Mrs. Richmond, the Bishop and the English Businessman:

Transylvanian, American, and British Unitarian Enigmas

A Collaboration between a Transylvanian Unitarian Archivist and an American Unitarian Universalist Minister

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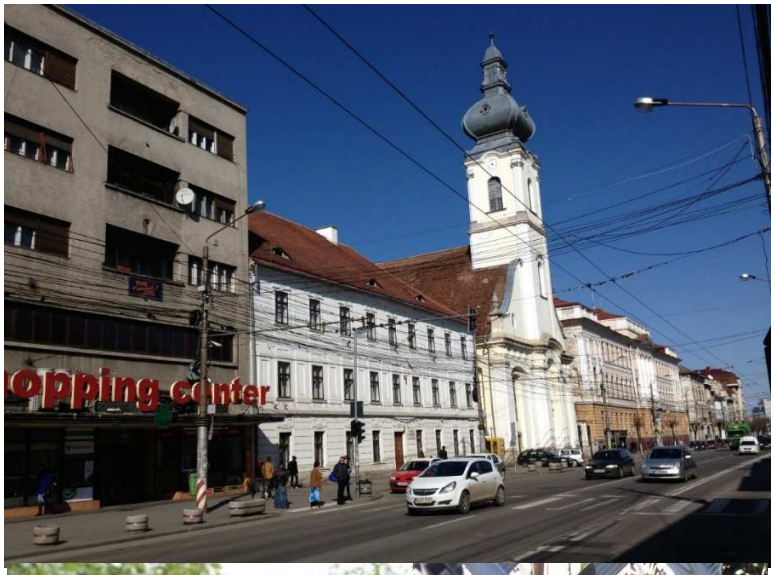
In Two Parts
Chapter 1 in June, Chapter 2 in December

2018

PREFACE



The seeds of this project were sown in the fall of 2012 when the Transylvanian Unitarian Archivist, Molnár Lehel,[1] received a letter from a stranger. I was the unknown American, Rev. Claudia Elferdink who was then serving as the settled minister at the Shoreline Unitarian Universalist Society in Madison, Connecticut, USA, midway between New York City and Boston. Volunteering to work for the Archives of the Hungarian Unitarian Church, HUC during my

[1] For Hungarian-speaking people, names begin with the family name first, then the given name, such as Molnár Lehel. Women generally keep their family name and sometimes both partners add the other's family name into their own. English-speaking names are the reverse: first the given name, then the family name, such as my name, Claudia Elferdink. This paper respects each cultural practice and attempts to give each name as used by each person cited.
Farkas Tamás: Családnévrendszer, névhasználat, névváltozás nyelvi-kulturális kontaktushelyzetben. (The system of family names, their use, and changes to them in a linguistic-cultural contact situation.) In. Névtani Értesítő. A Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság és az ELTE Magyar Nyelvtudományi és Finnugor Intézet időszakos kiadványa. (Periodical of the Society of Hungarian Linguistics and Institute of Hungarian Linguistics and Finno-Ugric Studies of ELTE University, Budapest.) 31. 2009. 27–46.

ministerial sabbatical in the spring of 2013 had seemed like an impossible dream.[2] These hopes began in a 2004 Project Harvest Hope pilgrimage with Rev. David Keyes.[3] At one point I met Kovács Sándor, the Assistant Professor of Church History at the Protestant Theological Institute in Kolozsvár [Cluj-Napoca, Romania],[4] the provincial capital of Transylvania. He mentioned the Hungarian Unitarian Church Archives in Kolozsvár and I was immediately intrigued. What could be in those archives after over four centuries of Unitarian persecution- from hostile Popes and Emperors, to Hapsburg Catholics, Nazis and Communists?

To demonstrate some experience with Unitarian scholarship, I included with my offer to volunteer, a copy of my earlier paper on a World War I era woman minister published in the Journal of Unitarian Universalist History.[5] Coincidentally, Lehel was looking to encourage Transylvanians to do more research on their Unitarian women. Molnár's mostly Hungarian-language archives had never had such an offer from an American minister, let alone a woman. Perhaps my presence could help inspire more women in research. Little did I imagine at the time that I would find an historical American woman in these Archive files. Molnár Lehel was intrigued that a woman, a stranger, was volunteering! He accepted my offer.

Lehel had begun the laborious process of reclaiming piles of damaged files when he became Archivist after his ministerial training over two decades ago. This was after the Unitarians

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[2] In 2012, The Transylvanian Unitarian Church and the Unitarian Church in Hungary decided to unite and became the Hungarian Unitarian Church. All church worship, education and business continue in the Hungarian language. Molnár Lehel

[3] David Keyes, an American UU Minister, a long-time friend of Transylvanian Unitarians, led this pilgrimage called The Grand Symposium as a program of Project Harvest Hope, www.projectharvesthope.org . Project Harvest Hope grew out of a partnership between two congregations: Oakland, California and Okland, Transylvania. In the early 1990s—post-Communist Romania—these congregations dreamed of promoting self-determination, sustainable agriculture and social renewal in our Unitarian homelands, beginning among the primarily Szekler people. Claudia Elferdink

[4] Place names will be given in the Hungarian language of the Unitarians in Transylvania. Romanian names also will be in [brackets] the first time the location is mentioned.

[5] Claudia Elferdink, "The Religion in the Last Chapter Will Shock Him, The Life and Theology of the Rev. Margaret Brackenbury Crook," *The Journal of Unitarian Universalist History,* Vol XXV, 2011-12, pp 121-139.

were able to reclaim their headquarters building in 1999, after the fall of a brutal Communist dictator in Romania a decade earlier. On a minimal budget, he has been the sole professional staff person in the HUC Archives since then. I had no idea how my non-Hungarian skills might be helpful: I accepted his invitation.

The Hungarian Unitarian Church Archives when restoration was in process in 2001.

HUC Archives early restoration, Molnar Lehel, Archivist at work., below

Much to my surprise, Lehel was interested in publishing my previous paper, translated to Hungarian for the Unitarian journal, for *The Christian Sower*, known in Transylvania as *Keresztény Magvető*.[6] He felt it spoke to Transylvanian Unitarians because the article was international- English and American. Also, Margaret Crook, the subject, had attended Manchester College in Oxford, UK, a school familiar especially to many Hungarian speaking Unitarian ministers who had studied there.

[6] *The Christian Sower*, *Keresztény Magvető* in Hungarian, is the journal of the HUC. It has been published since 1861.

The following March of 2013, I intentionally arrived in Kolozsvár in time for Easter. How might fellow Unitarians in eastern Europe embrace the death of a fully human Jesus? As an American Unitarian Universalist minister serving congregations that included a wide spectrum of religious liberals ranging from Humanists, liberal Christians, Atheists and Buddhists, to Jews, Muslims and Pagans, I was curious to experience Easter with Unitarians in Transylvania. Easter was just a week away and I would be in the Transylvanian pews.[7] This enigma of Unitarian theological and cultural differences and similarities would reveal itself in time.

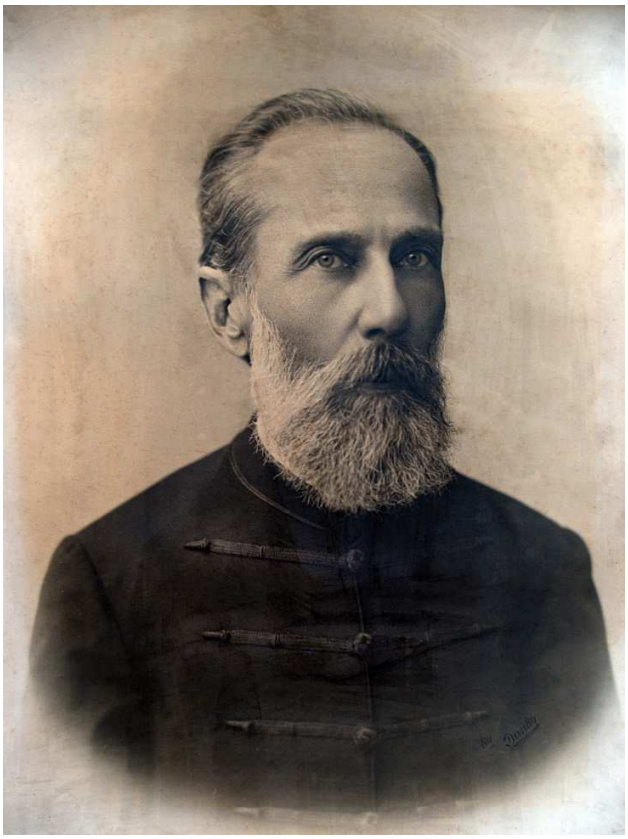
Molnár Lehel invited me to summarize a large collection of his earliest English language letters - correspondence mostly between Bishop Ferencz József (1835-1928) and his American and British Unitarian counterparts [8]. The Transylvanian Unitarians trace their beginning to an anti-trinitarian reform movement in the 16th century, during the early Protestant Reformation.

In the course of reading the 19th century bishop's files, an unexpected woman appeared in letters written almost entirely by men. She was Mrs. Richmond from Providence, Rhode Island, USA. When I later saw her portrait in a place of honor upstairs in the Headquarters, I realized she was seen as an important person there. Why was her portrait here in Transylvania? This research attempts to explain this mystery for the average Unitarian and Unitarian Universalist sitting in the pews in our congregations. Hopefully it also will be enlightening for our ministers and leaders. For many, this maybe the first introduction to the long connections between American,

[7] The American Unitarian Association (AUA, founded 1825, which had separated in 1819 from the Congregational Church begun by the Puritans in 17th century colonial America) and the Universalist Church of America (founded in 1793). The Unitarians and the Universalists consolidated in 1961 to become the Unitarian Universalist Association, UUA. See "History," see www.uua.org .

[8] After the reformation the new Arian (later called Unitarian) denomination separated from the Catholic Church hierarchy system. The head of the Unitarian Church is the bishop with Deans being the head of the Districts. The church organization is based on the Synod-Presbyterian model, which means that the Unitarians elect their government including lay leaders as well as ministers. The Bishop, Deans, lay leaders and congregational leaders are all elected.

Transylvanian and British Unitarianism. Learning Anna Eddy Richmond's story is a doorway to understanding our exciting and complex shared history.



Photograph of Ferencz József, Unitarian Bishop in Transylvania, left.

Ferencz József was a forward-looking Bishop who actively sought opportunities to expand relations with Britain and America during his long tenure. He was beloved and served as Bishop for fifty-two years, much of which was a precious era of stability and productivity in his country.[9]

Americans might be surprised that Unitarians in eastern Europe have a Bishop. Americans and British Unitarians do not have bishops. Church polity is how churches are organized. Both countries are governed by democratic practices, though the American President and the Transylvanian Bishops roles are somewhat different.

