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Ernst Fendler

15. X. 1734

HISTORY  
OF  
THE MORAVIANS.

BY A BOST, GENEVA.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH, AND ABRIDGED.

WITH AN APPENDIX.

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# HISTORY OF THE MORAVIANS.

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## CHAPTER I.

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA,  
TO A.D. 1373.

THE brethren of Moravia are descendants of a people who, like the Vaudois of Piedmont, never bowed beneath the Romish yoke, but may be traced through the Greek church, directly to the primitive church. During the last four centuries they have been known in Christendom, as a society, by the name of "The United Brethren." Let us briefly notice their origin.

As early as the days of the apostles the gospel was preached in Illyria and Dalmatia, Rom. xv. 19; 2 Tim. iv. 10; and, in the second and third centuries, we read of bishops and martyrs in those countries. For some time the Christians in Illyria, as elsewhere, lived dispersed among their heathen neighbours. By degrees, however, the Christian religion so spread itself in that region, that, in the year 680, Illyrian bishops were expected at the general council of Constantinople; and they did not appear there, only because they refused to countenance the worship of



images. It was not, however, till the ninth century, that the Moravians embraced Christianity as a nation, by the instrumentality of the preaching of Cyril and Methodius, two pious and learned Greek ecclesiastics, who were introduced by the king's sister. Cyril is said to have been the author of that translation of the Bible which is still used among the Sclavonians who remain attached to the Greek church.

Christianity gradually spread from Moravia into Bohemia; but, in the latter country, those who received the gospel suffered cruel persecutions from their countrymen who continued in heathenism. Their places of worship were shut up; their preachers prohibited from teaching; and, for more than ten years, they endured every kind of cruelty and oppression, until relieved by the interposition of the emperor Otho I. But he only interposed with the design of subjecting them to the church of Rome, and from that period another contest arose, which lasted for several centuries.

One event which contributed much to advance the Romish religion in that country, was a visit of the sister of the grand duke of Bohemia to Rome. This princess had hitherto seen only bishops and priests who lived in humility and poverty, like their Master, and were diligently employed in teaching the people in their native tongue, without pomp or ostentation; but the splendour of the papal court, and the imposing ceremonies of the Latin worship, had such an effect upon her, that, on her return to Bohemia, she could not rest till she had induced her brother to form the fatal resolution of introducing the Romish religion into his dominions; thus occasioning a suc-

cession of troubles, and of bloody persecutions for several centuries.

As the states of Bohemia opposed this innovation, the grand duke endeavoured to introduce it by degrees. He constituted a bishopric at Prague, the capital of Bohemia; nominating a German Roman Catholic as bishop, and ordering the Latin ritual to be used in public worship. The Bohemians strenuously resisted this latter encroachment upon their rights. At first some concessions were made, but what one pope granted was revoked by another. The contest, on this point alone, continued more than a century, until it was terminated by pope Gregory VII., who returned the following answer to prince Wratislaus, upon his making renewed efforts to obtain for the Bohemians their former liberties:—"Gregory, bishop, and servant of the servants of God, sends greeting and benediction to the Bohemian prince Wratislaus. Your highness desires that we would give permission to your people to conduct their church service according to the old Slavonian ritual: but know, dear son, that we can by no means grant this your request; for, having frequently searched the Holy Scriptures, we have there discovered that it has pleased, and still pleases Almighty God, to direct his worship to be conducted in hidden language, that not every one, especially the simple, might understand it. For if it were to be performed in a manner altogether intelligible, it might inevitably incur contempt and disgust; or, if imperfectly understood by half-learned persons, it might happen, that by hearing and contemplating the word too frequently, errors would be engendered in the hearts of the people which would not be easily

eradicated. Let no one pretend to quote as a precedent, that formerly exceptions were made in favour of new converts and simple souls. True it is, that, in the primitive church, much was conceded to upright and well-meaning people; but much injury was done, and many heresies thereby created; insomuch, that when the Christian church spread more and more, and became more firmly established, it was plainly perceived, that, from the root of such ill-timed indulgence, many errors had sprung up, which required great labour and pains to destroy. Therefore, what your people ignorantly require, can in no wise be conceded to them; and we now forbid it, by the power of God, and his holy apostle Peter; and exhort you, for the honour of Almighty God, that you oppose such folly by every possible means, in conformity to this our command. Given at Rome."

Such was the imperious language held by the popes, to kings and princes, in that and the following centuries. By this insolent procedure, the aversion of the Bohemians to the rites of the Romish church was increased; but worn out by the repeated and increasingly severe mandates of the popes, they began to relax in their zeal for purity of doctrine and worship; when, in the year 1176, at a most seasonable period, a considerable body of the Vaudois emigrated to Bohemia, who encouraged them to cleave firmly to the truth, as they had received it in the beginning.

Many of the Waldenses, when persecuted by the church of Rome, took refuge in Bohemia; and it is even said that Waldo himself accompanied the exiles thither, and died in that country. The Waldenses and Bohemians having united, enjoyed rest and peace

for some time; Divine worship was conducted among them with regularity, their assemblies being held commonly in some retired place; they maintained good order and discipline; administered help, according to their ability, to their dispersed brethren in distant countries; and sent missionaries to England, Hungary, Brandenburg, Pomerania, and other places. Thus they proceeded noiselessly and unobserved for about two centuries; when, being betrayed by the indiscreet conduct of two of their preachers, a dreadful persecution arose, and almost all of them were obliged to flee into the neighbouring kingdoms, as we shall see hereafter.

To return, however, more strictly to the direct subject of our narrative, the endeavours of the Roman pontiffs, till towards the middle of the fourteenth century, were principally confined to the introduction of the Latin ritual into the church service of Moravia and Bohemia. But, in the reign of the emperor Charles iv., an attempt was made to enforce the general adoption of all the corruptions and abuses of the western church. With this view, in the year 1350, the bishopric of Prague was raised to an archbishopric by the pope and the emperor, and a university founded, which was furnished with Italian and German professors. These men not only introduced the Latin language and popish ceremonies into the churches, but prohibited the marriage of the clergy, and denied to the people the use of the cup in the sacrament of the Lord's supper. Such as desired to receive both the bread and wine, according to the institution of our Saviour, were now obliged to partake of it in their dwellings, or in remote and hidden places;

and many upright ministers were still found, who were willing, notwithstanding suffering, and at the risk of their lives, to administer it in this form. Of the nobles, indeed, those who feared to lose the favour and emoluments of the court, were, by degrees, persuaded to adopt all the opinions and forms of the Romish church; but yet, even among such as outwardly joined her worship, there were many, both in Bohemia and Moravia, who secretly opposed the prevailing errors. It also pleased God to raise up several men of high station in the church, who bore a public testimony against the prevailing corruptions, both in churches and colleges, and even in the castle church at Prague. Among these, John Militach, a learned and pious man, born of a noble family in Moravia, was distinguished. In 1360, he was appointed minister of the castle church at Prague, where he found such acceptance, that he often preached three times in one day to crowded and eager auditories, in the Bohemian, and also, to accommodate strangers, in the German language. By his exhortations and exemplary conduct, many were influenced to forsake their wicked course of life; this was the case particularly with three hundred prostitutes, who had lived together, and for whom, after their conversion, he procured the means of an honest subsistence, turning their house of infamy into a church, which was called St. Mary Magdalene. He used to say, that these poor sinners, who had been brought to true repentance, were far superior to the self-righteous inmates of the nunneries. He also established a seminary at Prague, for the instruction of young men in Scriptural divinity; and,

in general, by the bold and fearless manner in which he delivered his doctrines, both from the pulpit and by his writings, caused many people in Bohemia, and other countries, to withdraw from the communion of the church of Rome. The emperor, Charles iv., esteemed this man highly; but the hatred of the pope against him was violent, and was greatly increased by his visiting Rome, whither, as he himself writes, his conscience urged him to go, in order to bear his public testimony against the doctrines and dissolute lives of the popish clergy. On his return from this journey, he was cast into prison, by Ernest, archbishop of Prague. The prelate, however, was soon after obliged to release him, for fear of the people, by whom he was highly respected, and he went and preached in Moravia, Silesia, and Poland. Persecution followed him, indeed, even into this remote country; for the pope sent an order to the archbishop of Gnesen, to use the utmost rigour in putting the ecclesiastical laws in force against this excommunicated heretic. But the cruel edict arrived too late; for it had pleased the Lord to call his faithful servant, whom he had blessed with such success in advancing his kingdom, into everlasting joy, by an easy and happy death.

Some years before, Militach, and afterwards, in conjunction with him, Conrad Stickna distinguished himself at Prague, by boldly preaching the gospel. He was a native of Austria, where, at that time, many faithful confessors of the truth lived in peace. From the pulpit he zealously reprobated the vices of his day; sparing neither the clergy nor the court, nor fearing the loss of fame or life. His discourses

frequently produced great effect. Having once, with great zeal, declaimed against the pomp and indecency of dress then in fashion, the ladies of rank at Prague were so affected, that they immediately laid aside their vain and gaudy attire, and substituted a dress more simple and becoming. Like Militach, he exhorted his hearers to the proper celebration of the Lord's supper, by partaking both of the bread and wine. He died in 1369, and was interred in the burying-ground belonging to the castle church, leaving his name in blessed remembrance, as a faithful witness of the truth.

Of the same spirit was his contemporary, Matthew Janowsky. He had studied divinity at Paris, was the favourite confessor of the emperor, and also a zealous preacher against the abuses and sins prevailing in the church. As he enjoyed the emperor's confidence, he besought him to attempt the reform of the church by a general council. The emperor answered, that this power belonged exclusively to the pope of Rome; to whom, therefore, he immediately applied. The pope was so much exasperated by the proposal, that he did not rest until he had compelled the emperor to banish his faithful friend Janowsky. Being, however, soon permitted to return to his native country, he closed his useful life in peaceful retirement. On his death-bed, he comforted his friends with the hopes of better times. "The rage of the enemies of the truth," said he, "seems now to prevail, but it will not always continue so; for there shall arise a small mean people, without sword or power, whom the adversary shall not be able to withstand." He added, that only one of that company should see it. The brethren remark

that one among them, named Wenceslas, lived to so great an age, that, sixty years after, he was a witness to the formation of the church of the United Brethren, and became a member of it. Janowsky departed this life in the year 1394.

It is worthy of notice, that about this time, when so many servants of Christ appeared in Bohemia, John Wickliff, the great witness to the truth in England, arose, and boldly opposed the corrupt principles prevailing in the Romish church. He was born A.D. 1324, and died 1384.

The most celebrated of the witnesses for the truth, whom God raised up in Bohemia at this sad period, was the martyr, John Huss. As the "Unity of the Brethren" traces its origin from the descendants of this faithful witness, we shall, in the next chapter, give a few particulars of his history.



## CHAPTER II.

### FROM JOHN HUSS, TO THE ORIGIN OF THE CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN.

JOHN HUSS, who was the son of poor parents, was born at a village called Hussinez, in 1373. Having received some education at the public school of a neighbouring town, called Prachatiz, he became servant to a professor at Prague, who lent him some books, and assisted him in prosecuting his studies. In his twentieth year he became master of arts, and soon after was appointed professor of divinity in the university of Prague. A wealthy inhabitant of that city, having just at that time built the church called Bethlehem, with a view to the preaching of the gospel in the German and Bohemian languages, John Huss was nominated minister of it, in the year 1400; he was also chosen by the queen of Bohemia to be her confessor, which office introduced him to great favour at court. In these situations he distinguished himself by his great knowledge of the Scriptures, by his powerful eloquence, and by his holy and self-denying life. He openly attacked the vices of the court and the people, and, at the same time, was regarded by the clergy as a man of God.

About this time, the writings of Wickliff, the great English reformer, made their appearance in Bohemia, and fell into the hands of Huss. At first he thought them bold, and even dangerous; the university of

Prague having, in the year 1403, condemned, as heretical, twenty-five of the propositions contained in them, and forbidden any one to teach or profess them, on pain of being burned to death. The more, however, Huss studied these works, the more he became convinced of their agreement with the Scriptures, and with the ancient fathers of the church; and he boldly avowed, in his preaching, that he considered Wickliff a righteous and holy man. From this time he made constant progress in these principles, and when he subsequently witnessed the manner in which the reformer was persecuted, he no longer doubted that the papal tyranny was the reign of antichrist.

For a considerable time, as long as he abstained from attacking the clergy, he was suffered to proceed in peace. Of this we may mention a striking instance. When, at the beginning of his course, he dwelt merely upon the general principles of a strict morality, and confined his reproofs to the court and the people in general, some of the courtiers complained of him to the bishop, in the presence of the king; the prelate replied, that Huss, at his ordination, had taken an oath to speak the truth without respect of persons. Afterwards, when Huss began to attack the irregularities of the clergy, and the archbishop, in his turn, appealed to the king to silence him, the monarch replied, in his own words, "Has not Huss taken an oath to speak the truth without respect of persons?"

Another circumstance that increased the adherents of this faithful witness to the truth was this: the people had not forgotten that the country had been originally connected with the Greek church, and had

only been brought under the Romish yoke by a long course of intrigue and oppression. The people still remembered their ancient religious liberty, when Divine service was conducted in their own language, and they partook of the communion in both kinds, and when the marriage of their priests was lawful. These reminiscences were frequently awakened by the appeals of their faithful preachers, while Rome itself ceased not, by its continual attacks upon the remaining freedom they enjoyed, to excite and irritate their feelings. Thus it was, that, in complaisance to the pope, Charles iv., in the year 1361, granted to the Germans in the university of Prague (who as Roman Catholics might be supposed to favour the papal influence) privileges and rights which properly belonged only to the Bohemians. This occasioned a long and obstinate struggle between the foreigners and the natives of the country, which ended in the obtaining by Huss of a decree from the king, restoring to the Bohemians their ancient rights. Upon this, many thousands of the Germans quitted the city; and Huss, who, in reward for his service, was elected rector of the university, was so much the more hated by the partisans of the pope. The most formidable of these was archbishop Shinek, who obtained from the court of Rome an order, interdicting Huss from preaching in the chapel of Bethlehem; but he paid no attention to it, and replied, that he must obey God rather than man. The mass of the population concurred in these sentiments; and when, in 1410, the archbishop ordered more than 200 volumes of Wickliff's writings to be burned in the court of his palace, they ridiculed his ignorance in

their songs. In fact, this intolerant man had never learned to read till he was nominated to the bishopric, which induced the people to say, that he condemned authors which he could not even read.

Huss publicly protested against this unreasonable conduct, which had no other object than the debasement of the people, and tended only to provoke them to revolt. Upon this protest of Huss, the clergy accused him of heresy to the pope, John XXIII. He was summoned to Rome, and, as he could not safely go in person, he sent an advocate thither to defend him. The latter was thrown into prison; Huss was denounced as a heretic, and excommunicated with his partisans, and the pope pronounced, by anticipation, an interdict on every place where he should be received. The protection of the king, however, prevented the execution of the sentence: Huss appealed to a general council, and continued to spread the doctrines of Wickliff, adding, however, as the witnesses for the truth have always done, that he was ready to retract his opinions if it could be proved from the Scriptures that he was in error. At the same time, he began to prepare for the martyrdom that awaited him.

It was in 1412 that he made his boldest attack upon the pope, the latter having proclaimed, through all Europe, a crusade against the king of Naples, and the two anti-popes, Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII., promising remission of sins to all who should assist him in that war. Huss, and his friend Jerome, strenuously opposed this scandalous measure, and published doctrinal theses against it. The sellers of the papal indulgences were publicly insulted by

the citizens; and when the magistrates, regardless of the remonstrances of Huss, caused three of the rioters to be beheaded, the people honoured them as martyrs, and buried their bodies in the chapel of Bethlehem. In consequence of these proceedings, Prague was laid under an interdict; the churches were closed, and all public worship was suspended, so long as Huss should continue in the city. He now judged it best to yield to the storm, and accordingly retired; but he still preached in the neighbouring towns and villages, and in the open fields, with such power and success, that, as it commonly happens in such cases, his expulsion contributed to the spread of the gospel. He, moreover, drew up a solemn appeal from the decree of the pope, to Christ the righteous Judge.

At this time the whole western church was looking forward to the general council, which was to assemble at Constance on the 1st of November, 1414. The primary object of this council, was to put an end to the disgraceful troubles arising from the competition of three popes for the papacy. There was also throughout Christendom a universal cry for a reformation in the church, and the Romish authorities wished to adopt some means to allay the religious excitement that had been caused by the labours of Wickliff and Huss. Before this council Huss was summoned to appear; and, as the emperor had promised him a safe conduct, he declared publicly, by placards fixed on the doors of all the churches, seminaries, and convents of Bohemia, that he was ready to go and answer the summons, calling upon all who could convict him of any error, to meet

him upon that occasion. At his request, not only the archbishop of Prague, but even the judge of heretics in Bohemia, gave him a certificate of orthodoxy; and the king sent with him as companions three distinguished noblemen, one of whom was John de Chlum, whose name will appear in the subsequent history.

On taking leave of his friends the reformer thus addressed them:—"You know that I have taught you no error: continue in the truth, and trust in the mercy of God: beware of false teachers. I am going to this great assembly, where the Lord will give me grace to endure trials, imprisonment, and even the most dreadful death, if it be his will. Whatever happens, our joy will be great, when we meet in the everlasting mansions."

On the 11th of October, Huss set out for Constance. In all the towns and villages through which he passed, the people flocked in crowds to see him; everywhere he was received with enthusiasm. At Nuremberg he received the emperor's safe conduct, which seemed to ensure his safety, being couched in the following terms:—"The emperor has taken under his protection, and that of the holy Roman empire, the honourable master John Huss, who is going to the council of Constance, commanding all his states, magistrates, and subjects to let him pass, stop, go and come, rest, and return in safety to his home, by all the roads, gates, bridges, lordships, cities, towns, villages, and castles, without any hindrance or obstacle to himself, his attendants, horses, carriages, and property of every kind." We shall soon see how this safe conduct was afterwards respected.

At Nuremberg, Huss posted up, as he had done before in all the great cities, placards, announcing that he was going to Constance to defend the faith against his accusers. He arrived in that city on the 3rd of November, and took up his lodging at the house of a baker's widow, not far from the place which the pope had chosen for his residence. The next day he sent to inform the latter of his arrival, adding, that since he had the emperor's safe conduct, he hoped that the head of the clergy would also grant him his protection. The pope received the Bohemian gentlemen, the bearers of this message, with the greatest politeness, saying, among other things, that even if Huss had assassinated his own brother, no harm should be done to him while he was at Constance. He even, after a conference with the cardinals, took off the interdict which he had pronounced against Huss. But these favourable appearances soon vanished. Some of the clergy, among whom was one of his youthful associates, represented him in public placards as a heretic: they presented to the pope and cardinals garbled extracts, to prove his doctrines erroneous; and accused him of acting as a rebel against the authority of the church.

Accordingly, Huss was cited, on the 28th of November, before the pope and several of the cardinals, who informed him that he was accused of heresy. He replied, that he would rather die than knowingly propagate any error; and that he was ready to retract what he had advanced, as soon as it was proved to be false. Although they appeared satisfied with this answer, they did not suffer him to return to his lodging, but sent him under a guard to

the house of a prebendary of the cathedral, where he was confined for a week. His friend De Chlum complained loudly of the violation of the emperor's safe conduct; but the pope replied, that he could do nothing, being himself in the power of the cardinals. On this De Chlum wrote to the emperor, who ordered Huss to be set at liberty; but the pope opposed the execution of the order. De Chlum, and many of the Bohemian noblemen, protested vehemently against this act of treachery, but without effect. When the emperor himself arrived at Constance, about Christmas, the clergy brought him over to their sentiments, and persuaded him that he had no power to take under his protection a man, who, if not guilty, was at least accused of heresy.

Huss was then removed from his more tolerable prison, to a loathsome dungeon in a monastery of the Dominicans, situated on the Rhine, where he was taken dangerously ill. A commission was issued for his trial, and while his enemies sought everywhere for witnesses against him, they refused him the assistance of an advocate for his defence.

Two months afterwards, on the 3rd of March, 1415, Huss was again removed to another prison, where he remained until the 20th of the same month. At this time, a striking example occurred of the vicissitude of human affairs; for, on that same day, pope John XXIII., who had imprisoned him, fled in disguise, in order to avoid the abdication to which the council were about to compel him. Huss, in the meantime, had been carried to the castle of Gottleben, on the other side of the Rhine, whither, very soon after, the pope was also brought, having been appre-



hended in his flight. Huss was allowed to walk in the day-time, chained, under the vaults of this prison; but in the night he was fastened by a padlock to the wall near his bed. During this gloomy captivity, which lasted more than six months, he composed several religious works; and wrote letters to his friends in Bohemia, to strengthen them in the faith, and to inform them of the sufferings he was enduring for Christ. These letters furnish abundant proof of the constancy of his faith, and his fervent piety.

Jerome of Prague, the friend of Huss, was also imprisoned at the same time, having gone to Constance with a similar promise of safe conduct.

The nobles of Bohemia and Moravia did not cease to complain, both to the emperor and to the council, that their beloved teacher, whom they considered perfectly innocent, should be sentenced thus to languish in prison; and, at length, the 5th of June was fixed upon for his solemn examination, previous to which he was removed from the castle of Gottleben to a monastery of the Franciscans. A commission of cardinals, bishops, and other ecclesiastics having assembled, they examined the charges laid against him, and were about to condemn him without a hearing, when De Chlum, and another Bohemian lord, protested against such a proceeding, and obtained an order from the emperor that the accused should be heard. But when he began to reply to the accusations against him, by appealing to the Scriptures and the writings of the fathers of the church, they raised an uproar, and poured upon him such a torrent of reproaches, that he was compelled to keep silence. The emperor then resolved upon being present at the

meetings on the 7th and 8th of June, to maintain order. This measure had the effect of procuring for Huss a hearing; but it was of no avail to his cause. His enemies required him to submit, without any reserve, to the judgment of the council; to retract all that he had advanced, and even what had been falsely imputed to him; as for example, among other absurdities, that he had pretended to be a fourth person in the Deity, &c. Huss conjured the assembly, that they would not compel him to abjure errors which he had never held; but as neither the entreaties of the emperor, nor those of the council, could induce him to make the absolute recantation which they required, he was pronounced an obstinate heretic, and threatened with the punishment inflicted on such persons. Huss, upon this, commended his cause to God, the heavenly Judge, and was led back to his prison. De Chlum, in the most friendly manner, took him by the hand, comforted him, and exhorted him to be steadfast. The emperor however declared, that if he did not recant, he deserved to be burned. Several of the more moderate prelates endeavoured to prevail upon him, while in prison, to make the required recantation; but he refused to the last to submit to the imputation of heresy, although it were to save his life.

In one of his last letters, addressed to the faithful in Bohemia, Huss, foreseeing that his death was near, addressed a farewell exhortation to the religious and civil authorities of his country: he recommended to their gratitude the two nobles, De Duba and De Chlum, who had so faithfully assisted him in his troubles, and concluded in the following terms:—

“I address this letter to you from my dungeon, and in bonds, expecting that the council will to-morrow pronounce on me the sentence of death, and being fully persuaded that the Lord will not forsake me. He will not permit me to deny his truth, or to retract errors which I have never advanced. I cannot describe to you all the mercy which the Lord my God displays towards me, and by which he enables me to bear my great trials; you will only fully know it when we shall have entered, by the grace of God, into the joys of eternity. Love one another; this is my last entreaty. Hinder no one from bearing witness to the truth, and use all your endeavours to prevent the prosecution of believers.”

All attempts to make this courageous martyr retract his opinions having failed, the emperor Sigismund, on the 5th of July, sent the two noblemen, De Chlum and De Duba, with four bishops, to receive his last declaration. The deputation came to his prison, and on his being brought out of the dungeon into their presence, he was thus addressed by his worthy friend, De Chlum:—

“Dear doctor, unlearned laymen, as we are, cannot easily advise you in this important matter; but we entreat you to examine yourself, whether your conscience accuses you of the things laid to your charge. If you are guilty, be not ashamed to embrace better sentiments; but, if your conscience bears witness that you are innocent, beware of doing anything that may offend it, or of lying in the sight of God. Rather give up your life than the truth.” At this address of his friend, Huss burst into tears, and with much gentleness replied,—“Worthy man,

God is witness, that I would submit and willingly retract, if I had advanced anything false, any doctrine not according to the Scriptures and the holy church. I wish nothing more than to be corrected by the Scriptures; if they reprove me, I am quite ready to recant." One of the bishops present asked him if he pretended to be wiser than all the council; Huss replied, "Give me only the most inconsiderable person in the assembly, who will explain the truth to me more clearly than I have understood it, and I will cordially receive it from him." "You see," exclaimed the bishop, "how obstinate and hardened this man is in his heresy." Upon this, they ordered him to be led back to his dungeon, and went to make their report to the emperor.

The next day, July 6th, which was the forty-third anniversary of the birth-day of Huss, all the council assembled at their fifteenth general sitting, to pronounce sentence on him. The emperor himself appeared in great state, accompanied by the princes of the empire, and all the nobility. The bishop of Riga ordered the accused to be brought from his prison by the soldiers, and led to the cathedral, where a crowd of people were assembled, besides cardinals, bishops, priests, and doctors of divinity and of law. Cardinal D'Ostia was chosen president of the assembly in the room of the deposed pope. The emperor was seated on the throne, with the crown on his head; at his right hand stood Louis the elector and count palatine, with the imperial globe; and on his left the marquess of Nuremberg, with the sword. The archbishop of Gnesen read mass, and implored with tears the intercession of the holy virgin for the extirpation of heresy.

They then chanted the litany, beginning with *Exaudi nos, Domine!* "Hear us, O Lord!" Next they read the gospel, "Beware of false prophets," etc., and concluded by singing *Veni Creator Spiritus!* "Come Holy Ghost, Creator, come!" Huss was held in custody outside the door during the mass, that the service might not be profaned by his presence. After the service, he was brought into the council, and placed on an elevated platform, that he might be seen by all. This was his first and last appearance in the public and general sittings of his unjust judges.

The bishop of Lodi then came forward, and delivered a discourse in Latin, on those words of Paul, "That the body of sin may be destroyed." He applied them to the extirpation, first of heresies, then of heretics, and at last to Huss himself, closing with these words: "Sire, may your majesty then destroy, agreeably to my text, all heresies and errors, and especially this heretic, by whose obstinacy and malice so many places have been infected with the pestilence of error. This holy office is reserved for you, most illustrious emperor, and by this glorious action your majesty will acquire lasting renown." During all this time, Huss was on his knees praying to God, with his hands clasped together. The sermon being ended, they once more condemned the propositions of Wickliff, and began to read the accusations against Huss. He endeavoured to reply to the different charges brought against him, but his enemies ordered him to be silent, telling him that he had been heard enough already; and when he attempted to refute some of the grosser calumnies, they commanded the officers to prevent him from speaking. Finding that

they would not suffer him to speak, he again fell on his knees, and lifting up his eyes to heaven, he commended his cause, with a loud voice, to his Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

After the reading of the accusation, the bishop of Concordia advanced to the pulpit, and read aloud the sentence of the council against the person and writings of John Huss, declaring the articles extracted from his works to be heretical and damnable, ordering his books to be publicly burned wherever they might be found, and pronouncing him a heretic, and that as such he ought to be condemned, and degraded from his priestly office. Huss heard the sentence with calmness, and then broke out in the following prayer: "O Lord God, I beseech thee, for thy mercy's sake, to pardon all my enemies; for thou knowest that I have been falsely accused, entangled by false witnesses, overwhelmed with calumnies, and at last unjustly condemned. But do thou forgive them this sin, for thy mercy's sake." The bishop looked at him with anger while he was uttering these words, and treated them as hypocritical expressions.

They proceeded then to the execution of the sentence; and first they degraded him from his office as a priest. For this purpose the archbishop of Milan, and six other bishops, led him to a table on which lay the priestly habits, with which they invested him, as if he were about to perform mass. When the *alba* (the white surplice) was put on him, he said, "My Lord Jesus Christ was also clothed in a white robe by Herod, and sent by him to Pilate." As soon as he was fully clad in the priestly vestments, the bishops once more exhorted him to save his life by

recanting his errors, while yet an opportunity was afforded him ; but Huss, addressing the people from the scaffold, cried out, with great emotion, the tears flowing from his eyes, " These bishops are exhorting me to retract my errors. If the only consequence were the reproach of man, I might easily be persuaded ; but I am now in the presence of my God, and I cannot yield to them without wounding my conscience, and blaspheming my Lord, who is in heaven ; for I have always taught, written, and preached doctrines contrary to those of which they now accuse me. How could I dare to lift my eyes to heaven, if I were to make such a recantation ! How could I ever meet the multitude of persons I have instructed, if I should now impeach those doctrines which I have taught them, and which they have received as eternal truths ! Shall I cause them to stumble by an example so base ? No, I will not do it ; I will not value my body, which must at all events die, more than the everlasting salvation of those whom I have instructed." On this the bishops and all the clergy exclaimed, " Now we see his obstinacy and malice in his heresy ;" and he was ordered immediately to descend from the scaffold.

When he had come down, the bishops commenced the ceremonies of degradation. The archbishop of Milan and the bishop of Besançon approached him, and took the cup from his hands, saying, " Accursed Judas, who hast forsaken the council of peace, and allied thyself with the Jews, behold, we take from thee the cup in which the blood of Christ is offered for the salvation of the world ; thou art no longer worthy of it." Huss replied with a loud voice, " I place all my confidence and hope in God my Saviour.

I know he will never take from me the cup of salvation, but that by his grace I shall drink it to-day in his kingdom." The other bishops then came forward, and taking from him, one after another, some part of the sacerdotal vestments, they each pronounced a different malediction. Huss answered, "Most gladly do I endure all this reproach for the love of the truth, and the name of my Lord Jesus Christ." It only now remained to deprive him of the tonsure, and here a violent dispute arose among the bishops, whether they should use the razor or the scissors for this purpose. After a long debate, they declared for the scissors, and with them they cut off his hair in the form of a cross. They also scraped the nails of his fingers with a knife, to take from him the holy oil, and to erase the pretended characters of the priesthood.

When the ceremony of degradation was finished, the bishops cried out, "The holy council of Constance expels John Huss from the priesthood, and the sacred office with which he was invested, and thus declares that the holy church of God separates herself from this man, and delivers him over to the secular power." Before proceeding further, however, they put on his head a paper mitre, about two feet high, on which were painted three devils, and an inscription in large characters, *Heresiarch*; "Arch-heretic." Huss, on seeing it, comforted himself with these words, "My Lord Jesus bore for me, a poor sinner, a much more painful crown of thorns, and even the ignominious death on the cross. Therefore, for his sake, I shall most cheerfully bear this, which is much easier." Then the bishops cried aloud, "Now we deliver up



your soul to Satan, and to hell." "But I," said Huss, "commit my soul to my gracious Lord Jesus Christ." The bishops then turning to the emperor, said, "The holy council of Constance now delivers up to judgment, and to the secular arm, John Huss, who no longer sustains any office in the church."

As the wicked generally try to execute their scandalous designs by others rather than themselves, his enemies now transmitted the martyr from hand to hand. The emperor, lending himself to this farce, received the criminal in the character of supreme judge, and said to Louis, the elector and count palatine, "Dear uncle and prince, as we bear not the sword in vain, but for the punishment of evil doers, take this John Huss, and deal with him, in our name, as it is proper to do with a heretic." The count palatine then laid aside his robes of state, executed the order, and delivered over Huss to the mayor of the city, with these words, "By order of our most gracious sovereign, the Roman emperor, take this John Huss, and burn him as a heretic." The mayor delivered him over to the executioner and his assistants, and ordered them expressly not to take off any of his garments, his girdle, his purse, his knife, or anything which was upon him, but to burn him with everything that he had about him.

In this manner he was led out to the place of execution, which was a meadow in the midst of the gardens before the city; two of the count palatine's guard took him between them; two of the executioner's servants walked before, and two behind; the whole number that escorted him, besides the princes and the nobles, was reckoned at eight hundred

soldiers. The concourse of people was so great, that they were obliged to shut the gates of the city, and only to let them out by companies, lest the bridge should break down under them.

The behaviour of Huss, on his way to the place of execution, was dignified, and even joyful. As he passed the archbishop's palace, seeing his enemies burning his books in the great square, he smiled at this empty display of malice. He entreated the people who accompanied him, not to believe that he suffered for any heresy, and declared that his enemies had calumniated him through hatred and envy. Proceeding a little further, he cried out, with great earnestness, "O Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, have pity upon me;" and he continued to utter similar petitions till he came to the place of execution. The people who listened to him, said, "We know not what this man has taught and preached before, but we hear nothing from him now but holy discourses and Christian prayers."

When he arrived at the place of execution, he fell on his knees, lifted up his eyes to heaven, and prayed aloud, in language taken from the 31st and 51st Psalms, repeating, with great emphasis, this verse: "Into thine hand I commit my spirit: thou hast redeemed me, O Lord God of truth." While he was at prayer, the paper mitre having fallen from his head, he looked at it smiling; on which some of the guards around him said, "Put it on again; let him be burned with the devils, the masters he has served." Huss began to pray again, "Lord Jesus, I cheerfully suffer this terrible and cruel death, for the sake of thy holy gospel, and the preaching of

thy sacred word: do thou forgive my enemies the crime they are committing." On this the executioners, by order of the count palatine, made him cease, and compelled him to walk three times round the pile. He then requested permission to speak to his jailers; and when they were come, he said, "I thank you most sincerely, my friends, for all the kindness you have shown me, for you have behaved to me more as brethren than as keepers. Know, also, that my trust in my Saviour is unshaken, for whose name I willingly suffer this death, being assured that I shall be with him to-day in paradise."

The executioners then took him, and bound him to a stake with wet ropes. But as his face happened to be turned to the east, an honour of which some thought the heretic was unworthy, they unbound him, and turned his face towards the west. They afterwards fixed round his neck a black rusty chain, on which he said, smiling, "My dear Master and Saviour was bound for my sake with a harder and heavier chain than this. Why should I, a poor sinful creature, be ashamed of thus being bound for his sake?" The executioners then began to put the wood in order. They placed some bundles of light wood under his feet, and heaped straw and large wood around him up to his neck. Before they set fire to the pile, the count palatine, and the marshal of the empire, De Pappenheim, exhorted him to recant his doctrines, in order to save his life. Huss cried aloud from the pile, "I call God to witness that I have never taught the errors which my enemies falsely lay to my charge; I have, in all my discourses, aimed at nothing but to deliver men from the bondage

of sin: therefore I joyfully confirm this day, by my death, the truth which I have taught and preached."

The pile was then lighted, but Huss began to sing and to pray aloud several times, in these words, "O Christ, Son of God, have mercy on me." When he afterwards endeavoured to speak again, the wind drove the flames in his face, and stopped his utterance; still, however, his head and his lips were observed to move, as if in prayer, for a short time, when the Lord ended the sufferings of his faithful servant, and called his soul to his eternal rest. The count palatine being informed that one of the executioner's servants had preserved Huss's cloak and girdle, ordered them to be burned, with everything belonging to him, fearing lest the Bohemians should venerate them as sacred relics. When all were burned, the executioners put the ashes of Huss into a cart, with the earth on which he had been executed, and threw the whole into the Rhine, which flows near, that every possible trace of this holy witness for the truth might be obliterated. But as an elegy, composed at the time, expresses, "His ashes will be scattered over every country: no river, no banks will be able to retain them; and those, whom the enemy thought to silence by death, thus sing and publish, in every place, that gospel, which their persecutors thought to suppress."

In the month of May, in the following year, Jerome, the fellow-labourer of Huss, met the same fate, with a courage and joy that even his enemies were constrained to admire.

The nobility and people of Bohemia, who had boldly declared themselves in favour of Huss, were enraged at the injustice and treachery displayed in

the cruel martyrdom of their teachers, and their hatred of the Romish church was greatly increased. The whole nation complained of the iniquitous proceeding, in a long memorial, signed by upwards of one hundred noblemen, and more than a thousand of the gentry. The attachment of the numerous friends of Huss to his person was so great, that they carried the earth from the place of his execution into Bohemia, and commemorated his sufferings by medals, pictures, and elegies, and by the observance of a service on the anniversary of his death; they paid him, indeed, all the honours of a martyr.

The council, on their side, without paying any attention to these protestations, continued their persecutions. The followers of Huss were excommunicated; their churches were taken from them; they were cast into prison, and money was offered to any person who would deliver them up. Hundreds of them were confined in the deep mines of Kuttenberg. Others were drowned or burned; in short, at this time arose a noble army of martyrs, illustriously distinguishing the era of the history of the church to which they belonged. We shall mention only two instances of the kind. A faithful Hussite pastor, after sustaining much ill-treatment, was placed on the pile, with three peasants and four children. When they were, for the last time, exhorted to abjure their heresies, the pastor replied, "God preserve us from it! We are ready to suffer death; not once only, but, if it were possible, even a hundred times, rather than deny the Divine truth which has been so clearly revealed to us in the gospel." The pile being lighted, the pastor took the children in his

arms, joined with them in a hymn of praise, in the midst of the flames, and so yielded up his spirit.

The other example we shall adduce, will show that the Hussites at this time were not safe even in foreign lands. A rich merchant of Prague, named Kræsa, being discovered, by some conversation at an inn at Breslau, to hold the doctrines of Huss, was thrown into prison. The next day, a student from Prague was arrested for the same cause, and cast into the same dungeon. The student being exceedingly cast down, the merchant endeavoured to comfort him. "My brother," said he, "how highly are we honoured, that we are called to bear a public testimony to our Lord Jesus! The conflict is short, the reward eternal. Let us think on the bitter death of our Saviour, and the sufferings of the numerous martyrs for the truth." The student, however, had not courage to give up his life for the gospel, but Kræsa remained firm, and was burned alive.

