

The Attitude of Liberal Clergymen in Hungary to Politics in 1848/49

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Abstract

In historical research into the Hungarian Civil Revolution and War of Independence of 1848 there has so far been no interpretation of liberal tendencies in different church communities. Marxist historians tended to emphasise the role of the Churches in supporting feudal counter-revolutionary movements. The aim of this presentation is to deal with the liberal changes in the various Churches in 1848 and to summarise the attitude of liberal clergymen to politics at that time.

By 1848, within the denominations an appreciable stratum of priests and ministers had come into being that provided substantial support for preservation of the peaceful nature of the transformation into a civil society, but also for continuation of the defensive struggle. This stratum was influenced by three factors: their religious training, their liberal convictions and their devotion to their nation. In their interpretation, the transition into a civil society was not the mark of upheaval, but that of the provident goodness of God. In their preaching they paid increasing attention to eliminating the abuses of this world. The real importance of the liberal clerical interpretation of the Revolution and War of Independence in 1848/49 lies in the fact that a population that had previously never or only weakly engaged in politics was won over to the cause of transition into a civil society.

Introduction

In historical research into the Hungarian Civil Revolution and War of Independence of 1848, there has so far been no interpretation of liberal tendencies in the different Church communities. Marxist historians tended to emphasise the role of the Churches in supporting feudal counter-revolutionary movements. The aims of this presentation are to deal with the liberal changes in the various Churches in 1848 and to summarise the attitude of liberal clergymen in Hungary to politics at that time.

Before the Revolution in 1848, the position of the Catholic Church in Hungary was not independent of secular politics. The state, as elsewhere in Europe, intervened quite strongly in Church affairs. For the Protestant and Orthodox Churches, freedom of religion was guaranteed by law, but they were also subject to the state's right of supervision. On the other hand, the different denominations themselves sought state support against the increasing worldliness. Indifference to religion was becoming increasingly more popular amongst the educated population. This new challenge provoked fundamentally different responses within the Churches. There were those who wanted liberal reforms that would help to solve this crisis, while others insisted on adherence to the traditional way of religious life.¹

In 1848, Hungary was part of the Habsburg Empire in Europe and had its own liberal government from 11 April, when the Monarch sanctioned the new civil laws in Parliament. As a consequence of the changes, the tithe (decima), the tax that had been paid to the Church for centuries, was abolished and a total equality of rights was ensured for the Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist, Unitarian and Orthodox Churches.² In their sermons delivered at the urging of the state authorities in the spring of 1848, clergymen welcomed the changes and offered support to the state. The new laws were explained to the illiterate population not only by Catholic priests, but also by Calvinist ministers. Menyhért Egri Szabó, a Calvinist minister, preached in the town of Nagykörös as follows:

¹ Hardtwig, Wolfgang, "Die Kirche in der Revolution 1848/49. Religiös-politische Mobilisierung und Parteienbildung," in: *Revolution in Deutschland und Europa 1848/49*, ed. Hardtwig, Wolfgang (Göttingen: Vanderhoeckund Ruprecht 1998), 80-82.

² Kosáry, Domokos, *The Hungarian Revolution of 1848 in the Context of European History* (Budapest: Collegium Budapest Institute for Advanced Study 2000) 5-6.

“Civil freedom does not mean unruliness, confusion, or disorder; much rather, it means law and responsibility.” God “could not have wanted to restrict our rights and our freedom; on the contrary, he wished to ensure them.”³

On the whole, in the spring of 1848, the different tendencies to change within the Churches were beginning to become clear. In all church communities, the possibility of a democratic transformation seemed to be a crucial point. Alajos Prámer, a Catholic priest in the diocese of Kassa, influenced by Lamennais, expressed his wish to abolish the chapters and to establish a new democratic Presbyterian system. Numerous Catholic priests insisted on the abolition of celibacy and on the creation of a democratic Church government. The main point was to achieve change in the Church government in such a way that it would resemble the manner in which the liberal secular society worked.⁴

Similar movements started in other Hungarian denominations, too. On 7 May 1848, László Mihó, a Calvinist minister, made his inaugural speech in Kecskemét, in which he did not deny that it was primarily required of a Calvinist minister that he should “follow the age of progress with his whole cast of mind and build up a good relationship with the new mode of thinking and ideology”.⁵