In America governance is named congregational polity. The member congregations and fellowships covenant to work together in the Unitarian Universalist Association. The UUA is guided by the Seven Principles and Purposes. Delegates from each congregation make Association

[9] Erdő János: Major dates from the History of the Transylvanian Unitarian Church. Translated by Gellérd Judit. 19 Feburary 1928, Death of Bishop Ferencz József. Hungarian Unitarian Church, www.unitarius.hu www.unitarius.org (English Hungarian)

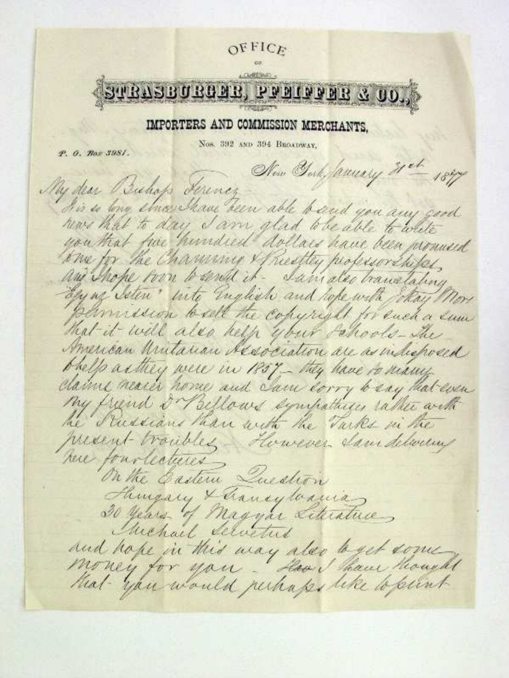
decisions at the annual General Assembly (GA). Every six years they elect a UUA President. The President is responsible for overall leadership of the UUA for more than 1,000 member congregations and is a non-voting member of the Board of Trustees." The Board of Trustees governs the UUA between GA meetings. This is intentionally a democratic process; all top leaders are elected.[10]

The Hungarian Unitarian Church (HUC) uses Presbyterian polity to govern, according to Molnár Lehel, and is more hierarchical. The Bishop is elected for 6 years at one time and is elected at the Synod of the church. Between the annual General Assemblies (GA) a representative body from more than 100 congregations called the Consistory of the Unitarian Church governs the church. The HUC has a catechism.[11] Over the years the HUC has been committed to an increasingly democratic process: all leaders are elected. The Consistory makes decisions in collaboration with the Bishop, who currently prefers the Consistory to be the policy-making body.

The hopeful model of American democracy was remarkably vivid in Kolozsvár over a century ago during the time of Bishop Ferencz. It was this Bishop's correspondence files, mostly in English, that Lehel asked me to summarize so they would be more accessible to the Transylvanians, Americans and the British.

Each letter in each aged manila file folder was distinct. Perhaps a hundred files, each with several to dozens delicate sheets, were in very rough chronological order. The letters were from English-speaking writers in Boston, London, New York and many smaller cities and towns such as Meadville, Highgate, York and particularly Providence, Rhode Island. The earliest letter was dated 1827. Many letters to the Bishop were from a John Fretwell , an Englishman who

[10] Molnár Lehel
[11] www.unitarias.org, for the partial English version of HUC website, , see www.unitarius.hu/English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New York, January 31st 1877

My dear Bishop Ferencz
It is so long since I have been able to send you any good news that to day I am glad to be able to write you that five hundred dollars have been promised to me for the Channing & Priestley professorships and I hope soon to send it. I am also translating "Egy az Isten" into English and hope with Jókay Mor's permission to sell the copyright for such a sum that it will also help your schools. The American Unitarian Association are as indisposed to help as they were in 1857 — they have so many claims nearer home and I am sorry to say that even my friend Dr Bellows sympathizes rather with the Russians than with the Turks in the present troubles. However I am delivering here four lectures
On the Eastern Question
Hungary & Transylvania
30 Years of Magyar Literature
Michael Servetus
and hope in this way also to get some money for you. I have thought that you would perhaps like to print

seemed to write on the ornate letterheads of his English and American business associates as he travelled (see Fretwell's handwritten letter to the Bishop, left).[12]

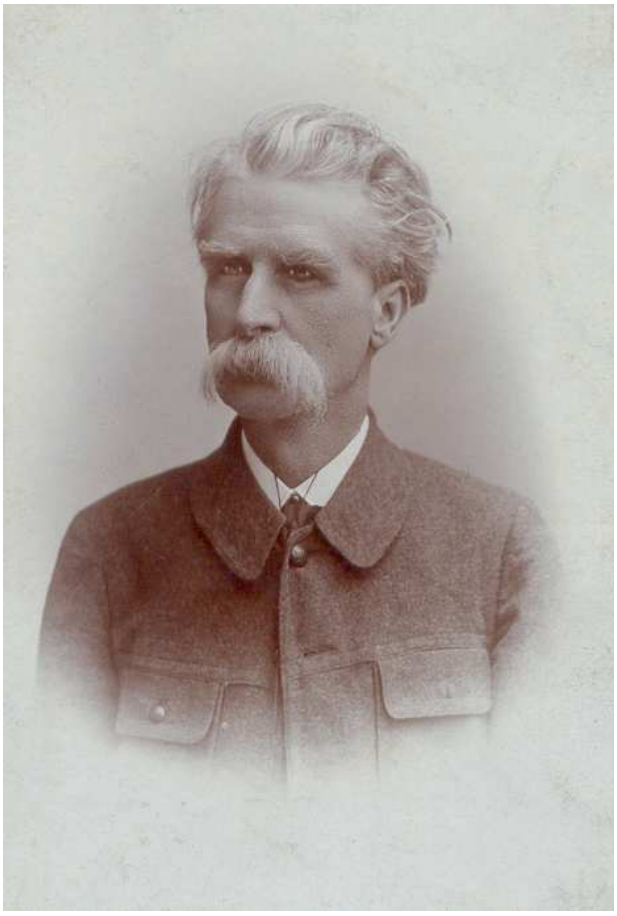
Just touching these brittle letters was moving, each such a fragile and personal expression. It felt like entering another time, real people living almost two hundred years ago had not only touched, but also wrote on this paper their most important thoughts. To this American, they evoked both mystery and respect for the extraordinary efforts of Unitarian religious ancestors.

The Bishop's responses were also in aged files. Ferencz József usually wrote in Hungarian, sometimes in German in his distinctive small and practical hand on utilitarian brown paper. On similar paper was a draft English translation written in a more flowing style identified by Molnár Lehel as the writing of Kovács János. A young minister and teacher at the time in the Unitarian school, Kovács János often assisted the Bishop. His English was very fluent from several years in England at Manchester College, the British Unitarian seminary.

Among the letters to the Bishop, both authors' and subjects' names emerged like John Bowring, H.P. Kidder, Gáll Miklós, Grindall Reynolds, Kriza János, Edward Everett Hale, John Paget, Charles Dall, John Tagart, J.J. Taylor and David Martineau. Also many more, appeared including Pap Mózes, Andrew Chalmers, John Fretwell, Anna Richmond, J.C. Lawrence, H.W. Crosskey, Körmöczi János, Henry Ierson, Kovács János, Walter Richmond, Robert Morison,

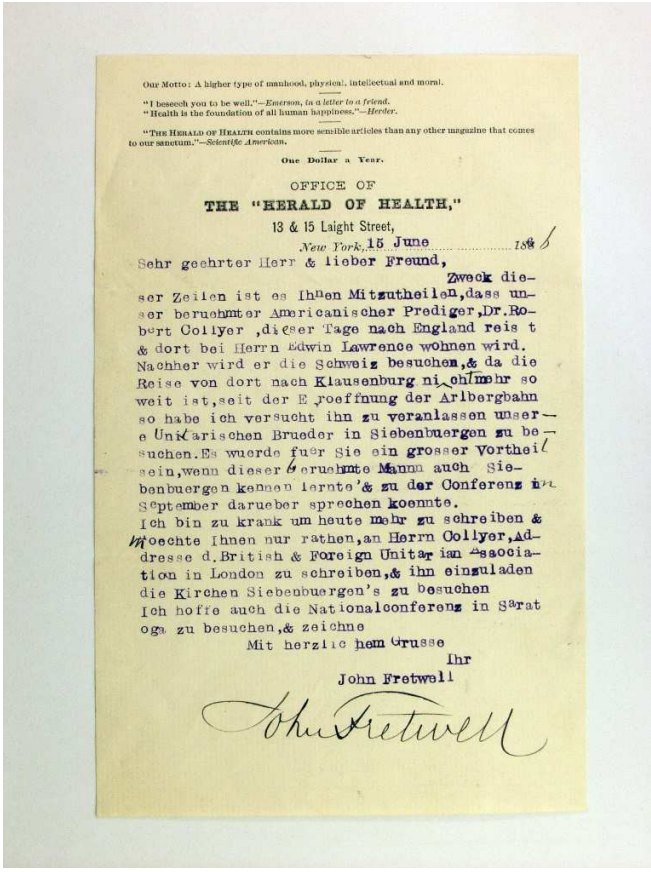
Caroline Richmond, Boros György, and J.H. Allen. Were they all Unitarians from cities, towns and villages in the United States, Britain and Transylvania? To my American eyes, it was a puzzle of names, known and unknown. This web of people and places created another Unitarian enigma. Eventually, most of these people played a role in the Anna Richmond story.

The letter summaries in English would be useful tools for researchers, especially Hungarian-speaking Transylvanians. Those not fluent in English are assisted in comprehending the essential meaning of the delicate letters, particularly with languages and penmanship as difficult as 19th century English and Hungarian.



My Archives assignment was exciting and daunting. Reading the summaries was intense and slow going. The handwriting, though delicate, ranged from lovely readable cursive to almost indecipherable black strokes. Sometimes I spent a whole morning understanding one letter. Harvard Unitarian Unitarian Church History Professors J.H. Allen's handwriting was almost impossible to read. Thanks to the innovative English businessman and prolific letter writer John Fretwell (left), reading many of his letters was effortless. He had discovered the great American

invention, the "typewriting machine." Ironically, of all the handwriting, his was the most beautiful and legible! (See John Fretwell's typewritten letter to the Bishop on right.)



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Sehr geehrter Herr & lieber Freund,

Zweck dieser Zeilen ist es Ihnen Mitzutheilen, dass unser beruehmter Americanischer Prediger, Dr. Robert Collyer, dieser Tage nach England reis t & dort bei Herrn Edwin Lawrence wohnen wird. Nachher wird er die Schweiz besuchen, & da die Reise von dort nach Klausenburg nicht mehr so weit ist, seit der Eroeffnung der Arlbergbahn so habe ich versucht ihn zu veranlassen unsere Unitarischen Brueder in Siebenbuergen zu besuchen. Es wuerde fuer Sie ein grosser Vortheil sein, wenn dieser beruehmte Mannn auch Siebenbuergen kennen lernte & zu der Conferenz im September darueber sprechen koennte.
Ich bin zu krank um heute mehr zu schreiben & moechte Ihnen nur rathen, an Herrn Collyer, Address d. British & Foreign Unitarian Association in London zu schreiben, & ihn einzuladen die Kirchen Siebenbuergen's zu besuchen
Ich hoffe auch die Nationalconferenz in Saratoga zu besuchen, & zeichne
Mit herzlichem Grusse
Ihr
John Fretwell

John Fretwell

In the course of writing hundreds of summaries in excel notebook form, I noticed the frequent mention of a Unitarian woman from Providence, Rhode Island, Anna Richmond (1810-1881). Among the English letters were dozens from a British Unitarian leader named John Fretwell (1837-1909). Mysteriously, the return address on many of his letters was 65 College Street, Providence. Fretwell's letters were often to Bishop Ferencz and were about Anna Richmond.