It was in cruelties like these, repeated and multiplied with insatiable ferocity, that the terrible and well-known Hussite war originated, which was carried on for thirteen years with unheard-of barbarity, and in which the Hussites displayed heroic courage, and obtained signal victories over the crusaders whom the pope sent against them. As the recital of these events would lead us too far from our original design, we shall not enter into detail on the subject, but only observe, that it is most unjust to impute to the gospel of Christ those excesses which are really to be attributed to the wickedness of men; who, while they profess the name, are entire strangers to the religion of Christ. Were we to admit too, in general,

that the Hussites were wrong in defending themselves against their enemies, or rather their murderers, we must yet contend that, properly speaking, it was not to propagate their religion, or even to defend it against unbelievers they fought, but to protect their persons against assassins.

The Hussites were soon divided into two great parties, named the *Calixtines* and the *Taborites*. The latter took their name from a mountain situated near the town of Aust, which at first served as a place of meeting for their religious assemblies, then for a camp, and at last as their principal fortress, which led them to give it the name of *Tabor*; a term which, in the Bohemian language, signifies "a camp." This party, which was subsequently divided into two very different branches, assumed at first a highly interesting aspect. The Calixtines, a politic and luke-warm body, confined themselves almost entirely to the demand of a participation of the cup in the Lord's supper. The Taborites, on the other hand, insisted with great earnestness on the correction of errors in doctrine, and the abolition of rites which served to foster superstition. They appealed to the Scriptures in everything, rejecting what did not agree with them; they endeavoured to restore the primitive purity and simplicity of the apostolic church; they addressed one another as *brethren* and *sisters*; and they had one common table. Preaching constituted a principal part of their worship. Baptism and the Lord's supper were administered with simplicity, and held to be the only religious ordinances instituted by Christ. Their ministers were not allowed to possess property, but were maintained by the

voluntary contributions of the people. They characterized the monastic orders as an invention of the devil; and rejected, as contrary to the word of God, the doctrines of the sacrifice of the mass, purgatory, auricular confession, the invocation of the saints, the worship of images and relics, and the merit of good works. They insisted on the exercise of a rigorous church discipline, without respect of persons. Two of their most distinguished teachers were Wenceslas Coranda and Nicolas Episcopus.

Such was the original character of the great body of the Taborites. In a short time, however, they ceased to confine their views to the correction of abuses among themselves. From acting on the defensive they proceeded to become the aggressors, and attempted to propagate their sentiments by force. Wenceslas, the king of Bohemia, having died in 1419, and the crown having devolved on the emperor Sigismond, the Bohemians, who had already refused obedience to the pope, were no less unwilling to acknowledge this sovereign, who had shown himself devoted to the papal interests. Upon this, the emperor marched into Bohemia with a numerous army, increased by large bodies of troops collected from the neighbouring states, whom the pope had invited to a crusade against the heretics. The war became furious on both sides. The Taborites demolished the monasteries, stripped the Romish churches of their ornaments, images, and relics, and executed a sanguinary vengeance on the priests and monks. Some fanatical priests also arose among them, who announced the personal coming of Christ to reign with the Taborites over his enemies for a



thousand years; and hence sprung the two opposite classes into which the Taborites were divided, the one consisting of spiritual Christians, and the other being mere reforming zealots, who, having once engaged in war, thought of nothing but maintaining their rights by the sword.

The Calixtines, who were considered for a long time as a third party among the Hussites, steered a middle course between the two extremes we have just mentioned. They were chiefly to be found at Prague; and comprehended in their ranks the highest families in the nation, together with the principal clergy and professors of the university. The timid Rockyzan, whom we shall soon see making a considerable figure among them, was a pretty fair specimen of this party. They reduced their demands to four articles, which did not go to the root of the evil.

1. That the word of God should be preached freely, and without any obstacle, as Christ commanded his apostles.

2. That the Lord's supper should be administered to all believers, in both kinds, according to our Saviour's institution.

3. That the clergy should be divested of their endowments and worldly possessions, and brought back to their primitive simplicity.

4. That strict discipline should be enforced, and every kind of vice severely punished, both among the clergy and the laity.

John Rockyzan, just mentioned, stood high among the Calixtines of this period. He was a preacher at the cathedral at Prague, and was held in such high

estimation for his extraordinary talents and eloquence, that, in 1427, the general superintendence of the churches was intrusted to him; and he even aspired to the archbishopric of Prague, which was then vacant. When the pope, in 1432, assembled another general council at Basil, and invited the Bohemians to repair to it, in order to settle their differences with the court of Rome in an amicable manner, Rockyzan was one of the deputies sent by the Calixtines, and Nicolas Episcopus on the part of the Taborites.

At this council, after many debates and negotiations, the following articles were at length agreed upon, in 1433, which were called the Compact.

1. The word of God is to be freely preached, but not without the sanction of the spiritual authorities, and of the pope himself, as a final appeal.

2. The property of the church must be left to the management of the clergy, according to the precepts of the holy fathers. Whoever seizes upon it, commits sacrilege.

3. Although the administration of the communion to the people in one kind, has been established by the church for wise reasons, yet the council, in the plenitude of its power, grants to the Bohemians the use of the cup; but on the express condition, that no one shall be prevented from receiving the communion in the ordinary way; and that the people shall be distinctly taught, that Christ exists entire in each of the elements.

The Taborites protested against this delusive agreement with the Romish church; and their opposition occasioned a new civil war, in which the Calixtines themselves took part against them; the result was

the entire defeat of the Taborites. It was not long, however, before the Calixtines perceived that Rome had only trifled with them. When Rockyzan was chosen archbishop of Prague by the states of the empire, the pope refused to confirm the election. Rockyzan, who was convinced in his conscience of the truth of the evangelical doctrines of Huss, was, by this circumstance, still more irritated against the papal authority; and in this state of mind he was led to attempt a scheme which appeared likely to prove fatal to the Romish authority in the kingdom; he endeavoured to bring about a union between the Bohemian and Greek churches. In the year 1450, he prevailed on the states of Bohemia to send deputies to Constantinople on the subject, but three years afterwards that city was taken by the Turks, and the project of course failed.

In these times of trouble, the Taborites, reduced by their sufferings to the remnant of real Christians among them, endeavoured quietly to effect a true reformation of the church. Among those who particularly distinguished themselves was Gregory of Razerherz, a man full of humility, who belonged to a monastery, but was fully persuaded of the emptiness of all outward services. As he saw that the Roman Catholics, notwithstanding all the noise they made about good works, were living in sin, and that the Calixtines were fallen almost as low, he was led to reflect more seriously on what he had read in the writings of Huss, and in the Holy Scriptures, and he came to the conclusion, that the church required to be brought into a very different state. Many others united with him in the same senti-

ments, but because of the vigilant oppression of their enemies, they held their meetings in secret, in different parts of the country, in which they deliberated on the means of bringing about those changes which were so desirable.

Rockyzan himself, although an undecided and ambitious man, preached several powerful sermons about this period, openly declaring that the church of Rome was the western Babylon; that the pope was the enemy, who was sowing the tares of his traditions among the good seed of the gospel; that the mass of the people were Christians merely in name, etc. "We," added he, "who are called *Utraquists*" (that is, the Calixtines), "have not yet dived to the bottom of things; we are stopping at the surface, and satisfy ourselves with pointing out the bad fruits, without laying the axe to the root; but after us shall arise a people, who will go through the work, and accomplish a reformation pleasing to God, and profitable to man."

The desires of the brethren, (for so we shall henceforth call the Christians, who shortly after associated together under that name,) for the deliverance of the church were much more ardent, and they resolved not to confine themselves to mere wishes, but to set their hands to the work. For this purpose they applied to Rockyzan himself, who received them with kindness, and introduced them to other enlightened Christians. But they wished to proceed to action. "It is not enough," said they, "to feel our bonds, we must break them." They earnestly conjured Rockyzan to renounce whatever he saw to be contrary to the faith; they assured him, that if he would do so,

they would unite with him at all hazards, reminding him, that it was much more glorious to suffer with the people of God, poor and despised as they were, than to share in the prosperity of the wicked. They represented to him, that the complete reformation of the church was far from consisting only in the restoration of the cup, and that he ought to be faithful to his conscience, and to separate entirely from that power, which he had himself declared to be the antichrist.

Rockyzan gave only evasive answers to these powerful appeals, for he loved the praise of men rather than the honour that cometh from God; and he was not willing to renounce the prospect of a bishopric, and the reputation he enjoyed throughout Bohemia. He set before them the formidable difficulties of the undertaking, stating, that by entering into a close alliance with them he should expose himself to unnecessary dangers; but that, if they had sufficient courage to act alone, he would not disapprove their conduct. His conscience, however, constrained him to use his influence on their behalf with George Podiebrad, then regent, and afterwards king of Bohemia, who was himself a Calixtine, and attached to the brethren.

At Rockyzan's request, Podiebrad assigned them for an asylum, a district in the country of Litiz, on the borders of Silesia and Moravia, where he allowed them to form a settlement in which they might enjoy perfect liberty of conscience, and a free exercise of their religious principles. To this spot, a considerable number of nobles, citizens, and clergy removed from Prague, and other parts, who united together, with

the resolution to brave all dangers in the preservation of their religious liberty, and at the same time to suffer all things, rather than take up arms against their enemies, as the Taborites had done. These Christians not only adhered steadfastly to the doctrine of John Huss, but they were enabled, by the assistance of the Spirit of God, to make further progress in the course on which he had entered.

To conduct Divine service they were supplied with some preachers from among the Calixtines, who had renounced the superstitions of their former colleagues, particularly Michael Bradasius, the pastor of Zamberg, who, in conjunction with several priests of the same sentiments, abolished many ceremonies, and admitted none to the Lord's supper but those who evidenced the reality of their faith by a Christian life and conversation. This strictness of discipline, however, had the effect of irritating those who were not willing to submit to it, and of increasing the number and hatred of their enemies. The faithful clergymen were accused of innovation, and degraded.

The brethren at Litiz were as yet far from being independent in their church government; they still received their preachers from the Calixtines, who sent them some of such a description, that great discontent was excited; many persons who cherished evangelical sentiments left the churches, and lived in the neglect of the public ordinances of religion. The brethren upon this applied again to the Calixtines, who, however, were far from unanimous in the counsels they were prepared to offer them. Rockyzan decidedly opposed their measures, as gradually tending to a complete rupture with the established church;

but his colleague, Martin Lupacius, though he had gone over from the Taborites to the Calixtines, still retained an attachment to his former friends, and advised them to persevere with courage, adding, that since they met with so many difficulties, they ought to cease from seeking assistance from others, and to consult on the means of forming among themselves an independent religious constitution, the government of which they should confide to suitable men selected from their own body. He advised them to take for their model the doctrine and discipline of the primitive church; and though, by that step, they would draw down upon themselves the hatred of the Romish party, and of those who were halting between two opinions, yet they would do the will of God, and deliver their own souls. He reminded them of the violent struggles which the friends of the truth had been forced to maintain in former years, at the same time observing, that the church was not to be defended by bloodshed and murder. He particularly charged them to establish strict order and discipline among themselves, and again urged upon them the necessity of providing ministers from their own body, for whom they might afterwards procure regular ordination. Several other Calixtine ministers gave them the same advice.

The brethren felt the importance of this advice, and were led to submit the matter wholly to Him, who has promised that wherever two or three agree together upon earth to ask anything in his name, he will give it to them. They therefore met together for prayer to God to be directed whether it was his will that they should withdraw from that church,

which had now become a spiritual Sodom and Babylon, and to form a church among themselves more consistent with his word. They received what they believed to be an intimation of the Divine will in answer to their prayers, and immediately commenced the work; this took place in 1457. They then assumed the name of United Brethren, and chose from their own number three provisional elders, of whom Gregory, before mentioned, the nephew and colleague of Rockyzan, was one, a man eminent for his piety, wisdom, and experience in divine things.



## CHAPTER III.

FROM THE ORIGIN OF THE UNITED BRETHREN,  
TO THE REFORMATION, 1457—1517.

THREE years had scarcely elapsed since the formation of the brethren's church, when they were called to show by their conduct the spirit by which they were animated. Many believers had joined them from all parts of the empire, and throughout Bohemia and Moravia societies of a similar nature began to be formed; in consequence of which the Calixtines and the Romish priests denounced them, not only as heretics, but as seditious men, who were aiming to overturn the government of the country, and to obtain secular power. They were summoned before the consistory of Prague; and Rockyzan, who until this time had secretly assisted them, fearful of losing either his office or his reputation, accused them of rashly separating from the church, and openly declared himself their enemy. He even went so far as to urge the king to extinguish this spark by a vigorous blow, before it should burst into a flame. George Podiebrad, the king, though not personally unfriendly to the brethren, could not venture to protect them against such a combination of enemies, and having at his accession, in 1458, taken an oath to extirpate heretics, he wished to do something towards fulfilling his engagement, and therefore consented to persecute them, to screen the Calixtines, who had

assisted him in ascending the throne. Thus the first persecution commenced. The brethren in Moravia, who first felt its effects, fled into Bohemia, but here they only encountered fresh troubles. They were declared to have forfeited their civil rights, their property was confiscated, and they were driven, in the depth of winter, from all the towns and villages. The sick were left to perish in the fields, where many actually died of cold and hunger; others were cast into prison, to force them by hunger, thirst, and torture to confess that they entertained revolutionary designs, and to discover their pretended accomplices; and when nothing could be extorted from them, they were treated with still more horrible cruelty. Many had their hands and feet cut off; others were dragged along the ground, quartered, or burned alive; others died in prison; and when at last it was found that nothing could be elicited by these atrocities, such as survived were sent home in a state that excited the utmost horror.

During these persecutions, the elders faithfully discharged their duty, and incessantly visited the brethren, even at the hazard of their own lives, to confirm them in the faith, and exhort them to patience. Among others, Gregory, Rockyzan's nephew, already mentioned, went to Prague, in 1461, to fulfil the perilous duties of his ministry. Just as he had assembled the brethren in a private house, to partake of the Lord's supper, one of the magistrates, who was in secret friendly to them, sent to advise them to retire. Gregory, who thought that Christians ought not unnecessarily to expose themselves, was of opinion, that they ought to

separate immediately, without attending to the ordinance; others judged it not right to depart from their usual custom on this account; some young students especially boasted that they did not care for tortures and burnings. The assembly was consequently surprised, and the officer, in opening the door, addressed to the brethren these words, very remarkable as coming from his mouth; "It is written, that all who will live godly shall suffer persecution; follow me to prison." An order had been recently issued by the king, directing that they should be forced by torture to confess their seditious designs; and almost all those, who had before boasted of their courage, denied the faith through fear: Gregory, on the contrary, who is called by the historian the patriarch of the brethren, remained firm. On being put to the torture he fell into a swoon, and, as he afterwards related, saw the three men, who six years afterwards were chosen by lot as the first bishops of the brethren, guarding a tree loaded with fruit, on which were a number of birds singing in the most melodious strains. Every one thought him dead; and his uncle Rockyzan, on hearing of it, ran to him, crying out, "Oh, my poor Gregory; would to God that I was where you are now!" Gregory however recovered, and was released at Rockyzan's request. He lived after this till the year 1474, and continued faithfully to watch over the church under his care.

The words uttered by Rockyzan, during Gregory's swoon, led the brethren to form some hopes respecting him; they therefore applied to him again, entreating him, as the first ecclesiastic in the king-

dom, to whom the states had committed the spiritual care of the Bohemians, to attempt a reformation of the established church; or, if that were not possible, at least to undertake the direction of their affairs, so as to prevent a total rupture. As, however, he persisted in his refusal, they broke with him entirely, and in their last letter thus addressed him: "Thou art of the world, and wilt perish with the world." From that time the separation was final, and Rockyzan was so much irritated, that several years afterwards he urged the king and the consistory to issue fresh orders for persecuting them, and remained their bitterest enemy till the time of his death in 1471.

In the meanwhile, observing that bloody persecutions only served to multiply the number of these brethren, the bishop of Breslau altered his mode of proceeding, and by degrees became satisfied with searching for them, and driving them from their homes. Upon this they took refuge in the mountains and forests, where they concealed themselves as well as they could; but, finding at length that there was no present hope of a reformation in the church, they resolved to take the necessary measures for the maintenance of the doctrine of salvation, and holy discipline among themselves. They had already, as we have seen, made choice of some faithful men, whom they had appointed elders of their churches, and to whom they had promised obedience. These elders had, among other powers, the right of assembling around them, whenever they judged it needful, the most eminent of the brethren dispersed throughout Bohemia and Moravia, and the meetings or

synods thus formed were held in the most retired parts of the mountains. From these meetings they sent directions to the brethren respecting their conduct, both towards each other, and towards the magistrates and people in general.

One of their chief cares at this time was, how the ministerial office might be supplied after the decease of the regular ministers, ordained by the Calixtines, in case no more of that communion should join them. After mature reflection, they resolved to follow the advice which Lupacius, and other Calixtine priests, had previously given them, to choose pastors from among themselves. For this purpose the brethren assembled in synod, at the village of Lotha, near Richenau, in the year 1467; about seventy persons (priests, gentlemen, scholars, citizens, and farmers) being present.

The meeting was preceded by a fast, and opened with prayer and reading the Scriptures. They then proceeded to choose twenty men from among the brethren present: from them they selected nine of unblemished character, and held in general repute for wisdom and experience in divine things. To the other eleven was intrusted the further management of the business. They then prayed fervently for the nine they had chosen, entreating that God would signify his will, whether they should be appointed preachers of his word; and the brethren resolved, after the example of the apostles in the nomination of Matthias, to abide by the decision of the lot. They went even farther, submitting to the same decision not only their choice of the nine, but the question whether they should appoint one, two,

three, or even make no appointment at all. For this purpose they prepared twelve papers, nine of which were blank, and three inscribed with the word *est* (appointed), and placed them in an urn, so that the whole nine they had chosen might possibly have been rejected. After that, Gregory, who had been one of the provisional elders up to that time, prayed and exhorted the brethren to place entire confidence in the decision of their heavenly Father. Nine of the lots were then drawn successively from the urn, and presented to the eleven brethren to examine, when it was found that three of the brethren, Matthias Kunewald, a young man twenty-five years of age, Thomas Prycloucius, and Elias Krenovius were appointed. These men were received by the assembly with great joy and thanksgiving, as from the hand of God, and all the brethren promised them obedience, by giving them the right hand of fellowship.

These three brethren being thus appointed elders, or pastors, it remained that they should be ordained; and in order to obviate as far as possible the objections and calumnies of their adversaries, and by all possible means to render their church proceedings valid in the eye of the law, they resolved to seek episcopal ordination. It was in vain to expect such ordination from the Romish or Calixtine bishops: the brethren, therefore, resolved to make application to the Vaudois, who dwelt at that time in considerable numbers in Austria, and who traced the succession of their bishops from the days of the apostles. With this view they deputed three of their ordained ministers, one of whom was Michael Bradasius, to

Stephen, bishop of the Vaudois, who expressed great joy on learning their errand, and with great solemnity consecrated these three men bishops of the brethren's church. Ten co-bishops, or co-elders, were associated with them, to assist in the direction of the church.

These negotiations between the brethren and the Vaudois established a new bond of union between the two churches, and made them desirous of forming one communion. The doctrine and Christian conduct of the latter had gained the esteem of the brethren, who indeed had never found fault with them for anything but their want of sufficient boldness in confessing the truth, and for their submitting, in order to escape persecution, to some practices which they could not in their consciences approve. The brethren, in a friendly manner, represented these things to them, and made some other observations, which the Vaudois received with great humility, expressing, at the same time, the desire they felt of attaining to the distinguished zeal of their ancestors: a rare example of Christian virtue in a church which had declined from its first warmth of affection. Measures were accordingly taken to bring about the desired union, when the design was divulged by some evil-minded persons among the Vaudois, who disliked this alliance, fearing to be involved in the persecutions of the brethren. The consequence of this treacherous conduct was a dreadful persecution against all the Vaudois who were found in Austria. Stephen, their last bishop, was burned, with several others, and the rest entirely scattered. Many of them, as their ancestors had done in the twelfth century, betook themselves to Bohemia and Moravia, where they

united with the churches of the brethren, which were thus considerably increased. The union thus formed, together with the circumstance of the brethren's receiving ordination from the Vaudois, occasioned their being called the *Brethren of Bohemia*, although they have always been careful to disown the name, for several reasons, which they allege in the history of their persecutions.

If we stop here for a moment, to take a general view of the preceding history of these two Christian societies, we shall find them presenting a very interesting spectacle during the dark ages which had elapsed, and that they may justly be regarded as the *witnesses* of those times. Both form one family and unbroken succession of martyrs, and each can reckon up multitudes who have sealed their testimony to the truth of the gospel, by the most cruel sufferings and the most ignominious death. What the Saviour foretold of his disciples, that they should be hated, ill-treated, tormented, and put to death for his name's sake, has been fully verified in them. These two faithful churches have been, to a high degree, honoured with the reproach of Christ; but the hand of their Almighty Lord has preserved their existence in the midst of the greatest dangers, even to this day.

Scarcely was it known, that the brethren had formed among themselves an independent ecclesiastical body, when in the year following (1468), and again at the instigation of Rockyzan, the king, George Podiebrad, published, in the assembly of the states held at Prague, a new edict against them, calling upon all classes of persons in the country,



the clergy, nobility, citizens, and peasantry, to make every possible search in their respective districts after the Picards (as they then called them, confounding them with the Vaudois), and to seize and proceed against them in such a way as should seem best, to stop the progress of schism. In a short time all the prisons of Bohemia, especially those of Prague, were filled with the persecuted, many of whom died of hunger, and others endured the most inhuman treatment. Among others, Michael, the first bishop of the brethren, languished in confinement till the death of the king. Others were obliged again to take refuge in the depths of the forests, and to hide themselves in caves, where they lived as the saints of old, "of whom the world was not worthy." Fearing lest the smoke should betray their retreat in the daytime, they kindled their fires only at night, and around these fires they read the Bible, and prayed. If they were obliged to go out in the snow in search of food, they walked one after another in such a manner, that the one who walked behind trod in the steps of him who had gone before, and the last dragged a piece of brushwood after him, in order to efface the footmarks, or to make them appear like those of some poor man, who had been picking up wood in the forest. It was on account of this dwelling in caverns, that their enemies gave them in derision the name of *Caverners* (*Jamnici*). Thus they lived, notwithstanding all the apologies they could present to the king, the consistories, or the states, until 1471, when it pleased God to put an end to the persecution by the death both of the king and Rockyzan.

Under the next sovereign, Ladislas, the brethren

enjoyed rest and peace for a considerable time. Their enemies, it is true, renewed their efforts to induce the king to persecute them, and had prevailed so far as to obtain a new edict against them; but the brethren presented so powerful a refutation of the calumnies urged against them, that for once they were treated with respect. Not succeeding in this, their adversaries (in 1476) tried a new plot, in order to excite the people against them, and thus to force the king to persecute them. With this view they suborned a worthless fellow, who gave out that he had been an elder among the Picards, but that his conscience had forced him to leave them, and return to the bosom of the true church; adding, that he would now, to prove the sincerity of his repentance, disclose the secret iniquity of those abominable people. He declared, that the most horrible blasphemies were uttered in their private meetings; that they abused the Lord's supper and baptism, and committed all sorts of wickedness; that they practised witchcraft; and that they had murdered many persons for the purpose of robbing them, and by this means had amassed immense riches.

As at this time such reports could not be published by means of the press, they paraded this man through all parts of the country, and exhibited him in the churches, under colour of penance. With a great affectation of sanctity, he related the horrors of the sect, and recommended himself to the intercession of all pious Christians, exhorting them to avoid all intercourse with the Picards. Wherever he could not go in person, they sent copies of his confession, signed by a number of witnesses, accompanied with

earnest cautions from the most eminent of the clergy, which were read publicly from the pulpits. This fraud produced very injurious effects for a time: no apology, on the part of the brethren, was of any avail; and they were living in daily expectation of a most furious attack of the people, when suddenly this man, weary of being dragged from place to place in such an employment, confessed that he had suffered himself to be bribed to calumniate the Picards, and that he knew nothing at all about them. At the same time, several judicious persons, wishing to ascertain the truth, had come unobserved to the meetings of the brethren, and discovering the falsehood of what had been reported of them, had even joined their communion; so that here again the wicked were snared in their own net.

Their enemies, finding that by this base fraud they had done the brethren good, rather than harm, endeavoured to lay a new trap, more concealed than the former. Accordingly, two years after, they invited them, under the pretext of bringing about a reconciliation, to a public discussion in the college at Prague; this, however, never took place.

In the midst of these incessant persecutions, the brethren were induced, by the circumstances in which they were placed, to take a very interesting step. Feeling themselves isolated, like the ark in the deluge, they determined to try if they could discover in any part of the world other Christians, who had escaped the general shipwreck; or, like mariners cast on a desert island, they wished to explore the solitudes that surrounded them, in the hope that they might possibly hear some voice that

would answer to their own, and find in some part of Christendom other faithful disciples of Jesus, with whom they could unite. Another motive, also, which probably might have influenced them, was a sense of the continual persecutions to which they were exposed, and the desire of escaping from them, by emigration, if these scenes were renewed.

By means of their connexions with the nobility of the country, among whom they had numerous friends, they procured letters of recommendation from the king, and in 1474 they sent out four deputies, in four different directions. The co-bishop Luke directed his course to Greece; Kokonez, to Moscow, Scythia, and other Slavonian countries; Kabanitz, to Palestine and Egypt; and Marchicus, to Constantinople and Thrace. They returned, after several years, with the mournful intelligence, that they had indeed found everywhere nominal Christians, but in a state of such dreadful degeneracy, that it seemed as if they had abandoned themselves to every species of vice. We shall have occasion to see presently, that, some years after this, the brethren made a fresh attempt of the kind, and apparently with no greater success; although some of the leaders in the reformation had then begun to stand forward for the truth.

Their persecutors, however, did not let them rest. After the death of Podiebrad, they applied to Matthias, king of Hungary, who had lately conquered, in addition to Bohemia, the whole of Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia, which comprehend in their extent a considerable number of the brethren's churches, and they obtained their object, in 1481, so far as to procure the banishment from those

countries of all the brethren who were found there. Many of them fled, by way of Hungary and Transylvania, into Moldavia; where they were joined, two years after, by one of the three elders who had been chosen at the synod of Lotha. The hospodar of this province received them very kindly; but the persecution having ceased in Moravia, and the rude and superstitious manners of the inhabitants of Moldavia not being very pleasing to them, they returned, at the end of ten years, into their own country.

Another company, of whom history has preserved hardly any account, appear to have emigrated, or to have been carried off by the Tartars, as far as the Caspian Sea, into the country about Caucasus, where they were known by the name of *Tscheskes* (a name given to the Bohemians in their language), and, in 1709, they had three large settlements in those parts.

A war, which broke out in Moravia about this time, put a stop for a while to the persecutions of the brethren. "The poor miserable brethren," says Regenvolscius, "are now left to themselves." The brethren availed themselves of the intervals of peace, which they enjoyed at this period, to undertake a translation of the Bible into the Bohemian language, which they got printed at Venice; being the first people in Europe who printed a Bible in the language of their own country. This edition of the Scriptures met with so rapid a sale, that it was twice reprinted at Nuremberg; and, in order to act more independently, the brethren established three printing offices in Bohemia and in Moravia, which at first were wholly employed in printing Bohemian Bibles. This

translation remained in use among them for a century, and at length became the basis of a new version, revised after the originals.

The short peace which the brethren enjoyed was soon, however, disturbed by fresh troubles, arising from one of those differences of opinion on minor points, which have in every age been found to exist among true Christians. Some of them, from whom in later times the anabaptists of Moravia and Hungary descended, declared that a Christian could not with a good conscience hold civil office or bear arms; and as in the warmth of dispute they asserted, erroneously no doubt, that the other brethren would not consider it sinful to defend themselves by arms, their enemies took advantage of this unjust accusation, to persuade the king, during the diet held in 1503, that the brethren were a dangerous people, who wished to renew the disturbances of the ancient Taborites, and that he ought to extirpate them. Several of the states of the kingdom protested against these insinuations, asserted the innocence of the brethren, and opposed the cruel measures which were projected against them. But no sooner had their principal protectors left the assembly, than their enemies prevailed upon the king to sign the decree for their persecution. The brethren, however, having presented a humble and energetic memorial, he again changed his mind, and wished to bring about an union between them and the Calixtines. With this view he ordered, in the year 1503, that the brethren should send some of their chief ministers to Prague, to hold a conference with the professors and with the Calixtine consistory. Though fears

were entertained that some plot was in agitation, the brethren thought it their duty both to obey the king's command, and likewise publicly to defend their just cause. Several ministers and elders, possessed of good talents, and a firm resolution even to suffer martyrdom for Christ's sake, were found willing to undertake the commission, and having been commended to the prayers of all the congregations, set out for Prague. It appears from a truly apostolic letter, written by baron von Postupitz to one of these deputies, that they were not unacquainted with the dangers they might have to meet. He writes, "It is indeed implanted in our very nature to love life; but you, dear brother, have been enlightened by God to know that your life is hid with Christ in God; and if you would attain to that life you must die with Christ. You know in whom you have believed, and that he is able to keep that which you have committed unto him until that day. Be strong, therefore, in the Lord, and in the power of his might, that you may fight the good fight, and receive the crown of life. What the nature of this fight is, I need not tell you; but yet it may be profitable to remind you of what you know already: therefore, my brother, stand fast in the Lord. We have, indeed, as far as human means will reach, taken such steps as prudence dictates, to secure your safety, and we shall not fail to do everything we can for you in future. But in case the fury of the enemy should prevail, and it should please God to glorify the name of his Son by your death, prepare yourself to meet it, and say, 'The Lord has given us this mortal life; the Lord take it again as it seemeth good unto him.'

Farewell, dear brother! Written on the day of St. Stephen, the first martyr, Dec. 26, 1503."

Again, however, the Lord interposed to save the brethren from their dangers. On the very day in which the conference was to have opened, the rector of the university of Prague, who was their most bitter enemy, died; and as none of the rest dared to meet them in a public discussion, afraid of being confounded before the citizens, who were assembling in great multitudes, they put off the conference from day to day, under different pretexts, and at last gave it up altogether.

The protection of God over the brethren was indeed seen, at this time, in a more remarkable manner than at any former period of their history. At the diet, in 1508, their enemies made an attempt to force the king to make this same edict, which Providence had just brought to nought, a law of the empire; several of the members, however, opposed it, and it was not passed. At length, in the following diet, in 1510, they so far prevailed, by means of intrigue, as to get the decree registered. Among those who were active on this occasion, the imperial chancellor, Kollowrath, was the most conspicuous; but the awful death of this man, and several other enemies of the gospel, again brought deliverance to the brethren. This bitter adversary of the work of God, on his return home, stopped at the house of baron de Koldiz, where he related one day at table, with great joy, what he said had been *unanimously* resolved upon at the diet against the brethren. The baron, turning round to his servant, who was a member of the brethren's church, said, "Well, Simon,



what do you say to this?" The servant modestly replied, "Not *all* have agreed, my lord." Upon which the chancellor, in great wrath, demanded of him to name, if he could, the traitors who dared to oppose the united states of the empire. Simon, lifting up his hand, boldly said, "There is One dwelling above, and if He has not agreed to your counsel, it will come to nought." Upon this the chancellor, still more enraged, with a dreadful oath, striking his fist on the table, exclaimed, "You villain, you shall see it with your own eyes, or may I never reach my home in safety." On his way home he was seized with an inflammation in his legs, which carried him off in a few days. His colleague in persecution, Bosek, the archbishop of Hungary, likewise received a fatal injury in alighting from his carriage, and died very soon after.

The sudden death of these powerful enemies of the gospel alarmed many; and it even became a proverb among the people, that "if any man was weary of life, he had only to persecute the brethren." In consequence of this, the persecution, though sanctioned by an imperial edict, was not general. In some places the churches were only obliged to conceal their teachers; and in others a few faithful confessors of the truth suffered martyrdom. A nobleman in his own town, Bor, condemned six brethren from the town of Aujest to the flames. They went cheerfully to the place of execution, and declared, that they died in the faith of Jesus Christ, the only propitiation for the sins of the world, and the only hope of true believers. The judge, wishing to show mercy to one of them called Nicholas, offered

him a whole year to consider of his recantation. Nicholas, after a short pause, replied, that "as after a year's respite he could as little think of denying the true faith as now, he would rather choose to die with his beloved brethren, than a year hence by himself;" and thus joyfully accompanied them to the stake.

If we take a general view of the church of the United Brethren, during these periods of alternate persecution and repose, we shall find, that by their means the doctrine of salvation made evident progress, and that notwithstanding all the martyrdoms and exiles which many of them endured, and the desertion of some weak souls through fear of suffering, their churches continually multiplied, so that at the beginning of the sixteenth century (before Luther or Calvin came forth into public notice), they reckoned in Bohemia and Moravia as many as two hundred societies of the brethren, fully and regularly constituted as Protestant churches. At the same time, also, a great number of the Calixtines, literary men, priests, counts, barons, and gentlemen, joined them; and as the other Calixtines occupied all the churches, and drove away the brethren, these new converts built places of worship for them in their towns and villages.

We must here recollect, that the Calixtines were as bitter against the brethren as the Roman Catholic party, or even more so; for it often happens, that a cowardly temporizer is more cruel than a declared enemy; and a weak mind, when it would pretend to strength, shows itself more depraved than any other. To preserve their trifling privilege of receiving the

cup in the communion, they sacrificed everything else. After the death of Rockyzan, who seemed to have imprinted his character on all the party, they almost always had their priests consecrated in Italy, although they could not do it without dissembling their principles in a disgraceful manner, pretending to be Romish priests, and even giving up the treaty, called *Compactata*, formerly concluded with the court of Rome. It is true, that two Italian bishops, who had retired into Bohemia, for some time ordained their priests; and that, after their death, some of the Calixtines, who could not submit to such gross dissimulation, went as far as Armenia, to receive orders from the Greek church; but, in general, they gradually crouched under the yoke of Rome, until, at the time when the Protestants were driven out of Bohemia, they became entirely mixed with the Romish party, and returned completely like "the dog to his vomit."

We can easily conceive the reasons of their hatred to the brethren. The latter had separated from them, and by the purity of their doctrine and worship, as well as by the holiness of their lives, were a constant witness against them. Thus the distance between the two parties continually increased, and the brethren stood alone, as the defenders of the truth in Bohemia and Moravia. Nevertheless, at this period, many of the brethren expressed a wish that another attempt should be made with the Calixtines, who still numbered in their ranks many real Christians; and, with a view either to refute the imputation of bigotry cast upon them, or to put an end to the persecutions they endured, they were of opinion that they ought

to yield to the repeated demands of the king, and unite with the Calixtines. They alleged that there were still to be found among them a number of faithful teachers, whose doctrine and life were equally pure, and who were friendly to the brethren. They hoped by this union to obtain a more free access to these persons, and to be the means of leading forward in the knowledge of the gospel a great number of sincere believers who only wanted better instruction. But the elder and more experienced leaders of the brethren, who recollected how the Calixtines had persecuted them on account of the truth, feared that a union of this kind would render their own people lukewarm, lead to neglect of discipline, and thus bring ruin upon their churches. They resolved, however, to make this important question the subject of deliberation at a synod to be held in 1486, some of the resolutions of which show the love of peace that prevailed among the brethren, and, at the same time, their aversion to those unions, or religious mixtures, which are produced only by an indifference to the truth.

In conclusion, they stated, "That no society, how numerous soever it may be, can be called the catholic church, that is, the universal church, comprehending all believers, in such a sense that out of its pale God should have none of his elect. But, on the contrary, wherever the holy catholic faith, agreeable to the truth of God, is found in any part of Christendom, there is a part of the holy catholic church, out of which there is no hope of salvation."

Acting upon these principles, the brethren resolved, at the same synod, to send a second time some of

their body into different countries, to make inquiries after a people like themselves, having some presentiment that such were to be found. They deputed two brethren to make a last effort of this kind, both at Rome and in other parts of Italy, and in France, and especially to search for the remnant of the Vaudois, who were still concealed in different countries, and bring back exact information about them. These deputies however, like the former messengers, found only a few oppressed Vaudois, and some scattered believers, who sighed in secret for the reformation of the church, and they even witnessed with their own eyes the burning of several worthy individuals for the gospel's sake.

The brethren were then convinced that they could do nothing, but cry to God to have mercy upon the church in its fallen and degenerate state, and wait with patience till it should please him to deliver his people. In a synod, held in 1489, they came to this remarkable resolution—"That if God should raise up faithful teachers and reformers in any country, they would make common cause with them." This indeed was hoping against hope; for although Luther and other reformers, who were destined to appear a few years after, were born at that time, yet no one as yet even thought of a reformation, nor did there appear any reasonable ground for such a hope. The great Head of the church was, however, silently preparing his work; and in the midst of the complaints and fears, and perhaps even unbelieving murmurs, which arose in the hearts of some of his own people, their deliverance was approaching.

The first dawning of the reformation was indeed

appearing, although it was impossible to foresee the result. About this time Erasmus arose, and made some attempts to improve the sciences and theology of the schools. The brethren, who were doubtless on many occasions too anxious for the approbation of men, or rather in this case not knowing what to do, hastened, in 1511, to send to this learned but time-serving man, by the hands of two of their number, the apology which they had presented to king Ladislas in 1508. They begged him to examine it, and point out their errors, if he should discover any; but if, on the other hand, he perceived nothing erroneous, to give his testimony to the purity of their doctrine and the uprightness of their conduct, that it might serve for a defence against the false charges to which they were exposed. Erasmus, however, had not courage and faithfulness enough to risk his worldly honour and reputation, for the sake of the despised brethren. He replied, that he had discovered no error in their apology, but he did not think it expedient for him to give them his testimony, nor did they need it; and he advised them to continue, as they had hitherto done, to live according to the constitution of their church, but without making any stir.