The Orthodox dioceses were not exceptions. In the spring of 1849, during the appointment of the new Episcopal representative of the episcopate of Arad, a majority of the participating priests decided against the wishes of the conservative Church leaders, and Ștefan Chirilescu, parish priest in Talpas, was elected deputy bishop in a democratic way.⁶ The Hungarian Jewry also showed signs of internal diversity. Rabbi Ignác Einhorn, leader of the Jewish Reform Church Community in Pest, fought for reforms such as equal rights for Jewish and non-Jewish people, services in the Hungarian language, and reforms of Jewish religious ceremonies (services on Sundays instead of Saturdays, playing the organ in the synagogue, etc.).⁷

Clergymen with liberal convictions had a completely different view of history from the traditional clerical thinking of the age. While the latter was based on metaphysical foundations and built up from eschatological elements, the liberals regarded the European revolutions as proof of Providence and development. Paul Rázga, a Lutheran minister from Pozsony/Pressburg, rejected the conservative theological viewpoint that condemned revolutions. Indeed, Rázga viewed the 1848 revolutions as the most effective means of broadening of the evangelical fraternity. For conservative priests, revolution was a sin against mankind, involving murder and revolt against order. As opposed to this, Rázga considered revolution itself to be morally neutral, and to be judged by its purpose and the manner in which it was carried out.

³ Egri Szabó Menyhért, *Egyházi beszéd, melyet az 1847/8-diki országgyűlés lelkes közremunkálása következtében történt nemzeti békés átalakulás örömnépén tartott a helvét vallástételt követő nagy körösi gyülekezet templomában, 1848-dik évi Martius 26-án* [Preach about the Peaceful Transition in Nagykőrös 26. May 1848.] (Kecskemét: 1848) 13.

⁴ Zakar, Péter, “Forradalom az egyházban? A radikális papság 1848-49-ben”, [The Radical Clergy in 1848-49.] in: *Állam és egyház a polgári átalakulás korában Magyarországon 1848-1918* (Budapest: Magyar Egyháztörténeti Enciklopédia Munkaközösség, 2001) 53-62.

⁵ Mihó László, *Egyházi beszédek* [Preaches] (Kecskemét: 1851) 4.

⁶ Miskolczi, Ambrus, *Egyház és forradalom. A kőröskisjenői ortodox román egyházi zsinat. [Orthodox Romanian Council of Kőröskisjenő] Bevezetés és zsinati jegyzőkönyv.* (Budapest: ed. Rudeanu, Ioan Octavian, Román Filológiai Tanszék 1991) 17–18.

⁷ Einhorn Ignác, *A reformált izraelita valláselvei.* [The Principles of the Reform Jewish Person] (Pest: 1849.) 1–16.

“If a revolution supports the rights of an oppressed nation, if its slogans are equality, fraternity and freedom, and if it respects property, then such a revolution is just in the eyes of men and God, and we should not fear it.”⁸

Among the notes of Pál Rázga, we find a completely liberal interpretation of freedom. In his view, freedom does not entitle us to do as we wish. Freedom is the freedom of the individual from the despotism of others within the frame of the state. This concept includes freedom of development, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and freedom of religion and worship. Members of a congregation must be free in their belief too. “My Lord, freedom is where Thy Soul reigns”, he completes his train of thoughts.⁹

Under the influence of the Revolution, the political attitude of each of the denominations was reformed, and a relatively significant liberal stratum appeared on the scene, attaining ever more political influence in the favourable social atmosphere. As a result, the denominations themselves became increasingly divided, and the role of nationalism in their awareness of identity became more marked. Supporters of modernisation the Churches, adopting the philosophy, emotional atmosphere and culture of Enlightenment and Romanticism, creating an immanent theology on these bases. The tensions within the denominations became enhanced, and this led to an increasing temptation to settle the internal conflicts with “secular” aid. As a logical consequence of these changes, under the flag of national unity such liberal clergymen not only condemned the denominational quarrels, but also took part in the War of Independence. For instance, on 30 July 1848, in the camp on the River Dráva, Pius Horváth, a Piarist priest, taught the national guards gathered for the service how important it was to maintain unity. “Being united then, and being instructed by the words of the gospel, I beseech you: beware of the false prophets who traverse the lands of peaceful inhabitants, generating devastating flames all around so as to burn down the young blossoms of liberty, equality and fraternity; beware of the false prophets who instil the poignant contagion of suspicion, party strife and denomination ship into your gullible ears in the alluring voice of a siren.”¹⁰