Toward the end of my sabbatical in Kolozsvár, before returning to America, I first saw Anna Richmond's portrait on the Headquarter's wall of Unitarian leaders and benefactors. This portrait in this location revealed that Anna Richmond was highly revered, but few Unitarians in

Transylvania or America knew who she was, let alone why Richmond was so generous to Unitarian strangers.

The Consistory meets in the Board Meeting Room at HUC Headquarters in Kolozsvár (below). Anna Richmond's portrait hangs on the wall in the upper right-hand corner, square frame with round painting.

Molnár was one of the few who knew Anna Richmond had been a major 19th century benefactor and contributed $10,000 for the Transylvanian schools.[13] However, he didn't know who she really was or why she and her family had made the life-saving gift. At the time, I was not able to read many key documents on Richmond because they were only in Hungarian or German. Some important clues might also be in America. I soon was returning to America. "Mrs. Richmond, the Bishop and the English Businessman," a Transylvanian and American collaboration across the great Atlantic Ocean, had begun.

Part One of this paper describes Anna Eddy Richmond's portrait hanging in the Unitarian Headquarters in Kolozsvár. This portrait was not an accident. The backstory begins with the

[13] Current value of $10K, $300,000?

collaborative multi-ethnic founding of Unitarianism at the Edict of Torda, The question of liberal religious identity and struggling with claiming the name Unitarian persisted. We will briefly hold up examples of Transylvania's "hard times" in facing persecution and the challenges of forgetting earlier contact in the face of poor postal systems and disruption.

Fortified with a faith of reason and compassion, religious reformers, scholars, and travelers shared Unitarianism with native liberal religious leaders in Europe and finally America. It is the liberal values which made possible what could have been the first convergence ever of faithful Unitarians from Transylvania, Britain and America in the mid-nineteenth century.

Part Two describes the how and why of how this convergence actually happened. We will explain how the Unitarian Annual Meeting in 1874 resulted in Mrs. Richmond's portrait. The impact of Mrs. Richmond and her family was felt by the British, Mr. Fretwell, Bishop Ferencz and the Transylvanians thousands of miles away. We end with World One, when lives changed yet again for Unitarians and the people of the East and West. Sharing a faith in Unitarianism as a liberal religion, international leaders came together in the mid nineteenth century despite many obstacles. *Mrs. Richmond, the Bishop and the English Businessman* is a story of Unitarian faith and compassion in the face of distance and differences.

I wrote this paper in English, collaborating continually with Molnár Lehel. A two-part paper will be translated into Hungarian. With both an American and Transylvanian minister working side by side, the intention is to include here information to address the different knowledge bases of English-speaking and Hungarian-speaking readers. We expect some segments will be new to some and common knowledge to others, while other parts will be the reverse. For example, some historical Unitarians will be familiar to Transylvanians, others to Americans, and yet to others to the British. Perhaps some figures, like Mr. Fretwell and Anna Eddy Richmond

herself, may be unknown to all! In this effort the subtle common ground and liberal foundational faith of Unitarians may be more evident. Your patience with this inclusiveness will be appreciated. By sharing the common story in this research and submitting the article to publications in each language, we aspire to create an opportunity for a meaningful dialogue among and between Unitarians from the West and East.

Mrs. Richmond, the Bishop and the English Businessman

Transylvanian-American-British Unitarian Enigmas

Part One: The Mysterious Portrait and the Backstory

In her portrait, she is a woman of an earlier time. Her smile is faint, her “salt and pepper” gray hair is parted in the middle with two parallel curled rows on either side in a nineteenth century style. On the back of her head is an elaborate lace scarf which ties in a bow under her chin and trails over her right shoulder. Her deep-set eyes look out, intensely yet frail. She wears a black dress which disappears into the dark background. Perhaps she is in mourning. Around her neck is a dainty white lace collar closed by a simple brooch. Her gentle face and shoulders are encircled by an ornate gold mat and frame. No name marks her painting.

This distinguished portrait hangs high on a wood-paneled wall, in a room filled with paintings of men in dark suits with collars and braid work of earlier centuries, probably not American or British. However, the woman in mourning dress seems American, possibly around the time of the American Civil War, mid 19th century.

Some paintings are labeled: beloved church leaders, teachers and benefactors. Bishop Ferencz Joseph, is one of the larger portraits. A young Farkas Boloni Sandor is another. Such walls filled with distinguished portraits are found in many venerable institutions such as Harvard Divinity School, Yale, or perhaps Oxford, England, or in the manors of the very wealthy. This room is not in the western world, however. It is in the east, in Transylvania's provincial capital of Kolozsvár, also now known as Cluj-Napoca, Romania.

This particular room, filled with portraits, is where the Consistory meets in the monumental six story Headquarters of the Hungarian Unitarian Church in Transylvania. The elected church representatives and leaders, known as the Consistory, gather regularly around the large wooden table in the center of the room to guide the course of this Unitarian protestant tradition. As they govern, their revered spiritual ancestors look down on their deliberations. However, one person looking down, the distinguished woman in the top row, is not known to many 21st century Transylvanian Unitarians. Who is she? Why is her portrait there among so many men?

She is Anna Eddy Richmond, an American woman from Providence, Rhode Island. She is a mystery, an enigma, little known today to both American and Transylvanian Unitarians. One of the few who know of Mrs. Richmond is down on the first floor of this same building. He is the Church Archivist, Molnár Lehel. In his archival files are letters written primarily in Hungarian, and also a few in English, and German, between the Bishop, Ferencz József and many Unitarians

in Transylvania, Hungary and other European and North American countries in the later 19th century. Some letters are to and from Mrs. Richmond and her family.

What happened that led the Transylvanian Unitarians to place Anna Eddy Richmond's portrait in their Consistory Room, thousands of miles across the sea from her home? According to Archivist Molnár, Mrs. Richmond never met anyone from Transylvania, let alone had she ever been there.[14]

The answer to the question of how Anna Richmond's portrait came to the Consistory Room is held within the walls of the headquarters. Across the hall from the Consistory is the office of Deputy Bishop, Gyerő Dávid. In his office hangs an old photograph of a woman (above). When his memory was jogged, Lehel remembered that that photo may have been Anna Richmond. Upon checking, he found that not only was it Anna Eddy Richmond, but gentle light

[14] Kovács János, "Anna Richmond's Life and Personality," *The Christian Sower (Keresztény Magvető)* 1883, translated from Hungarian by Jankó Szép Yvette, 2018

markings traced the lines of the photo and a lock of her hair was attached! This photo was used by a Transylvanian artist to trace her likeness and the lock of hair showed the actual hair color.[15] What might have happened between 1568, when the Unitarians first began, and the Richmond portrait's presentation in 1883 that created enough common ground for American Anna Eddy Richmond to send a lock of her hair to Transylvania to have her portrait painted? Yes, she gave a large financial gift to the Unitarian Schools in Transylvania. But why? How did she know about them and why was she so generous to strangers? To look for clues to this enigma, we go back to our history.

Reason, Reformers and Diversity, A Newly- Expanded View

Transylvania, far away from America, in the sixteenth century was very far away from the Roman Pope, on the border of the Muslim Ottoman Empire and the Christian world. As border people, practicing tolerance was part of the give and take of daily life. The great distance made Transylvania a refuge for religious dissenters. Next door to Turkey where tolerant Muslim leaders gave safety to Christian heretics, the Catholic Pope's Inquisition was nearly beyond reach. Leaders of the Arians, as unitarian reformers called themselves at the time, were a very diverse ethnic group. They included Hungarians, Germans (Saxons), Greeks, and Italians among others, living in the eastern part of Hungary near the Carpathian Mountains.

The "Founding Fathers of the Unitarian Church" were Dávid Ferenc (Francis David, 1520?-1579)[16] and Heltai Gáspár (Jasper Heltai, 1510-1574). They were local Germans raised in

[15] Unitarian Archives, Hungarian Unitarian Church in Kolozsvár, Deputy Bishop Gyerő Dávid's office, with permission

[16] Erdő János: Major dates from the History of the Transylvanian Unitarian Church. Translated to English by Gellérd Judit, www.unitarius.hu/English

"According to the tradition he was born in 1510, but presumably he was born later, around 1520 in Kolozsvár. His father was Hertel Dávid (citizen of Saxon nationality), his mother was a Hungarian. After his father's first name,

the Hungarian culture. Heltai was an active Kolozsvár anti-trinitarian[17] and owned a printing house.[18] David was a powerful preacher who was trained as a Catholic priest in Wittenberg. Upon his return to Kolozsvár his liberal Luther-inspired Reformation thinking led him to become a Lutheran and then a Reformed Calvinist Church Bishop whose beliefs continued to be driven by reason and the teachings of the New Testament Jesus of Nazareth. These two men, David and Heltai, were not in isolation; it was a collective and multi-ethnic effort . David and Heltai were joined by an Italian who had fled from Poland, Georgio Biandrada (1515-1588)[19], a Greek, Jacobus Palaeologus (1520-1585), and others. These young radical reformers were anti-trinitarians, inspired by the martyred Spanish theologian and physicist, Michael Servetus (1511-1553). These Enlightenment reformers, from many countries, were now safe in Transylvania and were eager to publish anti-trinitarian "works for learned Latin speaking Western Europeans." With Humanist influence from Italy,[20] these were strong advocates of the freedom of conscience, religious tolerance and reading the Bible informed by reason.

It is possible that these reformers were promoting an additional Servetus view expressed in his famous *Errors of the Trinity.* According to American Unitarian Universalist historian

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David, he named himself Franciscus Davidis (or son of David) and from this he Hungarianized it later into Dávid as his last or family name. His sons, Dávid and János returned to the name of Hertel in its Latin form, Hertelius."

[17] Kovács Sándor, "Outrageous Engravings in 16th Century Transylvanian Anti-Trinitarian Publications," a unpublished paper in English and Hungarian.

[18] Erdő János, "A Brief History of the Unitarian Church,"12, p.13. Inner Renewal of the Church, www.unitarius.org www.unitarius.hu/English (available in Hungarian and English)

[19] Earl Morse Wilbur, *Our Unitarian History*, p. 37.