Notwithstanding this refusal, and the advice he gave them to hide their light under a bushel, Erasmus, upon more than one occasion afterwards, when he could do it without any risk to himself, gave a high testimony to their sentiments and conduct. We may mention, among other things, what he says of them in his preface to the New Testament, and his answer to Schlecta, who had

spread various calumnies about them. The following passage particularly deserves attention.

“If the brethren elect pastors from among themselves, it is nothing more than what the primitive Christians did: if they make choice of unlettered and uneducated men, they may well be excused; since the want of learning is sufficiently compensated by the holiness of their lives: if they call one another, *brother* and *sister*, I see no harm in it; would to God that this appellation, dictated by brotherly love, existed universally among Christians: if they place less confidence in their preachers than in the Holy Scriptures, that is, if they put more confidence in God than in man, they are right. As to holy days, I find their sentiments little different from those which prevailed in the times of St. Jerome; but festivals have now increased to an enormous number,” etc.

Such was the testimony of Erasmus respecting them; but now the veil was removing, and the brethren were about to see themselves surrounded by a cloud of witnesses to the truth.

## CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE REFORMATION, TO THE PERIOD OF THE BRETHREN'S  
DISPERSION THROUGH PRUSSIA AND POLAND, 1517—1570.

A CENTURY had elapsed since the martyrdom of John Huss, and his last remarkable words to his judges and tormentors were still remembered. "A hundred years hence," said he, "and you shall answer for this before God and me." The moment had now arrived; all Christendom was impatiently demanding a general reform of doctrine and manners in the church. That heroic servant of God, Martin Luther, was raised up, and in 1517 began, after the example of Huss, publicly to preach against the errors of the Romish church, and the scandalous sale of indulgences. When we consider the isolated state of the brethren in the midst of Christendom, and recollect the disappointment which had attended the two deputations they had sent, to inquire after any who might be of the same mind with themselves, we may form some idea of the joy they would feel at the first report of this great reformation. As soon as they heard of Luther's bold testimony to the truth, and the blessing that was attending his labours, they sent, in the year 1522, two brethren, to assure him of the deep and friendly interest they took in his work, and their fervent prayers for his success, giving him, at the same time, an account of their doctrine and constitution. Luther received



them in the kindest manner, and afterwards, in his letters, declared, that although he had formerly entertained strong prejudices against the brethren, he had been much strengthened and animated by their conversation. In the year following, the brethren wrote to him, urging the necessity of combining Christian order and discipline with that soundness of doctrine he had introduced; to which, among other things, he thus replied: "We have not yet arrived at that state, in which we are able to establish amongst us those regulations for the instruction of youth, and the maintenance of holy conduct, which, we are informed, exist among you; with us, things are in an immature state, and proceed slowly; but pray for us." The brethren judged from this, that Luther and his assistants were earnestly intent upon this great work; and, in 1524, inquired again by letter, how far he had advanced in the introduction of Christian discipline into the church. When they found that, as yet, no steps had been taken, they observed to him that this neglect operated against the brethren's church; for many of their own congregation, who were not yet sufficiently grounded in the faith, were preparing to quit their communion, as they could hear the gospel elsewhere without submitting to so strict a discipline. Luther, who was at that time fully occupied in the propagation and defence of the gospel, was rather offended at this rebuke, and their mutual friendship seemed to suffer some interruption. He even went so far as to declare that he disapproved of some of their regulations. But when, in 1532, they sent him the confession of faith they had delivered to George,

the margrave of Brandenburg, he caused it to be printed at Wittenberg, with a preface by himself, in which he says,—

“ While I was a papist, my zeal for religion made me cordially hate the brethren, and consequently, likewise, the writings of Huss. I had, indeed, early discovered that he taught the doctrines of holy writ purely and forcibly, so much so, that I was astonished that the pope and council of Constance had condemned so worthy a man to the flames. Still, such was my blind zeal for the pope and the council, that, without hesitation, I abandoned the reading of his books, wholly distrusting my own judgment. But since God hath discovered to me the ‘son of perdition,’ I think otherwise, and am constrained to honour those as saints and martyrs, whom the pope condemned and murdered as heretics; for they have died for the truth of their testimony. In this number I reckon the brethren, commonly called Picards; for among them I have found what I deem a great wonder, and what is not to be met with in the whole extent of the popedom; namely, that setting aside all human traditions, they exercise themselves day and night in the law of the Lord; and though they are not so great proficient in Hebrew and Greek as some others, yet they are well skilled in the Holy Scriptures, have made experience of its doctrines, and teach them with clearness and accuracy. I therefore hope all true Christians will love and esteem them. Yea, we are bound to give hearty thanks to the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that, according to the riches of his grace, he hath commanded the light

of his word to shine out of darkness, and raised us from death to life. We sincerely rejoice, both for their sakes and ours, that the suspicion which heretofore alienated us has been removed, and that we are now gathered into one fold, under the only Shepherd and Bishop of our souls, to whom be glory to all eternity. Amen."

We might mention here some other testimonies of Luther's fellow labourers, to the soundness of doctrine and good order maintained among the brethren; we shall, however, content ourselves with quoting the words of Melancthon, in a letter written to them in 1535. "Since," says he, "we are agreed on the principal points of the Christian faith, let us bear with one another in love, with regard to everything else. No difference in rites and ceremonies ought to break our union. St. Paul often speaks of ceremonies, but he forbids Christians to separate one from another on account of their differences, though in the world these are a source of violent contentions. The strict discipline observable in your churches does not offend me; would to God that he would give us more zeal to exercise it in ours. As it respects my hearty good will to you, I wish from my very heart that all who love the gospel, and desire the name of Jesus Christ to be exalted, and the knowledge of it to be spread more extensively, would unite together, and mutually forbear with one another in Christian love."

From that period Luther remained in uninterrupted friendship with the brethren, though they did not omit from time to time, both by letters and deputations, to urge and encourage him to introduce a regular system of church discipline. He received

their admonitions in love, and promised to give the most serious attention to this point, as soon as the troubles in the church should cease. He made a similar declaration to the deputies of the brethren in 1542, when he gave them, in the presence of the other professors of the university, the right hand of fellowship, and said, "Be diligent in promoting the work of Christ among your countrymen; we will do the same according to our ability among the Germans." Soon after which he wrote a letter to their principal senior or bishop, John Augusta, in which he says, "I exhort you in the Lord, that as you have begun, so you will maintain to the end, the unity of the Spirit with us, and abide in the same doctrine; and, together with us, by the word of God and prayer, fight against the gates of hell." We may add also, the following testimony of this reformer to the excellence of their ecclesiastical discipline: "Since the times of the apostles no Christians have appeared who have maintained a doctrine and practice more conformable to apostolic teaching, than the United Brethren. Though they do not surpass us in purity of doctrine, since we teach every article by the word of God alone, yet they far exceed us in the discipline by which they blessedly govern their churches; in this we must confess, to the glory of God, and of the truth, they are more commendable than ourselves."

The most celebrated of Luther's colleagues were of the same opinion with himself in this matter. Thus Bucer writes in 1540:—"It is my most fervent wish that you may not lose that particular gift you have received from God, but rather, by your example,

excite us also to obtain the same: for I believe that you alone, in the present age, unite sound doctrine with pure, true, and salutary discipline. We pray the Lord, that he may preserve this excellent form of order among us, and cause it to increase from day to day."

Fabricius Capito, also, writing the same year to the brethren, says, "The book containing your confession of faith and statement of discipline, was very acceptable to us. Of all that has appeared in our time, I have not seen anything more complete. This book not only contains an entire confession of faith, and a true description of the institutions of Christ, but it likewise presents to our view a discipline altogether pure, and points out the most effectual means of edifying believing souls." Calvin, and other ministers of the reformation, bore their testimony to the same effect.

While the brethren were thus enjoying the friendship and communion of the reformers, their enemies raised another persecution against them. In the war of Schmalcald, which broke out soon after the death of Luther, in 1546, France and Spain united, on one side, to crush the Protestants of France, beginning with the Vaudois; while Charles v., emperor of Germany, and Ferdinand, king of Bohemia, took up arms against the Protestants of their states. The Bohemian nation refusing to fight against the elector of Saxony, who was considered as the protector of the reformed religion, this refusal was imputed to the influence of the brethren, who were accused of having concerted a plan, in their correspondence with Luther, for placing the elector of Saxony on the throne of Bohemia. In consequence of this, Ferdi-

nand resolved to punish them, and began by banishing several of their principal people, confiscating the estates of some, and imprisoning others. In order to extort a confession of the pretended plots, some of them were subjected to various tortures. Among these was John Augusta, their chief elder, who was thrice put to the rack, frequently scourged, and reduced to an allowance of bread and water scarcely sufficient to support life; and, although nothing could be proved against him, he was kept in prison until the death of Ferdinand, a period of sixteen years. The Christian firmness, and fervent prayers of this excellent man, had a happy effect upon his tormentors, and were the means of converting some of them to the truth. Another of their elders, George Israel, soon after experienced similar treatment, and showed the same devoted zeal. A thousand florins were demanded as the price of his release, and as he was not possessed of that sum, his friends and the congregation offered to raise it for him; but he refused, saying, "It is enough for me that I have been once for all completely redeemed, by the blood of my Saviour, Jesus Christ. I have no need to be ransomed a second time with silver or gold: keep your money, it will be useful to you in your approaching exile." We shall presently have occasion to relate his happy escape from prison, not long afterwards.

The churches of the brethren were now shut up, and their ministers persecuted. Some of them fled to Moravia, where they still enjoyed rest; others hid themselves in the day-time, but crept out of their holes and hiding-places at night, to go about and

comfort their suffering brethren. The common people were commanded either to join in the worship of the Romish or Calixtine church, or to quit the country in six weeks. Some grew fainthearted, and went over to the Calixtines; but the greater part of them emigrated to Poland, in the year 1548, led by their worthy bishop, Matthew Syon, where they were at first kindly received by some of the nobility. But the popish bishop of Posen did not rest until he had obtained a royal mandate, by which, after a short abode of ten weeks, they were banished from that country.

They then retired into Prussia, where they were hospitably treated by Duke Albert. There also an attempt was made to render them suspected, and they were accused of holding doctrines opposed to those of the Lutherans, a charge which, from the intolerant spirit of the times, might have caused their banishment. The duke, however, appointed five divines of Königsburg, to confer with the brethren on this subject, and finding that their doctrines agreed with the Augsburg confession, the government granted them all the privileges of citizens, and assigned to them seven townships for their settlements. All the faithful ministers of the gospel in that country, especially the celebrated bishop, Paul Speratus, were very favourable to the brethren.

Though the brethren had been so short a time in Poland, their testimony was not without effect; the seed of the gospel, which they had sown, soon began to spring up. Many of the nobles and citizens had received it with joy; and one of the principal pastors among the brethren settled in Prussia, often went

privately to visit and confirm these new converts. We may mention, among other remarkable conversions which took place at this time, that of Count d'Ostrog. This nobleman, having entered their assembly with a horsewhip to drive his lady out, was overcome by conviction of the truth. After his conversion, he manifested an ardent zeal for the gospel. He requested the brethren to procure him a minister for his estates; and, in 1551, they sent him George Israel, who has been already mentioned. This venerable man, who refused to be released from his imprisonment for money, had, by God's mercy, obtained his liberty without ransom. He ventured, in dependence upon the Divine protection, to walk out of the place of his confinement in the castle of Prague, through the midst of the guards, in the habit of a clerk, with a pen behind his ear, carrying an ink-horn and some paper, in broad day, and got safe to his brethren in Prussia. He went to Poland, in answer to the call we have just mentioned, and in the space of six years above twenty congregations of the brethren were established in that country by his ministry. Other faithful ministers also laboured with success in this good work, so that, according to Vergerius, the total number of churches formed by the brethren in Great Poland, during this period, amounted to nearly forty.

The brethren met with similar success in Lithuania, Silesia, and other neighbouring countries, where several of their elders were called to supply the places of the most eminent preachers, and to discharge the most important offices in the instruction of the people.



Among those who were added to the brethren at this time, one of the most eminent for piety and usefulness was Paul Vergerius, of whom we have just spoken. He had once been the pope's legate, and bishop of Capo d'Istria; but, some years before, had become a professor of evangelical truth. After his conversion he caused the brethren's confession of faith to be printed at Tübingen, with a preface, in which he wrote thus:—

“I ought first to mention the reasons which have induced me to republish this confession of faith of the Vaudois, or Picards, to this time but little known. Not long since, the Lord called me to travel from Germany into Prussia, Lithuania, and Poland. I felt an ardent desire to see these different nations and their churches. After travelling a long time in Poland, I discovered there about forty churches, regulated according to the constitution of the Vaudois.\* This discovery gave me the most lively joy and satisfaction. The word of God was found amongst them in its unadulterated purity, and in such perfection, that I could perceive no shade of error, either in their doctrine or their ministers, or anything to excite the least suspicion. Their rites of worship and manners are so pure, and so far removed from superstition and popish mummery, that no one can perceive the least trace of either among them. Their discipline is so strict, that it produces those fruits in the heart and life which mark the character of the real Christian.

\* The reader will recollect, that in every age the Vaudois have been confounded with the United Brethren, even at the time when they were most distinct from them.

“When I communicated these matters to the brethren in Italy and other places, and when I gave the same account to several princes of Germany, I observed that some of them did not even know that these Vaudois existed; others, misunderstanding their character, were astonished that the Poles ever thought of receiving their doctrine, and were fearful lest the purity of the truth of our Lord Jesus Christ, as they had received it by the reformation, should thus be corrupted. For these important reasons, I felt myself impelled to publish a new edition of this confession of faith, copies of which have now become exceedingly scarce. I have no doubt that all who love sound doctrine will commend and esteem not only this confession, but also the Poles, and all the churches that have adopted it; and I am persuaded, that they will pray our heavenly Father to carry on the work he has so happily begun by the reformation of these churches, and entreat him, of his infinite loving-kindness, to increase it more and more, and to bless it abundantly every day.”

As this celebrated man was himself a member of the church whose history we are relating, and as his conversion was one of the memorable triumphs of that church, and of Protestantism in general, an extract from a letter written to the brethren on the 19th of March, 1561, will not be unacceptable. “After being moved by the Spirit of God, to separate from an adulterous and anti-christian church (which, by the grace of God, I was enabled to do ten years ago), I am now influenced by the same Spirit to seek for that which appears to me to be

the best church, and in it to die and render up my soul to my heavenly Father. I not only ought to do this on my own account, but, unworthy as I am, for the sake of setting an example to others. By forsaking popery, I proved that from my heart I abominated its doctrines. I now desire to bear witness, that, although the doctrine of the Protestant church, to which I now belong, does not displease me, I still anxiously desiderate a church in which a purer discipline exists. I esteem and commend our churches, but I wish to find in them the other part of the gospel, that is, evangelical discipline; and I openly declare, that on this account I prefer your churches to all others. That no person may imagine that I am now first beginning to think of these things, I declare before God, that since I have known and felt the power of the gospel, I have always approved of these churches, and have on all occasions defended them with all my might, as many persons can testify. Among other proofs of this, I may mention my appeasing the anger of Maximilian II., king of Bohemia, when he was much exasperated against the brethren. I conclude with expressing my earnest desire to live and die among you, if your churches will receive me. I seek not great things among you, for I have voluntarily forsaken the pleasures of the world; the hand of the Lord has apprehended me, and henceforth I speak and think of very different things." Thus, by the blessing of the Lord, were the presence and the influence of the exiles of Bohemia rendered useful to Poland.

As the brethren's churches thus extended in the midst of the other Protestant communions, it soon

became an object of mutual desire to effect a union, or at least a brotherly connection, between the three communions—the Lutheran, the Reformed, and the Bohemian. Besides the general motive of Christian love, there were others very weighty which urged them to this: the success of the reformed faith in Poland seemed likely to depend upon this union; and the way had been prepared for it by previous events. So long before as the year 1440, some Hussites of Bohemia, who had taken refuge in Poland, and long afterwards several Polish students, who had been instructed by Melancthon, had sown the first seeds of the reformation in these countries. Subsequently, the brethren, driven out of Bohemia, in 1548, fled thither, and though their stay was short, contributed greatly, as we have seen, to the success of the work. At the same time also that the Lutherans spread into Polish Prussia, and the Reformed into Poland, almost all the nobility had embraced the Protestant faith; the king himself was strongly inclined to a general reformation, and was only diverted from it by the division among the orthodox Protestants, and the troubles caused by the Arians.

In this manner all the Protestants were desirous of union; and Felix Cruciger, the superintendent\* of the reformed in Little Poland, had two interviews with George Israel, the chief elder of the brethren, for the purpose of devising means to bring their divisions to an end. With this view the reformed

\* Throughout almost the whole of Germany, the reformed, as well as the Lutherans, had superintendents; who, in some respects, had the same authority as the bishops among the Roman Catholics.

met in a general synod, in 1555, at Kaminieck, and there, in the presence of several of the waywodes of Great and Little Poland, and a deputation from the king of Prussia, examined the confession of faith, the form of discipline, and other writings of the brethren; and, after examination, gave them their entire approbation. The two churches then united in the persons of their representatives, who gave one another the right hand of fellowship, and partook of the Lord's supper together.

Information of these circumstances was transmitted by the reformed to their brethren in Switzerland, who rejoiced in the union, chiefly on account of the discipline which was now likely to be introduced. Calvin, among others, wrote in the following terms:—"I expect the greatest good from your union with the Vaudois, not only because God has always blessed the union of the members of Christ, but also because I am persuaded, that in the work which you have begun, you may derive great advantage from the experience which the Vaudois brethren have acquired, in the long trials through which the Lord has led them. On this account you should labour diligently, that this holy union may be more closely cemented." To the same purpose speaks that celebrated divine of Berne, Musculus Wolfgang, in a letter to the same churches:—"Above all, we praise the wonderful counsels of God, that the brethren, called Vaudois, driven out of Bohemia some years since, should be led to settle amongst you, to assist your churches in the knowledge and propagation of the truth."

This union, which was considered complete and

lasting, was, however, disturbed by enemies of various descriptions. Some concealed Arians, who had wished to be included in it, for the purpose of partaking of the protection which it assured to both parties, and perhaps also for the sake of more easily spreading their errors, began to require the brethren to adopt various changes in their doctrine and forms of worship; and, on their refusal, endeavoured to render them suspected by the Swiss divines. Even the aged and venerable John à Lasco, for some time, opposed the maintenance of the union. He required, in conjunction with Calvin and other reformed ministers, that the brethren should conform more to the doctrine of the Swiss and French churches on the subject of the Lord's supper; that they should give a more explicit declaration of their sentiments, and alter some of their practices relating to this ordinance. The king ordered Lasco not to insist upon these things, and the brethren endeavoured to satisfy the Swiss doctors by a deputation; but the difference still remained unsettled, and they were obliged to seek a more effectual remedy.

During the mild and peaceful reign of Maximilian II. the brethren enjoyed some repose, both in Bohemia and Moravia; and, making their native soil once more the centre of their exertions, and the seat of their church government, they held a synod at Sleza, in Moravia, in 1557, which was attended by more than two hundred of their ministers, with a great number of Polish noblemen. One of the principal objects of this meeting, was to consider the proposed union of the brethren with the reformed of Poland and Switzerland. But the matter became more and

more difficult to be accomplished; the Protestant church was at that time divided into a number of parties, keenly opposed to each other, and all endeavouring to draw the brethren to their side. Each party regarded those who did not think entirely with them as against them; and this state of things operated, together with these circumstances before mentioned, to prevent the synods effecting the desired union. Several subsequent synods were occupied with the same business, until, in 1560, the brethren convoked a new one at Bunzlau,\* in Bohemia, which had then become their principal settlement. At this meeting they resolved, for the purpose of putting a stop to the misrepresentations of their sentiments which still prevailed, to send two of their number, Rockita and Herbert, as a deputation to some of the princes and chief divines of Germany and Switzerland. These deputies were received everywhere with great kindness, especially by the Duke of Wirtemberg, and the Count Palatine of Deux-Ponts. The duke went so far as to offer them an asylum in his territories, and gave them letters of recommendation to some Polish noblemen. The chancellor, Vergerius, before mentioned, showed himself on this occasion one of their warmest friends.

Furnished with letters from the duke of Wirtemberg, Rockita immediately went into Poland; but Herbert continued his route to Heidelberg, Strasburg, and Switzerland, and had interviews with some of the divines of those places.† He complained to them,

\* Hence they are often called the Brethren of Bunzlau.

† Particularly with Bullinger, Peter Martyr, Musculus, Calvin, Viret, and Theodore Beza.

in the name of the brethren, of the harshness and injustice with which they had been censured; he declared that, with respect to the Lord's supper, they were determined to take no part in the disputes upon that subject, adding, that they were neither willing nor able to give any other explanations than what were already given in the very words of Scripture. These representations were well received by the divines, and Calvin, in particular, went so far as to address a letter to the brethren, in which he took pains to explain to their satisfaction his previous conduct towards them.

The subject of the union between the brethren and the reformed was again resumed; and, in 1560, at the synod of Xyans, it was brought to an issue. They first came to an understanding on the subject of doctrine. On that of discipline, some of the reformed thought that they could derive from the Scriptures a better form than that of the brethren, whom they reproached with savouring a little of popery, and giving too much power to the clergy. The brethren replied, that their discipline had been the fruit of much attention and study during forty years, in the midst of prayers and continual sufferings; that it had prospered during a century, and had received the approbation of the most enlightened teachers of the reformation, principally because it insisted upon a real conversion of the heart, and admitted none to the fellowship of the saints and the Lord's supper, without the strictest examination into their Christian character. The reformed yielded to these observations, and the synod resolved, by a plurality of voices, without altering the confessions



of the two churches as to doctrine, to adopt the discipline of the brethren ; with a slight modification, that the bishop should be joined by a lay elder in the superintendence of every district or diocese, of which there were seven in Little Poland, and six in Lithuania. The bishops of the brethren in Poland were designated by the title of *ancients* or *elders*, in order to avoid the constructions which the Roman Catholics and the presbyterian Protestants might put upon the word *bishop* ; this they no longer used, except in their negotiations with the Protestant episcopal churches. Such is the history of the union of the brethren in Poland with the reformed in that country.

Their negotiations, however, with the Lutherans, met with a very different result. The brethren had already experienced some trouble, especially in Prussia, from several captious and intolerant doctors of that church, and things at last came to such a pass, after the death of Duke Albert, that not only a new form of doctrine was drawn up, which the brethren were required to subscribe, but an attempt was made to oblige them to give up their own Bohemian preachers, their discipline, and particular customs, and thus to renounce every bond of union with their brethren in Bohemia and Moravia, or else to quit the country. Most of them resolved on the latter alternative, and retired, in 1574, some into Great Poland, others into Moravia, their native country, where the brethren, as before stated, enjoyed for a time complete toleration.

As to the Lutherans of Poland, although less intolerant than those of Prussia, they were not at

first at all disposed to agree to the union between the brethren and the reformed. Erasmus Gliczner, their superintendent, invited George Israel, the chief bishop of the brethren, to attend and discuss the matter in a synod assembled at Posen, in 1567. In this assembly, various objections were made to the brethren's confession of faith, and as mutual agreement could not be effected, the subject was submitted, the year following, to the judgment of the theological faculty at Wirtemberg. They decided, after Luther's example, "that, notwithstanding their difference in some expressions and ceremonies, the church of the brethren in Bohemia ought not to be reckoned different from that of the Lutherans;" adding only an admonition to the brethren to this effect, "that however excellent and worthy of imitation their discipline was, they ought not to think that the true church was only to be found among them, or to hinder the members of other evangelical communions from having fellowship with them."

Gliczner, having given up some of his former prejudices, invited the brethren to a fresh synod, which was convened at Posen, in 1570, in which both parties acknowledged the harmony between the brethren's confession of faith and that of Augsburg. In another, held at Wilna, in Lithuania, they succeeded in putting an end to the disputes between the Lutherans and the reformed, on the subject of the Lord's supper; and this was followed by the celebrated synod which accomplished the union of all the Protestants in Poland. It was held at Sendomir, in the month of April, the same year, and was a most numerous and imposing assembly.

Besides the ministers sent as deputies from all the churches of the three confessions, several attended on the part of the nobility, one of whom presided on the occasion. The principal divines were, on the side of the brethren, the bishop Laurentius; for the Lutherans, Gliczner; and, for the Reformed, Paul Gilovius.

At first, the chief endeavour of each party was not so much merely to effect a union, as to draw over the others to their side. Soon, however, they perceived, that harmony might very well subsist among them, while each retained its own confession, and, indeed, that the union could take place upon no other principle. They therefore came to the following resolution:—That, as their confessions agreed in all essential points of doctrine, they would consider each other as of the same household of faith; love as brethren; and render to each other mutual services, though they might differ in outward forms.

They further added, that the members of one communion should not only have fellowship with the rest in the preaching of the word, but also at the Lord's supper; and that, in token of their union, each of the three churches should send a certain number of deputies to the general synods, which might be held by their brethren of another profession, at any time or place appointed.

The articles of this union, which received the name of the *Consensus*, having been reduced to writing, and read in a full assembly, all the members of the synod promised faithfully to observe them, for the promotion of general edification in the kingdom of Jesus Christ. The sitting was closed with prayer and thanksgiving,

and every heart overflowed with joy. Historians say, also, that a great number of secret Arians, who had been hitherto endeavouring to spread their errors and excite disturbance, returned to the truth, and were received into the communion of the faithful; the others were openly excluded. Before they separated, they nominated deputies to carry the articles of the union to the Heidelberg divines, and confer with them, whether it was advisable to compile a separate form of doctrine for Poland, besides the general confession of the three churches. The answer of the university was, that they should keep simply to the Consensus on which they had just agreed. In 1578, the Lutheran nobility also wrote, in concert with the divines of their church, to the electors of the palatinates of Saxony and Brandenburg, to communicate to them the result of the synod: they testified their satisfaction, expressing a desire that all the Protestants would follow their example.

Some weeks after this great synod, another was held at Posen, of the Lutherans and the brethren, in which some details were settled on the foundation of the Consensus of Sendomir. The agreement was then publicly read to all the people, who shed tears of joy, when, during the chanting of the *Te Deum*, they saw all the members of the synod stretch out their hands in token of brotherly love. At the end of the meeting, one of the brethren's preachers delivered a discourse, with all the Lutheran forms, in the Lutheran church; and one of the latter confession officiated in a church of the United Brethren.

For several years after this, general synods were held, composed of the members of the three con-

fessions, in which all the preceding resolutions were confirmed, and some new arrangements made for the maintenance of good order, the establishment of general schools, and other similar objects. These points were all digested, and passed under the name of the *Constitutions*; and from that time the Protestants of Poland remained united for a long period, and continued to enjoy all the advantages that could be expected from this union. Their enemies lost by it every opportunity of blackening them to the king, or of refusing to them, in the diets of the kingdom, the privileges of the general peace, and were unable to detach from their communion the nobles of the country. Their peace, it is true, was again disturbed at the synod of Posen, in 1582, where two Lutheran preachers, Gerike and Enoch, the latter of whom, as Salig says, had left the brethren in order to free himself from their strict discipline, protested against the Consensus of Sendomir, and went so far as even to menace their superintendent Gliczner with excommunication, alleging the authority of some Lutheran faculties of theology, which had in fact censured this decision. The matter was, however, carried to the general synod of Thorn, in 1595, at which were assembled a number of deputies, clergy, and laity, and even one of the Russian princes, who belonged to the Greek church. All decided in favour of the Consensus; and, as Gerike would not yield, he was deposed by the synod, and Gliczner succeeded in keeping the Lutheran churches in the general union.

Such is the substance of the tedious affair of the Polish Consensus. In the sequel, we perceive an additional proof that the brethren of the Bohemian

church inclined more towards the reformed than to the Lutherans; for the latter separated themselves again from the other two confessions, and did not reunite until a hundred years after, in the year 1712; when they had amply proved the evil resulting from separation. The reformed, on the contrary, continued to unite more and more closely with the Bohemian brethren, until, at the synod of Ostrog, in 1627, they became so mixed with them, that, from that time, there has existed in Great Poland no difference between the two communions. We may observe here, that the brethren, in entering into this connection, forgot the resolution of their predecessors, never to be too closely connected with those who could give no sufficient security for the maintenance of evangelical doctrine and discipline (chap. iii.), and thus, instead of gaining over the reformed, the brethren's church, or at least the Polish part of it, as Commenius remarks, by uniting with the reformed, lost its own existence, and gave up its peculiar form, its independent discipline, and the spirit of its ancestors. The great lesson which we should then draw from these events is this:—That the Christian can only exert a salutary influence upon the world, in proportion as he separates himself from it; and that he will always be deceived, if he proceeds on a contrary expectation.

## CHAPTER V.

THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE BRETHERN OF BOHEMIA AND MORAVIA,  
FROM THE PERSECUTION IN 1548, TO THE DESTRUCTION OF  
THEIR CHURCHES, 1627.

It is pleasant to return again to those of the brethren who remained in Bohemia, that country rendered sacred to every friend of the gospel; the Goshen of the middle ages, where the true church of Christ so eminently flourished; for we cannot conceal from ourselves that, in all the transactions we have just detailed, we perceive the brethren of Poland and Prussia inclining, in some particulars, towards secular prosperity. Their churches seemed evidently to be assuming the condition of communions open to all, and were gradually losing that purity and zeal by which they had been long distinguished, and which excited the enmity of the world. Moreover, it must also be admitted, that the churches of Moravia and Bohemia were, at this period, and for the very same reasons, experiencing a similar decay. The Lord appears in succession to have appointed certain particular portions of his church to hold forth the word of life among men, and, when their time is expired, he transfers the glorious office to others.

At the epoch which we have now reached, everything seems to indicate that the Christians of Bohemia were about to lose the distinguished character they had sustained for nearly two hundred years. The

reformation had surmounted external obstacles; Protestantism was, in some measure, legally recognised in different countries; and, according to the testimony of their own historians, the brethren were beginning to feel the danger of their prosperity. It will appear, however, that they were not to be utterly extinguished in Bohemia without a parting flash of brightness.

We have already remarked (chap. iv.), in speaking of the affairs of Poland and Prussia, that a few years after the great emigration from Poland, the brethren of Bohemia and Moravia had again, in 1564, under the emperor Maximilian II., obtained the liberty of opening their places of worship, and exercising their religious services. On this, a great number of those who had been constrained to leave the country returned; but their inveterate enemies soon sought fresh means for their destruction. With this design, the Arch-chancellor of Bohemia repaired to Vienna, in 1563, where, by his continual importunities, he at length induced the emperor, though unwillingly, to sign a decree for a fresh persecution. The Lord, however, interposed to save his people, and to prevent the execution of the cruel edict. As the chancellor was on his way back to Bohemia, rejoicing at his success, at the very moment that he was passing the bridge over the Danube, at the gates of Vienna, that part on which he was sunk under him, and he fell into the river, with all his baggage. The greatest part of his suite were drowned; a young gentleman, who saved himself by swimming his horse over, saw the chancellor rise to the surface of the water, seized him by his gold chain, and succeeded in supporting him until some fishermen came in a boat to his assistance,



but life was entirely extinct. The casket which contained the persecuting decree was carried down the stream, and never seen afterwards. The gentleman who escaped from death on this occasion, and who lived to an advanced age to attest the fact, was so powerfully affected, that he joined the brethren's church; and the emperor was so little disposed to renew the edict, that, on the contrary, he expressed himself in a very favourable way towards the Christians in Bohemia, who enjoyed perfect repose for a long time afterwards.

The brethren availed themselves of this interval of calm, to edify one another in the truth, to labour generally for the advancement of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, and to hold many synods, over which their pious bishops, John Augusta, that faithful witness, so much tried by tortures and imprisonment, and Matthew Erythans, presided. We may form some judgment of the external prosperity of their churches at this time, by the circumstance, that at one of these synods there were present, besides ecclesiastics, not less than seventeen of the most distinguished barons of Bohemia, and one hundred and forty-six nobles of inferior rank. One important object of their deliberations, at this time, was to procure for their churches a new translation of the Bible into the Bohemian tongue, according to the original text; the versions hitherto in use having been made from the Latin vulgate. With this view, they sent some of their theological students to the universities of Wittenberg and, Basle, to study the oriental languages; and these, on their return, met for this important work, with a certain number of

ministers, at the castle of Kralitz, in Moravia, the residence of a nobleman, who took upon himself all the expense of the undertaking. Here they began their work, under the direction of Bishop Æneas and his co-elders. They established a printing press at Kralitz, expressly devoted to this work, in which they spent not less than fourteen years of their time and labour. This version was published in six successive volumes, from the year 1579 to 1593; it was revised by Aston, in 1601, and the numerous editions of it, since issued, furnish abundant proof of the eagerness with which it was received.

Although this is the first mention of the sending of young men from the brethren's church to the German universities, it was not without a precedent. Before this period, some gentlemen among the brethren had sent their sons thither, under the care of a deacon, and some other young people had gone alone. Laurentius, who was sent to Wittenberg by George Israel, on the subject of the disputes at Posen, met with ten of the brethren's children in that university. The churches, however, soon felt the necessity of establishing colleges and seminaries of their own, with efficient means of instruction. In earlier times, and sometimes even at that period, the bishops, or preachers, in order to provide a succession of ministers, were accustomed to retain with them, under the name of acolyths, one or two young men, whose education they directed. But this mode of instruction employed a great number of persons, and afforded very little advantages in proportion; and, as to availing themselves of the assistance of foreign universities, the brethren soon perceived that, with

the variety of useful knowledge which their young people acquired in these institutions, they brought away much vanity, and other things hurtful to the simplicity of the churches. They therefore resolved, in the synod of Bunzlau, in 1584, to establish three seminaries in the cities of Bunzlau, Prazerow, and Evanzitz, in Moravia; and although it was well known that the churches were too poor to provide a fixed salary for the professors, yet there instantly resorted to these places a sufficient number of men highly distinguished by their learning and talents.

Not long before this, in 1574, the theological faculty and clergy of Heidelberg signified their cordial approbation of the brethren's confession of faith, which had been printed at Wittenberg the preceding year, accompanied with a preface by Luther, and a very honourable testimony from the faculty of theology of that city. The Heidelberg divines also sent a deputation to the Moravian brethren, to request them to communicate the constitution of their churches, as they wished to make use of it in completing their own. On the return of these deputies, they again sent to express their satisfaction in a very flattering manner, declaring that they had not yet been able to introduce this order among themselves, because they had closely united the civil government with spiritual things; while the brethren, though careful to submit in temporal things to the government and to all men, had maintained that liberty which they had obtained by the blood of Christ. Thus the brethren's churches met with approbation, and even increasing honour, from other bodies of Christians.

The liberty, and even the very existence of their religious worship had not yet, however, been acknowledged by the government; and there was no way of obtaining this but by presenting a confession of their faith, in concert with the Calixtines and Lutherans. The brethren thought it their duty to seek such a sanction from the government, and the other Protestants imagined the general cause would gain ground by a union of this kind; they therefore immediately proceeded to call an assembly, to which each party sent deputies of the clergy, nobility, and citizens. Desiring to shelter themselves from persecution, and viewing only the bright side of the projected union, they determined to lay aside all sophistry and controversy, and to express their unity of mind in the articles of faith common to the three churches. This confession was signed by all the deputies, and presented to the emperor Maximilian, who received it graciously, and promised his royal protection to all who adhered to it. The same assembly, in order to furnish an additional bond of union to the three confessions, entreated the emperor's permission to establish a college and consistory for the three Protestant churches; but this request was not then granted, though a hope was given that it would be allowed soon afterwards.

On this new confession, the theological faculty of Wittenberg passed the following opinion:—"This confession, it is true, is short, and we may easily perceive that, in framing it, the principal object was to avoid all disputes on difficult questions. This circumstance would probably draw down upon it the criticisms of some contentious persons; we, however,

commend the Christian prudence of the framers, for it is certain we cannot better edify and serve the church, than by preaching the pure doctrine of the gospel, without any of those useless subtleties which ambition has invented, and which only tend to produce disputes."

Thus, then, this matter terminated according to the wishes of the brethren, who found themselves more and more established in the esteem of men; and the profound rest which they enjoyed was only interrupted by a single passing storm, until the last persecution arose, which buried them in the stillness of death. On the death of Maximilian II., Rodolph II. ascended the throne. He suffered himself to be prevailed upon by the Jesuits to renew the old edict against the Picards, which Ladislas had published in 1506, and immediately all their chapels were closed. This, however, did not continue long: the numerous friends of the brethren protested against these unjust measures, and represented to the emperor that they were not such a people as had been described to him. His own conscience, indeed, had already accused him; for, on hearing that the Turks had taken Alba Royal, it is said that he exclaimed, "I expected something of the kind, since I arrogated to myself a power over conscience, that belongs to God only." He not only withdrew his edict, but, in 1609, granted letters patent, both to the brethren and all his Protestant subjects of Bohemia and Moravia, by which they were allowed the free exercise of their religious worship, the right of building new chapels, and even of having public defenders or advocates of the church, to maintain their rights. The Jesuits, always ready

to mark out the brethren from all the other Protestants, strove hard to get them excluded from this general concession; but the states would not listen to their solicitations, and declared their intention not to trouble these churches in the exercise of their religion. But, as if the brethren had been doomed to experience every kind of opposition, they had the mortification to find themselves repulsed by some of the other Protestants, and denied the common privilege which had been granted to them. The letters patent decreed, according to the wish that had been so long expressed, that besides the Protestant university of Prague, the existence of which was publicly sanctioned, the Calixtines, the brethren, and the Lutherans, should be allowed to form a general consistory, each communion sending three deputies, with whom were to be joined three professors of the university. From this privilege a certain party among the Protestants wished to exclude the brethren, on the ground of their peculiar discipline; but the states themselves represented, that the brethren had laboured till that time in the Lord's vineyard with as much diligence and faithfulness as other evangelical Christians, and it would be unjust, in the sight of God and man, to exclude them now they were on the eve of reaping the fruits of their labour.