Besides describing the effects of the Revolution on the Churches, we must also discuss what influence the clergymen exerted on the Revolution. Did they have a role to play in any field or did they withdraw completely, waiting passively for the storm to blow over? The polemic about this issue is highly moralistic in nature. Before the First World War, a shadow was cast on the topic of the ecclesiastical history in 1848/49 by the defence of belief, an analogous part being played from 1945 by Stalinism; this occurred to such an extent that the discourse became completely rigid for decades. The most debated question among the Marxist and religious historians was whether or not clergymen supported the War of Independence in any way at all. Breaking with this still persisting tradition, I would now like to consider the question of what the Revolution owed to the clergymen.¹¹

Two remarks must first be made. It must be borne in mind that the Revolution sooner or later had its opponents within each denomination. However, the groups formed on the basis of political, religious, economic or national differences did not have identical political weight, and the differences themselves could not rise to the surface with the same intensity. Second, a conservative political conviction did not automatically result in “reactionary” political activities, or at all stages of the Revolution. For example, the undoubtedly conservative Ferenc Nádasdy, Archbishop of Kalocsa, supported the Habsburg Monarchy, but he often

⁸ Hadtörténelmi Levéltár (Budapest: Archives of War) Abszolutizmuskori iratok. [Documents of Absolutism] Pozsonyi Hadbírótság. [Military Tribunal of Pozsony] 1849–2/433/b. fol. 409.

⁹ Ibidem, 1849–2/433/b. fol. 394.

¹⁰ Magyar Piarista Rendtartomány Központi Levéltára. (Central Archives of Piaristen in Hungary) Horváth Pius beszédei. [Preaches of Horváth, Pius] 1848. július 30. For. 04. V 73/10.

¹¹ Andics, Erzsébet, *Az egyházi reakció 1848-49-ben* [The Ecclesiastical Reaction in 1848-49.] (Budapest: Szikra Kiadás 1949) 58-92.

displayed evidence of surprising benevolence towards the Hungarian government. It was typical that he concerned himself in announcing the orders of the Committee of National Defence, while the other conservative bishops were already considering going over to the imperial government. On 30 December 1848, for instance he made his subordinates do as he had already ordered in Kalocsa when instructing his priests to read out the open order of the Committee of National Defence of 22 December, though he supposed that they were already aware of it.¹²

Preaching incorporating a political content had been usual to some degree before the Revolution, but priests and ministers subsequently began to place greater emphasis on analyses of worldly events. By the last week of March 1848, thanksgiving services for the peaceful reforms had become regular. As Ferenc Magyar, a Catholic priest, explained on 25 March 1848 in Eger: “It is clear that in the gentler sense the virtue of patriotism can be nothing but the religious respect and dear love of our land, Constitution, King, Government, aldermen, fellow-citizens, language and nation.”¹³ One day later István Szoboszlai Pap, Calvinist superintendent in Debrecen, expressed his joy over the peaceful nature of the reforms. The names of the legislators were mentioned with great respect, “especially those coming from the high position of our law-making with faces brightened up gloriously – as bright as the face of Moses on the hill of law-making”.¹⁴

It was necessary to explain the laws when mistaken views spread among the populace, for instance to the effect that no one would have to pay taxes following the reforms. Similar misunderstandings had to be clarified in connection with the organisation of the national guard, and later the Hungarian army. As for legality, the reform took place lawfully, peacefully and (relative to other changes in Europe) extremely rapidly. There can have been few revolutions whose leaders and participants laid as much emphasis on legitimacy (or its appearance) as the Hungarians did. The laws regulating the basic principles of the reforms were successfully passed and sanctioned quickly, and the Batthyány government was not regarded as a provisional government, as opposed to numerous other governments of the age on the way of reforms.¹⁵ Although the conservatives faithful to the social order grumbled somewhat in this situation, in their private circles or in their confidential letters addressed to the ruler, because of the unsettled matters concerning the compensation for the tithe, the unstable position of their pious foundations or the decay in the clerical discipline of the priests, taking everything into consideration, they had no reason to complain in view of the conditions prevailing throughout Europe. It was typical that, when the left-of-centre opposition attacked the government more intensively, Mihály Fogarasy, honorary Bishop of Skodar, a leading the conservative clergyman, was among the first to assure the government of his support.¹⁶