[20] The classical Humanist teaching of ancient Greece, which promoted free inquiry, democracy, arts, and development of human potential, were revived among some Renaissance Italian Catholic clergy. Over time, their ideas were deemed heretical and they migrated to liberal enclaves throughout Europe, including Poland, then Transylvania. Modern Humanism is more centered on human welfare, the rational autonomous self and replaces the divine with human reason. The "Humanist Manifesto" was signed, among others, by American Unitarian leaders John Dietrich, John Dewey, Curtiss W. Reese, and David Rhys Williams in the May/June issue of the 1933 *New Humanist.* The Humanist Manifesto was controversial; it has evolved and continues to influence a large segment of American Unitarian Universalism. See www.uua.org and www.Unitarias.hu for English and Hungarian details on this meta history.

Susan J. Ritchie, Michael Servetus was concerned that the Trinity "unnecessarily separates Christianity from Judaism and Islam" and Servetus "praises Islam's acceptance of Jesus as a prophet and regrets that Christianity does not return the favor by acknowledging Islam."[21]

Many of these men were hunted as heretics by the Inquisition. The Greek, Palaeologus for example, was a brilliant theologian and was invited by Dávid Ferenc to be headmaster at the Unitarian school in Kolozsvár. Ritchie claims that Palaeologus "provided the most comprehensive articulation within early Unitarianism of a natural kinship between Christianity, Judaism and Islam.[22] He was eventually chased to Rome where he was publicly beheaded in 1585.[23] Liberal thinking was seen as a serious threat to the Pope's dogma and Roman imperial power. Over several centuries, the Inquisition was the Roman Catholic attempt to eliminate all "heresy," meaning dissenters, reformers and believers in other religious traditions, including Jews and Arians (Unitarians).

II Szapolyai János Zsigmond
(John Sigismund, 1540-1571)

As a political, trade and religious buffer between the Roman Catholic and the Turkish Muslin worlds, Transylvania was a refuge for heretics. The region was embroiled in religious controversy. A young Hungarian Transylvanian prince, II Szapolyai János Zsigmond (John

[21] Susan Ritchie, *Children of the Same God*, Skinner House Books, Boston, MA, 2014. pp. 16-17
[22] Ibid, p.17
[23] Kovács Sándor, "Outrageous Engravings in Sixteenth Century Anti-Trinitarian Publications," unpublished paper.

Sigismund, 1540-1571) suffered the early death of his father, so his mother, Queen Isabella, ruled in his place until he came of age. Suleiman I, Transylvania's Ottoman neighbor, protected Queen Isabella and her infant son from the aggression of the Hapsburg Empire's Ferdinand. The Sultan enabled Queen Isabella and her child to rule, making Transylvania a neutral zone between the warring Moslems and Catholics. Queen Isabella supported tolerance under her rule. She was of Polish heritage, with Hapsburg and royal ancestry. As Regent to the young prince, Queen Isabella granted Reformed Protestants and Lutherans equal religious rights with the Catholics. "It was Isabella who in 1563 invited from Poland the well-known propagandist (and physician), George Biandra...Isabella appears to have steadily befriended the most radical leaders of the Reformation; and her counsel must have done much to form the character of the young prince."[24]

With this liberal upbringing, the prince had an enlightened understanding of religious relations. When he came to the throne, the new young King of Transylvania called for debates to resolve religious tension in the province. In extended arduous religious confrontations, Dávid Ferenc persuasively argued for anti-trinitarianism and reason in interpreting the scriptures. Convinced by Dávid, Sigismund then adopted Unitarianism, but he did not require his subjects to follow his new faith as was common practice of the time. Instead he issued a ground-breaking

[24] Joseph Henry Allen, *An Historical Sketch of the Unitarian Movement Since the Reformation*, American Church History, The Christian Literature Company, New York. 1894, p.103-105 Note: J.H. Allen was the Church History professor at Harvard Divinity School for the later half of the 19th century and he was a peer to many of the Unitarian leaders in Transylvania, Britain and America in this paper. He was an honorary member of the Consistory (elected Unitarian governing board in Kolozsvár), on the Harvard faculty, a friend of many and corresponded regularly with some of the key players in this research. In the Forward of this book he describes himself as a "witness, not an annalist." His letters and papers are at the Archives of the Andover Harvard Library at Harvard Divinity School, Cambridge Massachusetts, USA. Along with this book, his letters to Bishop Ferencz Josef and John Fretwell are heavily relied on in this research. Claudia Elferdink

proclamation of religious tolerance, the Edict of Torda in 1568. Here began the Unitarian Church., 450 years ago.[25]

The Proclamation of the Act on Religious Freedom at the 1568 Session of the Transylvanian Diet by Aladár Körösfői Kriesch, 1896. Dávid Ferenc's convincing argument for liberal religion, center, is memorialized in this large painting, now displayed at a museum in the town of Torda, Transylvania.

Unitarian Emergence and Claiming the Name Unitarian, Reluctantly

The reform and tolerance proclaimed by Diet of Torda was widely embraced in Transylvania. Now the Arians (as Unitarians were then known) shared equal community religious rights with the Catholics, Lutherans, and Reformed Churches. Just three years after his Edict, the

[25] This is an extremely simplified account of Unitarianism. Curious? See history in the HUC website which offers Hungarian and English versions, www.unitarius.hu For a brief history in English written by Transylvanian Unitarians and edited by John Dale, see "History of the Church," in the UU Partner Church Online Travel Guide, www.uupcc.org/sites/uupcc.org/files/online_transyl_travel_guide_2018.pdf , for an extensive account see George Huntston Williams, *The Radical Reformation*, Third Edition, Volume XV Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies, Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers brought to publication with support of the Northeast Missouri State University, 1992

forward-looking King, II Szapolyai János Zsigmond, was injured in a carriage accident; he died soon thereafter. His death marked the end of a brief "golden era" of religious tolerance. More conservative political leaders gained influence after the King's death. The new rulers respected the Arians' (Unitarians') rights as long as Unitarian beliefs stayed the same. Innovation was forbidden. The followers of David saw themselves as having a broader pure faith of reason, justice and tolerance, among Christians under the larger umbrella of reformed Christianity. Other Protestant Christians would not tolerate including the liberal-thinking anti-trinitarians. Conflict then erupted among the Arians, between the pragmatic Biandrata, who wanted to appease the authorities by limiting innovation and the visionary and rational Dávid Ferenc who continued to innovate in his understanding of Jesus' teachings. Because of his innovations, David was arrested, tried and eventually died in prison in the town of Deva in 1579.

. The Unitarian name was eventually first used in 1600 at the Diet of Lécfalva.[26]

Anti-trinitarians as monotheists were sometimes accused of being Jews or Muslims. In the early seventeenth century, Jesuit Peter Skarga argued that Arians (Unitarians) were no different from Muslims.[27] According to Wilbur, *Ottoman* Turkey often offered "fuller religious liberty than Christian Europe, and more than once early Antitrinitarians were obliged to go there for refuge."[28]

[26]. See. Erdélyi Országgyűlési Emlékek. 4. 1597-1601. Budapest. 1878. 551. In England the name unitarian was borrowed from Transylvania by way of Holland, and first appeared in English print in 1672-73. Also see. Earl Morse Wilbur, *Our Unitarian Heritage,An Introduction tothe History of the Unitarian Movement*, The Beacon Press, Boston, Massachusetts, USA, 1925, Fourth printing, January 1954, p. 316.

[27] Leonard Smith, *The Unitarians*, Blackstone Editions, Providence, Rhode Island 02906, second edition, 2008, p, 26

[28] Earl Morse Wilbur, *Our Unitarian*, p. 214, footnote 2

The Counter Reformation and Unitarian Schools

The Unitarians were, in the larger European perspective, a Hungarian-speaking Protestant minority with radical ideas about the nature of Jesus and Biblical interpretation. They held true to their more rational tradition, claiming the religious tolerance granted to the four recognized faith communities.[29]

While under the Turks, The Unitarians suffered intermittent oppression at the hands of Calvinists leaders. After 1690 the Turks had been expelled from Transylvania and the Catholics began a new century of steady and more severe persecution in what is now called the Counter Reformation. The Unitarians were forced to turn over their school building which they had used for over a century and a half when the Diet of Transylvania had ordered the Catholic monastery schools closed in Kolozsvár. Now after being forced out of their old location by Catholics, the Unitarians then bought buildings for their school on the main square in Kolozsvár, only to have the Catholics again overtake them. The Hapsburg Catholics under Leopold I. also demanded the Unitarians surrender the great St. Michael's Church in the square where David had preached to thousands. The Unitarians had recently restored this large church. They bravely refused. The Unitarians took a hard stand for their collective rights. A few years later, St.Michael's burned and the Unitarian Bishop Almasi sent a desperate plea to their liberal protestant friends in Holland, the Remonstrants. With the sacrificial support of Transylvanian Unitarians and strong Dutch

[29] Under the Edict of Torda, each recognized church enjoyed religious tolerance and the right to choose their own preacher as a whole community. Individual people did not have the right to their own personal freedom, only as a whole faith tradition. This right is in sharp contrast to the American right of individual religious freedom granted in the Bill of Rights in the American Constitution. The right to religious tolerance in the Edict of Torda is not parallel to the modern idea of Human Rights given to each individual person. Molnár Lehel

financial support, the Kolozsvár cathedral was restored, only to be taken away yet again by military force in 1716.[30]

The Unitarian insignia of the snake circling a dove refers to a passage in the Gospel of Matthew, where Jesus says, "Be wise as serpents and innocent as doves." Matthev 10:16. This Unitarian symbol and motto offers real and necessary guidance for surviving hard times. The crown claims the short period of royal Unitarian support.

Americans often ask why having Hungarian-language schools was and is so important to Unitarians in Transylvania. The long struggle with Leopold I. was just one of many times that powerful hostile authorities challenged the Unitarian's schools.

Historically, the local ministers were the most educated person in small villages. This was the natural person to teach children basic education in the community's mother tongue, not German or Latin. Unitarians valued reason, science, arts and culture. These liberal ministers were the only hope for learning for children from the Unitarian religious minority when public education did not exist. Over time, as Unitarians were persistently persecuted, education was and still is a core

[30] Earl Morse Wilbur, *Our Unitarian Heritage*, pp.260-261, and Molnár Lehel.

Unitarian value which is essential to an enlightenment faith based on reason, fairness and compassion.[31] Learning, culture, the arts, ethics, and reason are vital when the dominant culture's schools only offer repressive perspectives and intolerant values. Unity around the liberal Unitarian tradition was the strongest defense.

A fervent Unitarian faith with a good education gave people solace and some protection in a spiritually rich and tightly-knit yet suffering community. Occasionally the education and science-loving rational Unitarians enjoyed a few years of relief and were able to briefly recover in periods of relative tolerance. These poor mostly rural folks practiced centuries of faithful determination, resilience, and often felt forced to migrate to safer lands.