Thus, instead of excluding the brethren from the general consistory, it was resolved, that as long as they retained their own rites of worship and discipline, they should not only send to it three members chosen out of their own body, but that one of their bishops should also be joined as colleague with the moderator, who was a Calixtine.

Finally, the chapel of Bethlehem at Prague, where John Huss had commenced his labours as a preacher of the gospel, was restored to them, and as it was not sufficiently large, they were allowed to build another in the same city for the Germans and Bohemians. These letters patent, granted by the emperor, were read publicly, amidst the acclamations of the people and the ringing of bells; the archdean of the Calixtines, the moderator of the consistory, officiated, and delivered so moving a discourse, that the whole congregation was melted into tears. The service was closed by the celebration of the *Te Deum*, with cries of joy from the assembled multitude. Some serious souls might, without doubt, have perceived at the very moment, that they were not altogether unaffected with a feeling of triumph over their enemies; but the great mass of the people thought only of the joy, and the brethren beheld themselves at the very pinnacle of their worldly prosperity and power.

Who at this time would have said, that these churches, recognised and protected by the government, associated with the general cause of Protestantism in Europe, and honoured in all enlightened countries, were in a situation less firm than their obscure predecessors of former ages; than those churches overwhelmed with sufferings, which met together in the caverns and the woods, and had to encounter the most bloody persecutions! In fact, if we reckon only from the time when the constitution of their churches was fixed in 1457, to the last of their great persecutions in 1548, we find them prospering under oppression for ninety suc-

cessive years; and if we go back to the origin of these churches in 1415, when the day of their birth was, as it were, enlightened by the flames from the stake of John Huss, we see them maintaining their ground for one hundred and thirty years, in the midst of continual persecution; while now, after a brief triumph in worldly prosperity, they fell and disappeared for ever before the first storm which assailed them. We say, for ever; for though they rose again, at the end of a century, it was to shoot forth afresh in a milder climate, and in a country that was not exposed to the troubles which their forefathers had experienced. Thus evidently does the difference appear between the power of God and the strength of man: "My strength is made perfect in weakness."

These reflections occurred to the brethren's own historians; for Commenius has no sooner finished the account, that we have just been relating, than he thus exclaims:—"But, alas! religious liberty will soon degenerate into the liberty of the flesh!" Hence it happened that, from the very first, this liberty, which in the issue introduced so much carnal security, was not pleasing to pious souls, who feared its evil consequences. In truth, from that time we observe the brethren evidently relaxing in their discipline. As they had felt themselves bound, for conscience' sake, to refuse the demand made of them at the union of the three confessions to sacrifice everything, they thought themselves obliged, through a kind of false generosity, to yield in some points; and thus, according to the testimony of their own historians, they first fell into disorder,



and then into evils, which drew upon them, in later times, many sufferings, which could scarcely be said to be endured for the name of Christ.

Immediately on the death of the Emperor Rodolph, in 1612, the court of Rome began to put into execution the decrees of the council of Trent against Protestants in general, beginning with those of Bohemia and Moravia.\* All sorts of vexations and oppressions were exercised towards them, against which the edict of toleration and their own remonstrances were of no avail. This harsh treatment was continued, until these oppressed people, stimulated by an unfortunate persuasion of their own strength, and confounding their temporal rights, which the Christian ought always to be ready to yield, with those of conscience, which can be maintained without the use of carnal weapons, refused allegiance to their new king, Ferdinand II. They even went farther, (we are speaking now of the Protestants in general, and not of the brethren only,) and proceeded even to acts of aggression. Being exasperated to the highest pitch, the Protestant party threw the imperial representatives out of the windows of Prague Castle, and chose Frederic, the elector palatine, for their king. This was precisely what their enemies wanted; for they could now levy war on them as rebels. It was the origin of the famous thirty years' war, the happy consequences of which, in respect to liberty

\* The political causes of this persecution, and the acts of violence by which they attained their end in the extermination of the Protestants of those countries, are detailed in Commenius's History of the Persecutions of Bohemia.

of conscience, are still felt, and which in a certain sense, gave a mortal blow to the papal authority.

The brethren, perhaps, had much less to do with this armed resistance than others; but no distinction was made, and their churches were involved in the deluge of misfortunes, which overwhelmed all the Protestants of Bohemia. After their defeat by the imperialists, in the disastrous battle of Weissenberg, near Prague, on the 6th of November, 1620, some were made prisoners, and others fled into the neighbouring countries. The leading men were induced to return to the country by the promise of an absolute indemnity for the past; but no sooner had they done this, than they were thrown into prison, and several of them condemned to death. It will not be deemed irrelevant to this history, we think, to give some account of the execution of twenty-seven of the most eminent *defenders* of the Protestants, which took place at Prague, June 21, 1621, when they were beheaded, and died as confessors of Christ. It is not too much to say this; for if these faithful men, several of whom had attained distinction by their abilities, and others filled important situations in the state, committed a fault in attempting by violence to defend the temporal rights, of which it was attempted to despoil them, it ought to be remembered that they were *rights* which they defended, and rights that no one would ever have disputed, if they had not steadily, as Christians, refused "to worship the beast and his image, and to receive the mark of his name." We have already seen, that this war was provoked by innumerable vexations, and the flagrant violation of

all the concessions which had been made to them by the Emperor Rodolph, concessions which the reigning monarch had sworn to respect. It was, then, for the gospel's sake that they suffered, and they might, with a good conscience, comfort themselves with the thought, often very necessary to our support, that if the wise men of this world judge according to appearances, there is a Judge in heaven, who is no respecter of persons, and whose voice will be heard here below in every heart, even before it shall speak in terrible majesty, in the great day of final retribution. The brethren felt the full force of this truth, and were supported with the consolations of the martyrs of the Lord Jesus.

On the 19th of June, sentence of death was pronounced upon them, and the 21st was fixed for their execution. The Catholic priests were immediately on the alert, exhorting the prisoners to enter into the Romish church, and assuring them of the emperor's pardon if they would do so; another proof, if any were needed, of the true spirit of these executions. Their replies were such, that the priests withdrew, astonished both at the knowledge of the Scriptures and the firmness manifested by these excellent men. Notwithstanding the cruelty of their enemies, a few of the Lutheran ministers in Prague were allowed to visit the prison; but so great was the hatred of the papists to the brethren in particular, that they granted to none of the members of that church the privilege of being attended by their own ministers, although almost half the number of the prisoners were of that communion. Most of them received the Lord's supper

from a Lutheran minister: a few scrupled to do it, lest they should offend some of their weaker brethren.

On the 20th, the noblemen, who had been confined in the castle of Prague, were conducted to a house in the city, before which the scaffold had been erected. When their brethren, who were imprisoned in different parts of the same building, received information of their approach, they ran to the windows, and received them with the singing of hymns; this drew together a great concourse of people, who testified by their tears their compassion for these sheep appointed to the slaughter.

They slept little that night, but spent it almost entirely in singing the praises of God, in prayer, and godly conversation. As soon as the day dawned they dressed themselves in their best apparel, as if they were preparing for a great festival; and when, at five o'clock, a cannon from the castle of Prague gave the signal for the executions, they embraced one another, wishing each other strength from on high to be faithful unto death, and repeating exhortations to Christian firmness. The moment being arrived for their going to the scaffold, they bade each other farewell in the most affecting way: "The Lord bless you and keep you, my beloved friends," said the sufferer who went first, to those that remained; "may He grant you the consolations of his Holy Spirit, and patience, and courage, that you may now confirm, by a glorious death, what you have before professed in your life. I go before, to be accounted worthy to see the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ; you shall soon follow me," etc. "May God bless you," replied the rest, "the way that you

go, for the love of his Son Jesus Christ. Go before us, dear brother, to our Father's house; we are persuaded by Jesus, in whom we believe, that this day we shall see you again in the heavenly joy," etc.

The first who ascended the scaffold, was the Count de Schlick, who had formerly been governor to King Frederic, in Bohemia, and the first defender of the brethren's church; a man of great talents and sincere piety, beloved and respected by all good men. On hearing his sentence, which ordered, that, after his decapitation, his body should be quartered and exposed in a cross-way, he said, quoting a Latin author, *Levis est jactura sepulchri*: "It is of little consequence to want a grave." As the preacher was exhorting him to courage, "Ah," said he, "I can assure you I have no fear; I thought it my duty to advocate the cause of religion in its purity, and I am ready to prove by my death the faithfulness with which I would guard it." When he heard the signal gun for the execution, he cried out, "There is the harbinger of death; I shall be ready to meet it. Lord Jesus, have mercy on us." Being arrived on the scaffold, he said, while turning to the rising sun, "Jesus, Sun of righteousness, help me to penetrate through the gloom of death, into eternal light." The dignity and serenity with which he walked up and down the scaffold, and then kneeled in prayer, to receive the stroke of the sword, moved the spectators even to tears.

After him went Wenceslas of Budowa, who also belonged to the brethren's church. He was an old man, sixty-six years of age, learned, and well known by his various works; he had filled some of the most important situations in the government under the

Emperor Rodolph, and had a seat in the consistory of Prague, as one of the defenders of the brethren. When he saw the danger approaching, he went to put his family in a place of safety, and returned alone to Prague, declaring, that his conscience would not suffer him to desert the good cause. "Perhaps," said he, "it is the Lord's will that I should seal it with my blood." When his secretary told him they were spreading a report that he was dying of grief, he exclaimed, "I die of grief! see," pointing to his Bible, "this paradise of my soul has never furnished me with fruits so sweet as at this day; and no one shall see the day in which it can be said that Budowa died of grief."

While he was in prison, two Capuchin friars went to visit him, in order, as they said, to show him the way to heaven. "Oh," said he, "by the grace of God, I know it." "Perhaps, sir," replied they, "you may be mistaken." "No, no," said he, "my hope is founded on the word of God, which can never deceive: I know no other way of going to heaven than by Him who said, 'I am the way, the truth, and the life.'" After confuting their ideas about the authority of the Romish church, he offered, in his turn, to show them, as they expressed it, the way to heaven; on which these poor creatures went away, marking themselves with the sign of the cross. On the day of his trial, two Jesuits came to him, expressing a desire to save his soul. "Fathers," said he to them, "I wish you were as sure of your salvation as I am of mine: I know in whom I have believed; I know that he has laid up for me a crown of righteousness." "Oh," cried they, "that

has nothing to do with you, Paul says that only of himself." "Not exclusively," replied he; "for the apostle adds, 'and not to me only, but unto all them also that love his appearing.'" By this, and many other declarations of Scripture, he so convicted them of their ignorance, that they left him, full of confusion and wrath, calling him a hardened heretic. Soon after this, with a serene air, he ascended the already bloody scaffold; he uncovered his head, smoothed down his hair, saying, "See, my grey hairs, what an honour is bestowed upon you, to wear the crown of martyrdom!" Upon this he began to pray, lifting up his head, which was instantly severed from his body, and then placed upon a tower, an object for public observation.

After several others, they led out the lord of Kapplisch, an old man of eighty-six, who had served the state with glory under the Emperor Rodolph and his successors. He said to the Lutheran minister who came to visit him, "My death, it is true, is ignominious in the eyes of the world, but in the sight of God it is full of glory. On first hearing my sentence, my weak flesh began to tremble: but, by the grace of God, I now do not feel the least fear of death." While dressing himself, on the day of his execution, he said to the preacher who attended him, "See, I am putting on my wedding garments." The preacher replied, that the righteousness of Christ adorns us internally in a much more glorious manner. "Yes," said the good old man; "but I wish to adorn even the outside, in honour of my Bridegroom." Being called out, he replied, "I am ready; I have waited long enough." As he was very weak in the

legs, and had some steps to descend, he entreated the Lord to strengthen him, that he might not, by falling, furnish occasion of laughter to his enemies. He had requested the executioner to strike with his sword at the very moment that he should fall on his knees and raise his head, lest he should fall through weakness, if it were delayed too long. But the poor old man stooped so much as he knelt, that the executioner was afraid to strike. Perceiving this, the minister cried out to the martyr, "My lord, you have committed your soul to Christ, now lift up your hoary head boldly, and raise it towards heaven." He raised it as high as he could, saying, "Lord Jesus, into thy hands I commit my spirit;" and while he was uttering the prayer, his head fell, and the executioner placed it on a spike over the gate.

A little afterwards, came forth Henry Otto de Loss, another of the defenders or patrons of the brethren's church, who had been one of the ministers of the state. He was one of those who felt some scruples at receiving the Lord's supper from a Lutheran minister; and as he could not have the attendance of one of his own church, he felt a little pain at the idea of being deprived of this ordinance. He was, however, richly consoled for it. When the Lutheran minister came to accompany him to the place of execution, he rose up in his chair, as if in rapture, and said to him, "Oh, how rejoiced I am to see you, man of God, in order to tell you what has happened to me! I was sitting in this chair, in deep affliction at not having partaken of the Lord's supper, as you know I wished for a minister of our own church. I fell asleep in the midst of my grief, and



behold, in a dream, the Lord appeared to me, and said, 'My grace is sufficient for thee; I wash thee with my blood.' At that moment I felt as if his blood flowed over my heart, and I awoke refreshed and strengthened in a wonderful manner." On this he broke out in the following triumphant words: "Yes,—believe! and thou hast eaten the flesh of the Son of man. I have no fear of death! My Jesus is coming to meet me with his angels, to lead me to the marriage supper, where I shall drink eternally with him of the cup of joy and delight." He then joyfully ascended the scaffold, kneeled down to pray, and, rising again, took off his outer garments; after which, he again fell on his knees, crying, "Lord Jesus, receive me to thy glory." While he was pronouncing the last words, he received the blow. In the same state of peace and joy did all the rest finish their course. Not one of them showed the least inclination to deny his faith.

After these executions, the government proceeded to the total and systematic extirpation of Protestantism throughout Bohemia and Moravia. The anabaptists (as they were called) of Moravia were the first to feel the effects of this persecution. They had forty-five colleges or districts in this country, each of which contained several hundreds, and some of them a thousand members. Many of them were driven out of the country, and these were more happy than those who were permitted to stay; for as their persecutors wished at first to avoid the appearance of a religious persecution, lest they should irritate the neighbouring princes, they harassed the Protestants by such extortions and plundering of their goods, and

by such severe tortures, that a great number of them abandoned their profession, or were obliged to flee from their country, leaving all their goods behind them. Perceiving, however, that they could not thus gain their ends, but only desolated the country of its inhabitants, they had recourse to other measures. They first drove all the brethren's preachers out of Prague, together with eighteen other Protestant ministers. Shortly afterwards, in 1624, they extended this policy to the rest of the kingdom, depriving the Protestants of all the privileges which yet remained to them. Many of the expelled ministers hid themselves in caves, from which they came out secretly to visit their brethren; but they were discovered, one after another, and either put to death or banished from the country.

It is worthy of remark, that the persecutors made use of these violent measures, not only against those districts and cities which had taken part in the war, and which they could accuse of the crime of rebellion, but against every one who was a Protestant; and it seemed evidently to be the design of the Roman Catholics to exterminate them entirely from every part of the country. At that time the thirty years' war was raging, and the immediate successes of the Catholic armies gave the enemies of the gospel an opportunity of openly carrying their project into execution. One instance will serve to prove what we have advanced. Baron Zerotin, deputy margrave of Moravia, had taken a great number of the brethren under his protection, and afforded an asylum on his estates to twenty-four of their pastors. He remonstrated with the imperial court in their favour, main-

taining that the sentence of banishment did not affect either himself or his subjects, since they had remained faithful to the emperor. His remonstrances, however, were of no avail, and he was obliged to quit the country, with the bishops and ministers of the brethren whom he had concealed on his estates.

In the place of the exiled ministers, they filled the churches with priests of the most abandoned character; and as these worthless men could not gain the esteem of the people, they established a *commission of reform*, to oblige the Protestants that still remained in the country, either by stratagem or force, to abjure their religion. To accomplish their purpose, they made use of the most corrupt methods, not scrupling even to declare that they might believe secretly in their hearts whatever they chose, provided they adhered outwardly to the Romish church, and submitted to the pope. But as most of them could not be shaken, either by stratagem, force, or torture, and the nobility, instructed by past history, and relying upon the assistance of the Protestant powers, encouraged the people to hope for an approaching deliverance, all the Protestant nobles were banished, in 1627, after they had been despoiled of their goods, and ruined by various modes of extortion. Many hundreds of families, nobles as well as rich citizens, fled into Saxony, Silesia, Brandenburg, Poland, Prussia, the Low Countries, and other parts of Germany. The common people were watched with the utmost severity, to hinder them from emigrating, and to force them to apostatize; some thousands, however, found means to follow their pastors in their distress. The rest continued to groan under their painful and

oppressive yoke, and thus an end was put to the very existence of the Protestants of Bohemia in general, and especially of the brethren.

How astonishing is the issue of human events! These were the Protestants of Bohemia, who, more than a century before, had first raised the standard of the reformation in Europe. These were the men who kindled that thirty years' war, which completely delivered the Protestant church from the scaffolds of the Romanists, and obtained religious liberty for all the reformed states. Yet, in the peace concluded in 1648, the Protestant powers abandoned their brethren of Bohemia and Moravia to the rage of Austria; nor did they seek to shield them from absolute ruin by one stipulation in their favour. In short, after the persecution which has been just mentioned (in 1621—1627), we find no church or school for the Protestants in all these countries; all Bibles and religious books, which could be seized after this period, were burned, in some places under the gallows; the tyranny exercised over the consciences of men entirely depopulated whole districts, and sacrificed to the papal hierarchy the lives and property of some hundred thousands of individuals.

In 1627, Comenius, with a party of his church, retired into Poland, by way of Silesia. At the moment of quitting his native country, from a mountain on the frontiers, he took a last view of Moravia and Bohemia, and falling down on his knees with his brethren, poured out his cries to God, accompanied with many tears, entreating him not to abandon those countries, or wholly to deprive them of his word, but to continue to preserve in them the holy

seed. The history of the brethren, to the present moment, shows that his prayer was heard.

A few particulars of the life of this extraordinary man, who laboured so much for the brethren's church, will form no unsuitable sequel to this account.

He was born at Konina, in Moravia, in 1592, and was first made pastor of the church in Fulneck, in 1618, where he suffered under the edict of persecution. He was one of the most learned men of his time. At Lissa, where he took refuge, he published an elementary work, entitled, *Janua Linguarum Reserata*; or, "The Gate of Languages Unlocked;" which was translated into twelve European and several Asiatic languages. His learning procured him such renown, that he received solicitations from Sweden, England, and Transylvania, to go and improve the state of the public schools in those countries. Residing chiefly, however, at Elbingen and Lissa, he employed his long leisure in compiling a dictionary of all the sciences; but a fire breaking out in the latter city, in 1656, and consuming the greater part of his books, he repaired first to Frankfort on the Oder, then to Hamburg, and at last, in 1657, to Amsterdam, where he supported himself by tuition, and published his philosophical works.

His greatest labours, however, as we may easily suppose, were in the service of the church; and especially of that part of it which the Lord had confided to his care. In a synod assembled at Lissa, in 1632, he was ordained bishop of the dispersed brethren of Bohemia and Moravia. Wherever he went, he solicited protection for his oppressed church; and, as long as the thirty years' war continued, he

still entertained hopes of seeing it prosper once more. For this purpose he addressed himself to several Protestant princes in Germany, and particularly implored the interposition of the English nation, when, in 1641, he was invited into that country to reform the schools. And when there was no longer any human probability of seeing the ruins of his church raised, he still failed not to labour earnestly for its welfare.

In 1649, he published "An Extract of the History of the Origin of the United Brethren," a work written in Latin by Lusatius, a Polish gentleman of the Swiss church, who, in his travels, had become acquainted with the brethren of Bohemia, and had declared himself one of their warmest friends. To this work Commenius added another book, treating of the manners and institutions of the brethren; and closed the whole with an exhortation addressed to the dispersed of the flock, urging them to regain their first love, and the zeal of their forefathers.

As their church was threatened with total ruin, he endeavoured to preserve the memory of it by publishing, besides the before-mentioned work, "An Exposition of the Discipline and Constitution of the Church of the United Brethren," followed by a plan for the reform of the Church in general. This he committed, as his last will and testament, to the English church, to be made use of as circumstances might require, and preserved for the descendants of the brethren. In the dedication, which he addresses to the church of England, he thus writes: "If it shall one day please the Lord to make the afflictions we have hitherto experienced turn to some good account; if, by means of these Christians so much tried by his

chastisement, the gospel should spread among other nations, so that, as formerly, our fall and loss should become the riches of the Gentiles; in that case, dear friends, we recommend to you this church, our beloved mother, of which we entreat you to take charge in our stead, whether the Lord condescend to revive her in her native land, or establish her as a living church in some other country. That God, who once took away and overthrew the dwelling-places, the cities, and the temple of his people, though they repaid his kindness with ingratitude, yet left the foundations of the altar, that their posterity might raise up the temple again on its former base. Thus if, as many pious and enlightened men have thought, we have received of God anything that is true, and pure, and lovely, and of good report; if there be among us anything worthy of praise, we ought certainly to take care that it be not utterly lost with us. We should take heed, that the foundations be not so entirely destroyed, that our descendants may not be able to discover them. On this account we now commit to you this deposit, hoping that it may be preserved in your hands, and remain a bequest to our posterity."

While Commenius was thus soliciting, in behalf of his brethren, all persons who might be serviceable to them, he did not neglect to exhort and edify them as much as he could. He composed for them a catechism, which was printed at Amsterdam, and dedicated to all the dispersed sheep of Jesus Christ, particularly those at Fulneck and its neighbourhood. It closes with these words: "May the God of all grace grant you to be strengthened with all might by his Spirit in the inner man for the sake of Jesus Christ; may

he help you to be persevering in prayer, to live separate from sin, to be firm in the midst of temptations and tribulations, for the glory of his name, and preserve you for ever the faithful subjects of his kingdom."

The last important object which occupied the attention of this worthy pastor, was the preservation of religious worship and the sacred ministry among the brethren. Always hoping that God would one day graciously give a new existence to this part of his flock, he was desirous, that even in its dispersion it should never want properly authorized pastors; and for this purpose he determined to ordain a new bishop, who might take the place of himself and his colleague, after their decease, during the disorganization of their churches. John Buttner, his sole colleague, had the same views of this matter, and had written to him about it. They instantly proceeded to choose some persons fit to fill this office, when Nicholas Gertichius, court preacher of the Duke of Lignitz, was chosen for the churches in Poland; and for the brethren dispersed throughout Bohemia and Moravia, Peter Figulus, surnamed Jablonsky, the son-in-law of Commenius, who had emigrated with him from Bohemia while he was yet a child. Their ordination took place at a synod held at Mielenczyn in 1662. Commenius, being unable to attend on account of his advanced age, sent his colleague, with full powers to act in his name, and a certificate of ordination. The latter of these new bishops, Peter Jablonsky, dying before Commenius, in 1670, his son, Daniel Ernest Jablonsky, was chosen as his successor in the same year, and appointed to preside over both the brethren of Poland and those of the dispersion.



This was the same David Jablonsky whom God preserved until the renewal of the brethren's church, when he was enabled to transmit to it the ancient episcopal ordination at Berlin, in 1735; when, assisted by Christian Sitkovius, bishop of the Polish brethren, he conferred the ordination of a bishop of the new church on the Moravian brother David Netchmann. He thus formed a link in the chain between Comenius and Netchmann: Jablonsky had seen them both, and gave to the latter that ordination which he had received from the former.

This interesting man finished his course on the 15th of October, 1671, at the age of eighty years, having presided over the synods of the brethren since the year 1648. He left a son, who died at Amsterdam, where he was pastor of the Bohemian refugees; and a daughter, who was, as we have seen, the mother of the last bishop of the ancient church of the United Brethren.

History gives us little information about the Protestants of Bohemia, the brethren, or others, after this time. As long as the thirty years' war lasted, they still entertained hopes of recovering their religious liberty; but as they were sacrificed at the peace of Westphalia, and the persecution continued and even assumed new fury, a great number of those who still remained in the country determined also to make their escape, and contrived to do so, notwithstanding all the vigilance with which they were watched. Many took refuge in Silesia; a great number more, especially among the brethren, retired into Poland and Prussia, where they still found some of their churches existing. The

greatest part established themselves in Saxony and Upper Lusatia, where most of them were mixed in a short time with the rest of the inhabitants; but some still formed churches, or even built whole villages for themselves. It is reckoned, that not less than eighty thousand of the Bohemian subjects thus left their country, at different times, after the year 1624.

The following are some of the places where they either settled, or founded churches:—

1. *Dresden*. In 1670, a church of Bohemian Lutherans was formed here under Martinus, who had been their minister at Prague. He obtained an order from the court, that the brethren, who had taken refuge in this city, should unite, as well as the other Bohemians, with the Lutheran church, or quit the country. This obliged most of them again to incur the miseries of banishment, and they repaired to Lissa, in Poland.

2. At *Zittau*, in 1670, there was a church of Bohemian Lutherans, consisting of nine hundred souls.

3. *Neusalz*, in Misnia, three leagues from Herrnhut, was likewise built by the Bohemians, and in a little time became a small city. But the Bohemians were soon so completely mingled with the Germans, that, in the course of time, there were to be found only a few old men who understood the language of their ancestors. According to their regulations, however, the pastor was to be a native of Bohemia, and to preach his introductory discourse in the Bohemian tongue.

4. *Gebbarisdorf*, on the frontiers of Bohemia, near Greiffenberg, in Silesia.

5. *Elzdorf*, near *Löbau*. In 1700, these two places had only one Bohemian reader.

6. In later years several new colonies were formed, which, in course of time, lost their distinct existence in the mass of the nations among which they settled. (See Crantz.)

The Lutheran pastor, Schluz, who was in later years the decided friend of the brethren's new church, makes the following remarks on these successive emigrations:—"It is true, that there never was, at any one time, an emigration from Bohemia and Moravia, equal to that which took place in 1730, when more than thirty thousand persons removed from the province of Salzburg; the reason is, that the Protestants of Bohemia and Moravia did not obtain, as those of Salzburg, through the intercession of the Protestant princes, the liberty of going whither they would; and it was only the excessive oppression they endured, and the voice of conscience, that could force them to burst through all the watchful measures which were taken against them, to leave their country and all their possessions, and seek religious liberty in the midst of the greatest perils. But if we reckon all those who have fled from this country, and from Moravia, since 1624, either in large or small bodies, their number would certainly be twice or thrice as many as that of those who emigrated from Salzburg.

"Besides," adds the same historian, "these poor people, for the most part, fell into the hands of bad teachers, who knew not the value of their own souls. They have been much congratulated on the happiness of having forsaken all to embrace the profession of

the gospel, but most of them soon became satisfied with leading an outwardly honest and peaceable life, without having experienced that change of heart which is essential to a true believer. Their descendants went even farther, and conformed to the manners of the people among whom they lived. From the time of the brethren of Bohemia up to this period (1720), we have never heard of a revival of any extent among the Bohemians, either those who emigrated, or those who did not, much less of any institution or discipline favourable to the advancement of the kingdom of God."

The reflections of this historian must, however, be considered as referring only to the general body, and are not to be received without restriction. We shall soon have to observe some very affecting instances of firm attachment to the gospel, and of holiness of life, manifested by individuals, who were concealed during the long and dreadful persecution that raged in Austria.

Comenius has spoken of the exiles belonging to the brethren's church in terms almost the same as Schluz employs of the Protestants in general; namely, that those who, in consequence of their faithful adherence to their profession, were at first scattered by thousands through the adjoining countries, so gave way in the midst of the troubles of their exile, or were so much diminished by the long duration of their sufferings, that a very small number remained. From that time they became confounded with the other Protestant communions, until it was hardly known what had become of the brethren, and very few of their descendants were acquainted with the church

to which their ancestors had belonged. Afterwards, however, a number of them, both in Bohemia and Moravia, and in most of the other Protestant countries, joined the new church; and we may recognise in their family names their original descent from these countries. A few also of themselves, without being able to distinguish the church to which they had belonged, knew in general that their fathers had been compelled to abandon their property and country, for the gospel's sake.

Those who remained in Bohemia were much more numerous than those who quitted the country. Of these a small number voluntarily changed their religion, and became the most determined enemies of their former brethren; the greater part so far yielded to coercion as to *profess* the doctrines of popery, or at least practise the external worship of the Romish church, but did it against the conviction of their consciences. This they afterwards almost all acknowledged, as soon as they had an opportunity of expressing their sorrow and repentance before some Protestant church. Many, however, in time became accustomed to this dissimulation, and their children, born in the midst of popery, were brought up in ignorance. Still there were some who preserved, and even propagated, though very secretly, the truth of the gospel among those around them; and several very interesting things relating to this have come to light, since the restoration of the church, although the brethren have prudently forborne to publish them. "I could quote," says Crantz, "some oral or written accounts of several brethren of Bohemia and Moravia, which inform us of many edifying

circumstances relative to their private meetings, the indulgence their ministers experienced, even from some priests, the numerous expedients which they used to satisfy their spiritual wants, and the persecutions endured by those who were discovered; but I have good reasons for passing over all these things in silence."

We find, from some particulars which have reached us on this subject, that several of these friends of the gospel went so far as to conceal, all their lifetime, from their wives, children, and servants, the retired places, caves, and corners, where they kept their Bibles and other books of devotion, although they never omitted reading them privately, or using them for the edification of others. Thus we find husbands and fathers never discovering to their families the treasure they had found in their Protestant books, until at the time of their death, not being willing to leave this world, till they had once, at least, expressed their real faith, and recommended it to their friends. Others, more favourably situated, or less fearful, held secret meetings, in which they edified one another in the doctrine of the gospel, assembling by night in caverns or other private places, hiding themselves to do good, as others seek to hide themselves while doing evil; always exposed to the risk of discovery, and encountering the most dreadful dangers, often even death itself.

Such was the state of the Protestants of Bohemia and Moravia, until towards the end of the last century; and such is perhaps the situation of many in those parts even now. The Lord probably has there, though still under the yoke, more than his

seven thousand who have not bowed the knee to Baal. We know that Bibles, in the language of the country, have, for some years past, been introduced among them.

In closing this part of our history of the ancient church of the brethren, we may take a general view of its relation to the church of God, including in our reflections, that of the Waldenses, which in antiquity, as a Protestant church, far exceeds the others. It is certain, that the Christian and Protestant churches, which have made their appearance since the reformation, ought to recognise these Waldenses and brethren of Bohemia as their elder brethren in the faith; they prepared the way for the reformation, and, by their light, the reformers themselves were enlightened. Upon this subject we have the acknowledgment of Luther, in a preface which he wrote for the works of John Huss, in which, among other things, he says, that before God opened his eyes, he had been prejudiced against the brethren; that he had declaimed against them vehemently in his sermons; that having found, in the library of the convent at Erfurth, the works of John Huss, he thought, at first, that this man proved his doctrines in a very solid manner; but that, notwithstanding all this, he felt the greatest repugnance in giving his approval to them, because the very name of Huss had become so odious and infamous, that he imagined the heavens would fall, and the sun would cease to give its light, before the memory of such a man could be held in esteem; that for this reason he shut the book, although at the same time he withdrew from the perusal of it deeply affected.

It is also evident, that as the Waldenses and the brethren prepared the way for the reformation, so they rendered some assistance when it commenced, both by their personal conferences with Luther, Melancthon, and others of the Saxon reformers, and by their deputations to the divines of Strasburg and Switzerland, and epistolary intercourse with them. It is not less certain, that their residence in Poland and Prussia must have greatly facilitated the establishment and the progress of the reformation in those countries.

If we search in ecclesiastical history for the course of those Christian societies, which, amidst the darkness of superstition, have carefully endeavoured to preserve the doctrine of the gospel inviolable, and to conform their life and conduct to it, we shall find that the Waldenses and the Bohemian brethren have preserved the light of the truth more than any other association of Christians, even in the midst of the most violent persecutions and cruel sufferings.

These two societies laboured, first separately, and then in conjunction, to build upon the same foundation, and they experienced the same fate; both were overwhelmed by persecutions, which succeeded each other with scarcely any intermission, and of which both severely felt the rigour. In fine, they, for a long time, faithfully bore the peculiar mark of Christians; "They that will live godly in Christ must suffer persecution." On the other hand, they have ever been, and will ever be, a living proof of the truth of the promise, that the gates of hell shall not prevail against the church; and also of the words of Paul, "Who shall separate us from the love of Christ?"



shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? Nay, in all these things we are more than conquerors through Him that loved us." "The sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us."

## CHAPTER VI.

### ON THE INTERNAL CONSTITUTION OF THE ANCIENT CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN OF BOHEMIA, MORAVIA, AND POLAND.

THE constitution of the ancient church of the brethren was formed, together with the churches themselves, in 1457, and more definitely settled in 1616, by the synod of Zerawitz, which communicated it to all the churches for their adoption. The following abstract will doubtless be interesting to our readers.

I. *The internal classification of every church.* Each of the churches was divided into three classes, according to the degree of spiritual improvement which its members had attained. In the first class, or that of *beginners*, were ranked the children of the brethren, and adult converts from popery. These were instructed together as catechumens. When they sufficiently understood the ten commandments, the apostles' creed, and the Lord's prayer, and expressed a desire to become members of the church, they were received into the second class, or the more *advanced*.

These partook of the Lord's supper, and were carefully reminded of the covenant which God had made with his church, of which they had now become members.

The third class, called the *perfect*, consisted of such as had persevered for some time in a course of true

piety, and faithfully observed the discipline and good order of the church.

II. *Of the presbytery, or consistory.* From the brethren of the last class were chosen, in every church, by a plurality of votes, the *elders*, from three to eight in number, in proportion to the size of the church. The men selected for this office were grave, upright, and such as were a pattern to their own families in all things; and they always acted in concert with the pastor, for whose maintenance it was their business to provide, labouring with him at the same time for the spiritual improvement of the flock. They unitedly devised means for promoting love among the members of the church, preventing every kind of disorder, and correcting as soon as possible, without publicity, the evils they might discover. Once in three months they visited the houses of the brethren, in order to observe the conduct of each member of the family; to ascertain whether every one was labouring diligently in his calling; whether those who were in trade conducted their affairs aright; whether family worship was kept up; whether such as filled public stations acquitted themselves faithfully, etc. Of all these things they made a report to the pastor.

They assisted the poor with money contributed by the members of the church, and deposited in a box for that purpose. This was in addition to the general collections on festivals and fast days, and at the Lord's supper. Brethren, appointed for the purpose, kept the account of this money. Four times in the year they made other collections, to defray the expenses of the worship of God, and

of the maintenance of poor ministers, or persons banished for the sake of the gospel. Every year they gave an account to the church of the receipts and expenditure. The elders also visited the sick, and gave them exhortations and advice, appropriate to their circumstances.

The women also had among them *female elders*, who, as mothers in the house of God, watched over the widows, married women, and younger females, exhorting them to peace and purity.

III. *Various regulations for the conduct of individuals and families.* It was expected of all fathers and mothers of families, that they should be, in their houses, examples of the Christian life. It was the duty of the fathers to preside over the domestic worship; to read the word of God; to offer praise and prayer regularly in their houses, morning, noon, and night. After the public services, they were to converse with their children and servants on what they had heard at church.

Fathers were expected to prohibit all resort of their families to ale-houses, also all idleness, and every species of gaming; they were not to suffer any worldly amusements, as games or dancing; nor to allow any costly or unbecoming garments to be worn; and they were particularly directed to prevent all clandestine intercourse between the sexes. None were allowed to engage in lawsuits, without first endeavouring to settle their differences by brotherly arbitration.

No person belonging to one church, was allowed to put himself under the care of the pastor of another, without sufficient reasons; and no pastor received

into his church a member of another, without a recommendation from the pastor of the church he left. It was, therefore, the custom of those who quitted any place, either for a longer or shorter period, to send notice to the pastor, recommending themselves to the prayers of the brethren.

The church never forgot to remind nobles, as well as private citizens, of the duties of their station; admonishing them that they were merely stewards of their wealth, and that what they had acquired by the toil and labour of their vassals, they ought to employ for the glory of God.

IV. *Of the officers of the church.* Every church had a *pastor*, who had *deacons* and *acolythes* under him. Over the whole collective church was established *church-elders*, *seniors*, or *bishops*, who were assisted by other elders, called *co-seniors* or *co-bishops*.

1. *The pastors.* Their office was to preach the word, to admit persons into the church, or to exclude from it; and to administer baptism and the Lord's supper. At the first, when no seminaries had been established for the instruction of young men, it was not customary to require of them either the knowledge of languages or human science; but when the brethren perceived any one well instructed in the great doctrines of the gospel, apt to teach, sober, intelligent, uniting, in short, in himself the qualities required by the word of God for a minister of Christ, they acknowledged him as sent of God. After the reformation, however, they sent the young men designed for the ministry to the German universities, or to those which were afterwards established among themselves,

to study the ancient languages and theology. Nevertheless, a large proportion of the candidates for the sacred office were still instructed in preference by some pastor, with whom they resided for the purpose; for the brethren set more value on piety, Christian conduct, and the knowledge of Divine truth, than upon any human learning.

The pastors were nominated and appointed by the bishops, who carefully sought out for every church the most suitable person they could find. Upon this nomination he repaired with confidence to his post, where he was always received with cordiality.

In ordinary cases, the pastor had full spiritual authority over all; it was only on difficult and unforeseen occasions that he had recourse to the bishop of his diocese. Every pastor was bound to give a report to the bishop, every six months, of his own spiritual state, and of that of his church.