The explanation and correct interpretation of the laws was of great importance for the peasant masses, most of whom were unable to read and write. Menyhért Egri Szabó,

¹² “...eszmék és dolgok zavarában...” 1848/49 és ami utána következett... *Válogatott dokumentumok a Kalocsai Érseki Levéltár 1848-1851 közötti anyagából, Forráskiadvány, [Selected Documents of the Archiepiscopal Archives of Kalocsa 1848/49]* ed. Lakatos, Andor and Sarnyai, Csaba Máté (Kalocsa: Kalocsai Főszékesegyházi Könyvtár és Kalocsai Érseki és Főkáptalani Levéltár 2001) 106.

¹³ *Egyházi szózat, melyet a magyar haza s nemzet békés átalakulásának örömnünnepe alkalmával az Egri Főegyházban mondott Magyar Ferenc. 1848^{-dik} mart. 25^{-én}* [Preach of Magyar, Ferenc addressed in the Archiepiscopal Church of Eger 25 March 1848.] (Eger: d.n.) 5.

¹⁴ *A szabadság szent ígéi. A tiszántúli református egyházi vezetés és a Debreceni Kollégium 1848/49-ben,* [The Leadership of the Trans-Tiszanian Calvinist Church District 1848/49.] ed. Gáborjáni Szabó Botond (Debrecen: Tiszántúli Református Egyházkerületi Gyűjtemények, 1999) 71–76.

¹⁵ *A Concise History of Hungary: The History of Hungary from the Early Middle Ages to the Present,* ed. Tóth, István György (Budapest: Corvina, Osiris 2005.) 383-392.

¹⁶ Magyar Országos Levéltár (Hungarian State Archives) Az 1848/49-i minisztériumi levéltár. [Archives of the Hungarian Ministerial 1848/49] Nem iktatott iratok (H 94) 1. carton.

an assistant minister in Nagykőrös, expressly cursed those threatening the peaceful reforms by breaking the laws: “Let those be accursed—I repeat—let those be accursed who would dare to make a disturbance in this period of transition, to act against the present or future laws and rebel against any new or former authorities, or who would not be ashamed to use their personal and legal equality to the injury of their fellow-citizens, or to use their equality before the law to evade the law; let those be accursed, accursed by our nation!”¹⁷

Another important effect of the War of Independence was the nationalist ideology that increasingly strongly emerged in all denominations. In addition to this, an ever larger number of clergymen became more actively interested in secular politics and gave rise to a considerable liberal stratum that exerted an important political influence under the favourable social conditions of the age.

The preachings of liberal priests and ministers also reflected the strengthening of the Left in the political life of Hungary. In the spring of 1849, political legitimacy was no longer embodied by the king, but by the notion of liberty, the constitution and faithfulness to the nation, independence from the Habsburg empire and the existence of Hungary as a sovereign state with Lajos Kossuth as governor. The clergy in Hungary played an important role in the process of social communication, and their mediation in the survival of the achievements of the revolution was far from negligible. Their contribution has been preserved by phrases such as “the God of the Hungarians”, “the altar of the country” or “Moses of the Hungarians”. Thus, the Revolution and War of Independence resulted in the formation of a unique revolutionary theology. The Jewish-Hungarian parallel, which originated in Protestant sources, formed a common treasure of preaching, crossing the borders of the different denominations as early as the 19th century. In a speech to students in Debrecen on 22 March 1848, Professor Bálint Révész explained that God put “the magic wand of Moses” in the hand of Kossuth “to guide our nation”. Similar expressions are to be found in the preaching of the Calvinist minister Mihály Könyves Tóth, or in the declaration made by the Szatmár Diocese following the dethronement. In his preaching in Arad, the Calvinist minister Benjámín Baló stated that the declaration of independence was made under the leadership of “our Hungarian Moses, Lajos Kossuth.”¹⁸

The Catholic priests likewise took their share in advocating this political cult. The teachings of János Bardocz for instance, discussed the roles of the Hungarian and Jewish peoples in the history of salvation for the purpose of an easier comparison. God would hold not only the tyrants responsible, but also the Hungarian nation, for what it had done for its freedom. However, if the Hungarians appeared before God as those attacked, God would react as follows: “... in the Old Testament, I chose a nation for myself, showering my blessings upon it for centuries. This nation left me later; for this reason I took another nation, the Hungarian, into my good graces in place of it.” At the end of the Old Testament, the Lord sent a saviour to the straying Jews, and similarly sent to this nation “chosen in the New Testament a civil saviour in the person of Lajos Kossuth”. The moral: the Jews were not obedient to their saviour, and consequently perished, whereas the Hungarians were obedient and hence would not perish.¹⁹

During the service following the announcement of the declaration of independence, Miklós Lázár, Catholic chaplain in Debrecen stated his belief that God had granted to the Hungarians a man who guarded the nation against its enemies “as did Moses”.