Travels to Holland and London For Education and Safety

Scholars and those fleeing persecution sometimes traveled to Germany and often Holland, to a tolerant enclave in Leiden, home of an ancient university. Like in American colonial times, the English settlers were often far more rigid and oppressive religiously than the Dutch, who historically lived at the more tolerant crossroads of Europe. This contrast was evident in the liberal culture of New Amsterdam, which became New York. Boston with John Winthrop's Massachusetts Bay was infamous for it's harsh Puritan culture. In ancient times, eastern Europeans studied with other foreign students in Holland in the common language of the time, Latin. Liberal Christian Unitarian ideas based on reason and science often traveled to England through the tolerant Leiden University in Holland.[32]

[31] Lőrincz László, Az anyanyelv fontossága. (The importance of mother tongue.) In: Debreceni Szemle. 3./2007. 409-411.
[32] Szabó Miklós: Az erdélyi unitáriusok külföldi egyetemjárása 1848-ig. The Transylvanian Unitarians who have been studying abroad until 1848 Keresztény Magvető Christian Sower 1991/ 2. 85–1044

European Reformers and the Strangers' Church in London

During the very early Reformation, even before David's Transylvanian debates and as early as 1550, this migration of dissenting religious believers was embodied in the Strangers' Church in London. Enabled by Polish noble, John Laski, who held by royal grant an ancient estate of Augustinian friars, this Strangers' Church was made up of Protestant refugees mostly from the Netherlands, numbering in the thousands with many having migrated looking for safety from the Pope's Inquisition.. The Strangers' Church became "the nursery of religious life that ripened afterward into various form of free speculation and dissent; and it is held, in particular, to have been the real fountainhead of English Unitarianism." Several decades later under Elizabeth, the Strangers' Church re-emerged, "such shelter as it might to foreign heresy was denied to Englishmen in 1573."[33] All this was less than a decade after the Edict of Torda. Threads of liberalism persisted in England amid religious dissent, political power struggles, ethnic strife and waves of rigid orthodoxy.

John Biddle, the Polish Brethren and the Name Unitarian

Rev. John Biddle in the seventeenth century was often called the "Father of English Unitarianism." The label Unitarian was sometimes used even when he was being jailed for his beliefs. Biddle became an anti-trinitarian by his own reading of the Bible. Later he read Socinian

[33] Joseph Henry Allen, *An Historical Sketch of the Unitarian Movement*, American Church History Series, The Christian Literature Company, New York. 1894, p. 18. Note: J.H. Allen was the Church History professor at Harvard Divinity School for the later half of the 19th century and he was a peer to many of the Unitarian leaders in Transylvania, Britain and America in this paper. He was an honorary member of the Consistory (elected governing board in Kolozsvár), on the Harvard faculty, a friend of many and corresponded regularly with some of the key players in this research. In the Forward of this book he describes himself as a "witness, not an annalist." His letters and papers are at the Archives of the Andover Harvard Library at Harvard Divinity School, Cambridge Massachusetts, USA. Along with this book, his letters to Bishop Ferencz József and John Fretwell are heavily relied on in this research. Claudia Elferdink

writings and was influenced by the early Polish Brethren and their Racovian Catechism.[34] Over several decades Biddle was condemned to death repeatedly for his beliefs, but amazingly never executed. He did suffer often in terrible prisons. He died at the age of forty-three. Biddle never advocated the Unitarians be separate from a tolerant Anglican Christianity. With constant prodding by the conservatives calling the liberal Christians "Unitarians," the insulting name was eventually accepted by many 18th century persecuted British Unitarians.[35]

Early Unitarian contact between the Transylvanians, British and Americans was usually among individual people, vague and intermittent. One of the first Transylvanians who visited London may have been Szentiványi Márkos Dániel around 1660 while studying in Holland. Since liberal English Christians at the time did not claim the name "Unitarian," let alone have a national organization, the nature of Szentiványi's contacts were vague.[36] John McLachlan, a twentieth century British scholar, describes Szentiványi Márkos Dániel as "friendly with John Biddle's follower Henry Hedworth, a much-traveled and learned Socinian." Coming to England with Hungarian Rázmán Ádám Péter about 1663, Szentiványi remained teaching there for several years. These contacts seemed to fall into obscurity by the time of John Lindsey's seventeenth century writings.[37]

British and Transylvanian 17th and 18th century travelers and European religious refugees sometimes shared accounts of Unitarians in Transylvania. British historian, Andrew Hill detailed such contacts, from Paul Best to the Socinian Polish Crell brothers. In the early 19th century, John

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[34] Leonard Smith, *The Unitarians*, p.63
[35] Earl Morse Wilbur, *Our Unitarian Heritage*, pp. 299-308
[36] ibid p. 269 note: He later became Bishop Szent Ivanyi.
[37] John McLachlan, "Links between Transylvania and British Unitarians from the Seventeenth Century Onwards," *Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society*,Vol. XVII, No.2, London. July 1980, p. 73. McLachlan was editor of this journal.

Kenrick revealed to his fellow English liberal Christians more about Transylvanian Unitarians which he learned from German sources during his European travels.[38]

Some British reformers wanted to continue in a broad-based Church of England, thus enjoying the state protection.[39] The Church of England over time depended more on creeds and legal force and under James I, burned dissenting documents including the Polish anti-trinitarians' Racovian Catechism. British religious reformers, in reacting to the harsh treatment of dissenters and the Anglican corruption, spawned new "non-conforming" churches, such as the Puritans, Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians and British Unitarians who, in turn, had also been influenced by the Dutch and Eastern European traveling liberals. Under royal authority, some dissenting religious leaders were burned at the stake. At this time the Puritans fled to Holland.[40]

Pilgrims and Puritans Flee to America via Holland

In Britain and later in America, rational liberal Christianity only began to emerge several centuries later under the name Unitarian. Even under harsh Church of England and Puritan John Winthrop's rule, liberal religious enclaves survived. During this era, many of the liberal clergy, now in both England and America struggled with their religious identity and soundly rejected being labeled "Unitarian," which was commonly seen as radical and heretical, and limited to only

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[38] Andrew Hill, British Unitarian historian, cites the following examples, "Perhaps the very earliest isolated contact was the Yorkshireman Paul Best who went travelling on the continent [see Wilbur 2 p. 148]. Until the end of the 18th century much of what was known in the British Isles about Transylvanian Unitarians was via Socinian refugees from Poland (e.g. the Crell brothers). See also Theophilus Lindsey's references to the Socinus/David debates [Theophilus Lindsey *An Historical View* (London, 1783) pp.154-5] Much more became known in the 1820s when John Kenrick [a lecturer at Manchester College, York] went on sabbatical to Germany and found far more in German sources about Transylvanian Unitarians than in English sources. He also met a Transylvanian Reformed church student who knew all about the Unitarians. But see Kenrick's article *Monthly Repository* [April 1820, Vol. XV. pp.193-198]." See also Greenwood and Harris, pp. 38-45

[39] Andrea Greenwood and Mark Harris, *The Unitarian and Universalist Traditions*, Cambridge University Press, 2011. p. 34

[40] Ibid, p. 35

a narrow aspect of their theology and enquiring culture. The label "anti-trinitarian" was eventually widely accepted among liberals in the early nineteenth century. Questions about the divinity of Jesus continued.[41]

After fleeing to Holland, then to America as religious reformers resisting the corruption of the Church of England, the Puritans established a theocracy in Boston, Massachusetts. South of Boston near Plymouth, the Pilgrims settled and were more tolerant English reformers. The Puritan harshness and punitive methods under John Winthrop generated a new wave of American protest. Roger Williams, followed by others, fled Puritan authority and went south and founded the more tolerant state of Rhode Island, the City of Providence, and the Baptist Church of America. [42]

It is in this more tolerant Rhode Island that the central player in our research, Anna Eddy Richmond's family lived for generations before our 19th century story begins.

Within the Puritan Congregational Church, anti-trinitarian clergy and politicians, including the future American President John Adams, pressed for tolerance of a more liberal theology with in the established state church.[43] More division erupted. "The 'capture' of Harvard College by the liberals in 1805, occurred with the election of Henry Ware (1764-1845) to the position of Hollis Professor Divinity."[44] This election uncovered not only the growing presence of liberals within the Congregational (Puritan) Church but also Ware's Unitarian leanings.

The Unitarian Controversy in America

[41] Greenwood and Harris, *The Unitarian and Universalist Traditions,* p. 54
[42] JH Allen, *An Historical Sketch,* p.172
[43] John A. Buehrens, Universalists and Unitarians in America, Skinner House Books, Boston, Massachusetts,2011. P. 22
[44] Greenwood and Harris, *The UU,* p. 58

Tensions reached a breaking point when Jedidiah Morse, an ardent Yale-educated Calvinist in 1815 published a hostile tract titled "American Unitarianism." Morse "outed" the liberal anti-trinitarian unitarians in Boston by including that the testimony of the well-known British Unitarian, Theophilus Lindsey (1723-1808) had said that he "rejoiced in how widespread Unitarianism had become in America." Lindsey had started the Unitarian Church at Essex Street, the first openly "Unitarian" congregation. Morse emphasized the presence of Unitarianism in America with Lindsey's additional comment that he, Lindsey, had been corresponding with well-known American Unitarian clergy for many years.[45] The infamous Unitarian Controversy was sparked and ultimately resulted in a schism within the Congregational Church, the Puritan Massachusetts "order."

The organized launch of American Unitarianism began with a "reluctant" leader of Boston anti-trinitarian clergy.[46] William Ellery Channing, often considered the Father of American Unitarianism proclaimed the "new" faith in 1819 in Baltimore, Maryland. Just north of the American capital, Washington, D.C., Baltimore was on the far outskirts of both the Bostonians' influence: Winthrop's Calvinist Congregational Church and the emerging Unitarians still within Congregational Churches . Channing presented a sermon titled simply, "Unitarian Christianity," at the ordination of Jared Sparks. Channing described a faith based on scripture seen in the light of reason. The sermon was immediately printed in a tract and was widely circulated by Unitarian ministers traveling home to Boston after the ordination. This controversial Channing sermon became one of the most popular tracts of the time. It even shook the walls of old Puritan Calvinist churches in Boston.[47]

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[45] Buehrens, U and U, p.22-25.
[46] Ibid. p.33
[47] Ibid. p.28

About this time, after persistently being called Unitarians, as opposed to Trinitarians and being identified with the non-conforming Protestants, the name Unitarian was reluctantly embraced in 18th century England.[48] In 1825 the name Unitarian was formalized when the national British and Foreign Unitarian Association formed.