If any pastor was accused or suspected of any impropriety of conduct, the bishop reprovved him. Grave matters were carried to the synod; and an obstinate refusal to submit to admonition was followed by degradation, or even exclusion from the church. Cases of this kind, however, rarely occurred.

The brethren consulted their pastors even in the management of their temporal affairs, and, in most instances, found the advantage of it. The pastors visited the brethren at their own houses for spiritual purposes, and were always received with love and respect. When they came in the morning, or evening, they presided at family worship. They were not forward in accepting invitations from the rich: when they did so, they were careful to observe

the rules of temperance, and to retire immediately after singing and prayer.

The pastors were supported by the voluntary contributions of the members of their church, who were always ready to supply them, one with bread, another with meat, another with beer, etc. They considered themselves limited to mere necessaries; nor did they scruple to labour with their own hands, when their spiritual duties allowed them time.

Though they had no law of celibacy among them, most of their pastors led a single life. Exposed to so many dangers by persecution, a wife and children would have been a burden to them, as the apostle Paul says, 1 Cor. vii. 26. They, nevertheless, acknowledged that particular circumstances might render it proper for a man to marry; and he had the power to do so, provided it was with the consent of the bishop, whose care it was that his wife should be one whose conduct was honourable to her profession. There were also some young women who devoted themselves to the Lord in a life of celibacy, employing their time in the instruction of the female children, or giving themselves up to the service of the elders.

2. *The deacons.* The deacons were the chief assistants of the pastors, and were considered and treated as candidates for the ministry. They accustomed themselves, by degrees, to the ministry. They often repaired on the Lord's day, accompanied by one of the acolythes, to the neighbouring villages to preach the gospel. The pastor examined them beforehand on their intended discourse to the people, and gave them all necessary instructions. The

deacons sometimes baptized, under the direction of the pastor; and they usually instructed the children and catechumens.

On Lord's day afternoons they repeated to the servants the substance of the morning's sermon, adding some simple and familiar explanations relating to the duties of ordinary life. They assisted also at the meetings of the elders, in order to accustom themselves by degrees to the business of the church, and they helped to support the pastor by their labour.

3. *The acolythes.* Each of the pastors usually boarded in his house two or three young lads of respectable parents, in order to train them for the service of the church. These, after they had acquired the first elements of instruction, read the catechism, the New Testament, the psalms and hymns, and other publications of the brethren, which were thus imprinted on their memories. After this, the most intelligent among them commenced the study of divinity.

At the end of a few years, these young people were received by the synod into the number of the *acolythes*; and on this occasion the bishops commonly gave them a new name, which had some relation to their character.

It was the duty of the *acolythes* to assist the pastors in their domestic concerns. They were enjoined a faithful obedience to their superiors, whom they often accompanied on their journeys. The elder *acolythes* conducted family worship, read the daily text of Scripture, which they were sometimes asked to expound, in order to exercise them



in speaking with freedom. They also took part in the public religious instruction of the children, and were sometimes called upon to deliver an exhortation at some of the private meetings of the brethren.

4. *The pastor's house.* The deacons, acolythes, and young people under the pastor's care, were obliged strictly to conform to the established order of the house, that they might learn obedience before they were called to govern others.

They had fixed times for everything. They all arose in the morning at the sound of a bell, and after prayer employed themselves in reading, and meditation on the sacred Scriptures. An hour afterwards a fresh signal assembled the whole family. After the singing of a psalm or hymn, the pastor, or some other person, read a portion of Scripture, and added a few suitable reflections.

After prayer every one repaired to his work, or occupied himself in study. The interval from the afternoon until evening was employed, as the time least favourable to study, in some mechanical labour, unless any of the pupils had the charge of instructing the youth of the place. The others wrought at weaving, tailoring, gardening, etc. These labours, however, they suspended at two o'clock, to engage in a brief worship. After the evening repast, they exercised themselves in music, singing psalms, etc.; and the day was closed with prayer. No one was allowed to sit up during the night, much less to go out after the porter had closed the doors.

During dinner and supper, the pupils recited what they had learned by heart, either proverbs, or portions of Scripture, or hymns. A theological question

was sometimes proposed, on which every one gave his opinion, beginning with the youngest, the pastor closing the discussion.

The different branches of household work were divided among all the pupils, acolythes, and deacons, that every one might be accustomed to all kinds of labour, and be able to earn his bread. The younger ones were occupied in cleaning and laying out the tables, sweeping the rooms, etc.; the elder in the care of the cellar, the granary, the garden, the library, the clock, etc. No one was permitted, without the pastor's leave, to go out to buy anything, to send letters of any importance, to lend or borrow, or to enter into any kind of contract.

The pastors themselves, who never took a journey but in cases of absolute necessity, could not do so without the permission of the bishop. In travelling, they lodged wherever they could, among the brethren, who received them with true hospitality. In such cases, all the members of the family in succession saluted the traveller, giving him the right hand of fellowship, and inquiring into the welfare of his church. The acolythes washed his feet, and took care of his horse and baggage. If he were poor, they did not let him go without making him some present, a coat, a knife, or money. The minister, on his part, gave usually a short exhortation at family worship, and preached a sermon to the church.

5. *Of the bishops.* A bishop had to watch over the other servants of the church, and the whole of its spiritual interests. He was nominated by the

ministers. None but men held in general respect for their age, manners, and good qualities, were chosen for this office. Yet the direction of the whole church was not committed to one alone, but confided to four or five who were equal in rank. This was settled at a synod, held in 1500, after the death of Matthias Kunewald; and, by such an arrangement, the brethren hoped to steer clear of the dangers of spiritual despotism, of which they had seen so dreadful an example in the Romish church.

Every bishop was established over a certain number of churches: two were commonly appointed for Bohemia; two for Moravia; and one, or sometimes two, for Poland. The superiority of the bishop did not consist in greater honour, or higher salary, but in a greater measure of labour and trouble, according to the words of the Lord Jesus, "Whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister; and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant," Matt. xx. 26, 27. All the bishops possessed equal power, although, for the sake of order, one of them was president.

Their election was for life, unless they failed in discharging the duties of their office; but this has never once happened during the existence of the unity, a period of three hundred years; and of fifty-five bishops, who have presided over it in that period, not more than six or seven have even requested their dismissal on account of illness.

Every bishop was bound to refer all important matters to the judgment of his colleagues, and this union of bishops formed the *ecclesiastical council*.

From it there was an appeal to a general synod, which passed sentence definitively.

It was the duty of the bishop to visit his diocese once a year, in order to ascertain exactly the state of the churches under his care.

6. *The president.* One of the bishops held this rank. He called his colleagues together, whenever he judged it necessary, and presided at all their meetings.

7. *The secretary.* This office belonged to one of the bishops, whose duty it was to register the different proceedings of the unity, and the books published by it. When any work against the brethren appeared, he made it known to the ecclesiastical council, and if they thought fit, he compiled an answer, and submitted it to them. In general, the brethren were not forward to answer their opponents; when they did so, particularly if the magistrates were concerned, it was done with calmness and simplicity. All the publications of the brethren were issued, according to their custom, in the name of the whole church.

8. *The co-bishops.* Every bishop had two or three co-bishops, who had seats in the ecclesiastical council, under an obligation to keep secret all its deliberations. They assisted, and, if necessary, supplied the places of the bishops. They conducted the preparatory examinations of the acolythes and deacons, and then presented them to the bishops, with suitable testimonials.

V. *The synods.* These were general or special. General synods were held every three or four years, and consisted of the bishops with their co-bishops,

the pastors, deacons, and acolythes, and commonly the landed proprietors, of the place or surrounding country; so that at these meetings several hundred persons sometimes attended.

The design of the brethren, in these associations, was to cement brotherly love, to exhort one another to faithfulness in the work of the Lord, to ordain their ministers and deacons, and to consult generally on the common interests of the unity.

The bishops, with their co-bishops, assembled the previous evening. After fervent prayer, the president entreated them to examine carefully, if there were anything that would hinder them from deliberating on the interests of the church with a pure heart and true charity; reminding them that they were commanded to purge out the old leaven that might be found in the house of God, whether in themselves or in their brethren. He then retired with the bishops, and exhorted them also to settle any differences that might exist among them, and remove every occasion of discord, that so they might engage in the work of the Lord with unburdened minds. It was not till they had satisfactorily adjusted everything among themselves, and thus confirmed their mutual love, that they proceeded to the business of the synod.

On these occasions the bishops were lodged at the pastor's house; the other members of the synod with pious friends in the place. Everything necessary for their accommodation was provided by the deacons and acolythes; one waiting at table, and others respectively performing different duties. In the evening of the first day they assembled in the

church, when the bishops welcomed the members of the synod, and returned thanks to God, for having brought them together in safety.

At their meals, each one took the place assigned to him at one of the tables; in winter these were laid out in a large dining room, and in the summer in the open air. The repast was enlivened by cheerful and pious conversation. One of the bishops, or their colleagues, delivered a discourse every morning while the synod lasted; and, in the afternoon and evening, one of them exhorted and prayed.

The pastors, having assembled, chose from among themselves a president and secretary; and having received from the bishops a list of the subjects that were to occupy their attention, the president proposed them to the assembly in succession. Each gave his opinion, beginning with the youngest; no one ever interrupted another: the secretary noted the opinion of each, and his reasons; and the president endeavoured to reduce the whole to one unanimous result. If the opinions were discordant, they discussed them again till they all agreed; entire unanimity being considered essential to their proceedings.

The bishops and their colleagues then deliberated upon the opinions of the pastors; they also conferred upon such propositions as were submitted to them by the lay brethren. But they never adopted any important resolution, or concluded anything, without the consent of the pastors.

The appointments and ordinations, of which we have already spoken, took place also in the synods.

At these the bishops reminded the different servants of the church of their respective duties, especially charging them to avoid worldly-mindedness and avarice; to refuse flattering titles, and to beware of levity, and of needless associations with the ungodly.

At the conclusion of the sitting, one of the bishops delivered an exhortation relative to the subjects that had been discussed; then one of the pastors rose and returned thanks, in the name of the whole body, first to God, for the blessings he had bestowed, and then to the bishops, for their care of the church, their exhortations, and other various proofs of love: the celebration of the Lord's supper closed the whole.

All the transactions of the synod were committed to writing, and every bishop had a copy. No one could deviate from the resolutions which had been adopted, without consulting the ecclesiastical council, which again could authorize no essential alteration without the individual consent of all the pastors. When anything unexpected occurred, which they could not reserve for the next synod, or which related to some affair that concerned one diocese only, they convened special or diocesan synods. The resolutions passed at these meetings were, however, communicated to the absent bishops.

VI. *Of ordinations.* — 1. *Of the acolythes.* Those of the pastors' pupils, who were considered eligible, were admitted into this lowest office in the church, after being examined. On this occasion a discourse was commonly delivered on the calling of the seventy disciples, or that of the sons of the prophets, or on the imitation of Christ. Each of the candidates was then asked, before the whole synod, if he wished to

devote himself to the service of the church, and to obey its ministers.

The particular duties of their office were then enumerated, which they promised to observe; the elder acolythes gave them the right hand of fellowship, and the meeting was closed with prayer.

2. *Of deacons.* The deacons were taken from among the most advanced acolythes. After some of the forms we have already noticed, one of the bishops prayed, and ordained them with the laying on of hands.

3. *Of ministers.* When the pastor was about to present to the synod one or more of the deacons, who wished to devote themselves to the ministry, he notified it to the elders of the church, requesting a written attestation of the conduct and gifts of the candidates. At the synod they underwent a three-fold examination; the first before the assembled pastors, who gave their judgment in writing, and sent it to the bishops. The second examination took place before the co-bishops; after that, every one who was approved was sent alone to one of the bishops, who occupied himself chiefly in examining into the spiritual state of the candidate. He represented to him the importance of the sacred ministry; and asked him if he offered himself to Christ with a pure conscience, and without any respect to honour, gain, or any kind of temporal advantage. These appeals to the conscience were so powerful, that cases have been known of candidates requesting that their ordination might be deferred till they were better fitted for the office.

The day after the last examination they proceeded



to the ordination, for which all prepared themselves by fasting and prayer. The service commenced by singing a hymn; then a discourse followed on the calling of a minister of Christ. The candidates were then presented by two of the co-bishops to the bishop, with the following address:—"Reverend brother and bishop, we entreat thee, in the name of the church, to confer on these men, who now present themselves before Christ and before thee, the office of messengers of Christ, and the authority of pastors, ordaining them according to the established order, and the power bestowed upon thee by Christ and the Church."

On this the bishop said, "Are these men qualified and worthy to take upon them this sacred calling? Are they endowed with the gifts which should adorn the messengers of Christ?" To which one of the co-bishops replied, "They have received of the Lord the needful gifts; they have been well instructed from their youth; they have conducted themselves irreproachably; and, having examined them, we have found them sound in faith and doctrine, sincere in their desire to serve Christ and his church, and possessing the testimony of a good conscience." The bishop rejoined, "We receive this testimony, and, in the name of God, grant your request."

The candidates then solemnly engaged, before God and the church, faithfully to discharge the duties of their office; on which the bishop said, "Beloved friends and brethren, in order that you may have an unshaken confidence in the assistance of the Lord, hear how our eternal High Priest, Jesus Christ, prays for you, who, when he was on the point of consecrating himself as a victim for the sins

of the world, earnestly commended to his Father all those who should preach his gospel to the nations." Another bishop then read the intercessory prayer of Jesus, in the 17th chapter of John.

At the ordination, all the bishops united in the imposition of hands, calling upon the Lord Jesus, the Great Head of the church, to receive the candidates into the number of his faithful servants, and to replenish them with the gifts of his Spirit. During the whole time the assembly were on their knees, chanting the hymn, "Come, Holy Spirit," etc. After they had risen, the officiating bishop again addressed a few words of exhortation to the new ministers, reminding them of the eternal reward of fidelity. The whole church responded the "Amen," and the meeting closed with the Lord's supper.

4. *Of co-bishops.* When places in the ecclesiastical council became vacant, the co-bishops and pastors wrote on slips of paper the names of those whom they conscientiously thought most suitable to fill the posts of the deceased or retired brethren, and these slips of paper were sent sealed to the bishops. A plurality of votes decided the election, and the ordination was conducted at a synod with the imposition of hands.

5. *Of bishops.* For the purpose of choosing a new bishop, a special synod was convened. The first day was devoted to fasting and prayer; then a sermon was preached, in which the qualifications of a bishop, according to the Scriptures, were enumerated. After this meeting the co-bishops and pastors wrote their votes on paper, and sealed them up, without any previous understanding with each other. The bishops

did not open these notes till they were alone, convinced that he who had the greatest number of votes was the man whom the Lord had chosen. They did not, however, declare on whom the choice had fallen till the next day. The assembly being then again convened, a bishop arose, named the person elected, and called upon him to appear. He was then asked if he regarded the call as Divine, and if he accepted it. In the latter case, he was reminded of the duties of his new situation; and, on his engaging to fulfil them, the whole assembly fell on their knees, to beg of God to bestow his grace upon them; after which the bishops laid their hands on him, the assembly, on their knees, chanting, "Come, Holy Spirit," etc. The colleagues of the new bishop gave him the right hand of fellowship and the kiss of charity. The co-bishops and other ministers promised obedience to him, and the whole finished with singing and mutual congratulations.

VII. *Modes of worship and ceremonies.*—1. *Preaching.* This, in the opinion of the brethren, was the most important part of the pastor's duties. They had preaching not only on Lord's days and festivals, but during the week, as often as funerals, marriages, or other family and public events afforded them opportunity. On the Lord's day, which was entirely devoted to worship, they had four meetings, two in the forenoon, and two in the afternoon. In the first, they expounded a part of the prophetic Scriptures; at the second, which was the principal meeting, they explained a text taken from the gospels; in the third, they treated on a portion of the epistles: and, in the evening, they read the Scriptures in

course, making a few instructive remarks on what was read.

At these different meetings the preacher commonly insisted on the doctrine which was to form the subject of meditation for the ensuing week. For, in order to preserve uniformity of teaching, care had been given to allot to the different Lord's days in the year the principal points of the Christian religion; so that all were gone through in the course of the year. After the morning service, and that in the afternoon, the young people of both sexes, from fifteen to twenty-five years old, remained to be examined by the pastor, on the manner in which they had heard the word.

Their preaching was very simple, not according to human wisdom, but according to the word of God, and therefore well adapted to make every one of their hearers a devoted follower of Christ Jesus. They endeavoured very closely to apply the word of truth to the different classes of their hearers: to the novitiates, the more advanced, and the perfect; to the single, and the married.

The brethren had a book of hymns of their own, several editions of which have been published, and from these the Lutheran church, and in later times the brethren's new church, borrowed rather largely. They always have been very fond of singing in devotional worship.

2. *Baptism.* Some of the brethren baptized only believing adults; but the ruling portion of the church retained the baptism of infants. Sponsors were admitted, whose engagement was considered very solemn: they promised to watch over the children

in concert with the parents, and to bring them up in the nurture of the Lord.

3. *The reception of catechumens, and their admission to the communion.* When persons belonging to any other communion applied for admission into the brethren's church, they first asked them their reasons for so doing, and whether they were satisfied of the utility of its particular constitution. On receiving a suitable answer they proceeded to admit them, not publicly, but in the presence of the elders of the church.

The children of the brethren were admitted publicly in the following manner. The words of Christ were first read, "Come unto me, all ye that labour," etc., then the young people of both sexes, who were about to be received, and who had been several times previously examined by the pastor, came forward into the middle of the church. They were asked if they were willing to enter into the covenant which their parents or sponsors had contracted in their name at their baptism. They then repeated the apostles' creed, and declared their determination to renounce the devil, the world, and the flesh, to put off the old man with his lusts, and to give themselves up to Christ, to serve him in this world, in temperance, righteousness, and godliness. After this the pastor received them into the church, by prayer and the imposition of hands.

4. *The Lord's supper.* The brethren commonly celebrated the Lord's supper four times in the year, preferring the four great festivals for this purpose, but they often also attended to it at other suitable times. The pastor gave notice two or three weeks

beforehand, that all might be fitly prepared, and invited his hearers to come and converse with him on the state of their souls. Every father of a family came to present himself with all his household before the pastor, in order that the conduct of every member of the family might be examined; whether they attended constantly on public and family worship, what good they had derived from it, whether every one was fulfilling his duty towards others, etc. Then, as circumstances required, the pastor gave them counsel or reproof, encouraged, exhorted, advised, or dissuaded them from coming to the supper.

After an exhortation to seek the nourishment which is treasured up in Jesus Christ for true believers, accompanied with a general confession of sin, and a declaration of full forgiveness through the Saviour, they proceeded to the celebration of the supper. The pastor, robed in a white gown, read the words of the institution, broke the bread, and took the cup, calling upon all present to observe these outward symbols of the body and blood of Christ, who was sacrificed on the cross for our redemption. The communicants then approached the table, preceded by the servants of the church, the civil magistrates of the place, and the elders. They came forward according to their age, the men first, and afterwards the women. They commonly partook of the Lord's supper kneeling, for, having once commenced receiving it standing, they had thereby drawn upon themselves a violent persecution. They also thought kneeling more expressive of that adoration and humility, which should penetrate the heart of a Christian while engaged in this service. During the whole time, the members

of the church were engaged in singing the praises of the Lord, in prayer and thanksgiving, on their knees.

5. *Marriage.* None ever married without taking the advice of their parents and the pastor; clandestine promises of marriage were absolutely forbidden, and consequently considered unbecoming. Marriage was celebrated in public. The pastor read a text, on which he made a few remarks, and the betrothed parties advancing, pledged themselves to constancy and fidelity. The pastor then joined their hands, pronouncing the words of Jesus, "What God hath joined together, let not man put asunder," and closed with a prayer.

6. *Visitation of the sick, and funerals.* The sick were accustomed always to commend themselves to the prayers of the church. When they desired it, the Lord's supper was administered to them at their own houses, but in this case some brethren or sisters united, that there might always be a communion, as this ordinance imports.

At funerals, the pastor accompanied the corpse of the deceased to the burial place, with the singing of hymns, and, on its arrival, delivered a discourse.

7. *The Lord's days and festivals.* The brethren always entertained the greatest reverence for the Lord's day, regarding the observance of it as one of the laws which the will of God has continued in his church through all dispensations. They observed a strict rest on this day, according to the letter of the law, abstaining from all secular work and improper use of their time.

Besides the Lord's day, they observed the great festivals in commemoration of the principal events

in the life of Jesus Christ; they kept some other days also, in memory of the apostles and some of the martyrs, to animate themselves by the edifying recollection of their constancy and faith. But on these last festivals every one returned to his work when the religious service was over.

8. *Days of fasting and prayer.* The brethren kept four of these in the year, during which they abstained from food wholly, or at least till the evening. These days were particularly devoted to prayer. They also set apart days of fasting on extraordinary occasions, on account of public calamities, or under the private troubles of the church; and even on the behalf of some hardened offender, who had been excluded, and whom they did not reject without wrestling with God for him, seeking to bring him back to the Lord, and to save his soul.

VIII. *Visitation of the church.* Each of the bishops was bound to visit the churches in his diocese at least once a year. He carefully examined the spiritual state and conduct of the pastor, and of all his parishioners, and more particularly of the inmates of his house, and of the deacons, acolythes, and elders of both sexes.

At these visits new preachers were appointed, and the bishops preached, exhorting the pastor and flock to increasing fidelity.

IX. *Of discipline, properly so called; that is, the admonitions and punishments of the church.* There were three degrees of discipline observed: the private admonition, the public reproof, and exclusion.

1. *Brotherly admonition.* The brethren and sisters were recommended to exhort and reprove one another



in brotherly love, when they perceived faults in any one. If the private admonition were not well received, they called upon one of the elders, or the pastor, who generally succeeded, through the esteem in which they were held by the brethren, in restoring those who had erred.

2. *Public reproof.* If, however, the first measures were unsuccessful, the offending brother was summoned before the assembled elders, and if he did not attend to their admonitions, he was suspended from the Lord's supper until he repented.

If the offence was heinous, and of a public nature, the pastor and elders called him before them to convince him of his error. They required him to make public reparation for the offence before the church, and to conduct himself as a true penitent till the next communion, or even longer. If the offence was not public, it was deemed sufficient for the offending brother to confess his fault before the consistory.

3. *Exclusion from the church.* If any one despised the above-mentioned preliminary admonitions, and suffered himself to be farther drawn into sin, he was excluded. But the pastor could not act alone in this matter. He reported it to the bishops, with a statement of the circumstances, and waited for their decision.

When an exclusion could not be avoided, the offender was summoned before the church; and it was declared to him, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, that his sin was retained, and that he had excluded himself from the church of God. The whole church confirmed the sentence by its "Amen," always accompanying it with many tears

and groans. Upon which one of the deacons or elders led the excommunicated person out of the place; the church still entreating the Lord that he would not suffer the strayed sheep to perish, but bring him back into the fold of Christ.

They by no means deprived the excluded person of all hope of return; on the contrary, they kept an open door for the sincere penitent. They permitted him to attend on the public preaching at the door of the church; and when they perceived him sincerely returning to a Christian course, they received him with the greatest joy and love.

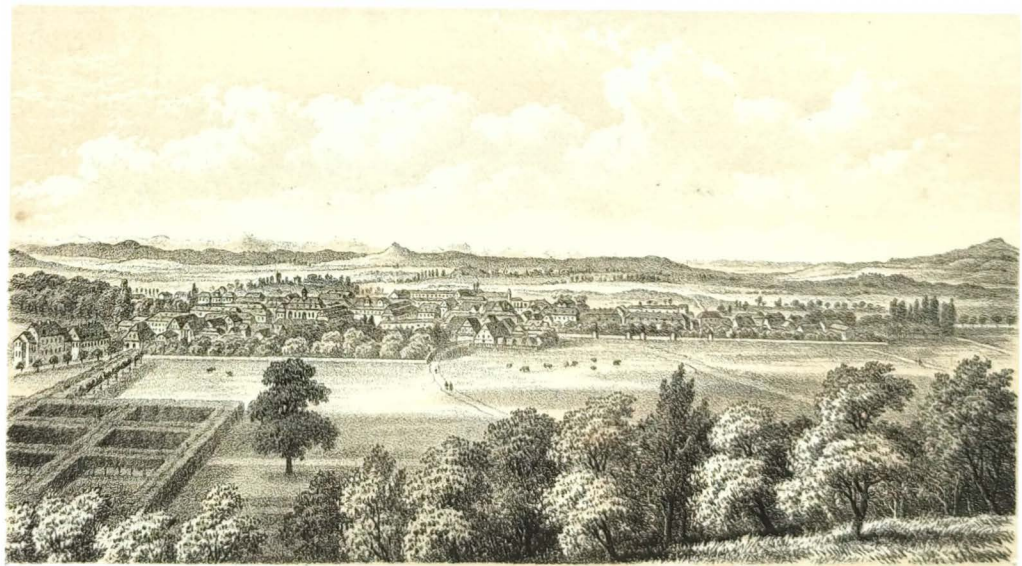
## CHAPTER VII.

FROM THE EXTINCTION OF THE ANCIENT CHURCH TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NEW; AND THE FOUNDATION OF HEBENHUT, 1627—1722.

WE are now entering upon a new series of the wonders of God's conduct towards the church of the United Brethren. The beautiful stream, the course of which we have been observing for nearly two centuries, and which has seemed, at least for a hundred years, to have almost disappeared, is now about to spring up again and to flow more abundantly than before. The events we are about to relate, including a period of twenty or thirty years, constitute one of the brightest eras of the history of the church.

The venerable Comenius never ceased to cherish the hope, that the Lord would raise up the church of the brethren from its ruins. It is true, that some time after the death of this faithful witness, in 1671, "they thought no more in distant countries of the brethren of Bohemia or Moravia, than they would have done of one that had been dead;" but still there remained in these kingdoms many germs of the knowledge of the gospel, which began to shoot forth with surprising rapidity at the commencement of the eighteenth century.

In the year 1715, a great revival commenced, both at Fulneck, in Moravia, and in the principalities of



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Leutermischel and Landskrone, in Bohemia, especially at Litiz. This two-fold revival was the more remarkable, as nothing was known in either of these places of what was going on at the other. We shall confine our narrative at present to the revival that took place in Moravia, from which the restoration of the brethren's church took rise; and shall only allude to that of Bohemia, as far as it may be connected with the history of the brethren in the former country.

Many of the brethren were still to be found at Fulneck, the ancient parish of Comenius, and in the surrounding villages. They were, it is true, obliged outwardly to conform to the Romish worship, but they still retained among them the Scriptures, their hymn books, and other religious publications. They also held meetings every morning and evening, especially on the Lord's days, of which the magistrates were not ignorant, and on account of which they were often called to endure fresh persecutions. But although their enemies continually endeavoured to take away their books, and to deprive them of the means of maintaining Protestant worship, they did not cease to serve the Lord faithfully in the midst of their families, according to the regulations of their church; and they secretly met to partake of the Lord's supper among themselves.

After the expulsion of Comenius, some of the brethren's preachers fled from Skalitz to Zauchtenthal, where they held meetings, and where the knowledge of the gospel was for a long time maintained among them. Of those who held these meetings, we particularly notice *Martin Schneider*, whom the

historians of that time distinguished by the name of *patriarch*, and some of whose descendants are still to be found in the present church. He instructed the youth in reading, writing, and the catechism of Comenius. But his proceedings excited the attention of his enemies; he was summoned before the magistrates, was several times imprisoned, and would have been condemned to the flames, if some of his Roman Catholic employers, who valued him much, had not interceded on his behalf.

After his death, the meetings were held in the house of his cousin, Samuel Schneider, who was also on the point of suffering martyrdom, and only escaped by a kind of miracle. He did not, however, cease to preach the gospel until his death, which took place in 1710. His dying moments were joyful; his heart bounded with delight at the thought of soon being with the Lord: "There," said he, "I shall see his dear apostles, his prophets, all the martyrs for the name of Christ, and the whole cloud of confessors and witnesses, who loved not their lives unto death; and I shall be with the Lord for ever." The Romish priest of the place went to him to administer extreme unction, but Samuel replied, "I am already anointed and sealed with the Holy Spirit to life eternal; the unction you would bestow, would be of no use to me." The priest asked him, if he thought he could die in safety without extreme unction. Schneider, pointing with his finger to the sun, replied, "As certainly, sir, as you see yon sun shining in the heavens, so surely shall I be saved." On which the priest added, "Well, well, Schneider: but tell me, they accuse you of not being a good Catholic,

and of paying no respect to the saints?" He replied, "People have said a great deal of evil of me, and done me much harm without cause; but I have endeavoured, during the whole course of my life, to walk in the footsteps of the saints, and to imitate their conduct." The priest then gave up the conversation, and went away, saying to those who were present, "Let me die the death of the righteous."

Among the faithful witnesses of this time, was George Joeschke, of Schlen. He was a true descendant of the brethren of Bohemia, and one of those pious men with whom the persecuted saints found shelter in times of tribulation. He maintained an intimate correspondence with the brethren of Fulneck and its neighbourhood. They were accustomed to meet by turns in their respective places of residence, to converse, in the sadness of their hearts, and with many prayers and tears, on the doctrine of salvation, the state of the brethren, the numerous declensions among them, and the oppression under which the faithful still groaned. The number of families in which they could thus confide was daily diminishing; as the brethren were continually becoming more mixed with the Romanists by marriages, and incessant efforts were made on the part of the government to lessen their number, especially in those places which, like Schlen, were under the domination of the Jesuits.

George Joeschke particularly interested himself about five brothers of the name of Neisser, his nephews, whom we mention here, because in the sequel it will appear that his labours were not

in vain; these five brothers became the first fruits of the church at its revival. He taught them faithfully the way of salvation, recommended them to read the Holy Scriptures diligently, with the writings of the brethren, and of Luther; and urged the necessity of an experimental knowledge of the great doctrine of redemption through Christ Jesus.

He had a son at a very advanced age, to whom he was most tenderly attached. In 1707, he found himself approaching his end, and being desirous of bestowing his last blessing upon this child, and upon his nephews, he assembled them around his bed, and once more solemnly exhorted them to be faithful to Jesus until death, assuring them, that if they cleaved to the Lord with purpose of heart, they should see a great deliverance. Perceiving the necessity of their emigration from Moravia, he affectionately commended his child to the care of the Neissers, and entreated them to take him with them when they left the country. Shortly afterwards, he entered into the joy of his Lord.

It was not long before the pleasing presentiment which had cheered his last hours was singularly verified. After papal oppression had continued in Moravia for about one hundred years, God at length arose to deliver his people, and to accomplish a work, the first appearances of which we are about to describe. And what was the commencement of the work? Oh, the unsearchable depth of the ways of the Lord, who giveth not his glory to another, and who, by the things that are not, brings to nought the things that are! The first instrument of God, to draw forth from their obscurity those



who were afterwards destined to exhibit such distinguished gifts and graces, was a beggar!

In 1715, the Neissers frequently met together with their neighbours, the families of Joeschke, Schneider, Nitschmann, and other brethren of Zauchtenthal and its vicinity. An old discharged Protestant soldier used to come often to beg among them, and gladdened their hearts by the evangelical hymns which he sung at their doors, and the Scriptures he repeated. This was the man chosen to begin the deliverance of the brethren. He introduced them to the Lutheran ministers of the church at Teschen, to whom they frequently resorted for consolation and instruction, although they had more than twelve leagues to travel.

As if God delighted to accomplish his great work by feeble means, and that no flesh should glory in his presence, not only was a begging soldier chosen to begin it, but a simple artisan was raised up to carry it on to a wonderful and glorious consummation. Christian David was his name.

Christian David was born at Senftleben, a village of Moravia, December 31, 1690. Educated in popery, he manifested great zeal for the practices of the church of Rome; but he found neither rest for his conscience, nor strength to contend against sin. In his youth he was employed in tending cows and sheep. Afterwards he learned the trade of a carpenter, in a place where he became acquainted with some persons of evangelical principles, who taught him that the worship of images, and the Romish ceremonies in general, were mere human inventions. These pious men were soon after apprehended and

imprisoned in a cellar. Here he often heard them singing and praying, night and day, and this deeply impressed his mind. He also, about the same time, became acquainted with some Jews, and was much struck with their fidelity and zeal in observing their law. He conversed with them on their faith, and the result was, that he knew not what to think—whether the Roman Catholics, the prisoners in the cellar, or the Jews were in the right. He had not yet seen a Bible; but when he learned that it was the word of God, he felt a strong desire to have one. At length he obtained it, and, after carefully reading, and comparing the Old and New Testaments together, the distressing doubts he had felt gradually vanished, and he was brought to believe that Jesus is the promised Messiah. From that time the Bible became his favourite book, and reading it was his recreation after labour. He was at length so well acquainted with the inspired volume, and so accustomed to the language of the sacred writers, that even his ordinary conversation was almost purely Biblical. It was also from his Bible that he learned to write, and formed a set of letters peculiar to himself.

Having resolved to join the Lutherans, he repaired for that purpose to Hungary, after he had finished his apprenticeship. At Tyrnau he heard, for the first time, the singing of a Lutheran church, and was overpowered with joy. But the Lutherans of Hungary, to whom he made application, were afraid of incurring the severe penalties denounced against those who received among them a proselyte from popery, and therefore advised him to go into Saxony.

He went first to Leipsic, and then to Berlin, where he embraced Protestantism, and took the Lord's supper in a Lutheran church. Still, however, he did not find all he had expected; on the contrary, he saw disorder and impiety almost everywhere, and perceived that he could not himself live consistently as a Christian, without becoming an object of contempt to many, and meeting with obstacles of all kinds. He then determined to enter the army, thinking that in that profession he should be more at liberty as to his religion, and be less exposed to the snares of his enemies.

He enlisted accordingly, marched with the army sent against Charles XII., and was present at the siege of Stralsund. A little while after this, he again went into Silesia, and worked at his former trade as a carpenter; but, as he was still persecuted by the Jesuits, he repaired, in 1717, to Gœrlitz.

At this place he became acquainted with several enlightened men, among whom was Schœffer, the first pastor of the town; Schwedler, the pastor of Niederweise; and others. Here he also married. His progress in piety was rapid, and particularly appeared in his concern for the salvation of souls. To this he devoted himself, and determined to spend his time in travelling from place to place to preach the gospel, undeterred by the dangers he might encounter, and the hardships he must endure, in such a vocation.

In the course of one of his journeys he arrived at Schlen, where he found the Neissers. He taught them how to read the Scriptures to edification, and expounded several passages in their hearing. They were much affected by his exhortations, and perceived

the striking contrast between their own ignorance and the Divine light and strength enjoyed by this humble Christian; and they longed to have intercourse with others of a similar spirit. They therefore entreated him, when he left them, to endeavour to find them an asylum in a Protestant country: for they imagined that all the Lutherans were like Christian David.

At the end of fourteen months, Christian David returned into Moravia; having sought, without success, for the retreat which they so much desired; but he confirmed their minds by his exhortations, and encouraged them to continue in the exercise of faith and patience.

It was not surprising that they desired to leave the country; for they represented to David, that being constrained to engage in superstitious rites, their consciences were perpetually wounded, and they could enjoy no peace, day nor night. But it was the will of God that their patience should still be tried, and three whole years elapsed before their wishes were gratified. During this time, they continued to meet as often as they could with the church at Teschen, at the head of which was the excellent Steinmetz, who, together with his colleagues, insisted upon the vital truths of Christianity, and preached to sinners the good news of salvation.

The Neissers asked Steinmetz what they ought to do in their situation; but, to their great surprise, he dissuaded them from emigrating, telling them that they would find everywhere the same corruption of manners, the same hindrances to true piety, and the same persecution of real Christians.

The poor brethren were terrified; nevertheless, they persevered in entreating the Lord that he would deliver their souls from so many evils. All hope seemed to fail them, and they knew not what to do, when succour arrived at a moment they little expected.

On the morning of Whitsunday, in the year 1722, Christian David again visited them, bringing good news, saying that he had met with one Count Zinzendorf, who was not only himself a real Christian, but was also employed in bringing souls to Jesus: that with this design he had bought an estate in Upper Lusatia, where he had stationed a faithful pastor, named Rothe, and that there they might find the asylum they had so long desired.

Christian David had no sooner communicated these glad tidings to the Neissers, than Augustin and James, who were cutlers by trade, determined to leave everything, and follow him. Christian arrived on Lord's day, and it was fixed that, on the Wednesday following, they should quit their country. They resolved, that Augustin and James should go first, and that, if God blessed the enterprise, the others should soon follow. This resolution, however, involved no slight sacrifices; they had to leave all their property, a well furnished house, and many friends, to whom they dared not even open their mouths on the project they had in view. Their mother, to whom they were obliged to announce their intention, fainted several times on hearing it: her grief was so great, that they almost began to hesitate; but they wrestled fervently with God on her behalf, and at length succeeded in tranquillizing her.

Just at that moment James was struck with the idea of the situation in which they were leaving their cousin, Michael Joeschke, whom their uncle had so earnestly recommended to their care in his dying hours, and who was then about eighteen years old. He sent for Michael in the evening, entered into religious conversation with him, recalled to his recollection the last words of his father, and added, "The time is come; I am going hence to save my soul, and those of my family, before it is too late. Augustin and myself are determined to leave all, and go to a place that God has chosen for us. If you will, you can do the same; we will take you with us, to save your soul also." Michael was overjoyed at the news, and readily entered into his cousins' plans. He had long desired to emigrate, but despaired of accomplishing his wishes. The present opportunity appeared an evident interposition of Providence, and he resolved to embrace it.