¹⁷ Egri Szabó Menyhért, *Egyházi beszéd, melyet az 1847/8-diki országgyűlés lelkes közremunkálása következtében történt nemzeti békés átalakulás örömmünnepén tartott a helvét vallástételt követő nagy körösi gyülekezet templomában, 1848-dik évi Martius 26-án* (Kecskemét: 1848) 13.

¹⁸ *A szabadság szent igéi. A tiszántúli református egyházi vezetés és a Debreceni Kollégium 1848/49-ben*, ed. Gáborjáni Szabó Botond (Debrecen: Tiszántúli Református Egyházkerületi Gyűjtemények, 1999) 21–25.

¹⁹ Bardocz Jánosnak *Folyó évi martius 25, a városháza erkélyéről tartott BESZÉDE, [Address by Bardocz, János from the Balcony of the Town Hall 25 March of this Year]* (Kölozsvár: 1849) 9-10.

On 6 May 1849, Artúr Kovrik, a Catholic priest from Szentandrás, gave thanks to God in the following way: “Thou gave and sent us Moses in the character of your servant, Lajos Kossuth, and through him you lead us from the land of serfdom to Canaan, the promised land.” On the saint’s day of the church in Budaörs, on 3 June 1849, the Catholic chaplain Ferenc Simon evaluated the political situation as follows: “Kossuth is our guardian spirit; we shall trust him, and not the ungodly dynasty with the emperor who wishes to reduce this country to slavery ... We have now burst the handcuffs forged for us by the imperial house for 300 years.” In the summer of 1849, György Gaál, minister in Kiliti, spoke in a similar tone, encouraging his congregation to fight against the enemy, repaying violence with violence.

The mass participation of clergymen in the Hungarian Revolution and War of Independence of 1848/49 is irrefutable. Many of them joined the military and took up weapons in defiance of the prohibition of this by the church laws. Those who became army chaplains did not fight with guns, but continued their activities as priests. They nursed and comforted the wounded and were the guardians of humanity in the army. Alajos Garray, a diocesan priest, for example, organised a guerrilla troop against the Austrian occupiers.²⁰ Some clergymen were even awarded the rank of officer in the army, such as Ignác Lenzser, diocesan chaplain in Székesfehérvár, lieutenant of the 49th battalion,²¹ or Isván Kovács, a Roman Catholic administrator from Bocsár, a major in the Hungarian army, organiser and gallant commander of the “battalion of Torontál”.²² The ranks of soldiers or officers also included Calvinist ministers (such as György Halászi) and Jewish rabbis (Lipót Rokenstein).²³ A special form of participation was the army chaplain service: both the regular army and the national guard attracted ministers in large numbers. Besides fulfilling their clerical and military duties, they also demonstrated their humanity. When the Hungarian troops indignant at the cruelties of the Serbian insurgents succeeded in capturing the Serbian camp at Szenttamás on 3 April 1849, through the intervention of the Franciscan friar Kilit Gasparich, General Mór Percel and the government commissioner Count Kázmér Batthyány (in contrast with the preliminary plans) allowed the civil population to escape towards Földvár and Óbecse, thereby sparing their lives.²⁴

The importance of the clerical interpretation of the War of Independence is verified by the large-scale reprisals carried out by the Austrian authorities. On these occasions, mainly the liberal or radical ministers had to suffer because of their political offences. Their contribution to the organisation of the Hungarian army, vilification of the monarch or the dynasty, and the announcement of the declaration of independence were all regarded as extremely serious offences. Thus, among clergymen with radical or liberal views, Mihály Schwendtner and Ferenc Simon were sentenced to death by the imperial court martial, though their punishment was later mitigated to imprisonment in a fortress. Alajos Sámuel, subdeacon-parson in Pest-Alsóváros, was also condemned and calumniated. Baron Karl Geringer, plenipotentiary civil commissioner of Hungary, was determined to bring to trial Károly Funk, chaplain in the

²⁰ Hadtörténelmi Levéltár, Pesti cs. kir. hadbíróóság. 1849–5/378, 724. fol.