English Socinian Unitarianism Comes to America with Priestley

Boston Unitarians were mostly Arians who held that Jesus was less than God, but more than a "mere man." They were reluctant to embrace the more radical English Socinian theology and ministry of a Unitarian religious refugee, Rev. Dr. Joseph Priestley (1733-1804). The beloved British Unitarian preacher and scientist had had a great influence on Theophilus Lindsey. Priestley fled an angry mob when his Birmingham, England home, laboratory and chapel burned. Priestley was a close friend of Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin. His views of Jesus as fully human, influenced Jefferson and Franklin and were a more radical position than the Bostonians. William Ellery Channing at the time "characterized himself as an 'independent Christian' noting 'I am little of a Unitarian' and have 'little sympathy with the system of Priestley.'"

American President Thomas Jefferson, who declined to call himself a Unitarian, was heavily influenced by "the great apostle," Joseph Priestley. The English preacher scientist's views

[48] Note: From Andrew Hill, "Use of the Unitarian name. Under the 1698 Blasphemy Act it was illegal to be a Unitarian in England. This prohibition was removed in 1813 by the Trinity Act. However because of litigation in the English courts – brought by orthodox non-conformist Christians - there was a reluctance to call a church/chapel/congregation Unitarian. The litigation known as 'The Lady Hewley case' went through all stages of the English courts right up to the supreme court (at the time the House of Lords) which ruled that a person cannot leave money to something which was illegal at the time he or she made the benefaction. In 1713 when Lady Sarah Hewley's benefaction was made Unitarianism was illegal in English law. So Unitarians lost their right to her money. One result of this was that calling a place of worship Unitarian was frequently avoided. Hence the B&FUA (the British and Foreign Unitarian Association) was an association of individuals."

also influenced the Washington, DC congregation of politician and future President John Quincy Adams.

South of New England, Priestley inspired Unitarian churches throughout the mid-Atlantic region with a transplanted Socinian (Jesus as fully human) theology. Priestley's Philadelphia church was the first Unitarian Church in America in 1796, even before the Boston churches claimed the Unitarian name. Joseph Priestley greatly expanded Unitarian American development. In the Boston as the even more radical Transcendentalism of Ralph Waldo Emerson was emerging some, including Henry Ware Jr (1794-1843), considered Priestly a father of the liberal Unitarian movement in the United States. Unitarian variations and innovation thrived in the fledgling American democracy.

American Unitarianism arose from these two deep roots in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania .[49]

Unitarians in Transylvania, Britain and America all claim a "father" in their origins. One has to wonder, where were the Unitarian mothers in the more ancient times? Yes, the young Transylvanian prince who issued the Edict of Torda did have a very influential, powerful and liberal mother in Queen Isabella. Earlier scholarship seems to imply such early mothers are exceptions among many "great men." As historians in the twenty-first century are finding, many women were often unrecognized leaders and have yet to be uncovered. More early Unitarian "Mothers" may well be found with further inquiry.

Here we focus on the story of three named Unitarian movements that have learned to both adapt and survive into our time: the British Unitarians, the Hungarian Unitarians, and the American Unitarian Universalists. Though all these faith communities eventually called themselves

[49] Andrea Greenwood and Mark Harris, p. 10, and 51-62

Unitarians, until the early 19th century, the Transylvanian Hungarian Unitarians were mostly strangers to the English-speaking world. Since their founding in 1568, the Hungarian Unitarians were virtually unknown, or remembered by the West. This isolation ended in the 19th century.

The Transylvanians Have Been There All Along, The British Reconnect

Interestingly, Transylvanian Unitarian historian Kovács Sándor, poses that this lack of international awareness may have been true for English-speakers' knowledge of Transylvanians Unitarians. Perhaps the reverse is not true: 16th century Hungarian-speaking Unitarians were probably aware of the Stranger's Church in London based on the travels and writings of Jacobus Palaeologus (1520-1585) who was part of David Ferenc's circle of reformers in Kolozsvár. According to Kovács in his unpublished paper,

> In 1570 Palaeologus wrote a refutation of the bull by which Pope Pius V excommunicated Elizabeth I of England. In this refutation Elizabeth's England is praised as the country of tolerance. In his dedicatory letter addressed to the Queen, Palaeologus underlined that he had always sympathized with the English; therefore he thought it was his duty to defend the Queen against the excommunication of Pius V.
>
> The Transylvanian Unitarians might have known something about the leaders and activity of the Strangers Church in London and they undoubtedly were sympathizers of Elizabeth I.[50]

In 1821 the emerging and curious British Unitarians reached out to unnamed European Unitarians in Transylvania. Apparently these 19th century British had forgotten the 16th century Transylvanian visitor who had taught in London and was in contact with Biddle's followers. The Secretary of the Unitarian Fund (which later expanded to become the British and Foreign Unitarian

[50] Kovács Sándor, "Outrageous Engravings" note: The inflammatory anti-trinitarian engravings Kovacs described later in his paper are also described in Earl Morse Wilbur's *Our Unitarian Heritage*,

Association), W.J. Fox,[51] wrote a letter in Latin that was addressed to the "Professor of Socinian Theology at Clausenburg" (now Kolozsvár/Cluj Napoca, Romania). [52] This Latin missive was titled, according to eminent American historian Earl Morse Wilbur (1866-1956), *The Unitarians in England: Their Faith, History, and Present Condition Briefly Set Forth.*[53] The letter found its way to the Unitarians in Transylvania. Wilbur characterized the Transylvanians' response. "It was like receiving powerful reinforcements at the end of a vague but long and exhausting fight. An answer was sent in due time and communications between the two countries has been kept up ever since."[54]

"By an extraordinary coincidence," just a few years later, the American Unitarian and the British and Foreign Unitarian Association were launched on the same day, over two and a half centuries after the Edict of Torda. The British and Americans both founded their national organizations on May 26, 1825.[55] With their long centralized organization centering on the Bishop and the Consistory, Transylvanian institutional communications and memory was carefully tended. The younger British and American Unitarian churches and clergy connected internationally through individual relations which usually did not get passed on. Now the leaders of the three Unitarian national communities could develop three-way international Unitarian relations. Long-term connections could be carried on into the future and possibly remembered.

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[51] Kovács Sándor, Angolszász–magyar unitárius érintkezések a 19. században. Erdélyi Tudományos Füzetek. 269 "Hungarian Unitarian Relations with English Speaking Dissenters (Unitarians) from the 16th Century to the 1920's,"unpublished lecture in English delivered at Mountain Desert Annual District Meeting, UUA. Denver, Colorado 2014

[52] *Unitariorum in Anglia Fidei. Historiae, et status praesentis brevis exposito* The text in ET can be found in *Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society* 23: 3 (April 2005) and 23:4 (April 2006).

[53] Wilbur, *Our Unitarian Heritage*, 1925. P.270

[54] Kovács Sándor: Angolszász–magyar unitárius érintkezések a 19. században. Erdélyi Tudományos Füzetek. 269. English and Hungarian Unitarian Relations in the 19th Century. Kolozsvár, 2011. 18–30. Unpublished in English.

[55] Earl Morse Wilbur, *Our Unitarian History*, p.420.

Individualistic Americans in Flux as a Transylvanian Visits

The British were already in touch with the Transylvanians in 1825. After founding their national organization in 1825, the Americans took almost fifty years [56] to develop correspondence with. the Transylvanians.[57] The AUA originally was a group of individual anti-trinitarians determined to spread the word of Unitarianism through tracts, long essays explaining the reasons and positions about religious ideas. Many American clergy were reluctant to truly embrace a central Unitarian organization and were suspicious of weakening the authority of the local congregation and individual. Even the revered William Ellery Channing declined being the first president because he was uncomfortable with a central organization.[58] Some clergy preferred to spend their resources fighting social ills such as slavery and poverty. Individualism, such an American trait was observed a century after the 1825 AUA founding in 1925 by Unitarian Earl Morse Wilbur in his epic *Our Unitarian Heritage*.[59]

Such a radically individualistic American quality is in stark contrast to the practice of the British and especially the Transylvanian Unitarian Churches. The Transylvanian Unitarians reached out to these new British and Americans national organizations when one of their young leaders travelled abroad in 1831, Bölöni Farkas Sándor. A liberal-thinking Count Béldi Ferenc had invited the young and brilliant Farkas to accompany him on his travels to Europe, Britain and America.[60] From the Transylvanian "lower nobility," Bölöni Farkas Sándor was a progressive

[56] "The Unitarians of Hungary," *Monthly Journal of the American Unitarian Association,* Vol.19. 1868. p. 423.
[57] Charles Lowe, Secretary of the Executive Committee of the A.U.A., in a letter to the Bishop and Members of the Unitarian Consistory of Hungary, July 4, 1868. *Monthly Journal of the American Unitarian Association,* Vol.19. 1868, p.427
[58] Greenwood and Harris, *The UU,* p. 61.
[59] Earl Morse Wilbur, *Our Unitarian.…* p. 429-32
[60] Bölöni Farkas Sándor, Forward, May 15, 1833, *Journey in North America*, reprinted by permission of the American Philosophical Society made possible by John Gibbons, American Unitarian Universalist Minister and friend of Transylvania, "honoring the transforming power of pilgrimage," 2014

activist committed to enlightenment ideas of democracy and freedom. Farkas was also a member of the Consistory, the HUC "board of directors." He most likely had the role of accredited diplomat of the Transylvanian Unitarian Church."[61] In pursuing his hope to see how ideas of democracy were brought to life, they traveled to France, Great Britain and the USA. In Britain, Farkas wrote the Transylvanian Unitarian history for the British. He wrote in Latin which Farkas could better understand, rather than in the difficult language of the British Unitarians.[62]

Bölöni Farkas Sándor Portrait, now hanging in the Unitarian Consistory Room, Kolozsvár.

While touring the United States, Bölöni Farkas Sándor visited much of the eastern half of America. His personal account revealed a young idealist who was smitten by American freedom.

[61] Kovács Sándor, "Hungarian Unitarian Relations with English Speaking Dissenters (Unitarians) from the 16th Century to the 1920's," unpublished lecture in English delivered at Mountain Desert District Annual Meeting, UUA. Denver, Colorado 2014

[62] About Bölöni Farkas' visit in England see Kovács Sándor: Angolszász–magyar unitárius érintkezések a 19. században. Erdélyi Tudományos Füzetel. 269. English and Hungarian Unitarian Relations in the 19th Century. Kolozsvár, 2011.42–49.

He visited schools, legislatures, asylums and all variety of civic institutions to see how democracy was working for common people. The purpose of his trip was to bring home to the Hungarian people what he learned.[63] In the words of Kovács Sándor, Associate Professor of Unitarian Church History at the Theological Institute in Kolozsvár,[64]

> Alexander Farkas's book compares the young American democracy with the degenerated social life from his own country. He experienced for the first time how constitutional democracy changed life on the American continent. No wonder he highly admired his idols: Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Paine, Thomas Jefferson, and George Washington. His book contains the very first Hungarian translation of the Declaration of Independence. It is almost natural that the volume soon became a kind of a bestseller.

Although Farkas' book was almost instantly popular in Hungary, it was not contemporaneously translated into English, with the Hungarian language being very difficult and little-known outside of Hungary. Consequently, Bölöni Farkas Sándor's travels and his book were virtually unknown and apparently not remembered in the United States and Britain.