On the Wednesday after Whitsunday, 1722, about ten o'clock at night, they began their journey, full of courage and confidence in God. The company consisted of the two brothers, Augustin and James Neisser, with their wives and four children, one little boy six years old, one girl three years of age, and two twins three months old, besides their cousin Michael Joeschke, and Martha Neisser, niece of Augustin. They travelled by the cross roads over the mountains, to avoid observation, and elude the cruel vigilance of their foes. The journey was necessarily very painful to the children; nevertheless, they all arrived safely at Niederweise, in Silesia, and were kindly received by M. Schwedler, the pastor. Michael remained

there for the present. The rest proceeded to Gœrlitz, where they were hospitably entertained for several days by M. Schœffer, the minister of the place. Leaving their families there, Christian David and the two Neissers, accompanied by a citizen of Gœrlitz, repaired to Hennersdorf, the residence of the Countess Gersdorf, grandmother of the young nobleman whose patronage they were seeking. Zinzendorf was then at Dresden. The countess treated them at first with some coldness, having been often deceived by impostors; but Mr. Marche, the tutor in the family, interceded on their behalf, and it was agreed that they should be sent to Bertholdsdorf, a village two miles distant, of which the count was proprietor. Mr. Rothe, who had been nominated pastor of that place, but was not yet ordained, gave them a recommendatory letter to Mr. Heitz, the count's steward.

"On the 8th of June," says Mr. Heitz, in a letter to Count Zinzendorf, "two of the Moravian emigrants arrived at Hennersdorf, with a carpenter, one Christian David, and a citizen of Gœrlitz. Madame, your grandmother, sent them to me, signifying that she thought they might be allowed to build, and requesting me to give them all the assistance in my power. In the meantime, I have placed them in the manor house, with which they seemed very well pleased." (This was an old farm-house, built about seventy years before, which had never been inhabited.) "Soon after, the two Neissers went to fetch their wives and children. We think, with madame the countess, that they should not build in the village of Bertholdsdorf: madame proposed the hill behind the village, where

there is excellent water: I preferred the other hill, through which the road passes; she objected that there was no water, and not even the prospect of procuring any. To this I replied, '*God can give it.*'"

The place which Heitz had fixed upon was on the declivity of the Hutberg, on the great road from Löbau to Grittau. It was a wild spot, covered with bushes, marshy, and the carriages often sunk deep in the soil. This led the wife of Augustin Neisser to exclaim, when she saw it, "Where shall we get bread in this wilderness?" Marche answered her, in a solemn tone, "If you believe, you shall in this place see the glory of God." Christian David took his axe, and striking it into the nearest tree, said, "Here the sparrow hath found a house, and the swallow her nest; even thine altars, O Lord of hosts!"

On the 17th of June, the three new comers repaired to the forest, and cut down the first tree for the first house in Herrnhut;\* but, as they were weak through fatigue and poor food, this tree cost them more labour to work than five others. On the 7th and 8th of July, the wood, being sufficiently prepared, was brought to the place in boats, and the three brethren began, with great toil, to build their house. Many times were they derided by the passengers; and often did they, in the sequel, remember the feeling of perfect weakness which they then experienced. It seemed to them, to use their own expression, that their enterprise was like that of children trying to build houses with cards. But they ceased not to trust in the

\* On the spot where this tree stood, a stone monument has since been erected, to perpetuate the remembrance of the event here mentioned.



Lord, who had conducted Abraham alone from his own country into a strange land, to make him a great nation, and a blessing to all the families of the earth.

“While the three brethren,” observed Heitz, in another letter, “were employed in their building, I began to get the well dug; but everybody ridiculed us, saying, that if water could have been procured in this place, it would have been built on long before; that the water would not have waited the arrival of Count Zinzendorf’s steward to make its appearance. After two men had worked at the well for fifteen days, no water appeared, and they wanted to leave the spot. I told them to go on, and I would pay them; but they replied, that still no water would come. I then said, that if, by the end of the third week, none should appear, we would find them some other employment. They persevered, and on Monday evening found a soft clay, through which they worked during Tuesday; and on Wednesday, November 4th, we had water in abundance.”

On the 11th of August the new house was raised, without the slightest accident to any one. The 30th of the same month, Mr. Schœffer, having come to ordain Mr. Rothe at Bertholdsdorf, used these remarkable words in his discourse: “God will one day kindle a light upon these hills, which shall enlighten the whole country; I am firmly assured of it.” On the same occasion Count Zinzendorf addressed an exhortation to his tenantry, in which he noticed the arrival of the brethren, and recommended them to the kind attentions of the inhabitants of Bertholdsdorf.

The house being finished, one of the Neissers entered it on the 7th of October; the other a few

days after, and David on the 28th. Heitz, who had daily visited and encouraged the workmen, and cherished a lively interest in the undertaking, wished to dedicate the house to God on an appointed day. He delivered a discourse on Rev. xxi., spoke of the magnificence of the New Jerusalem, of the holiness and happiness of its inhabitants, applying these ideas to the house they had erected, and finished with a most fervent prayer.

They named the rising town Herrnhut; and in fact, though the appellation was only determined upon two years later, the place had been so called from its earliest days, from the name of the hill on which it was built (Hutberg), *Herrnhout*. This word signifies, the *defence of God*, and the name was the more readily adopted, because it was not given in honour of any human being.\*

In September, 1722, Zinzendorf married the Countess of Reuss. As he was conducting her to Hennersdorf, towards the end of December, he was agreeably surprised at seeing in the forest, not far from the high road, a house that he did not recollect to have seen before. On being told that it belonged to the Moravian emigrants, he went in, welcomed them in the most affectionate manner, fell upon his knees with them, and gave his blessing to the place, beseeching the Lord to have his eyes always upon it.

\* The word Herrnhut also signifies, "the watch of the Lord;" and Heitz observed, in a letter to Zinzendorf, "We have called this place *Herrnhut*, to remind us, on the one hand, that the Lord is our protector and keeper; and, on the other, that it is our duty to stand in the watch-tower and keep ward."

## CHAPTER VIII.

ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE OF ZINZENDORF TO THE YEAR 1722, AND OF THE RELIGIOUS STATE OF HERRNHUT AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD DURING THE SAME PERIOD, 1700—1727.

COUNT ZINZENDORF was born at Dresden, June 26, 1700. He was descended from Austrian ancestors, who had embraced and promoted the reformation with much ardour, and with such success, that, in 1580, there were found on the estates of this family alone, four Protestant parishes. Persecution, however, broke out; the count's grandfather quitted Austria, leaving all his property behind him, and his sons retired into Saxony.

His father dying when he was only six weeks old, his mother repaired with her young infant to his relations at Gross-Hennersdorf; but afterwards, having married again, she went to live at Berlin, leaving the child in the care of his grandmother, the Baroness de Gersdorf, a lady highly esteemed among the pious. The celebrated Spener was one of the friends of the family; and several of the divines of Halle, Dr. Anton, the famous Francke, Baron Canstein, and other distinguished men, corresponded with and frequently visited her.

At this time a religious revival took place in Germany, which spread through all classes; and the conversion of great numbers, both among the nobility and the people at large, was the result.

At Gross-Hennersdorf, in particular, such great seriousness prevailed, that the mind of the count was, from his earliest years, formed to those sentiments of piety, which he afterwards so powerfully felt and exemplified.

Though apparently robust, Zinzendorf was naturally of a delicate constitution, but of a very quick understanding, and an extraordinary memory. In early life, he was observed to possess a peculiarly amiable disposition, mixed however with some degree of ardency and impatience. Religious impressions were of early formation in him, and they grew with astonishing rapidity. There was something extraordinary in the very appearance of the child: and the pious and distinguished men we have mentioned, Spenser, Anton, and Canstein, often gave him their blessing, both personally and in their letters.

The castle of Hennersdorf was to him full of interesting recollections of Divine mercy and favour. Among other remarkable incidents which he mentions, is the following:—"One evening," says he, "when I was in my sixth year, my preceptor, on taking leave of me after family prayer, discoursed to me in such tender terms of the Saviour, and of his merits and love, that I was for a long time dissolved in tears, and made a resolution to live only for the Man of sorrows, who had given his life for me."

"In my eighth year, I one night lay awake a long time, and, meditating on a hymn which my grandmother used often to sing before going to rest, I became so deeply absorbed in thought, that at last I could neither see nor hear anything. Ideas of a sceptical nature troubled me, but as my heart was

engaged for the Saviour, these thoughts, whenever they returned, never produced the least effect upon me: I loved Him in whom I believed, and whatever thus arose from my own thoughts was hateful to me. From that moment I resolved to rest simply on the truths which had engaged my heart, especially the doctrine of the cross, even of the death of the Lamb of God. I determined to make this the foundation of all truths, and to reject everything which could not be shown to rest on this great foundation."

With these religious feelings and sentiments, Zinzendorf went to Halle, when six years old, and was placed in one of the institutions of the celebrated Francke.\*

Among Francke's institutions was a college for young men of the upper ranks of society. To this college Zinzendorf was sent. His grandmother having recommended that he should be kept strictly, and brought up in humility, his masters so closely followed this direction, that they often subjected him to needless hardships, of which his companions took advantage, to humble him still more. They derided him for his attachment to the gospel, and endeavoured to draw him into sin, and to rob him of that purity of manners which he had brought with him from home. "But," says he, "as I was upheld by a power they knew not, I was not only preserved from their snares, but succeeded, more than once, in gaining some of them over to my Saviour."

In the midst of all the opposition he experienced,

\* For an account of that illustrious man, the institutions which he founded, and the astonishing results of his labours, see the "Life of Francke," published by the Religious Tract Society.—ED.

it was a great consolation to Zinzendorf to enjoy the cordial esteem of his masters, and even of his school-fellows. He set on foot private meetings for prayer; and so great was his zeal in this work, that on leaving Halle, in 1716, he was able to deliver to Professor Francke a list of seven societies of this kind, which he had originated since the year 1710.

Between 1713 and 1714, in particular, we learn from his own accounts, there were five young persons at Halle of noble rank, united together in the most intimate manner, and fully experiencing the truth of our Saviour's words, "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." Although these five young men were of different communions, they never thought of disputing on the points whereon they differed; and "in the recollection of none of them," says Zinzendorf, "did a single conversation, or reading, or singing, or prayer, take place, that had any other subject than the sufferings and death of Christ." Zinzendorf took the lead in all their undertakings; and he was accustomed to say, that he would walk miles at any time to join in singing a hymn of praise to the Saviour. "From my infancy," says he, "I had no other motto than this verse,—

‘What shall I do for thee, my Lord?—  
As long as I have breath,  
Deep in my heart will I record  
The memory of thy death.’”

Two of this juvenile society, Zinzendorf and Watteville, met together in 1715, for the express purpose of devising means for the conversion of the heathen. They could not hope to take any personal

part in this work ; but, as the Lord had been the guide of a Francke and a Canstein, they trusted he would also direct them to some friends, perhaps even among their fellow-students, who might labour with them in so good a cause. Influenced by these feelings, they endeavoured, while engaged in their least serious avocations, or those to which they were obliged to apply themselves, in the riding or fencing school, and even when at their sports, to insinuate impressions of the love of the Saviour into the minds of their companions.

The circumstance that contributed most powerfully to cherish these sentiments in the mind of Zinzendorf, was his residence in the house of Francke, where he was surrounded by Christian institutions of every kind, which this eminent man had originated. Here our young Christian found himself in his element. The mission to Tranquebar, in particular, founded by the king of Denmark, was at this time eminently successful ; and Zinzendorf daily received the most interesting reports of the progress of the kingdom of God. He had also an opportunity of conversing with eye-witnesses of the facts from all parts of the world, and of seeing the missionaries themselves, many of whom had suffered persecution and exile for the sake of the gospel. Above all, the establishments of Francke, which were then in their glory, his activity, his courage, and the triumphs which constantly followed his numerous trials, left an impression on the mind of Zinzendorf which nothing could efface.

Although he attended to some branches of study merely in compliance with the calls of duty, yet he

made such rapid progress in them, that at fifteen years of age he could read the Greek classics; and the year following he delivered a public oration in that language. He had attained such a proficiency in the Latin tongue, as to be able to compose in it with equal facility and elegance. In the Hebrew he was not so successful. His talents for poetry were considerable, and verses frequently flowed into his mind with greater rapidity than he could write them down. In the latter part of his life he used frequently to dictate hymns in the full assembly of the church.

During the six years that Zinzendorf was studying at Halle, Francke truly appreciated his character: he used to say of him, "This young man will one day become a great light in the church."

Zinzendorf would willingly have finished his studies at Halle; but his uncle, who was also his guardian, vainly wishing to check his religious fervour, directed him to enter the university of Wittenberg. He accordingly commenced his studies there in the autumn of 1716. At first he was very unhappy, having no pious companions; added to which, he quickly became the object of general ridicule, on account of his apparent austerity of manners, and his refusal to join in worldly amusements. This, however, had a salutary influence on his mind, and rather confirmed than weakened his religious impressions. Deprived of the Christian fellowship which he had enjoyed at Halle, he sought for comfort in retirement. Frequently the whole night was spent in devout exercises, and one day in every week was regularly devoted to fasting and prayer. Meanwhile,



his studies were not neglected. Theology was his chief delight, and occupied all his spare hours; but, as it was hoped he would fill some important office in the state, he was desired to pay particular attention to the study of the law. He complied; and the knowledge he acquired was afterwards of singular use in managing the affairs of the brethren.

The divines of Halle and Wittenberg had taken opposite sides, in what was called the *adiaphoristic* controversy, or the dispute concerning things "indifferent." Theatrical amusements, dancing, games of chance, etc., were regarded by Francke and his coadjutors as unlawful, and utterly inconsistent with true religion. Those of Wittenberg, on the contrary, held them to be innocent, and stigmatized their opponents as *pietists*; a designation given to those in Germany who were anxious for the revival of Scriptural piety. The contest had raged fiercely and long, and was familiarly styled "the thirty years' war." But the combatants were now beginning to be weary. In this state of things, the professors of Wittenberg were desirous of a mediator between the contending parties. They fixed upon Zinzendorf. It is true, he was a young man, and he was a pietist; but his amiable temper, his conciliating manners, and his prudent conduct, had caused him to be universally esteemed. He was well acquainted with the arguments on both sides of the question. Though firmly attached to the principles of pietism, as it was called, he was considered by the opponents more moderate and liberal than most of that persuasion. In fact, he had gained the confidence of both parties; it was unanimously agreed that he should be requested to

mediate between them. He accordingly undertook to do so, and for some months his efforts seemed to be successful. A conference was about to be held on the subject, when his mother, at the instigation of some ill-disposed person, commanded him to interfere no further in the business. The count considered obedience his duty in this instance, and said, "The matter of Halle was of very great importance certainly, but to obey the fifth commandment was absolutely *necessary*." He was, therefore, obliged to abandon the project; and soon after, at the desire of his relations, left the university, where he had obtained the reputation of a man of original genius, endowed with extraordinary gifts and talents, and whose society was agreeable and instructive; though he would sometimes displease, by his zeal for things accounted indifferent.

His friends then urged him to travel, and he again complied with their wishes, more from a spirit of obedience than from any desire he felt for such a mode of life; for he feared the influence of the world upon his religious affections. In 1719, he first visited Holland, still pursuing his general studies, while, at the same time, he did not neglect theology, which was his favourite pursuit.

From Holland he proceeded to France, and spent several months in Paris. The licentiousness of that city deeply affected him. His rank in life exposed him to many temptations, arising from unavoidable intercourse with the great and the gay. A young nobleman who never went to the theatre, and almost knew the Bible by heart, was a phenomenon! The Roman Catholic clergy, too, could not endure the

thought that so promising a young man should be a Protestant and a pietist. One party endeavoured to corrupt his morals; the other tampered with his religion. By the blessing of God, both were unsuccessful, and Zinzendorf left Paris without yielding to the allurements of worldly pleasure, or surrendering a single article of his religion, either in doctrine or practice. In one respect, his residence there was beneficial to him: he gained more knowledge of men and things, and thereby acquired experience and habits which proved serviceable to him in his subsequent life.

In the spring of 1720, he returned to Germany. He was then under promise of marriage to one of his relations, a very pious lady, to whom he was tenderly attached; but having discovered that a friend of his, Count Henry de Reuss, was deeply in love with her, and that she herself was not disinclined to his overtures, he released her from her engagement. Had he been left to his own choice, he would have immediately devoted himself to the Christian ministry. But here again the wishes and plans of his relations thwarted him, and he found it necessary to yield so far as to accept an important legal appointment, which obliged him to reside principally at Dresden. His characteristic simplicity and ardour were soon manifested in his new situation. He spent much time in labouring to prevent lawsuits, or to expedite them when they were entered upon; and he was frequently successful in accomplishing an amicable arrangement of the disputes between the peasants and the local authorities. Every Lord's day he held

private meetings for Christian edification. And he issued a periodical work, *The Dresden Socrates*, in which he freely exposed the follies and vices of the age, although sometimes, as he afterwards confessed, his zeal exceeded the bounds of discretion.

Zinzendorf became of age in 1721, and, in the following year, purchased the manor of Bertholdsdorf. He soon afterwards married one of the sisters of his friend, Count Henry de Reuss, a woman of the greatest piety, who was in all respects, temporal and spiritual, suited to be a help meet for him. Her parents' house had been the habitual resort of Spener, and other pious men of that time.

Here we may state some particulars of his private life, extending beyond the date of this chapter. Count Zinzendorf had twelve children, ten of whom died in early youth. His daughter, Theodora Caritas, died in 1731. As soon as she was born, her parents laboured to educate her for the Saviour, and were especially careful that she should not hear or see anything which had not some relation to the love of Christ. She was constantly attended by certain sisters of the church, selected on account of their eminent piety.

Before she was quite twelve months old, the young countess could speak with some degree of fluency, and soon after it was her greatest pleasure to sing, as she said, the Saviour's verses. She had learned several verses, and even entire hymns, from having heard the sisters repeat them; and she could sing the principal tunes in the brethren's collection. She was particularly delighted with the following:—

“ Dearest Saviour, keep my eye  
Ever fixed upon thy love,” etc.;

and,

“ O thou dear Lamb, thou Prince of Peace,  
When thy Divine attractions,” etc.

When she had committed any fault, and thought she had offended the Saviour, she instantly fell on her knees to implore his mercy; she was likewise most ready to ask forgiveness of her father, mother, or any other person, even without being told to do so. In her simple and infantile prayers, she remembered all the brethren and sisters whom she knew: “ Dear Saviour,” she would say, “ thou seest such or such a brother, bless him for thy own name’s sake. Amen.” Then she would rise from her knees, and go about her little affairs, and afterwards, if she recollected any other person, she would begin again to pray.

When she was seized with her last sickness, she began to sing a verse, usually sung at a child’s funeral:—

“ Take me to thy rest divine;  
Rock me, Saviour, I am thine;  
Close my sense to every ill,  
Jesus, whom my soul loves still!” etc.

It is the custom of the brethren to sing around each other’s death-beds. A few days before the child’s death, when she was rapidly sinking, the count composed and sung the following stanzas:—

“ In thy sweet peace, dear Saviour,  
May she for ever rest;  
Before thy face,  
Thou King of grace,  
Prepared to live for ever,  
A lamb upon thy breast;  
Within thy sacred city to abide,  
Within thy heavenly temple, near thy side!”

On the day of her death, her father coming very early to her bed, she raised her right hand, and put it over her eyes, as she had been accustomed to do when she wished to go to sleep. On this he placed his hand upon hers, and sung this verse:—

“ Freely to thee my spirit yields  
 This infant, dearest Lord;  
 And pressed with burning thirst awaits  
 The droppings of thy word:  
 Thy heavenly unction may I prove,  
 The richest graces of thy love.”

While the words were yet upon his lips, the child rendered up her spirit to God, aged two years and six weeks.

On occasion of the death of their eldest child, both the parents were wonderfully supported, and enabled to surrender their daughter into the Saviour's hands. The count, on his knees, offered up this sacrifice to the Lord in his wife's name and his own, beseeching him graciously to accept it; and during their prayer the child departed.

Another child, John Ernest, died May 16, 1732. When he was dying, and his eldest sister was weeping, her little brother, four years and a half old, asked her why she wept. “Because my brother is dying.” “Oh no,” said he, “*he* is not dying, though they say so; it is only his *misery* that is dying.” The day before his decease, while this child was in great pain, the little Caritas, at that time about eighteen months old, was rocking the cradle, and singing, in a charmingly distinct voice,

“ Little harmless lamb of Christ,  
 Thus thy life in sorrow passes,” etc.

From facts like these we may judge of the character of the man to whom God was about to confide the revived church of the brethren in its infant state. They may serve to convince us that he was the same both in public and in private life.

There were at Hennersdorf, where Zinzendorf had been brought up, at Bertholdsdorf, where he had just settled, and in the surrounding parts, a few persons, distinguished both for their rank in the world and their piety, who all became fellow-labourers with the brethren, and of whom we shall now give a short account.

In 1722, the Baron de Watteville, of Berne, came to Bertholdsdorf. He had been a fellow-student with Zinzendorf, at Halle, and a member of one of the praying societies before mentioned. From Halle he had gone to Paris, where the vanities of the world had made him almost an infidel. He had, however, been only a few weeks with Zinzendorf, when the piety of the family brought him back to a sense of his condition. He then fell into a state of great despondency, which issued in universal scepticism. Often did he entreat the Lord, who, he thought, had forsaken him, either to annihilate him, or to reveal himself so manifestly, that he could no longer doubt his existence. Every member of the family endeavoured to console him; the count especially was unremitting in endeavours to support his friend by his prayers and exhortations. While in this state, the expression, "*God is love,*" was one day brought to his mind with such power, that he became overpowered with joy, and remained in that state for several hours, calling incessantly

on the Lord. This happy transition from darkness to light took place on the 21st of January, 1723; it greatly tended to confirm and cement the union between the baron and Zinzendorf.

Two other distinguished men were associated with them, the pastor Rothe, and Schœffer of Gœrlitz. Of the former he thus speaks:—"Rothe was profoundly learned, and possessed in a high degree the talent of teaching; he so clearly comprehended everything which he discussed, that he preached without the slightest hesitation, and in the most systematic manner, as the notes taken while he was delivering his discourses show. For an extemporaneous preacher he had a wonderful precision, and although he spoke rather like a professor giving his lectures, he was never dry, nor did he ever appear long or tedious. This might partly arise from the rapidity of his utterance, but more from the extraordinary gift of eloquence which he possessed: the talents of Luther, Spener, Francke, and Schwedler were united in him. The lowest peasant understood him, and the greatest philosopher heard him with attention and respect. He was admired even by his enemies, and the brethren acknowledged, that of the many powerful discourses which were delivered among them at that time, none were to be compared, for solidity of thought, spiritual unction, or wise admonition, with those of Rothe."

Professor Schœffer was the intimate friend of Rothe. He was a faithful pastor, who had suffered much reproach for the name of Christ, and was truly worthy of a place in such an association.

The great object to which these four brethren



directed their attention, was the spread of the gospel. This work they divided among themselves in the following manner. Schœffer continued to preach the word in Gœrlitz with power and great boldness. Although he perceived the errors and abuses of the established worship and discipline, he submitted to them, at the same time pointing out the various imperfections he observed. He also held private meetings, in which he permitted every one to express his opinion of the sermons he had heard, and freely to lay open the state of his mind.

Rothe and Count Zinzendorf had agreed that the latter, though the patron of the living, should fulfil, in all spiritual things, the functions of deacon and catechist. "On Lord's day mornings," says Zinzendorf, "Rothe preached with great power: he seemed as if he would exhaust every subject, and collect together a treasure of comfort against the evil times which were coming upon the church. If three or four festivals occurred in succession, it was not too much, either for the preacher or the church; on the contrary, the last day was generally the most glorious, and the minister seemed to possess, in a high degree, the gift of presenting the doctrine of salvation in a fresh aspect, and with a grace and savour ever new: no one was weary."

At noon Rothe catechised, or sometimes held a general conversation with his hearers, in which they spoke and prayed by turns, with the greatest simplicity. At these meetings none appeared with more true dignity, or spoke more to the heart, than Rothe himself. After this followed singing of hymns, in which the count, as deacon, and the organist,

Tobias Friedrich, endeavoured "to bring the souls of the hearers into union with the heavenly choir by the most inspiring melody." From this arose a custom which still continues among the brethren. The leader of the singing gives out a succession of hymns, according to a certain order of subjects, and passes insensibly from one melody to another, sweetly keeping up the attention, exciting the liveliest emotions, and leaving an indescribable impression of the harmony of the whole worship.

In speaking of the music of the church, we ought to say something of the organist just named. Tobias Friedrich was the son of a peasant of Franconia. In 1722, when he was only thirteen years old, he was brought to the acquaintance of the brethren, and to the knowledge of himself. His talents were so great, that in 1727, at the age of eighteen, he had risen to a wide reputation. At the same time he was admirably qualified for general services, so that, for some time previously to his death, he was employed as secretary to the brethren, and had been intrusted with important negotiations on their behalf, in Denmark and Sweden, and with the university of Jena. He had a particular tact in conducting himself with propriety in the company of persons of rank; and his behaviour towards his inferiors was equally suitable. He pursued an admirable order in the great and extended concerns that were intrusted to him, and had an astonishingly happy method of forming and keeping up the most friendly relations with all classes, in order to bring them to the knowledge of the Lord Jesus. His chief duty, however, was the direction of the music of the church, which he knew

how to apply to its proper purposes, and in which, as far as man can judge, he appeared to imitate the harmonies of heaven, and the songs of angels; so that several masters of the art regarded him as without a rival. "We have not," says Zinzendorf, "found his equal in the church below, since he went to join that which is above."

When the hour of singing was over, they assembled again in the hall of the count's house, where he repeated, in the presence of the pastor, the morning sermon; the pastor, or some other person, adding a few observations. While the count was at Dresden, Rothe himself repeated the discourse; and the count held public meetings at his house in Dresden, on the Lord's day, and in the week. Besides the public services of the Lord's day, there were also more private meetings held during the week at the house of a lady in Bertholdsdorf, for the special instruction of inquirers, which were very useful to many; and separate services were appointed from time to time, for the benefit of established Christians: so that provision was made for all classes, and all conditions.

Baron Watteville, whom we have before mentioned, was of an amiable character, full of sympathy for the afflicted, and enjoying a high degree of esteem, from the talent he possessed of making himself agreeable to persons of every rank. To him was assigned that part of the work which was most suited to his gifts; and which did not fall under the cognizance of the others. He perfectly understood how to promote peace, to restore it where it had been interrupted, and to guard against even the most distant approaches to disunion.

These four brethren not only used all their efforts in promoting the Saviour's cause immediately around them; but they also determined to neglect no opportunity of advancing it in distant parts. Zinzendorf, especially, had the charge of the vast correspondence, which his travels and his great talents had procured him, with some of the most distinguished persons of every country in Europe. They also established a printing press, for the sole purpose of circulating, at a cheap rate, all sorts of religious publications, especially the Holy Scriptures.

At the same time, establishments were formed for the instruction of children in the principles of Christianity; beginning with the poor children at Bertholdsdorf. Madame de Gersdorf had left legacies for this purpose.

In the same place they also established a school for the general education of young females; and in January, 1724, resolved, in concert with their wives, to found other establishments, all devoted to the same great end, of opposing the kingdom of darkness, and promoting the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ. They entered into a written engagement to furnish the sum of fifteen hundred rix dollars, for the erection of a large building, in which they proposed to establish a school for young persons of noble families: a bookseller's shop for the sale of the publications we have mentioned; and a dispensary to furnish the poor with medicines, in time of sickness, at a moderate price. The agreement concluded with these words:—"This building is commenced in the faith of the living God, who never refuses anything that his saints agree to ask

of him: for this reason, no one of us will suffer himself to be discouraged by trouble, opposition, or contempt; but, on the contrary, will endeavour, as occasion may require, and in the strength of the Lord, not only to give a reason of the hope that is in him, but also as much as possible to support this Christian work. Amen. May the Lord also say, Amen!"

As there had been no preacher at Bertholdsdorf this year, from May to August, the first Moravian exiles, who had built their houses at the distance of only a mile from that place, repaired to the meetings held at the house of Heitz, where the doctrines of salvation were expounded with clearness and affection. They were accustomed to compare Scripture with Scripture; all who could read brought their Bibles, and every one was at liberty to make his remarks on what was read. These meetings were a great blessing to the refugees.

As soon as Mr. Rothe arrived at Bertholdsdorf, the Moravian Brethren attended, with the other parishioners, on the preaching and meetings for Christian edification, which were held both in the church and at the count's house. They did not return home after the morning service, but brought their dinner, and waited for the worship in the afternoon.

Such was the religious state of Bertholdsdorf and its neighbourhood at this time: the rich, about twelve in number, were entirely devoted to the Lord, and all experienced the truth of Christ's promise to his church, "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them."

## CHAPTER IX.

INCREASE AT HEBERNHUT, 1722—1727.

WHEN the two Neissers were established in their new habitation, Christian David returned into Moravia and Bohemia, to seek other brethren. "He was employed," says an historian of that period, "in the beginning of 1723, in flooring the hall of the count's house, at Bertholdsdorf, and had scarcely half finished it, when he suddenly left his axe and his rule, and even his hat, and set out on a journey of seventy leagues, to the three other Neissers, whom he had left at Schlen."

They had been summoned before the magistrates, on account of the escape of their two brethren, and were thrown into prison, where they remained for some time. When they were released, they asked permission of the authorities of the place, who were Jesuits, to quit the country; but being threatened with fresh imprisonment and the Inquisition, they resolved on departing without leave. Just at this time, Christian David visited them, and in the summer of the same year, 1723, they accomplished their purpose, accompanied by their families, in all eighteen persons, and arrived safely at Bertholdsdorf. Heitz, the steward, obtained permission for them to build whatever dwellings they needed, and they settled in a state of great poverty, supporting themselves by the labour of their hands.

In this painful situation as to temporal things, they were greatly comforted by Watteville coming to live amongst them. The inclination which he felt to cultivate intercourse with the pious poor, induced him to occupy a little apartment in the rising village, in order to enjoy the pleasures of a retired life, and to promote the undertakings that had been commenced there. The refugees were very happy in having the advantage of his Christian exhortations, and the more so as the pastor lived at a distance, and Count Zinzendorf was often detained at Dresden by state affairs.

About Christmas, in the year 1723, Christian David went again to Moravia. He repaired to Zauchtenthal, to the house of David Schneider, son of Samuel Schneider, before mentioned. A few persons, desirous of hearing the truth, assembled around him, and to them he preached with a life and savour, which were altogether new to them.

From thence he went to Kunewalde, where he delivered a discourse upon the beatitudes before a numerous assembly. His preaching produced a wonderful effect in both these places: the word of salvation was received with astonishment and joy; it was the topic of conversation in the houses, streets, and roads; and the whole country was suddenly brought into a state of excitement. There were but few families in the large village of Zauchtenthal that were not influenced by the power of Divine grace. At Kunewalde, Melchior Nitschmann, a young man twenty years of age, began to hold meetings. The people assembled at each other's houses to sing hymns and read the word of God;

they were often engaged in these exercises by night as well as by day; and many persons, while this revival continued, allowed themselves scarcely any sleep. The shepherds sung hymns while they were tending their flocks; the servants at their work talked of nothing but the salvation of Jesus; in all the surrounding villages the sound of worldly music was no longer heard, and theatrical and dancing assemblies were entirely deserted. David Nitschmann, a weaver, eighteen years of age, with several others, went through every part of the country, declaring what had been done for their souls, and beseeching sinners to give themselves up to the love of the Lord Jesus; and thus the fire, which had been just kindled, was incessantly kept up. Even little children poured out fervent prayers to "Eternal Love," as they delighted to call the blessed God, and called upon their parents to come with them to the Friend of sinners. A young girl, twelve years of age, died with so lively an assurance of Divine favour, with so complete a renunciation of the world, and such joyful anticipations of eternal glory, that her testimony produced the deepest impression on all around her. Little account was then made of this or that outward denomination; every one spoke of Jesus and his power, of the love of the Father, and the gifts of the Holy Spirit. This was the only confession, the only foundation on which the new-born souls rested, while despising the cross, and braving reproach, persecutions, and death.

Persecutions soon arose, and raged with such fury, that, in 1724, the whole lordship of Weisskirch was



summoned to rise in a mass for the destruction of Zauchtenthal. The magistrates and priests had endeavoured at first to quench the religious spirit by prohibitions and threatenings; but such attempts were found useless. They then proceeded from threatenings to acts of violence. Not only all who had held meetings, but all those who had attended them, were imprisoned; and as the prisons were soon filled, they shut up the brethren in stables and infectious dungeons, where many of them were ready to perish. Some were confined in cellars half filled with water, where they were kept till they were nearly dead with cold; others were placed, in the depth of winter, on the tops of towers, that they might be compelled, by the sufferings they sustained from the inclemency of the weather, to declare the names of those who possessed heretical books, or to tell how often the "Bush-preacher," as they called Christian David, had been with them, and who had attended his meetings. Some were condemned to hard labour in irons for several years; others, who had more boldly confessed the Lord Jesus, remained in prison to the end of their days; and others were condemned by the magistrates to pay very exorbitant fines. This last sort of punishment fell most heavily upon the Nitschmanns and the Schneiders. One of the former had his house razed to the ground for having lodged a Protestant.

In a word, their foes left no means untried to draw the followers of the truth away from their faith; until at length the Lord almost miraculously opened a way for their escape. David Nitschmann, the father of young Melchior, who died at Pennsylvania

in 1758, when he was eighty-two years of age, has left behind him a very particular history of the brethren at this period, and of his own imprisonment and wonderful deliverance. We transcribe part of his statement, almost word for word, as possessing far more interest than any elaborate narration could give.

“One evening,” says Nitschmann, “at Kunewalde, when we had just sat down to supper, I was surprised at seeing my dear brother, David Nitschmann (who was afterwards the first bishop of the brethren), come in. He had just arrived from Zauchtenthal, and told me that there was a wonderful man there. I entreated him to stay a little, but he would not; he said he must return immediately. I ran after him. Soon after, I saw some of the brethren at Zauchtenthal, with Christian David, whom I did not then know. We at first all remained for some time in silence; then he withdrew for a few moments into an adjoining room; and when he returned, we kneeled down together to pray. We then sat down, and he read the fifth chapter of Matthew, and spoke upon the beatitudes. Everything he said came home to my heart as the truth of God. I immediately resolved to devote myself entirely to my Saviour, whatever it might cost me; I felt so much attached to David, that I could have left everything to follow him. He was then on his way to Teschen, to see the Abbé Steinmetz. When I returned home, I related to my children what he had said to us; they were all much interested by it, and had a great desire to see him. He soon returned from Teschen, and we had another interview. My son Melchior sat near him.

A great many people were present, and every one seemed melted to repentance, just as when Peter preached the gospel to Cornelius. From that moment a great revival took place. We met three times in the week, the number of hearers increasing every day. At the end of a few weeks we were forbidden to assemble together, under pain of being fined a hundred crowns, and even of corporal punishment. Notwithstanding this, we met together one Lord's day afternoon, at two o'clock. There were more than one hundred and fifty persons present, and my house was full."

On this occasion, we learn from other sources, their enemies again surprised them, and came with great force, from a fear of the people. As they entered the place, the brethren began to sing, with a clear and strong voice, Luther's celebrated hymn:—

"If the whole world with devils swarmed,  
That threatened us to swallow,  
We will not fear, for we are armed,  
And victory must follow.  
We dare the devil's might,  
His malice, craft, and spite;  
Though he may us assail,  
He never shall prevail:  
The word of God shall conquer."

When the officer demanded silence, they repeated the verse a second and a third time, which struck him, it is said, with such terror, that he ran away, leaving behind him a number of books he had collected.

The next day, however, twenty heads of families were summoned before the magistrates, and thrown into different prisons. Young Melchior Nitschmann

was deprived of food for several days, and then bound with cords so tightly, that the blood burst from his mouth and nose, and the pores of his body. Nitschmann, senior, was imprisoned with two other brethren, and left to want the common necessities of life for three days. When they were released, they were forbidden to continue the meetings under the severest penalties.

“A few weeks after this,” Nitschmann observes, “the authorities sent an officer to make inquiry into the matter. I was cited alone, in the capacity of burgomaster, when they demanded of me the meaning of the assemblage, and why we had not obeyed their express orders not to meet again. On this I replied, that we had met together, not as the people of the world generally did on the Lord’s day, to game and drink at the alehouse, to abuse and fight one another, but to adore and pray to our Saviour. ‘It is the devil you prayed to,’ said the president. I told him, I did not think so, for the devil never led men to do good, but to do evil. Although the judges blasphemed in a dreadful manner, the Lord so controlled their malice, that I was suffered to return home in safety.

“Three months afterwards, the magistrate of the place arrived, and began to harass us. We were put to the torture, chained together two by two for a long time, and condemned to pay a fine of a hundred crowns. At the end of a fortnight he departed. Two months afterwards, the consistory sent two commissaries to examine us. When I presented to them my confession of faith, they called me an arch-heretic, and said they would deliver me up to justice. I was then removed to another prison for four days

and three nights. When the examination was over, we were again shut up, chained two by two, but I was put in irons alone."

David Nitschmann having one day found his irons unlocked, he and David Schneider escaped from prison and left the country. Nitschmann, with his wife and two children, reached Herrnhut in safety; Schneider and his family settled at first in Silesia, and did not join the brethren till ten years afterwards.

As soon as the escape of the prisoners was discovered, their wives were ordered to send some one to fetch them back. David Hickel was sent, who returned some days after without finding them. The judge ordered him to be immediately committed to prison, and told him he should be hanged, for aiding the escape of his brethren. "That," he coolly said, "is as God wills it: if he does not purpose it, it will not be." They thrust him into a cold, dark hole, where he remained three days without anything to eat or drink. He was then brought before the judge, half dead with cold, to tell what he knew of the two men who had escaped. As he persisted in declaring that he knew nothing about them, they put him in a warmer place, where they gave him a piece of coarse bread, and some dirty water, charging the jailer to watch him carefully. This appeared to him, he tells us, an invitation to attempt his escape. He opened the door softly, saw the sentinels placed in such a way that he could pass them without being perceived, by a back gate, into the garden, and thence into the village. He walked out in broad day, took leave of some of his brethren, set off in haste for Saxony, and arrived safely at Herrnhut.

