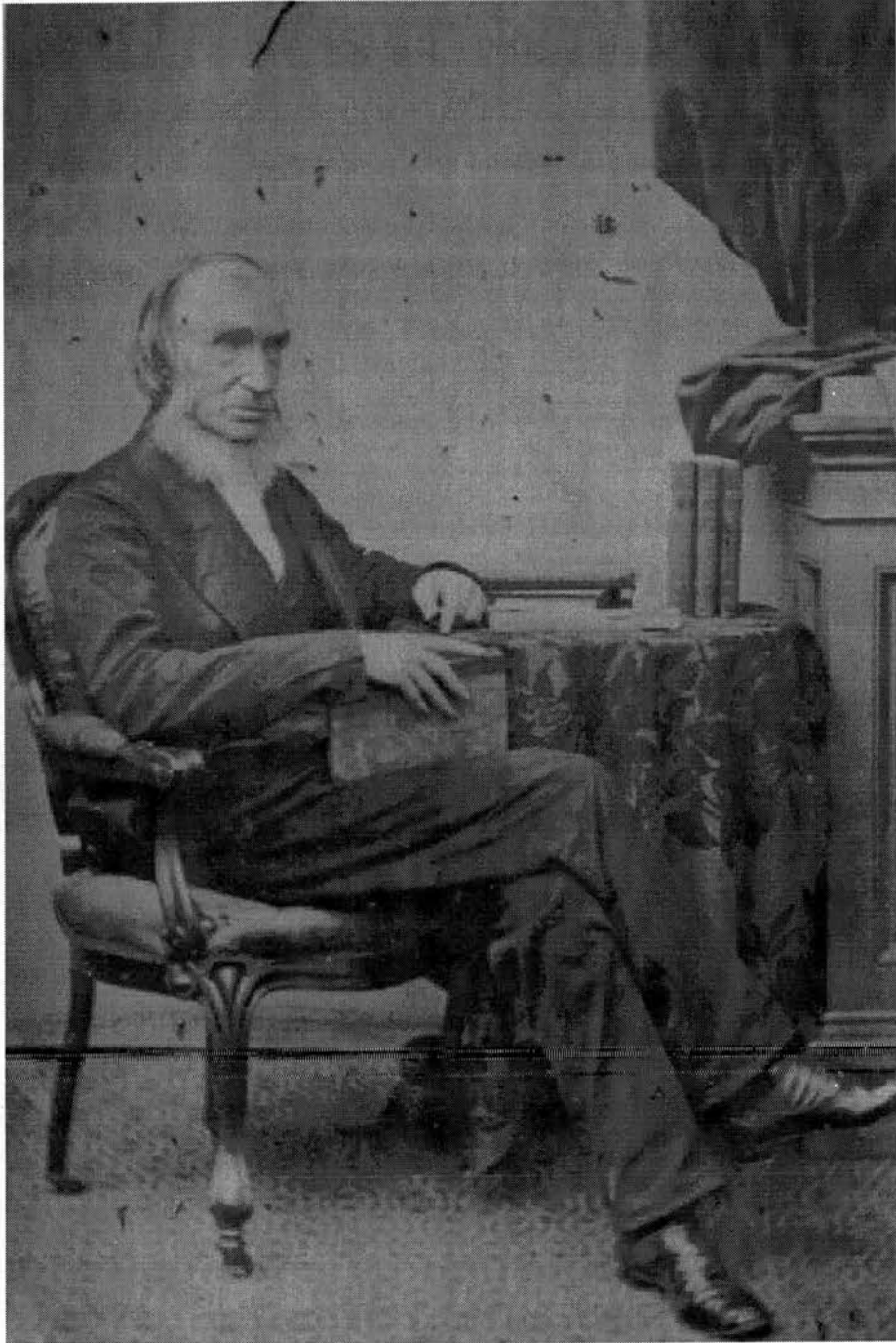
¹ NLS, Church of Scotland Minutes. Free and United Free Church of Scotland (1864-71), Minute Book of the Committee of the Free Church of Scotland for the Conversion of the Jews. Deposit 298.252, fols. 3-5.

Appendix III.

List of Missionaries in Pest

Appointed	Name	Death, Retirement, or Station
1841	William Owen Allan	Pest 1841 August - 1842
1874	William Owen Allan	Pest, 1874 -1878
1841	John Duncan	Pest, 1841 August – Sept 1843
1841	Robert Smith	Pest, 1841 August - Jan 1852
1842	William Wingate	Pest, 1842 July - Jan 1852
1858	Adrian van Andel	Pest, 1857 October – 1863 autumn
1863	Rudolf Koenig	Pest, 1863 May - 1890
1864	Andrew Moody	Pest, 1864 January – 1871 summer Prague, 1871 - 1878 Pest, 1878 autumn - 1904
1872	Alexander Thom	Pest, 1872 October –1874 February
1895	James MacDonald Webster	Budapest, 1895 October - 1914
1906	Gyula Forgács	Budapest, 1906 - 1910
1911	James Alexander Campbell	Budapest, 1911 - 1914