Ironically, the travels of an enlightened French aristocrat, became very well-known. According Theodore and Helen Benedek Schoenman, who edited and wrote the introduction to the later English translation of Farkas' book, Alexis de Tocqueville "recognized both the advantages and disadvantages of the new social order created by the American political system…(and his) belief in the intellectual supremacy of the elite was unshaken."[65]

Tocqueville, unwittingly crossed paths with Farkas in Massachusetts while both were visiting the Charlestown prison. The Farkas book simply notes, "Here we met two emissaries from France whom their government sent here to study the American prison system and its adoptability in France."[66] Farkas did not note the Frenchmen's names. The Hungarian did give several pages

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[63] Farkas, *Journey*…, Foreword
[64] Kovács Sandor, "Hungarian Unitarian Relations…"
[65] Theodore and Helen Benedek Schoenman, editors and translators, in Introduction to Bölöni Farkas Sándor, *Journey in North America,* 2014, pp 1-2
[66] Bölöni Farkas Sándor, *Journey* p. 140-143.

of details about the workings of the prison from furnishing of the cells to the system of ringing bells. The Frenchman was Alexis de Tocqueville. No account of this crossing of paths was mentioned by Tocqueville. Both went on to publish books of their American travels, one in Hungarian and the other in French. In hindsight, the Hungarian Revolution occurred only about fifteen years after Farkas published his book in Kolozsvár. The French Revolution was a half century after the meeting at the Charlestown prison.

De Tocqueville published *De la Democratie en Amerique* in 1835. A year earlier, the Farkas book was published in 1834 in Kolozsvár, [67] Tocqueville's work enjoyed great popularity world-wide and even now is considered a classic early work of sociology and political science.[68]

On November 14, 1831 at Harvard University, Bölöni Farkas Sándor met Henry Ware. Jr., a noted Harvard Unitarian professor and Secretary of the new American Unitarian Association. Ware was the son of the first dean of Harvard Divinity School whose appointment was so controversial. One can only wonder the nature of this meeting. Did they communicate in English? Farkas mentions a letter of "recommendation." The author of the letter is not mentioned. Farkas gave a description of a tour Ware, Jr. gave them. Farkas' description was more like an inventory: Harvard founded in 1638 by a minister named Harvard, 20,000 books in the library, eight separate buildings, "beautiful tree-lined lanes," 400 students enrolled. "The last building is the Unitarian Theological Seminary and Church where twice every Sunday the youth receive instruction. Although the majority of the professors are Unitarian, the college at Cambridge is not a Unitarian one, but a state and people's college where no one's religion is considered and all can study without discrimination." Farkas wrote a very insightful description of how Harvard handled this non-denominational approach which I commend to those curious about this topic. After lunch at the

[67] Farkas, *Journey*, p.141
[68] Alexis de Tocqueville, www.wikipedia.org

home of the old vice-governor Winthrop, Farkas observed that the luxurious table was equal to "any European aristocrat…the comfort and luxuries that accumulated wealth can afford will undermine republican principles and sooner or later will lead to a moneyed aristocracy.[69]

Henry Ware, Jr. later attempted to correspond with Farkas in Kolozsvár. A colleague of Farkas sent it on to Farkas,[70] who may have then been embroiled in the Hungarian Revolution at the time. Unfortunately, Henry Ware never received an answer.[71]

Generally, Farkas was entranced by American civil life from the perspective of coming from a poor and oppressive society. In Maryland, he was saddened to see how America was flawed. He saw black slaves working the fields and the notice advertising a slave auction posted at a local inn. "I felt as if an icy hand had touched my heart…I sighed in sorrow."[72] His enthusiasm was tempered with this reality, but American democratic inspiration burned in him from his travels.

Disruption: Revolution in Hungary, Civil War in America

The mid nineteenth century was a time when Transylvanian, American and British Unitarians were publicly and privately living and suffering their liberal values. Unitarian leaders were active in fighting for justice and democracy in the Hungarian Revolution of 1848 and in the American Civil War. The British were supporting the Transylvanian in yet another struggle for religious tolerance.

Farkas returned to Transylvania and wrote of his ground-breaking American observations in his Hungarian-language book, *Journey in North America*. This book sparked a surge of Hungarian democratic hopes especially among Unitarians in a still almost medieval eastern

[69] Farkas, *Journey*, p.150-154
[70] Kovács Sándor,"Unitarian Relations…"
[71] Letter from Consistory to AUA, 1868. p.425
[72] Bölöni Farkas Sándor, *Journey* p. 248.

Europe. In just over a decade the dream of democracy and religious freedom erupted in the Hungarian Revolution of 1848, known by Unitarians in Transylvania as the Hungarian War of Independence against the Hapsburg Empire in Vienna.[73]

Many Unitarian leaders in the Consistory were activists in the revolution. Jakab Elek, a Unitarian archivist at the time, had served in Kossuth's cavalry in twenty-three engagements. [74] Kossuth Lajos was a lawyer and one of the more radical Hungarian revolutionary leaders. Bölöni Farkas Sándor's book, *Journey in North America*, influenced Kossuth. In fact, Farkas was among these younger radicals and was the only to travel in America.[75]

The imperialist Catholic Hapsburg rulers decisively crushed the revolution, especially the hopes of the democracy-loving Hungarian Unitarians. By 1850, Farkas' hope of revolutionary democracy was completely demolished in Hungary, along with the dreams of many liberal Unitarians in Transylvania. Farkas' book was banned and almost all copies destroyed. He became very discouraged, indigent and died young of tuberculosis. His book is still little-known in the west, and remembered now in Transylvania only by scholars, mostly Unitarians.[76]

Ware did not receive an answer to his letters to Farkas.[77] Around this time, a contemporary British leader, John Fretwell (1832-1909), mentioned in a letter to Harvard Divinity School Professor J.H. Allen that a book had been published in 1831 about Bölöni Farkas Sándor, and his

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[73] Erdő János, "A Brief History of the Unitarian Church,"12, p.13. Inner Renewal of the Church, (available in Hungarian and English) , www.unitarius.org www.unitarius.hu/English
[74] Joseph Henry Allen, *An Historical Sketch*, p, 101, footnote 3.
[75] Theodore and Helen Benedek Schoenman, Introduction, p. 8-11, in Boloni Farkas Sandor, *Journey in North America*
[76] Molnár Lehel, HUC Archivist
[77] HUC Consistory to AUA, 1868. p. 425

travels, but he had never seen it or knew of its contents.[78] American Earl Morse Wilbur[79] cites only a vague knowledge of the Farkas visits in his 1925 Unitarian history. Although Farkas visited leaders in both countries after they had first organized, only the British were able to remember Farkas' visit and later maintain correspondence with the Transylvanians. Over time, Americans seemed to not remember their first encounter with Transylvania when Bölöni Farkas Sándor came to visit America.

Strangely, two different American English versions of *Travels in North America* were published in the 1970's, a century and a half after the Hungarian-language Farkas book was published it in Transylvania. [80] One version had been censored by the Communists, the other was original. These versions have since both gone out of print. John Gibbons, an American Unitarian Universalist minister and friend of Transylvania, "in honoring the power of pilgrimage," arranged to have an English translation of the original text republished in 2014.[81]

Hapsburgs Again Overreach In Kolozsvar,

Transylvanian and British Unitarians Resist

After the defeat of the Hungarian uprising and as the Civil War tension was rising in America, a British Unitarian who studied under John Kenrick at York College, John Paget (1808-

[78] John Fretwell, a British Unitarian lay leader and business man in 1831 mentions a book published in Kolozsvár which he had heard and of which he had never seen a copy, which tells of Transylvanian Farkas Alexander's travels , Christian Reformer, vol 13 p. 374, as cited in a September 1908 letter to JH Allen, bMS 500/9 (12), Andover Harvard library, Harvard Divinity School, Cambridge, MA

[79] Wilbur, "The Transylvanian brethren (unnamed) began to visit , where they were most gladly received; a few years later two of them went to America…, p.270

[80] Kovács Sándor, "Hungarian Unitarian Relations…"

[81] Alexander Bölöni Farkas, *Journey in North America (Kolozsvár, 1834),* translated and edited by Theodore and Helen Benedek Schoeonman (publisher),copyright 1977 by the American Philosophical Society. Republished privately by John Gibbons in 2014 with the permission of the American Philosophical Society. ISBN 978-973-643-217-0. Copies are available. Email contact John Gibbons: fp-johng@verizon.net

1892) joined with local Unitarians when the Vienna Hapsburgs again tried to shut down the Transylvanian Unitarians and their schools. John Paget had married a wealthy Hungarian noble woman and lived in Transylvania most of his adult life managing their estate. Paget was from a prominent Unitarian family and was an English ex-patriot loyal to the Revolution. He and his wife suffered in exile in England during the conflict and had recently returned to their Transylvanian home.[82]

The Vienna government was then trying to force the Transylvanian Hungarians, including the Unitarians, to change their language of instruction from Hungarian to German. This overreach compelled the Unitarians to again stand up for their community's shared right to religious tolerance. To keep their mother tongue, the battle-worn Unitarians had to demonstrate the same standards as schools run by the Hapsburgs, a very expensive proposition.

Most Unitarians at the time were modest farmers and lived in rural villages. With huge determination and sacrifice, Unitarians as a Church and individually then gathered all available money and even mortgaged their personal and shared property. Still it was not enough to appease Vienna.

In 1858 John Paget organized a substantial gift from the British which, along with major local sacrifice, helped save the Transylvanian Church and their schools from near fatal Hapsburg strangulation. The successful effort to desperately rally all resources to save the Unitarian schools and church reawakened a deeper commitment to church and language in the Transylvanian Unitarian community.[83] John Paget lived the remainder of his life in Transylvania. According to

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[82] David L. Wykes, "John Paget, M.D. of Transylvania," *Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society*, vol. XVII, no. 2. P. 54 (July,1980)

[83] Erdő János, Hungarian Unitarian Church, Church History, Section 13 Fight Against the Church and School Policies of Absolutism, p. 13-4, in Hungarian and English, www.unitarius.org www.unitarius.hu/English

Paget's English obituary, he "was always on the Liberal side," and he gave them (Transylvanian Unitarians) most valuable help with his counsel and his purse."[84]

The British and Transylvanians were reconnected through their united efforts to save the Transylvanian schools. Darwin's theory of evolution was stirring Unitarians' embrace of science with religion. In addition, in Britain, the passage of two centuries of complicated laws developing religious freedom was completed with the Dissenters Chapels Act in 1844, according to Andrew Hill.[85]

Civil War Tragedy Unites American Liberals

For the Americans, the Civil War forced Unitarians to respond to massive death tolls on the battlefield. Many ministers served as chaplains and fathers and sons were going to war. Recent science called for better sanitary and medical services requiring a united response. Strong disagreements over slavery arose in Unitarian Churches. In Boston, with wealthy merchants in the Federal Street Unitarian Church, the Rev. William Ellery Channing was reluctant to express his anti-slavery views. Prominent parishioners threatened to "nail the pew doors shut" rather than host the funeral Channing planned for the activist abolitionist Karl Follen. Channing stepped down from his preaching responsibilities rather than comply. Among others, Unitarian abolitionist Lydia Marie Child convinced Channing to speak out when he wrote, "I have been silent too long." [86]

Some Unitarians took more radical steps to end slavery by forcing confrontation. Rev. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe and Rev. Theodore Parker, among

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[84] Paget obituary, 1892 Inquirer, Dr. Williams Library, London

[85] The liberalizing British reforms were somewhat convoluted as described by Andrew Hill. The 1813 Trinity Act which repealed the 1689 Blasphemy Act according to which Anti-Trinitarianism was illegal. There then follows a series of complicated legal cases up to 1844 and The Dissenters Chapels Act [see Frank Schulman *Blasphemous and Wicked: the Unitarian struggle for equality 1813-1844* (Harris Manchester College, Oxford 1997)] On the other hand orthodox dissent was legitimized by the 1689 Toleration Act.