David Nitschmann, jun., was intimately acquainted with four other brethren, two of the same name with himself, a person of the name of Zeisberger, and John Tœltschig. These five young men belonged to the most considerable families in the place; they were full of the spirit of God, and closely united in contending for the faith; they constantly travelled the country, and were ready to endure everything for the sake of the gospel. When, however, they saw that they could not long resist the rage of their enemies, and preserve their liberty of conscience in their own country, they resolved to emigrate on the first opportunity. Soon after the meeting we have mentioned, they were cited before the magistrates, when the judge (the father of young Tœltschig) prohibited them from holding any more meetings, under the severest penalties, advising them rather to go to the alehouse, to dances, and other amusements. He added, that they must not dare to think of emigrating; that the magistrates had long arms, and could soon reach them. The consequence was, that they determined to quit the country immediately, which they did the next night at ten o'clock. Remembering that the Saviour had not even a place wherein to lay his head, they set out with joy, although they carried nothing with them, and knew not whither they were going; being desirous only of gaining their liberty, and saving their souls. Coming to a meadow outside of the town, they fell on their knees, prayed for Zauchtenthal and for the whole country, and commended themselves and their brethren to the care of the Lord. They then sang a hymn, which their ancestors had sung a hundred years ago, in like circumstances.

“ Bless'd be the day, when I must roam,  
Far from my country, friends, and home,  
An exile poor and mean ;  
My father's God will be my Guide,  
Will angel-guards for me provide,  
My soul in dangers screen.

“ Himself will lead me to a spot,  
Where, all my cares and griefs forgot,  
I shall enjoy sweet rest.  
As pants for cooling streams the hart,  
I languish for my heavenly part,  
For God, my refuge bless'd.”

In order to avoid interruption, they took the cross-roads over the mountains, and after enduring many difficulties and dangers, they reached Niederweise, where they were most affectionately received by the pastor, Schwedler. He related to them the history of Wycliffe, Huss, Jerome of Prague, Amos Comenius, and their more immediate ancestors; congratulated them on their descent from such an illustrious race of martyrs and confessors of the truth; encouraged them by his benedictions and prayers; and, when they departed, furnished them with a guide, and recommendatory letters to Christian friends who resided in the towns through which they were to pass.

They arrived in the neighbourhood of Bertholdsdorf on the 12th of May. Rothe, the pastor, received them at first rather coldly, according to his custom; but having carefully questioned them, and finding they were young men who had left considerable possessions for the sake of Christ, he began to speak to them with great joy upon the words of the apostle: “When Moses was come to years, he refused to be

called the son of Pharaoh's daughter," etc., applying the text to them and their emigration. He then conducted them to Herrnhut.

The day of their arrival was a very remarkable day in the history of the brethren, on account of several events which occurred at that date, so that Zinzendorf used to call it the *critical day*. We have already mentioned the intention he had formed of building a large house for the three establishments he designed to found; the first stone of this house was laid on this day. Count Zinzendorf, the countess, the pastor Schœffer, and other friends, had just arrived at the spot, in order to assist at this solemn service, when the five brethren from Moravia made their appearance. They were presented to the count, with a letter of recommendation from the pastor Schwedler; but he, being engaged with other matters, received them with much apparent coldness. They, however, went with the rest to the place appointed for the new building.

The count delivered a striking discourse on the purpose for which the house was designed, and among other things said, that if the building did not answer the end for which he had erected it, namely, the glory of God, he hoped the Lord would destroy it, or consume it by fire from heaven. Watteville, whose heart had been peculiarly affected during the whole day, fell on his knees upon the foundation stone, and poured out a most fervent prayer, in which he laid open all the feelings, hopes, and resolutions which filled his soul: this prayer produced an extraordinary effect upon the hearers. The singing of the *Te Deum* closed the



ceremony. Watteville placed under the foundation stone what remaining jewels he had, especially a ring, which had passed seven times through the fire, probably intending it as a token that the vanity of the world must now be for ever buried.

After the service was over, the countess said to Watteville, "You have promised much: if one half is fulfilled, it will be beyond our expectations." Many times afterwards did the count declare, that he never in his life heard anything so moving as the prayer which Watteville then offered, and that he dated from it the rich effusion of Divine grace, which was subsequently bestowed upon the brethren. The five newly arrived emigrants experienced a kind of sacred terror, at hearing the solemn words uttered by the count and Watteville; and the whole of this scene, which they had in so unexpected a manner been called to witness, affected them so deeply, that they said in their hearts, "This is the house of God; here we will take up our abode." They accordingly fixed their residence there, and several of their friends following them, at short intervals, their arrival proved one of the most striking events of this remarkable epoch; for these brethren brought with them the laws of their ancient church, its spirit, its blessings, and its promises, to which the Lord was about to give a still more glorious development.

These five brethren, in fact, were the first who, almost immediately upon their arrival, insisted on the necessity of returning to the full vigour of that ancient discipline which had been so zealously maintained by their ancestors. By their means

the Lord gave to the brethren's church that form which it now possesses as a distinct church. As we shall presently see, Count Zinzendorf long wished the new colony to unite with the Lutheran community; the pastor Rothe disagreed with the brethren, when they formed a separate church; and it was only by persevering efforts, and painful struggles, that the church of Herrnhut assumed the independent form which it now retains.

Besides their concern in producing this important result, these brethren were all personally distinguished in the church, by their labours or their sufferings. One of the David Nitschmanns, returning into Moravia to visit his father, was seized and committed to prison at Olmutz, where he died, on the 5th of April, 1729. The other of the same name went out, in 1732, with Leonard Dober, on the first mission of the brethren among the heathen (to the negroes of St. Thomas), and was also ordained first bishop of the brethren's renewed church, in 1735. Of this man Zinzendorf says, "His true conversion to God, his simple and upright conversation, the respect which he enjoyed even with men of the world, his indefatigable zeal, the happy and singular talent which he possessed for edifying the churches, together with his first mission among the heathen, which God has since so abundantly blessed, all pointed him out as the most suitable person for the bishopric of the ancient brethren, which was then to be restored."

While they were erecting the building, fresh refugees were constantly arriving, who were employed as stone-cutters, masons, carpenters, joiners, glaziers,

potters, bricklayers, etc. The institution for young noblemen was opened in 1725, under the direction of several persons of rank. Some parts of the building were afterwards devoted to other uses, and for thirty-two years the hall was used as a meeting-place for the church of Herrnhut.

Meanwhile, the persecution still raged in Moravia, and as the brethren were required to take an oath to renounce their faith, to remain in the country, and to unite with the Romish church, such as were unprepared for this conformity still made every effort to escape from oppression by leaving the place. And here again were the faithful distinguished from those who only believe for a time.

Those who left the country only for conscience' sake, freely forsaking their relations, friends, and property, in general escaped safely, and were often delivered from their prisons in a most wonderful manner. Several even, who did not leave at that time, found means a short time after to join their friends, although they were watched with the greatest strictness. But those who sold their goods, and wished to carry away the money, or to take their property with them, were often arrested on the route, and sent back, while others were ill-treated by robbers, and plundered of all that they had.

The following are among the most interesting of the emigrations which took place.

John Tanneberger was born at Zauchtenthal, and brought up from his infancy in the knowledge of the gospel. On the visit of Christian David, in 1723, the serious impressions which he had received in early life were powerfully revived. As he was

known to belong to the brethren, and the five brethren before mentioned had just escaped, he was summoned before the magistrates; and although he was entirely ignorant of the matter, they kept him imprisoned for a week in an out-house, during a severe frost, with nothing to eat, but what his friends brought him by stealth. When he was afterwards released, and some fresh emigrations took place, he was again cited, with several other brethren; their enemies threw them all into a noisome dungeon, from which they brought them, and yoked them two by two to a cart, or employed them singly in some other kind of hard labour, with logs fastened to their legs. All these sufferings being insufficient to turn them from the faith, their enemies were disheartened, and sent them home for a time; but soon after they received an intimation, that next day they would be forced to abjure their faith. Tanneberger then determined to leave everything, and departed that very night, with his wife, and child about eighteen months old. He imparted his design to a few brethren, who united with him, and they set off in the night, about twelve persons in all. Their journey was often very painful; but the Lord was with them, and they reached Herrnhut in safety.

Two others, David Weber and Thomas Fischer, after being kept in prison a long time, and constantly refusing to abjure, were condemned to the galleys. They however leaped out of a window without either of them being hurt, although it was from a great height, and ran home, where they found their families ready to depart. They

immediately fled, leaving a considerable property behind them, and arrived at Herrnhut without any obstacle.

Another, Andrew Beyer, was shut up in prison at Kunewalde for more than a year, and tortured, because he would not give up his faith or his connexion with the brethren; but his persecutors could not prevail; they therefore commanded him to be loaded with irons, and cast into a dark and damp dungeon. The day on which his sentence was to have been executed, David Fritsch, who was in the same prison, happened to push against the door, and the great chain, which was stretched across the outside, gave way. They opened the door, and seeing no sentinels, went home, took their wives and children, one of them only six months old, and fled. After many perils and privations, they also safely arrived at Herrnhut.

Another brother, named John Nitschmann, who had already lived some time at Herrnhut, returned into Moravia to fetch his sister. He succeeded; but one of his brothers, who had remained behind, was on the point of being seized by some officers of justice, who came to search the house, and found some books which would have caused his condemnation. As soon as they were gone, therefore, he fled, and on being pursued, leaped over a hedge, and hid himself in a ditch. His pursuers reached the spot, and one of them also jumped over the hedge and passed by the ditch without perceiving him, though it was day-time, and searched the place for a long time. Nitschmann heard them cry out repeatedly, "He must be here." Weary of the search, they

at last returned to the village; he then got out of the ditch, and hid himself till the evening in a barn, when he continued his journey without further hindrance, and arrived at Herrnhut.

A company of about twenty persons, who had assembled from different places, were not so successful. Having determined to depart on a certain day, they secretly sold all they possessed, and set off on some wagons, with their money and whatever else they had. When they had proceeded about thirty leagues, they were arrested at Schweidnitz, in Silesia, which then belonged to the Emperor of Austria, and committed to prison. Only one of the company escaped, a lad of fourteen years old, and he arrived at Herrnhut in the middle of winter, after encountering many severe hardships. The rest were sent back to Moravia.

Thus was Herrnhut increasing in population and importance daily. And yet it was by no means easy to gain admission; for, as no doubt was entertained that the authorities of Moravia would at length demand an account of the asylum granted to so many refugees, every new comer was brought before the civil authorities of the place, and strictly examined as to the motives which brought him thither. If they found that he was influenced by temporal views and personal considerations, and not by the love of the truth alone, they gave him a few days' rest, and then dismissed him with a little money for his journey, and a request to the magistrates of his country to treat him kindly. For this reason, too, the count strictly enjoined all the inhabitants of Herrnhut not to return into

Moravia, to induce any others to leave the country. But, notwithstanding all these precautions, the emigrations continued for eight or ten years longer. Christian David especially did not cease his endeavours, in spite of all prohibitions. He was strongly persuaded that in this matter he was an instrument in the hands of God, and all advice and orders to the contrary were perfectly useless. Others also of the brethren from time to time escaped from Herrnhut, to go and rescue their most intimate friends from bondage.

Among the interesting occurrences at Herrnhut, during this period, which may serve to show the lively religious feeling that prevailed there, we must not forget to mention the visit of the famous Schwedler, the minister who received the five young emigrants with so much warmth of affection: this was in 1725. He preached a discourse at Hengersdorf, which lasted from nine in the morning till two in the afternoon, and we are told that he was accustomed to preach even longer in his own parish of Niederweise. It often happened, in consequence of the number of hearers thronging to his church in successive groups, that he began the service at five or six o'clock in the morning, and did not close till two or three in the afternoon. In the several pauses of his discourse, they sung a few verses of a hymn, during which there was a change of the auditory; but, excepting a few short intervals, he did not cease preaching during the whole of the time.

A spirit of inquiry was stirred up in all the country round Herrnhut, and the excitement was

continually increasing. The settlement grew more numerous every day; for the refugees from Moravia were not the only persons who resorted to it, persons of different places and communions flocked thither, and a great work was evidently in preparation.



## CHAPTER X.

INTERNAL DISSENSIONS AT HERRNHUT, AND THEIR SETTLEMENT  
ON THE 12TH OF MAY, 1727; WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE  
REVIVAL THAT FOLLOWED.

BESIDES the Moravian emigrants, certain other persons, chiefly of the Lutheran church, had settled at Herrnhut. Differences of sentiment existed between these two classes on some doctrinal points, and gave rise to disputes which grievously disturbed the peace and harmony of the community. There was also another source of dissatisfaction: the brethren had hitherto conformed to the worship and communion of the Lutheran church at Bertholdsdorf; but they now began to desire a more spiritual worship, and a purer discipline, and to be formed into a distinct society or church, according to the order and regulations used by their ancestors. The difficulties which they had to encounter, and the dissensions which followed, need not be here particularly detailed. It may suffice to state, that almost all the brethren withdrew for a time from the worship at Bertholdsdorf, and an open rupture seemed unavoidable.

Zinzendorf was much affected by these occurrences. He was not prepared to accede to all the demands of the brethren, while, on the other hand, he acknowledged the reasonableness of many of them. In the spring of 1727, he obtained leave of absence from Dresden, in order to effect a reconciliation. He gave

himself entirely to this object. The management of his temporal concerns was committed to the countess, while he occupied an apartment prepared for him at Herrnhut, and spent his whole time in conference and prayer with the brethren. He at length succeeded in effecting a compromise between the parties. The brethren engaged to return to Bertholdsdorf, and place themselves again under the ministry and pastoral care of Rothe, on condition that they should be allowed to manage their own spiritual affairs, as a distinct society. For this latter purpose, the count, assisted by Rothe and others, drew up a set of regulations, called "Statutes of the Congregation," embodying those moral and spiritual principles, the recognition of which was conceived likely to promote edification and prosperity.

The 12th of May, 1727, was then fixed upon for the public reading and acknowledgment of the statutes. When they met together, the count delivered an appropriate and powerful discourse, on the evils of dissension, and the design of the statutes. These were then read, and the inhabitants being called upon to give their assent, by stretching out the right hand, and to promise that they would either conform to them or quit the place, there was not a single dissentient. The village of Herrnhut then consisted of about three hundred brethren and sisters, one half of whom were Moravian refugees.

We need not here give an exact copy of these statutes. A few articles will be sufficient to give an idea of the whole:—

1. Herrnhut is not to be considered as a rising town or village, so much as an establishment for the brethren.

2. A spirit of love towards the children of God, of all confessions, should be constantly maintained; not undertaking to judge of, nor entering into any dispute or controversy with persons of contrary sentiments, but seeking to preserve purity, simplicity, and the savour of the gospel.

3. He is not a brother who does not hold that the grace of God in Christ Jesus alone can effectually sanctify him, and that he stands in need of this grace every moment; and that the highest degree of holiness, if it were even attainable, without Christ and his meritorious intercession, is defilement in the sight of God, and can be acceptable only in the Lord Jesus. He is not a true brother, who does not prove by his conduct that he really desires to be delivered from sin, to become every day more and more like God, more detached from all sinful affections, vanity, and self-will, and to walk as Jesus walked, and to bear his reproach. But he who holds the faith of Jesus in a pure conscience, though he may not be wholly free from party spirit, fanaticism, or error, shall never be despised among us. Even if he should leave us, far from forsaking him, we will regard him as the object of our care, forbearing with him in love, kindness, and patience.

4. Those who are willing to comply with the forms of worship, as they exist amongst us, should not regard human institutions as unalterable; they are matters in which we should use our Christian liberty, in all humility, love, and submission one to another, waiting the direction of the Lord as to the time of making any changes. And in changes of this kind that may take place among us, we ought to do

everything in simplicity, and for mutual edification.

5. No one, who has been unaccustomed to our profession, or who may disapprove of some things in it, shall be compelled by the authorities to conform; but, in order to prevent disorder, no person shall come to the Lord's supper at Bertholdsdorf unless he be well known and approved by the pastor.

6. The church or commune of Herrnhut consents to make use of the liturgy of Bertholdsdorf. Nevertheless, the inhabitants of Herrnhut still reserve to themselves their Christian liberty, their outward association, and everything held by the ancient brethren of Bohemia and Moravia. For the maintenance of this liberty they commit themselves to the Divine protection.

The reconciliation being thus effected, to the joy of all parties, Zinzendorf and the church renewed their covenant of fidelity to the Lord. All the brethren promised, both by word and by stretching out their hands, to give themselves entirely to the Saviour; testifying a lively shame on account of their religious disputes, and promising to bury them for ever. Rejecting all the suggestions of a carnal pride and policy, they acted as became those poor in spirit; no one any longer seemed anxious to set himself above his brethren, but all to be guided in all things by the Holy Spirit. In a word, their hearts appeared this day not only convinced, but gently conquered and carried away by a powerful effusion of Divine grace.

On the anniversary of the day, in 1748, the count expresses himself in these terms:—"Twenty-one years ago the great question was depending, whether

Herrnhut should realize the idea of a true church, and humbly take the station assigned to it, or whether it should form a new sect. But the powerful operation of the Holy Spirit decided the point. From the agreement of the 12th of May we began to occupy ourselves in our own spiritual interests, and to lay aside the contentions which had so long agitated us. What our Saviour did for us, from that day to the winter of the same year, no tongue can express. The whole of Herrnhut then presented an image of the tabernacle of God amongst men: till the 13th of August, nothing was heard but gladness and triumph; and from that time the excitement subsided into a divine sabbath of rest."

Having pledged themselves to the observance of the statutes, the brethren proceeded to the establishment of their private discipline. They began by choosing from among themselves twelve elders, to watch over the fulfilment of the engagements into which they had entered.

Before they proceeded to this election they were reminded, that the persons destined for the office should have "a good report of those that are without, and of the truth itself," that they ought to entertain a prejudice against no one, nor should any have a reasonable prejudice against them, since it was necessary for the whole church to respect, love, and obey them as their spiritual guides.

It was generally agreed that these qualifications were eminently possessed by Christian David, and his name was placed at the head of the list. He had largely participated in the feelings of dissatis-

faction which recently prevailed; but he was of a humble mind, and easily reconciled. The judicious advice he gave the brethren was very useful in guiding their choice on the present occasion.

The following is a list of the names of the elders, with the trades at which some of them continued to work during their ministry:—

Christian David, carpenter; George Nitschmann, carpenter, sixty years of age; Melchior Nitschmann, weaver, twenty-five years old; Christopher Hoffmann; Augustus and Jacob Neisser, cutlers; David Nitschmann, carpenter; Andrew Beyer; John Nitschmann; David Nitschmann, shoemaker; David Quitt and Francis Kuhnel, weavers.

The elders agreed to choose by lot four of their number, and to commit to them the general superintendence of affairs. The first lot fell upon Christian David, the first evangelist of the Moravian brethren at this period; the second on John Nitschmann, the oldest man at Herrnhut; the third on C. Hoffmann, who was succeeded by another brother during the same year; and the fourth on Melchior Nitschmann, jun., whose nomination was attended with extraordinary circumstances; the lot was cast three times, on account of his youth, and as often his name was returned, so that the church, filled with astonishment, could make no further objection.

Zinzendorf, speaking of this worthy man, writes thus:—"He succeeded in everything that he undertook. To heal divisions, to bring back the wandering, to subdue the factious, to awaken and to guide souls, to exhort and reprove, to inspire triflers with godly sorrow, to comfort the penitent, to promote, in short,

in every way the welfare of the brethren, was the business of his life. He prayed most fervently, and never grew weary of secret prayer: he was also diligent in his work, and obedient to his master in all things, although not naturally clever in worldly affairs. He had a quick understanding, and knew how to use it with the greatest modesty: he was cheerful, without being light; humble, without meanness; compassionate, but not weak; friendly, but not fawning; thoughtful, without affection; quick, without rashness; poor, but not idle; simple, but not foolish; rich in knowledge, without pretending to know anything: in a word, he laboured to be in the world such as his Lord himself had been." The count was very fond of him, but though Melchior perceived it, he was not on that account lifted up; he loved and respected all his brethren, and was accustomed to say that his heart leaped for joy at the sight of any one who belonged to Christ.

Besides these elders, they nominated Count Zinzendorf warden of the congregation; and Watteville was associated with him in the discharge of the duties of this office. It was their duty, among other things, to see that every brother occupied his proper place in the church, according to his gifts; for at this time fresh appointments were made to all the offices of teachers, aids, inspectors, monitors, nurses of the sick, almoners, servants, etc., and, according to the custom of the ancient brethren, females were nominated to the same offices among the sisters. There were frequent meetings of the elders, in order to consult on matters relating to the church,

which were called *the conferences of the elders*. At these meetings, when they had maturely weighed everything with a sincere desire to know the will of God, and doubts still remained, they appealed to the decision of the lot. The other brethren and sisters bearing office in the church were often called together to similar conferences.

On the 21st of May, they established a watch in the place. Every inhabitant, from the age of sixteen to sixty, was in his turn called to discharge this duty, which was accompanied with the singing of appropriate hymns. In order to mark the hour, the count composed a watch-hymn, which was introduced on the 6th of July, and which has a stanza adapted to every hour of the night.

At the same time the brethren held more frequent meetings for mutual edification. At five in the morning they assembled to read a portion of the Scriptures, when oftentimes some brother engaged in prayer, or made a few observations: at half-past eight they had another service of the kind, for sick and aged persons. On the Lord's day, the morning and afternoon services were held at Bertholdsdorf, the latter of which, through the frequent resort of strangers to Herrnhut, they afterwards changed for a meeting at Herrnhut, called the *service for strangers*, at which the substance of the morning sermon was repeated; in the evening, at half-past eight, or nine in the summer season, they assembled again in the great hall, and in winter in one of the count's apartments, to hold a singing meeting; at this meeting they also communicated accounts of the progress



of the kingdom of God, and prayed for its prosperity.

These were the arrangements made after the restoration of harmony on the 12th of May. From that time there was a wonderful effusion of the Spirit on this happy church, until August the 13th, when the measure of Divine grace seemed absolutely overflowing. On the 2nd of July, ten solemn services were held at Bertholdsdorf and Herrnhut: Schwedler preached at Bertholdsdorf. As the number of hearers was so great, that more than one thousand persons could not get into the church, Rothe preached at the same time in the burial-ground. In the afternoon, the same scene was repeated at Herrnhut: Schwedler and Schœffer preached in the open air, on a platform erected for the purpose by Christian David, while the count held three meetings in succession in the great hall, which was twice filled with a fresh auditory.

After this, another meeting was held for conversation on what had passed. A brother on this occasion said, "Truly we have had an apostolic day, we must now expect apostolic sufferings."

Every day brought some new blessing. The count continued to labour for every one: for many days he applied himself to the visiting of the brethren: sometimes he took one and another with him, according as he observed a fuller mutual confidence subsisting among any; and this was the beginning of those little associations which were afterwards called "bands." These consisted of two or three persons, who met together privately, to converse on their spiritual state, to exhort, and reprove, and pray for each other. The count availed himself of

the assistance of other labourers in the church, in classing the brethren and sisters; and this served as a new bond of union amongst them, and a means of promoting their growth in grace. And as they often changed the brethren and sisters of one band for those of another, there was not one of them but was thus brought into contact with the rest, and his or her gifts made subservient to the benefit of the whole body.

On the 22nd of July, the brethren Melchior Nitschmann, Schmidt, Dober, Christian David, Augustin Neisser, and several others, agreed to repair at stated times to the Hutberg, a hill near Herrnhut, in order to pour out their souls to God in prayer and singing. This new association was the means of producing a great revival. On the same day the count set out for Silesia. Before his departure several of the brethren engaged to devote themselves to the advancement of the revival, especially by holding meetings for prayer and thanksgiving. They entered with ardour on the proposed plan; but soon found it better to change the meetings for Christian conferences, in which every one might, according to the measure of his faith and experience, give his opinion of some text of Scripture appointed for the purpose.

As Christian David, Melchior Nitschmann, and Martin Dober were one day conversing on the best means of conducting the meetings for general conversation, the first proposed that, in order to promote love, they should read the First Epistle of John: a great blessing accompanied this exercise. The declarations of affection, to which the reading gave rise, tended powerfully to increase the confidence and mutual

love of the brethren, and the work of God made extraordinary progress. All remaining suspicion, envy, and offence ceased; all hearts were lifted up to heaven, and consequently more closely united; private wills were sacrificed cheerfully to the general good, and sparks of brotherly love burst into a flame. At length, some letters from the count still further promoted the impression; and on the 4th of August he arrived from Silesia, bringing with him most joyful tidings, and, what was particularly acceptable, a translation of *The History of the Brethren of Bohemia and Moravia*, extracted from Comenius's large history, which the count had formerly read, and which had overcome the reluctance he had so long felt to restore to the brethren their ancient discipline.

For a considerable time not a day passed in which the church did not experience some peculiar marks of Divine favour. On the 5th of August, the count, the president of the church, spent the whole night, with twelve or fourteen brethren, in visiting Hengersdorf and Bertholdsdorf. At midnight they held a numerous prayer meeting on the Hutberg. On the 6th, and every following day in that week, the power of God was wonderfully manifested at their singing meetings.

On Lord's day, the 10th of August, the minister Rothe was seized, in the midst of the assembly at Herrnhut, with an unusual impulse. He threw himself upon his knees before God, and the whole assembly prostrated themselves with him under the same emotions. An uninterrupted course of singing and prayer, weeping and supplication, continued till midnight. All hearts were united in love; and those

of the brethren who had hitherto refused to participate in the general communion, began to relent. Rothe spent the night at Herrnhut, and the next day wrote a most animated letter to the count, in which he announced his intention of administering the Lord's supper on the Friday following, the 13th, and invited all the inhabitants of Herrnhut to unite with him.

As this was the first communion since the restoration of union, and after they had been so long separated, it was resolved to observe it with more than usual attention and solemnity, and to make it the occasion of stirring up their souls to the cultivation of greater fellowship with their Saviour. They determined seriously to examine all who presented themselves at the table for the first time, whether young or old, and not to grant them admission unless the result of this examination were satisfactory. For this purpose, they drew up a series of questions, to which they were requested to give answers before the whole church. Two young sisters were received on this occasion: they first had a serious conversation with the count, then with the principal of the female elders, and were afterwards presented to the pastor Rothe, who pronounced them fit to partake of the Lord's supper.

On the 12th, the count visited Herrnhut, as warden, to make the suitable preparations for the communion of the next day. In the evening, all the brethren and sisters signed the statutes, and the two sisters before mentioned replied, in the presence of the whole church, to the questions put to them; these services were blessed to the conversion of

several souls, and most deeply affected the whole assembly. The two sisters passed the night in prayer.

The next day the celebration of the Lord's supper took place. The following extract, from the Herrnhut journal, will show the manner in which this memorable day was spent.

“Before we set out for the church, we had a discourse on the nature and design of the Lord's supper. On the way, the brethren conversed together, and here and there were to be seen little companies of two or three in close communion; while those who had been estranged from one another renewed their union with the greatest love and faithfulness. At the church all seemed to be in expectation of an extraordinary blessing. The service commenced by singing the hymn, ‘Unbind me, O my God, from all my bonds and fetters;’ which was made the means of the conversion of an ungodly man in the congregation. Then Rothe pronounced a true apostolic blessing on the two sisters who were now admitted to the Lord's supper, which was confirmed by the church with deep feeling; after this, the whole assembly united in prayer to God, and then sung, ‘My soul before thee prostrate lies,’ amidst tears and sobs, so that it could scarcely be distinguished whether they were weeping or singing. The scene was so moving, that the pastor of Hennersdorf, who administered the supper, for Rothe wished to go to the table of the Lord with the church, could hardly tell what he saw, or what he heard.

“After the singing, several brethren prayed with great power and fervour.”

The count, then, as the president of Herrnhut,

made his confession in the name of that parish; and a general absolution being pronounced by the pastor, according to the Lutheran practice, they took the supper of the Lord with inexpressible joy and love. At noon they retired, and passed the rest of that day and the following, in the most delightful peace and happiness.

We have now arrived at the great crisis of this church; and as it is of importance to form just ideas of everything that occurred at this period, we shall give the substance of a letter, written by Christian David to the count's former steward, Heitz, who was still one of his best friends. Those interesting and familiar details, which are only to be found in letters, serve to throw much light upon the internal state of a church; and as that of the brethren presented at this time an appearance different, in some measure, from what it assumed ten or fifteen years afterwards, it is desirable to take a view of it at different periods. In this letter, which is probably about the date of 1728, David gives a general view of all that had passed at Herrnhut, from 1722 to 1727. He says,—

“To J. G. Heitz, our beloved brother and fellow elder of the church.

“The work of the Lord at Herrnhut has advanced from the first day until now without interruption, and with great blessing, in the midst of all kinds of trials; although it may not have proceeded altogether according to our views and expectations, but according to the eternal purposes of the Lord. It has pleased our Saviour to suffer many temptations to

assail us, in order to purify us, and to prove and confirm our election, that we may be presented to him as a chaste virgin, and remain eternally united to him. Yes, in order that the covenant he has made with us might still continue, and his sovereign purpose be accomplished in us, he saw all sorts of means necessary, and that one thing should lead on to another, until we became by degrees, notwithstanding all the efforts of the devil and the world, a visible church of God, as we now appear.

“We have now had full experience that this is the true grace of God in which we stand; for it humbles us; gives us peace and liberty: encourages us in all our tribulations; teaches us patience with the defects and imperfections of others; makes us moderate in our words; renders us immovably proof against the assaults of our enemies; compassionate to the weak and erring; submissive to our superiors; firm and faithful in preaching the gospel; simple in our conduct; unaffected towards others; upright and sincere in our dealings with the brethren; careful in guiding and teaching souls; frank in reproving sin; mild in exhorting after the example of Christ and his apostles; scrupulous, as if we were under the law, in all our outward deportment; free and contented in heart; universal and impartial in our love to the saints; becoming all things to all men, according to the directions of the word of God; and ready to give an answer to every one that asks of us a reason of the hope that is in us.

“The chief causes of all that God has permitted to happen among us are the following: You know that my mind was always desirous of investigating

things, and that several of my brethren also were of the same disposition. Rothe and others of the brethren did not like this; and thus arose great divisions, which brought us into disrepute with many, whose confidence we lost; so that we at last saw the necessity of walking with prudence, and that it was 'better never to eat meat, than to offend our weak brother for whom Christ died.' When the count perceived these things, and that Rothe made no progress, on account of a certain partiality in his views, having received from the Lord the gift of setting everything in the clearest light, he sent for us one by one, and unfolded to us the whole economy of God; how he had spoken to the fathers by the prophets, and then manifested his Son; how he had dealt with men before the law, under the law, and under the gospel; how far it was necessary to know external things, and to experience what is internal, &c. This he did for three days, and thus abundantly encouraged us all. The consequence was, that peace was restored, and continued about two years, during which the church increased continually. I went, according to my custom, every year into Moravia, to confirm the souls of those who secretly knew and sought the Lord.

"About the same time there was a great revival in Silesia, and in our neighbourhood. At Herrnhut, the enemy was endeavouring to cast some into a deep slumber of carnal security, and we were not yet sufficiently experienced to be aware of his devices. The first ardour of our love was quenched; the newcomers expected much charity from those who had



preccded them, but these had great knowledge, and but little charity. The former were grieved; there was no longer either order or discipline: Rothe had not the gift of maintaining it; and he did not reside among us, neither did the count, who, besides, wished to spare Rothe. Things were in this state at Herrnhut, in the fourth year of our going thither.

“At this time a Mr. Kruger came amongst us, a man, as you know, of singular views; but, as he manifested extraordinary piety, inexperienced persons admired him much. Kruger nearly divided the congregation. Most of those, who had been much excited by him, continued in a state of indecision, until the time of fiery trial came, and Kruger went out of his mind. Then all was over. In the meantime we treated one another with great bitterness, and led a most miserable life. After things had gone on thus for three months, and every one had been enabled, in the midst of all these trials, to judge if his hope were well founded or not, the count came again to Herrnhut, as he had done two years before, full of love and impartiality, to try and bring about a reconciliation. The experience the count had acquired amongst us, during the last four years, enabled him and his coadjutors to draw up a code of statutes, conformable to the idea he had formed of a true church of God.

“After the statutes were finished, twelve elders were selected to guide the church. All the different offices necessary for the good of the church were allotted to the brethren and sisters respectively. The hours of devotional exercises were fixed: in the morning the brethren, who had the gift of teaching,

spoke in succession on a text of Scripture; in the evening an hour was set apart for singing, in which the count also explained the passage appointed for the meditations of the following day. We have bands for men and women, married and single, etc. We have also love feasts, both for the whole church and for each of the bands separately. We have particular days for fasting and prayer, in which we more particularly put one another in mind of the favours of the Lord, and render to him our thanksgivings, and pay our vows. We have a watch, which the brethren keep in succession. We have made an arrangement among the brethren to have continual prayer offered up by the church, day and night, in order that the fire may be kept perpetually burning upon the altar. We have private meetings. On the Lord's day, at seven in the morning, all the men meet at the count's house, when we converse on those things that more particularly regard our sex, and our duties as husbands, fathers, etc. From eight to nine, the widows hold a meeting of the same kind. We then go to church. In the afternoon, from two to three, there is a meeting of the unmarried brethren; from three to four, of the married women; from four to five, of the unmarried sisters; from five to half-past five, of the orphans. We all take the Lord's supper together, but never with any but those whom we consider to be converted persons. We have conferences every day; on Monday, with the elders and those who have the care of the sick; on Tuesday, with the assistants; on Wednesday, with the teachers; on Thursday, with the inspectors; on Friday, with the monitors; on Saturday, with the servants. The

females also have the same offices among them, except that of teachers.

“These, my dear Mr. Heitz, are, in a few words, our internal arrangements. Here are, at Herrnhut, as many as three hundred brethren and sisters, some of whom are seeking, and some have found rest in the hope of the gospel.—Yours faithfully,

“CHRISTIAN DAVID.”

A few days after the 13th of August, a remarkable revival took place among the children at Herrnhut and Bertholdsdorf. There was at Bertholdsdorf a school for young females, mostly of noble families, at that time consisting of nine pupils, from the age of nine to thirteen. The count used to visit them every day, and spend an hour in conversing with them, but for a long time without seeing any positive fruits of conversion, as he often lamented to the countess. At length, on the 26th of May, 1727, some signs of this work appeared among them, after an animated conversation which he held with them; and, on the 6th of August, the grace of God was manifested in a wonderful manner, not only among the females of this school, but among the children of Herrnhut and Bertholdsdorf generally. The occasion of this was the conversion of a young girl, named Kuhnel, who was not one of the pupils, but an inhabitant of Herrnhut, and then about eleven years old. While she was at home with her relations, she was brought to the knowledge of the truth, after three days of conviction, and then passed nearly the whole of that happy day in proclaiming the excellences of her Redeemer, forgetting even to take her food.

About the same time, and probably in consequence of this awakening at Herrnhut, the Lord kindled a similar flame at Bertholdsdorf. The count had sent for a schoolmaster, a very simple, but pious man, whose labours were greatly blessed. On the 18th of August, all the children at the boarding school were seized with an extraordinary impulse of the Spirit, and passed the whole night in prayer. From this time a constant work of God was going on in the minds of the children, in both places. On the 23rd a meeting of the children was held, which was very much blessed. But on the 29th, from six in the evening until one o'clock in the morning, the Hutberg resounded with the prayers and singing of the young females in the neighbourhood, and all were much delighted. At the same time, the boys assembled for prayer in other places. No words can express the powerful operation of the Holy Spirit upon these children. These days were truly days of Divine love at Herrnhut, in which they forgot everything but heavenly enjoyments, and longed to attain them.

For an account of the awakening among the boys, we may refer to the statement given by a brother, who was himself at that time one of these children. "We had then," says he, "for our master an upright and serious man, who had the good of his pupils much at heart. He never failed, at the close of the school, to pray with us, and commend us to the Lord Jesus, and his Spirit, during the time of our amusements. At that time Susanna Kuhnel was awakened, and frequently withdrew into her father's garden, especially every evening, to ask grace of the Lord,

and to seek the salvation of her soul, with strong crying and tears. As this place was contiguous to the house in which we dwelt, and there was nothing but a boarded partition between us, we could hear her prayers as we were going to rest, and as we lay in our beds. This made such an impression on us, that we could not fall asleep with the same indifference as formerly, and we entreated our masters to go out with us to pray. And thus, till the end of August, instead of going to sleep as usual, we repaired to the boundaries which separated the fields, or among the bushes, to prostrate ourselves before the Lord, and to beg of him to turn us to himself. Our teacher often went with us, and when he had ceased praying, and was obliged to return, we went again, one to this place, and another to that, or in pairs, to cast ourselves on our knees, and pray in secret. I still recollect the places to which we frequently resorted, and which we bedewed with our tears."

## CHAPTER XI.

### A VIEW OF THE STATE OF HERRNHUT IN 1727.

BEFORE we proceed to the farther recital of the events which occurred to the church at Herrnhut subsequently to its settlement, we shall pause to take a view of its internal state. For this purpose we shall be obliged to anticipate some facts, to which we may again have occasion to refer.

Our account will be taken principally from the arrangements of discipline which preceded or followed the 13th of August, and will include some particulars of the four most distinguished men of this church, Melchior Nitschmann, Martin Linner, Matthew Linner, and Martin Dober.