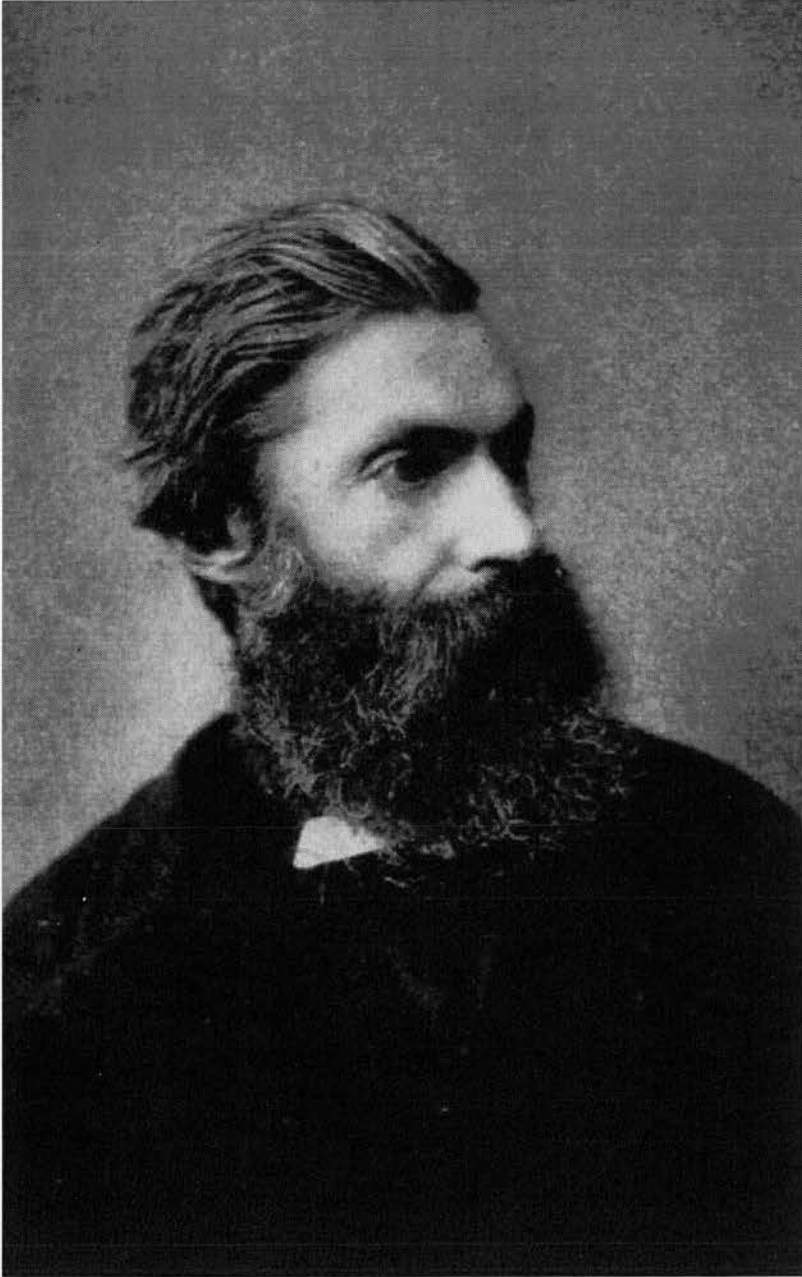
Appendix IV. Pictures from the Life of the Scottish Mission



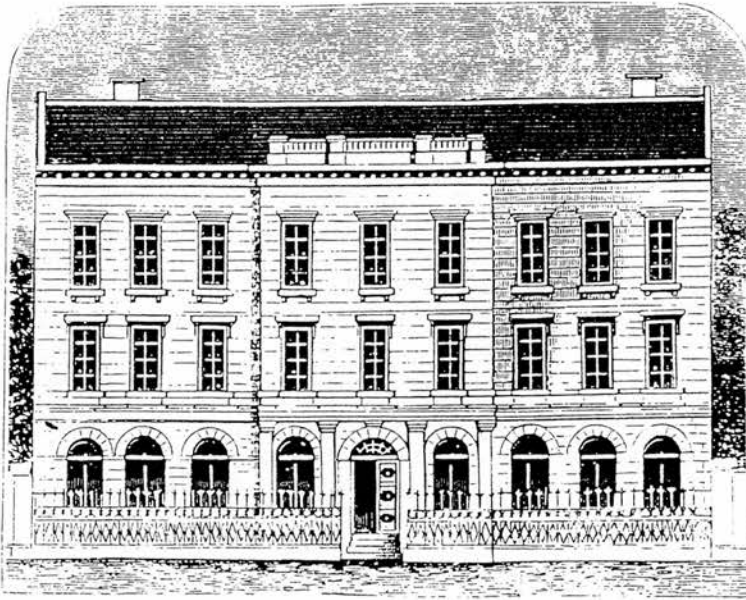
Professor John Duncan D. D.



Rev. William Wingate



Rev. Alfred Edersheim



THE SCHOOL BUILDINGS OF THE UNITED FREE CHURCH
OF SCOTLAND MISSION IN BUDA-PESTH.

The school building of the Scottish Mission in Hold utca