[86] Greenwood and Harris, *The Unitarian and Universalist*, p. 76

others joined forces to financially support the fiery and radical John Brown's attempt to capture the arsenal and start a slave insurrection at Harper's Ferry in 1859. Supportive and controversial, the group was called the "Secret Six." The Virginia raid is often considered a tipping point in launching America's Civil War.[87]

Unitarian historian and Harvard professor Joseph Henry Allen himself felt the trauma of this war, "the former doctrinal issues had been completely overshadowed and dwarfed by the one great tragedy of the Civil War."[88] The theological controversies, and even the recent sharp divisions between Channing Unitarians and Emerson Transcendentalists lost traction in light of the needs of a country at war with itself. The old Unitarian fear of large organizations gave way to the need and power of a common effort.

Henry Bellows led a new Sanitary Commission calling on a broad-based effort to reduce disease using new scientific discoveries such as the importance of clean water to prevent epidemics. Dr. Bellows, a Unitarian minister went on to be President of the AUA, finally a growing organization. With Channing's death before the Civil War, the voice of reason and understanding became Dr. Frederic Hedge who was both a European-trained scholar and a powerful voice of tolerance and inclusion. He was able to capture feeling and values in memorable phrases, such as "A movement is strong by what it includes, an organism by what it excludes."[89] Hedge will return

After extreme suffering and loss in both the failed Hungarian Revolution (1848) and the American Civil War (1861-1865) the Kolozsvár Unitarians and their religious sisters and brothers in America had a hard-earned era of slow recovery. A fledgling convergence of enlightenment values emerged as Unitarians in all three countries were influenced by Darwin's new theory of

[87] John Buehrens, *U and U,* p.87-89
[88] Joseph Henry Allen, *An Historical Sketch,* p.228
[89] Ibid, p. 230

evolution, and social and educational reform as relative political and economic peace and tolerance came to America, Transylvania and Britain.

Likely the First Direct Letters Between the Americans and Transylvanians, A Surprise!

In 1868, the Executive Committee of the AUA was surprised to receive a letter from the Unitarian Consistory in Kolozsvár. The exact date is unknown. This letter, delivered via the American Unitarian missionary returning from India, Charles H.A. Dall, "awakened" or more accurately for the Americans unknow[90]ingly reawakened the contact Bölöni Farkas Sándor had made with Henry Ware, Jr over a quarter of a century before. The long and surprising letter the Consistory wrote to the American Unitarian Association included these words:

> It is now our hope and pleasant duty to renew our former intercourse. The works of your eminent men, among them Dr. Channing and Theodore Parker, are read with pleasure here; and these move our hearts toward you in salutation and cordial affection. As Unitarian Christians, we especially congratulate you on the liberation of your four million slaves. We thank God for your early protest, as a body, against the great national sin.… The day may come when we, too, will be able to show more palpable results of our endeavors to establish a pure gospel; though up to this time we have been obliged largely to confine our efforts to self-defense…In 1848, with the agitation that then prevailed, there arose in our hearts the hope of a better future. Our exultation was short…it has been followed by a sad period of decline, under the exactions of absolutism. Just now our horizon brightens. At least, we have a national government…We beg you not to forget that you have brethren in Hungary…[91]

Clearly, the Transylvanians were delighted that Dall's travels allowed them to securely reconnect with America. They were keenly aware of slavery's blight on human rights. Bölöni Farkas Sándor's vivid description of when "icy hand of slavery touched my heart," lived on from over three decades earlier. It is noteworthy that the Hungarian Unitarians specifically mentioned "your protest as a body, against the great national sin." The Transylvanians shared a united moral

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[91] "The Unitarians of Hungary," *The Monthly Journal of the American Unitarian Association,* vol 19,1868, pp 423-7

commitment with the Americans. They expressed sadness that their own persecution precluded their ability to do more social justice work. They were hampered by the necessary obligation "to confine our efforts to self-defense." The Transylvanian plea to be remembered by their American Unitarian brethren is powerful and poignant.

Ironically, shortly before the American Unitarians knew of this friendly letter from the Consistory, Charles Lowe, Secretary of the AUA, had written an outreaching letter to the Bishop and Consistory in Kolozsvár. This letter from America was written in the Hungarian language.[92] On July 4, 1868, the Executive Committee in Boston extended their congratulations on the Hungarian Unitarians' 300th anniversary of the Edict of Torda,

> To us, in this young republic, the period of three hundred years seems to represent a vast epoch… But it is not mere antiquity which makes your history so interesting to us. We remember, besides with rejoicing, that long ago your Church possessed equal political rights with other established, having secured that place and recognition which in other nations are even now denied to the Unitarian name… When we contemplate these (more recent times your liberties have been assailed), and recall your earnest adherence to your cherished faith, our own trials seem small, and we feel impelled to more earnest effort than we have yet made.[93]

The American Executive Committee went on to recognize the importance of early European Unitarian writings such as the Polish Brethren. "The 'Fratres Poloni' still have a place in our libraries among the most valued of our theological treatises."

One has to wonder, did these Americans have these writings from the Polish Brethren from the days of their early 16th and 17th migration as liberal dissidents fleeing English tyranny? Did they hold these documents as precious sacred texts even while the Boston Puritans were persecuting some as liberals within the Calvinist Puritan Church? Perhaps the Polish Socinian

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[92] Kovács Sándor, Hungarian Relations
[93] "The Unitarians of Hungary," *The Monthly Journal of the American Unitarian Association,* vol 19,1868, pp 423-7

writings had been imported more recently from British Unitarians to their American sympathizers. Or the writings could have come from both sources. Another mystery, an enigma to be solved.

The British Unitarians went on in their letter, "And we shall be glad if we can make some return for what we have thus received by sending you the thoughts of our own best writers" such as Dr. Channing. The Americans then went on to offer such American Unitarian writings "in Hungarian, German and Hebrew, if that would be useful…Whatever may be done in this direction, there is no hesitation to the heartiness of this greeting."[94]

The American offer to translate Channing's writing into English was a generous gift. The Transylvanians mentioned Channing's and Parkers' writings in their letter. It seems that the Americans had not yet received the Consistory's letter. Interestingly, neither did the Americans acknowledge the 1831 Ware/Farkas meeting at Harvard, nor did they mention the lack of a Transylvanian response. The Consistory in Kolozsvár, on the other hand, alluded both to the 1831 Harvard meeting and their lack of response. The AUA Executive Committee may have had no awareness of the 1831 American/Transylvanian Ware/Farkas passing connection, nor a letter they were about the receive.. Perhaps they had not yet received the Transylvanian Consistory's outreach letter. Most likely, the British had shared with Americans the upcoming 300th Anniversary of the Edict of Torda in 1868. Despite all this intrigue, the simultaneous crossing of these two letters may have been coincidental, or perhaps, a reflection of a deeper confluence of Unitarian hearts and minds and better postal services.

Bishop Ferencz and William Ellery Channing

During this era, Transylvanian and American Unitarianism shared a very similar theology, as evidenced with William Ellery Channing's influence and popularity on both continents. Why

[94] ibid

was Channing so important to the Transylvanians? This is another question to pursue. As Ralph Waldo Emerson's shocking American religious innovation gained increasing influence in America, this theological convergence proved temporary over the next centuries.

A young Transylvanian minister who was trained both in Kolozsvár and Oxford, Ferencz József was a member of the Consistory writing the above letter to the Americans. When he was a ministerial student he was one of the first to study in England. The British funded a new program, promoted by Edward Tagart who in 1858 visited Transylvania.[95] Annually the British supported one student in ministerial study at the Unitarian Manchester College. With a wider world-view and English language skills, Ferencz returned to Kolozsvár and soon was chosen to become Bishop. This scholarship supported by the British, over the years, created an English-speaking pool of Transylvanian Unitarians who were pivotal in enabling relations with the English-speaking world.

With a growing circle of clergy comfortable with English and a new bishop, Ferencz József was eager to strengthen ties with other Unitarians in the world. A door was opening to a Unitarian future strengthened by peace, hard lessons and hope.[96] The shining light of American democracy and tolerance so powerfully described decades before by Bölöni Farkas Sándor to the Hungarian-speaking world, was galvanized by the Hungarian Revolution and the American Civil War. Even as Emerson's innovative ideas were emerging, Channing's writings articulated a hopeful and shared view of liberal Christianity in Transylvania, Britain and America.

We have learned how Mrs. Richmond's portrait came to Transylvania. We still don't know why. In Part Two, our remaining questions about why and how Mrs. Richmond opened her purse to strangers will be explored. Who was John Fretwell? How and why was Mr. Fretwell, the English

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[95] Kovács Sándor: Angolszász–magyar unitárius érintkezések a 19. században. Erdélyi Tudományos Füzetek. 269. English and Hungarian Unitarian Relations in the 19th Century. Kolozsvár, 2011. 62–65, 71–79.

[96] Prof. Erdő János, 19 Feburary 1928, Death of Bishop Ferencz József. Hungarian Unitarian Church, in Hungarian and English, www.unitarius.org www.unitarius.hu/English

Businessman, a key player in this connection? What was the Bishop's role? And finally, what did Anna's gift reveal about her, her family and friends, and Unitarianism? And the bigger questions to ask are what does Anna teach us about our shared faith today and going into a challenging future? We will find some answers in Bishops Ferencz's correspondence files in Kolozsvár. For some answers we will turn to the Rhode Island Historical Society, and the First Unitarian Church and Brown University in Providence. We also will turn to the archives at Harvard Divinity School in Boston and on to the Dr. Williams Library in London. As of this moment, some answers may remain a Unitarian enigma.

"We beg you not to forget, that you have brethren in Hungary;"

"Mrs. Richmond, the Bishop and the English Businessman: Transylvanian, American and English Enigmas" will continue in Part Two.