²¹ Bona Gábor, *Hadnagyok és főhadnagyok az 1848/49. évi szabadságharcban: [Second Lieutenants and First lieutenants of the 1848-49 Hungarian War of Independence] Második kötet: H-Q* (Budapest: Heraldika Kiadó, 1998) 384.

²² Bona Gábor, *Tábornokok és törzstisztek az 1848/49. Évi szabadságharcban: Harmadik átdolgozott, javított kiadás, [Generals and Staff Officers of 1848/49 the Hungarian War of Independence]* (Budapest: Heraldika Kiadó 2000) 458–459.

²³ Bona Gábor, *Hadnagyok és főhadnagyok az 1848/49. évi szabadságharcban: (Harmadik kötet: R-Zs)* (Budapest: Heraldika Kiadó, 1999) 49.

²⁴ Bona Gábor, *Tábornokok és törzstisztek az 1848/49. Évi szabadságharcban: Harmadik átdolgozott, javított kiadás,* (Budapest: Heraldika Kiadó 2000) 347–348.

church of Nagyboldogasszony, Mihály Mráz, parson and chaplain in Szentrókus, Márton Stanczl, and József Ráth, chaplains at St. Lipót parsonage and chaplain Károly Szemerényi.²⁵

Following the defeat of the War of Independence, this class neither disappeared nor lost its liberal convictions; it was simply driven out from the forums of publicity for several years. János Pados, notary of the Holy Seat of Székesfehérvár, for instance, summarised his thoughts about the past years in a letter written on 16 January 1853, after imprisonment for 3 years in Olmütz for his participation in the War of Independence, in the following way:

“With the aid of God, having been released from my captivity by which my forbearance and conviction had been tried by divine providence, I took shelter at my father’s hearth, resting from the sufferings of past times. It is not necessary to explain what I did and why I did it. The whole world knows about it, as I always spoke and acted candidly wherever thousands saw and heard me. If I committed a crime, which I do not admit, I atoned for it with patience and persistence to the best of my abilities. But if I am not a sinner, I expect the reward for my sufferings and unselfishness from God, whose tribunal I shall once appear before. I am peaceful at heart and look upon the past with a clear consciousness, having faith in the future. Once human passions calm down and the present generation is replaced with a new one, and the reasons and motives of the facts mostly unknown are revealed, history will pass judgement on us. I neither seek the favour of the present time, nor am afraid of the persecution of it, as I am aware of the fact that those condemned and persecuted by their contemporaries are not only glorified by the succeeding generations, but even listed in the catalogue of saints” he wrote among others.²⁶

Conclusion

By 1848, within the denominations an appreciable stratum of priests and ministers had come into being that provided substantial support for preservation of the peaceful nature of the transformation into a civil society, but also for continuation of the defensive struggle. This stratum was influenced by three factors: their religious training, their liberal convictions and their devotion to their nation. In their interpretation, the transition into a civil society was not the mark of upheaval, but that of the provident goodness of God. In their preachings they paid increasing attention to eliminating the abuses of this world. The clerical view of history began to disintegrate, and the War of Independence saw the development of a unique, revolutionary theological movement. The real importance of the liberal clerical interpretation of the Revolution and War of Independence in 1848/49 lies in the fact that a population that had previously never or only weakly engaged in politics was won over to the cause of transition into a civil society.

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²⁵ Zakar Péter: „Iratok az esztergomi érsekség 1848-1849-es történetéhez”, in: Magyarhontól az Újvilágig. Emlékkönyv Urbán Aladár ötvenéves tanári jubileumára, [Documents of the 1848/49 History’s Archibishopric Esztergom] ed. Erdődy Gábor and Hermann, Róbert (Argumentum, 2002) 279-298.

²⁶ *Pados János* – Farkas Imrének Bő, 1853. január 16. [Letter of Pados, János at Bő 16 January 1853.] Székesfehérvári Püspöki és Székeskáptalani Levéltár Egyházmegyei iratok. [Archives of the Bishopric and Cathedral Chapter Székesfehérvár Documents of the Bishopric] Nr. 5268. 1853:70.

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