I. *Arrangements of discipline.* The apostle Paul distinguishes gifts and offices, which are commonly confounded; and from this circumstance Zinzendorf was led to examine the gifts of every member of the church, that he might assign to each his proper duties. These different offices were, in fact, a division of the pastoral functions among several individuals; they were, at the same time, a relief to the actual pastors; and every one of these subordinate helps, by applying himself to the improvement of his particular gift, was enabled more carefully and perfectly to fulfil its design, than a single person charged with the whole, and not possessing the qualifications necessary for every office.

“That we ought not,” says Zinzendorf, “to lay all the duties of the church on one person, no more needs proof, than we need to demonstrate that the foot is not to eat, the hand to run, or the eyes to hear. ‘God hath set the members every one of them in the body, as it hath pleased him,’ 1 Cor. xii. 18. If, for example, we were to set a man, naturally mild and gentle in his character, to watch over and detect the various deceits of the human heart, he would be distressed, and a thousand times deceived. If, on the other hand, a man of a keen mind and harsh disposition were charged with the duty of exhortation, there would be no end to disputes, and his exhortations would either have no effect, or a very bad one. But if the former be set to exhort, and the latter apply himself to the discernment of spirits, truth and love are maintained together.”

On this principle it was that the following arrangements were made:—

1. The count, and Baron de Watteville as his assistant, presided over everything that was done in the church.

2. Under these presidents were the *elders*, or *pastors* properly so called, invested with the authority which the Scriptures assign to this calling. Twelve of these, as we have seen, were originally chosen, and four selected out of them to take the lead in the affairs of the church.

3. The next under these were called *helpers*, whose duty it was to assist the elders and presidents in everything that concerned the church, and to be as their right hand in all things.

4. On the *inspectors*, as their name imports, de-

volved the duty of watching, with strict impartiality, over every occurrence in the church. When they perceived anything inconsistent with the spirit of Christ, and the order of the church, they were not directly to warn the offender, much less were they indiscreetly to publish what they had observed; but they were to tell it in confidence to one of the monitors.

5. The *monitors* were persons whose duty it was more particularly to administer advice and reproof, in a spirit of love and compassion, and at the same time with due seriousness. On the one hand, they were ever to keep in view what the Saviour expects from his disciples; and, on the other, they were to recollect the weakness of their brethren; that those who had committed any fault might receive, without resentment, advice affectionately given, and be led to repentance and amendment.

6. The *attendants on the sick* were appointed to visit them every day, to see that they were furnished with suitable medicine, and to sit up with them by night whenever it was necessary. They also endeavoured, by friendly conversations, to learn their spiritual state, and to report it to the elders.

7. The *almoners* were to inquire into the wants of the poor, to procure them work, give them advice, and, when needful, to assist them from the poor-box, which was kept with the strictest economy.

8. The *serving brethren* were persons employed to attend to the provision for the love feasts, the meetings, &c.

As the separation of the two sexes was a fundamental and invariable law of the brethren's discipline,



to most of the offices we have mentioned there were corresponding ones among the females, who were in fact excluded from none but public duties.

The duties of preacher were some years discharged by the pastor of Bertholdsdorf; but, in the daily meetings at Herrnhut, the private brethren were allowed to preach, provided their knowledge was Scriptural, and they had the gifts and unction necessary for edification; and provided they had been called by the church to teach and exhort.

Of the internal arrangements, and different forms of worship, we have already spoken on different occasions. Some time after this, the church, both the males and females, having been divided into little associations, or classes, called *choirs*, according to the age and circumstances of every individual, a short sermon or exhortation was addressed to each of them every Lord's day, between the general services. These exhortations were suited to the circumstances of each class: and thus the day was sanctified throughout with continual services, suited to the state of the different members of the church.

At first they took the Lord's supper every three months; but the blessings experienced, in observing this ordinance, excited a general desire in the brethren's minds for more frequent communion, and, after 1731, the church celebrated it every month. A few days before the time, the elders and assistants conversed with every one of the members who wished to partake; and if they found any persons in an unfit state, they advised them to abstain for awhile. After the Lord's supper, the church at Herrnhut used to meet in the great hall, and there the brethren and

sisters separately saluted each other with the kiss of charity, which was followed by singing hymns expressive of their brotherly love.

The *bands* already mentioned, and which were sub-divisions of the *choirs*, were a means of great blessing to the church, inasmuch as they accustomed the brethren to the greatest frankness and mutual confidence. They met on certain fixed days in the week. Even the children had their meetings of this kind, and derived great benefit from them. The brethren who presided over these bands usually met together on the Lord's day, to communicate the observations they had made.

Another means, by which the members of the church were still more closely united in its early history, was the practice of *daily visitation*, by the elder brethren and sisters in turn. They went from house to house, saluting the inhabitants with a passage of Scripture, chosen for the occasion, and usually that which was appointed for the day. These passages were called the *daily word*, and it was afterwards their custom to print them in advance for the whole year.

The burials of the inhabitants of Herrnhut took place at first in the churchyard at Bertholdsdorf; but as that in time became too small, and the distance was considerable, a new cemetery was opened, in the year 1730, at the foot of the Hutberg.\* The

\* About a furlong from Herrnhut. "It is surrounded with a hedge of beech, and laid out in regular squares, the intersecting walks being planted with tall lime-trees, forming shady vistas. Benches are placed here and there in the walks, and in arbours. The whole has rather the appearance of a pleasure-ground than of a

relations did not wear mourning at funerals, but the whole church accompanied the corpse, singing hymns, in the sweet expectation of the resurrection of the body in the likeness of the glorified body of Jesus.

The affairs of the church were transacted in the conferences of the ministers ; for business of a more general nature they summoned a committee of the principal inhabitants, which was called the council of the church. In all doubtful cases they decided by the lot. In the nightly watch every one took his turn, whatever rank he might hold, and assisted in edifying the church by singing the verses appointed for every hour.

We shall close this part of our description with an account of the institution of continual prayer, which still exists among them. After the special blessings they had received, some of the brethren and sisters thought it right to appoint special hours for prayer and thanksgiving. The connexions of the church also becoming daily more extensive, applications arrived from all parts, entreating their intercession for afflicted persons, prisoners, such as were tried with strong temptations, or labouring

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grave-yard, and has become a favourite promenade for many of the inhabitants of Herrnhut, and the strangers who visit the settlement. All the graves are disposed in regular rows, and each covered with a plain stone, lying horizontally, indicating the name, birth, and death of the individual whose mortal remains rest beneath it, in hopes of a joyful resurrection. The visitor approaches it through an avenue of tall and shady trees, gently ascending the hill. Over the portal, at the public entrance, are written, in large letters, the words, *Christ is risen from the dead ;* and on the other side, *He is become the first fruits of them that slept.* In 1822, the number of graves was 2,502." —*Holmes*, vol. i. p. 425.

under bodily discases. And, in short, they considered that, as in the ancient temple the fire on the altar never ceased to burn, so in the church, which is now the temple of God, wherein the true fire of his Spirit is kindled, the prayers of the saints ought always to ascend to the Lord.

The Herrnhut journal, dated the 22nd of August, 1727, speaks accordingly on the subject in the following terms:—"In these days we all felt how necessary it is for the church, which is yet in its infancy, but has an old enemy to contend with, even Satan, who sleeps not day or night, to be continually watching against him, and to have in its infancy sentinels, as it were, always on guard. We therefore determined to light up amongst us the fire of continual supplication. On the 23rd of August, fourteen brothers offered themselves for this purpose; and, on the 25th, we had advanced so far as to make an arrangement, in pursuance of which twenty-four brethren, and the same number of sisters, divided among them by lot the twenty-four hours, agreeing to retire to their closets successively for secret prayer, and to lay before the Lord, in detail, and with entire simplicity, all the troubles and wants, internal and external, which had come to their knowledge. They began on the 27th, and soon a great number more joined them, so that there were as many as seventy-seven persons, besides children, who had been awakened by Divine grace, and who established something of a similar kind among themselves. As they did not wish to set bounds to the course of Divine grace, or put a yoke on the Spirit of God, they agreed, that if any brother or sister could

not pass the entire hour in prayer, either on account of the state of their minds, or the duties of their calling, they might employ part of it in praising the Lord, or might present their supplications in the form of spiritual songs."

The brethren and sisters employed in this work met once a week, to receive communications respecting the subjects of prayer, whether they should be general intercessions for churches or nations, or special supplications and thanksgivings. We may easily conceive, that in order to keep up these daily meetings, conferences, visits to the sick and from house to house, private prayer-meetings, watches, and other associations for edification, the members of the church must have redeemed every portion of time; nay, that they must have often sacrificed moments devoted to their several occupations or domestic affairs, especially as all of them, even their ministers, were obliged to support themselves by the labour of their own hands. But it is to be borne in mind, that the strictest temperance prevailed in every part of their domestic economy; all knew how to content themselves with extremely frugal diet, small dwellings, and the mere necessaries of furniture. Their attire was very plain, and on working-days the brethren attended the meetings in the clothes they wore in their workshops, and the sisters in the dress which they used in the house. In short, their moderation and constant labour, to which they were accustomed from their childhood, their confidence in God, joined to the beneficence of their richer brethren, furnished such resources, that none of them ever wanted the necessaries of life, while none enjoyed its superfluities.

Any one accustomed to seek his own ease, desirous of amassing riches, or indisposed to follow the Saviour through poverty and meanness, would have been soon recognised as a person unfit to belong to this society.

II. *A brief account of some of the most distinguished labourers in the church.*

1. *Melchior Nitschmann.* We have already mentioned this brother, and have shown how he was chosen, notwithstanding his youth, to be one of the first pastors of the church. In 1728, he resolved, with another worthy servant of the Lord, his friend Schmidt, to visit the Protestants of Salzburg, calling in his way on the brethren at Litiz, in order to exhort them to perseverance in the truth. The count, the elders, and all his friends, endeavoured to dissuade him from this journey, urging the dangers to which he would be exposed, both from the malice of his enemies, and the weakness of his health, as he had been attacked with consumption, arising from the hardships he had endured in prison. Notwithstanding these remonstrances, he felt himself so powerfully moved to undertake the journey, that he could not resist; and, in his farewell letter to the church, he thus expresses his feelings on the subject:—"As you are all assembled to-day, I have a great desire to speak to you on the subject of my journey, on my motives and reasons for it; that you may see, that we seek not our own advantage, and that no merely natural impulse has carried us away. As, however, I cannot speak to you face to face, I wish to do it by these few lines, and

all that I shall say, the dear brother who travels with me will also confirm. We have no other motives than these: First, that we have received grace of the Lord Jesus, though unworthy; that He has chosen us, that we should go and bring forth fruit; and we would not be found unfaithful. The second is an internal conviction and certainty of mind with regard to our course, which we have received of the Lord, after many fervent prayers. Thirdly, we do not so much seek by this journey to edify, or to revive the work of God in others, as to derive some real advantage to ourselves; for we already foresee, that we shall find it much to crucify the old man, and that if we wished to follow the impulse of nature, we should never leave Herrnhut. But, by the grace of God, we do not fear any of those things which may happen. Whatever they may be, we know that we can do all things through Him who strengthens us. Besides, a Christian is called, in all circumstances, to renounce himself, and he ought to be ready, if he had a thousand lives, to sacrifice them all for Christ. We can assure you, dear brethren, that even when bonds and imprisonment await us, we hope, by the grace of God, so to conduct ourselves, and to persevere by the strength of the Lord Jesus, that you may not have reason to weep over us, and that the glory of God may be promoted. We have this confidence in Christ; not that we are able of ourselves to do anything: oh no! all our sufficiency is of God."

The forebodings of this worthy servant of Christ were soon verified: only a few days after his

departure, the news arrived at Herrnhut that he was shut up in the prison of Schildberg. Having passed the frontiers of Moravia, he consented, at the request of several pious persons, to preach to them. He took for his subject the necessity, nature, and effects of regeneration. The presence of the two brethren was noticed, and a search being made, they were dragged to prison, together with thirty persons, who had met with them. As soon as the intelligence reached Herrnhut, Count Zinzendorf used all his influence with the authorities to obtain their release, but in vain.

At first they had an opportunity of preaching Christ, even in the prison; and Melchior gave such a testimony of the hope that was in him, that his enemies were astonished, and some well-disposed among the clergy were moved even to tears. He finished his earthly career as a faithful witness to the truth on the 27th of February, 1729, and was interred in the place allotted to heretics and criminals. His companion was not released till more than five years afterwards.

Melchior was highly esteemed by the count. In the journal of the latter, dated the 14th of April, 1729, we find the following notice:—"The post brought me intelligence of my beloved brother Melchior Nitschmann; he is dead! This was a severe trial of my hope; in him I have lost half my heart."

2. *Extracts from several letters of Martin Linner.* In the place of Melchior Nitschmann, the church chose Martin Linner, of Moravia, to be their elder.



He had come to Herrnhut in 1728, when he was only twenty-six years old, but he discovered from the first an ardent love to Jesus, great faithfulness in following him and renouncing himself, and an unwearied zeal in stirring up his brethren to a life and conversation agreeable to the gospel; so that he gained the esteem of the whole church. He made several arrangements in the church, which have been carefully observed ever since; among others, the separation of the single brethren and sisters. In consequence of this regulation, a number of the young single brethren united together, dwelling in certain houses prepared for them, where they applied themselves to their respective trades; this measure greatly promoted their mutual edification. When the duties of an elder devolved upon him, Linner still continued to work at his trade as a baker, until he discovered that one of his brethren, who was of the same business, was suffering loss. He then gave up his bakehouse to him, and went to live with his single brethren, where he supported himself with great difficulty by wool-combing.

The count interested himself in procuring some assistance for him, and the brother to whom he had given up his business; but Linner dissuaded him from it with the brotherly freedom then common, and wrote to him in the following terms:—“Your desire to procure us a more lucrative situation, shows a love of which I am far from being worthy; but I cannot approve it. It is not the custom with the Saviour to suffer his disciples to be acquainted with their resources for the future;

it ought not to be so in my case. If I, through love to my brother, deprive myself of anything, my Saviour will interpose for me; and even if I should suffer want, I ought to take it joyfully."

Constant mental labour, added to extreme hard living, appears to have shortened his days. In order to put himself on a level with the poorest of his brethren, he used to lie upon the floor, and thus, in the beginning of the year 1733, his health was seriously undermined. The count then removed him to his own residence; but when he had left home for a short time, Linner returned, weak as he was, to the brethren's house, to end his days among them. On the day before his death, he attempted to write a letter to the church. Soon after he had begun, his pen dropped from his hand through fatigue, and sitting in his chair with his eyes raised towards heaven, he awaited his end with calm serenity. He was just heard at intervals to exclaim. "My Saviour, thou knowest that I love none as I love thee! Thou knowest I love thee with my whole heart!"

On the 26th of February, at eleven in the morning, it became evident that his end was approaching, and the church being then assembled for prayer, it was announced to them; when they agreed to spend the time in recommending their beloved elder to the grace of the Saviour, while his colleagues left the assembly to attend him. One of them gave him his blessing, with the imposition of hands, and as he was pronouncing the words, "Depart in peace, dear brother," his redeemed soul passed into the arms of Jesus, in the twenty-ninth year of his age. A short time after his death, some of his letters were published,

which give us a tolerably accurate view of the internal state of the church.

On one of his journeys he thus writes:—"Beloved brethren and sisters, I bless our glorious Saviour, that he gives you the victory, not only over your enemies, who assault your own hearts, but over the more crafty foes that attack your mutual union. O my brethren, show yourselves invincible over the false and perfidious powers of darkness! May every one of you labour to have Jesus formed in you; my heart prays for those who still drag their burdens after them, and will not freely enter on a course of self-denying obedience. My beloved brethren, why do you yet halt between two opinions? Do not you see how those who labour to produce good works, and to establish their own righteousness, labour and harass themselves in vain? If you cannot experience in your hearts the victorious power of the Saviour, at least inquire if your prayers arise from hearts truly desirous of his grace, or if they are the mere effect of habit. May our Saviour break every hard heart, that you may be prepared to receive the powerful influence of his Spirit!—May our faithful Saviour unite you more in mutual love! Never grow weary of bearing one another's burdens, of comforting, exhorting, and helping one another, that none may come behind, and that every one who sees that the Lord is among us, and beholds our conversation in his sight, may be a witness and a living epistle, to attest the work of God."

In a letter to a Lutheran professor of divinity, he thus writes:—"Beloved brother in the fellowship of Christ! Blessed be the Conqueror, who hath not

only delivered us from the sensual snares of our own hearts, but who has prepared in us a place where he can dwell and reign in all purity! Oh, how happy is the man, who, wearied with the heavy yoke of the law, is born of the Divine seed, and receives power to obey with delight the laws of God according to the inner man! How blessed are the laws of our Saviour! Let us follow him, for he is sufficient for us, he is all in all to us; may nothing remain in us to prevent us from praising the Lord day and night with the deepest reverence, and giving ourselves up into his hands, that he may do with us what is good in his sight, and that he may finish our conflict valiantly. He gives us a continual hungering after himself; out of him there is no nourishment to strengthen or quicken our spirits. May the Lord confirm you in the covenant of his love, that his brightness may shine in you to his glory."

In writing to one, who stumbled at the sins of others, and therefore delayed turning to God, he thus expresses himself:—"My dear friend, I perceive that you are beginning again to sport with the enemy. Would you then let him catch you in his snares? Would you bring yourself again into trouble? The offence that you are always taking at others, is a sin in you. A true brother looks at others that he may assist them; but this is what only a converted man can do. The unconverted man looks at the sins of others merely to find evidence that he is not the only wicked person: as long as you act thus I shall have little hope of your conversion. When you enter into yourself, you will find enough to wound you; but it will be better for you; you will feel your misery. If

you do not advance in the divine life, you will only be a thorn among us, and a grief to the true brethren."

When it was proposed, in 1730, to send Leonard Dober to the island of St. Thomas, and, according to their custom, the church was consulted on the subject, Linner gave the following advice:—"I cannot see my way clear to give my consent to the departure of our brother Dober, especially when I think how needful he is to our single brethren. I will readily submit to the decision of the church; I only wish that my heart could also submit. In the meantime, I desire to be resigned, and to labour with Jesus among my brethren. But, can you, seeing how things are declining, or at least not making progress amongst us the unmarried brethren, can you be indifferent to the idea of depriving us of our best helpers? You have long felt how important it is, in our daily public instructions, that we should learn to know the hearts of all, that we may minister suitable and seasonable assistance, with gentleness or severity. When I look at the brethren that have been taken from us, by imprisonment, by death, and by their outward callings, and remember that they were our best friends, I am not at all surprised that we form the poorest and worst portion of the church. I write these things, not as an elder of the church, but as a helper of the single brethren." Dober, however, having been proved for more than a year, and still feeling strongly inclined to go, Linner at length gave his consent; and the same day on which the former departed, two catechists arrived from Livonia, who were tolerably well fitted to supply his place in the church.

3. *Extracts from the letters of Matthew Linner.* He was the nephew of the preceding, and schoolmaster at Herrnhut. The following extracts from his letters show the zeal which animated him for the welfare of the youth committed to his care. One of them had written to him that he was in a state of great anguish of mind; Linner replied to him in the following terms:—

“My dear N.,—When we are in a state like yours, it behoves us to consider ourselves closely, and to say, ‘If, in past time, I have had much sorrow, I shall experience still more if I continue to grieve my Saviour!’ I beseech you, be more in earnest, that you may edify your brethren by your conduct. Never think you ought to use dissimulation towards them; if you see anything in them that is not right, tell them of it. Do not distress yourself with the idea that they will make greater progress than you; only do the best you can.”

To another he thus writes:—“The Lord bless you, my dear N. When I told you, I did not quite understand you, it was true. You still say, ‘I believe the Saviour will not leave me, but will lead me on,’ and things of that kind; but to believe, and to continue in this state of indecision, are two things which cannot agree together. You write that you wish to be delivered from all evil: it is well; but when we have the grace really to wish, the sense of duty gives strength to perform. Thus it must be, that your desire is not very sincere, as you remain still in the same state.”

To one of the monitors he writes thus:—“To walk as in the sight of the Lord Jesus, is true happiness.

Beloved brother, how is it with thee in this respect? Art thou advancing in his presence, or art thou fallen into a state of supineness? Thou art so trifling, so slothful, so dissipated! When the day is passed, thou never knowest how thou hast spent it. Oh think, then, that thou art set over others, to exhort and animate them; and that, if the children see in you the least thing that is not right, they will say, 'If he can do such things, I may do them with greater reason.'"

To a friend, who did not belong to the church, he writes thus:—"I wish you much knowledge and strength; knowledge to see your enemies in their true character, and by this knowledge to receive strength to overcome them. I was once so foolish as to entreat the Saviour to give me strength to conquer my enemies, without feeling them to be such. I secretly loved them, and I therefore still remained in the same condition. I was uneasy, I knew not what was the cause, until I discovered this secret love that I was still nourishing for my sins. But the instant that ceased, the Saviour gave me strength, courage, and victory; for can it be, that the Saviour would give us a task to perform, or enemies to fight, without at the same time giving us the necessary strength for the task and the conflict? This, dear brother, is the self-denial I wish you to exercise."

The death of this brother was very edifying. Some days before, his mother was exhorting him to think of the Saviour; "Dear mother," said he, "we think of the absent, but the Saviour is always present with me." The last night before his departure, he heard them singing under his window the hymn

beginning with those words, "He who has before his eyes the day of his espousals," etc., and immediately exclaimed, "That is what I think: that is what I do."

4. *Martin Dober*, who had come to Herrnhut in 1724, and since 1728 had been the most distinguished fellow-labourer with Zinzendorf in teaching the church, was born of pious parents, who left Bohemia for the sake of the gospel. He was a potter by trade; but, by the diligent study of the Holy Scriptures, and by the experience of the power of Divine truth, he acquired such sound views of the gospel, that when, in 1736, he was presented to the chief consistory of Copenhagen, to undergo a regular examination, he received a testimony in writing from the superintendent-general, "that he had fully satisfied the members of the consistory, that he possessed considerable acquaintance with the original languages of the Holy Scriptures, deep and sound knowledge of the doctrines of the Christian faith, and the operations of Divine grace upon the soul; that his views were highly experimental, and his gift in preaching both clear and solid." On this occasion he had been called upon, with some others, to preach, without any premeditation, a discourse on the work of God in conversion.

In a letter to a friend who did not belong to the brethren's church, he gives the following account of his early Christian experience:—"I passed my life among pious persons from my infancy; they were persons, however, whose piety consisted only in outward separation from the world, in a serious and austere life, in singing, praying, going poorly



clothed, giving alms, and enduring all sorts of hardship; but without any true and vital knowledge of the Lord Jesus, or, consequently, any power to overcome sinful propensities. We knew very well what evil and good were; but that knowledge was of no use to us. In this state I lived till I was eighteen years old. At length, my faithful Saviour brought me hither, (to Herrnhut.) Here I learned that no one can enjoy true peace of mind, unless he is reconciled to God by Jesus Christ; that even if we could abstain from evil, and do much good, and knew all mysteries, yet without redemption by the blood of Christ, it would profit us nothing. This doctrine penetrated my heart like lightning, and immediately I said to myself, 'This is as it should be.' From that time I resolved to seek for nothing but this redemption by Jesus, peace with God by him, and that faith which, according to Rom. x. 4, is the only faith unto righteousness; then I could with confidence call Jesus my Brother, and his Father my Father."

A minister having ironically asked how those meetings were conducted, over which a *potter* presided, Zinzendorf replied, in the name of the church, "When we come to the reading of the Old Testament, the potter is accustomed to use only his Hebrew Bible. If he is ill or absent, the count endeavours to fill his place, and sometimes the pastor Rothe. When Dober is present, the church loves to hear him best." In fact, Dober's preaching was so moving, that the count said of him, "When he opens his mouth at the hall, it is like so many claps of thunder." Several beautiful hymns of his

composition are still to be found in the brethren's German collection.

It will be interesting to connect with this picture of Herrnhut in its infancy, a sketch which the brethren themselves drew some years after. "Although we may very plainly see," says one of them in 1803, "by what has been already advanced, that the brethren's church, ever since its formation, has had teachers who declared, with power and affection, the salvation which is founded on the death of Christ alone; yet we cannot say that it was preached among them at first with the same clearness and simplicity as in later times, or that it was so generally embraced. Mystical notions were mingled with the truth of the gospel; their preaching was profound, but diffuse; one discourse often lasting two or three hours, because they thought it necessary to prove everything, and to answer all objections. A remarkable change took place, in this respect, at the beginning of the year 1734. By seeing religious persons of every description, and discussing with them different points of doctrine, the count was led to examine thoroughly the basis of his own faith, and this led him more fully into the doctrine of redemption by the blood of Christ.

An event, extremely trifling in appearance, seems to have led to a full disclosure of his views on this subject. So important was it deemed by the brethren's historians, that not one of them has failed to relate it, when detailing this part of their history. The count having thrown some papers into a stove, part of a leaf was found untouched in the ashes, on which was written the "word" for February

14th, "He shall choose our inheritance for us, the excellency of Jacob, whom he loved;" and beneath, two verses of the Lutheran hymn, "Make us, Lord, see our election, in thy pierced hands and feet." This led to a most affecting conversation among the brethren present, on the death and (according to the expression which soon became prevalent among them) the wounds of Jesus; and at that time the count composed the sweet hymn, which exhibits with so much clearness and unction this fundamental truth of the gospel, "that our salvation is founded alone upon the grace of God through the blood of Jesus, and that when a poor sinner sees himself corrupted and lost, he ought especially to beware of all attempts to save himself, but to go directly to Christ, the Friend of sinners, in whose blood alone he can find grace and sanctification." From this period the strain of preaching in the church was completely altered; the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world, and his expiatory sacrifice, became more and more the principal subject of all their hymns and discourses. This was the beginning of the happiest times of their church, and of that usefulness with which it has been honoured in every quarter of the world.

## CHAPTER XII.

FROM THE AGREEMENT, ON THE 13TH OF AUGUST, 1727, TO THE SETTLEMENT OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE CHURCH, IN JANUARY, 1731.

Nothing particular occurred in the outward state of the church during the period immediately succeeding the pacification. The church had need of rest after so many sufferings, and the experience of so much joy; and between the conflicts it had sustained within, and those it was now expecting from without, a short period of repose seemed necessary to mature and improve the triumphs which it had been aided to achieve.

Its internal arrangements were thus consolidated, perfected, and extended. The single brethren were brought by degrees to dwell in the separate houses assigned to them, and the count took them under his especial care. The single sisters likewise were settled in a separate house, and placed under the inspection of the countess. About the same time, a few persons, thinking they ought to observe the precept of Jesus literally, "Ye ought also to wash one another's feet," introduced this observance, but only among themselves. After some time, it was practised by the whole church, before the Lord's supper. In our days it is only observed at certain periods, as on the Thursday before Easter, or some other particular occasions. The churches now have

not all the same customs; the brethren always preserving, in things of this kind, a liberty of changing or modifying them according to circumstances.

The rise of the settlement or church of Herrnhut soon excited great attention, and was much spoken of, both amongst its friends and enemies. We may judge of this by the fact, that, in the year 1728, above fifty letters were received in one day, and distributed among the brethren to whom they were addressed. These requested information; and the various reports, which were soon circulated, led many individuals to visit Herrnhut, and among others, some persons of high rank. On account of these circumstances, also, the brethren were induced to send deputations into all the Protestant countries of Europe, which were followed by very happy effects.

The first of these missions was to the prince royal of Denmark, in the autumn of 1727. Two of the members of the church carried him, at his own request, an account of the brethren of Bohemia and Moravia, and their establishment at Herrnhut, and were most kindly received, both by him and several persons of his court. In 1728, also, three brethren were sent as a deputation to England.

Towards the close of the year 1727, it appears that some painful difference again arose between the church and the pastor Rothe; but God, who always brings good out of evil, at length brought the matter to a termination, much to the edification as well as contentment of both parties. We are not informed of the particulars, but merely know that Rothe acknowledged himself wrong in some things; upon

which the church sent him an affectionate letter, which was so successful, that he went to Herrnhut, and the covenant of peace and brotherly love was renewed, to the great joy of all parties.

In the midst of these proceedings in the church, and all that the brethren were undertaking in surrounding countries, they began to engage in the work of missions among the heathen. For this purpose they held the first meeting on the 4th of January, 1728, to communicate to the church various accounts which they had received of the progress of the kingdom of God. This first missionary meeting was celebrated by meditations on different portions of Holy Scripture, and fervent prayers; in the midst of which the church experienced a remarkable enjoyment of the presence of the Spirit. The brethren felt themselves urged to attempt something that might redound to the glory of the Lord; several distant countries were mentioned, and particularly Turkey, Northern Africa, Greenland, and Lapland. Some of them adverted to the impossibility of ever being able to reach these countries; but the count expressed his firm conviction that the Lord would one day grant the brethren, with the grace, the means also necessary for the work. They were thus inspired with great courage, and disposed to hold themselves in readiness to engage in the sacred enterprise, whenever the Lord should give the signal.

In consequence of an invitation received from the students of Jena, the count repaired to that city in the course of the summer, with a part of his household, almost wholly composed of persons devoted to the ministry of the gospel. There were at that time,

in this university, more than one hundred persons, professors and students, who had established meetings for mutual edification, and schools for poor children. These brethren, and some others, attended the count's domestic meetings, and what they learned of the ancient and modern discipline of the brethren, suggested to them the desire of having something of the same kind established among themselves. The count could not, for several reasons, accede to their wishes in this matter, but he proposed to them to found, under the direction of Buddeus, a kind of seminary, to be called the *practical college*, for training up young ministers. It was commenced, but proved unsuccessful. Several years after this, an institution was formed at Jena, similar to that which they had formerly projected.

From Jena the count went to Halle, to which place a deputation had been sent by the church. We may remember, that he had a great regard for the divines of this city. More than a hundred of the students requested him to deliver to them a course of lectures on divinity, in a form suited for edification; to which proposal he acceded.

While Zinzendorf was at Jena, a new storm threatened the community at Herrnhut. Powerful efforts were employed to induce the brethren to renounce their peculiar discipline, and fully join the Lutheran church, in order to avoid persecution. The pastor Rothe was persuaded to give his sanction to these attempts, and, strange to say, he was joined by Christian David, who, in the preceding year, had maintained the opposite opinion very decidedly. The count had no small difficulties to encounter in restoring

peace; at length, however, he succeeded, and it was agreed that everything should remain in the same state as before.

A. D. 1729. Among the celebrated divines with whom the brethren's church was connected at this period, we may mention the first preacher of the court of Prussia, Daniel Ernest Jablonskey. He was made court preacher in 1699, by the consent of the king, then elector of Saxony. The news which he received of the existence and prosperity of the little flock at Herrnhut, excited a very lively interest in his mind, as he testified in a letter, dated August 13, 1729. Zinzendorf kept up a correspondence with him from this time, and to him he first communicated his intention of embracing the ecclesiastical profession.

During this year, the church sent deputations into Switzerland, Livonia, Sweden, and Denmark, which were very kindly received. Among the deputies to Livonia was Christian David, who had before undertaken a journey into Switzerland. The count was also much occupied with a persecution that had broken out against certain evangelical ministers in Silesia, several of whom, particularly Steinmetz, the count's particular friend, were accused before the magistrates of pietism, and that even by some of their own colleagues. The count warmly undertook their defence; but the authorities sentenced them to deprivation and banishment; all, therefore, that he could do, was to endeavour to find them an asylum in some other place.

These efforts most probably gave occasion to the first attack made against the brethren at this time, which was afterwards followed by many more. A



Jesuit missionary in Silesia published a pamphlet against the church of Herrnhut, entitled, "An Account of a New Sect just established in Upper Lusatia and Silesia." The count wished not to notice this publication, but he could not prevent the ministers Schœffer, Schwedler, and Rothe, who considered themselves as attacked by it, from undertaking this task, which they did in a pamphlet, entitled, "A True Testimony to the Church at Herrnhut." All sorts of reports were now spread against the count and the church, and as even the friends of the truth required an explanation, Zinzendorf at length found himself obliged to publish his "First Public Declaration" against his adversaries.

A.D. 1730. The count was much engaged during this year in correspondence with different religious societies. Certain changes, also, took place this year, which are not very easily accounted for. It seems that, for some reasons known to himself alone, Zinzendorf had determined to procure a new election of elders. On the 15th of March, the church very unexpectedly received a communication from him, resigning his office as president. "I wish," said he, "to leave the church to God, and to her Bridegroom, the Lord Jesus Christ, desiring to continue the companion of the joy and sorrows of the elect people of God, resolved, if persecution shall come upon me, to sacrifice my property, and even my life, for the maintenance of what he has enabled me to establish." In other respects, he expressed a wish to submit cordially to the church and its elders. "If the church," says he, "is to have a master, I should have the greatest right to be placed over it; but it is the

office of the Holy Spirit to appoint a bishop to feed the church of God, which he has purchased with his own blood. Until now, Jesus Christ has himself been the bishop, and if any one should take the office, he would show a spirit of rebellion against the Lord. To you to whom it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of Christ, I say, *I am not your president, but Christ.*"

His example was followed by the elders. Augustin Neisser alone was continued in his charge, and the church gave him for his colleagues Christian David, then in Livonia, and Martin Linner, the interesting young man before mentioned, a journeyman baker by trade, aged twenty-seven.

Though Augustin Neisser was only confirmed in his charge, and did not lay down his office, yet he was again solemnly ordained in conjunction with Linner. Christian David had not yet returned from Livonia. The ordination of the two brethren was attended to with truly Christian solemnity. Some of the questions proposed to them on this occasion, in the presence of the whole body, are here inserted.

"Do you know, that the first elders of the church, which you are called to serve, were burned to death for the name of Jesus?"

"Do you know, that in 1715, that is, precisely three hundred years after the martyrdom of John Huss, the Lord celebrated the jubilee of that event by calling to the knowledge of himself one of you, Augustin Neisser; and that just a century from the destruction of the Moravian churches, the foundation of Herrnhut was laid, in 1722?"

"Do you recollect, that all the ancestors of this

beloved church were martyrs, whose religion and wise institutions it is proper we should preserve, since they were in existence sixty years before the Reformation? And do you promise to endure all kinds of persecutions, rather than suffer the church to forsake them?

“Do you know, also, that these privileges and blessings do not form the true character, or true treasure of our people; but their richest treasure is, that they have received a name which no man knoweth but he that receiveth it?”

“Will you continue in the high station to which the church has called you, with all humility; and whenever you perceive yourselves lifted up, regard yourselves at that time as the children of the devil? Will you continue to submit to the church, ruling it in a spirit of humility, abasing yourselves that Christ may be exalted?”

“Will you faithfully endeavour to promote in others the knowledge of Christ, and of the virtue of his death, and the merit of his blood, to cleanse and sanctify the heart; making this the sole foundation of all your instructions and reproofs, and of your official decisions?”

“Are you willing, if it should be required, to follow the church in all her wanderings, even to persecution and death?”

The two brethren replied in the affirmative to all these questions, and the next day were saluted by the hymns, congratulations, and encouragements of the whole church.

We have already said, that the sisters had among them several offices corresponding to those of the

brethren ; they had elders of their own sex, and they now made fresh nominations to the office three days after the brethren, that is, on the 18th of March. One of these nominations was very remarkable. Among the number of those deemed eligible to discharge the functions of an elder among the sisters, was Anne Nitschmann, the excellent sister of Melchior, then only fifteen years old ; and the judgment formed of her was confirmed by the lot. This young sister had come from Moravia to Herrnhut, with her parents, while she was yet a child. She was converted at the time of the revival among the children, and was afterwards made signally useful to them. She gained her living by spinning wool, and led a very peaceful life, frequently spending the night and the day in prayers. "I have often," says Spangenberg, in the life of Zinzendorf, "found her thus employed."

Her nomination was so far from being regarded as unsuitable, that when the brethren, in the year following, devolved the whole authority of the church upon one elder, she was also, from that time, regarded as the chief elder, or president of all the sisters, as well as special president over the unmarried females. This last charge was conferred upon her on account of a remarkable resolution she entered into with seventeen of her class, which merits more particular notice.

The brethren soon perceived that familiar intercourse between the young people of both sexes produced no good, but ended in their forming connexions contrary to the will of God. At first they endeavoured to remedy the evil by various prudential measures ; but they found precepts and prohibitions

of no effect, and the single sisters themselves adopted the best measure for that purpose. Eighteen of them, with Anne Nitschmann at their head, entered into a solemn agreement not to listen to any proposal of marriage on worldly principles, or contrary to the discipline of a true church of Christ. This resolution they imparted to the elders, declaring at the same time, that if after mature deliberation these should see it right to sanction any proposition of this kind, they would then take it into consideration.

The resolution was no sooner communicated than it was approved by the whole church, and became a standing rule among them. From this time the church walked in peace under their new leaders, and no further change took place than the voluntary resignation of Christian David, which occurred on the 24th of December in the same year.

The change thus quietly effected in the administration of the church, was soon after followed by a great alteration of another kind. When Christian David retired from office, the direction of the body gradually devolved on one of the elders, who was by that act established over the other officers, and over the bishops themselves, when the church came to have them; and this form of government lasted till the year 1731, when the constitution of the church was irrevocably fixed. At this time Martin Linner was generally considered as the chief elder; Augustin Neisser being looked upon as a kind of vicar-general, to fill his place in case of need. The custom was also adopted of appointing, every month, in turn, one of the *helpers*, to be assistant to the chief elder. This measure tended to unite them more closely together.

A. D. 1731. The question was again brought

forward this year, whether the brethren's church should continue in its independent form, or unite with the Lutheran community; and the latter course was supported by the almost irresistible weight and influence of Zinzendorf. There had always been persons among the brethren who wished to persuade them to join the Lutherans; and the many and urgent solicitations addressed to the count, by a number of learned men and persons of rank, were reasons for again renewing an inquiry, which, after all that had passed, appeared ill-timed and rash, and which the count himself had so zealously opposed in 1728.

The elders to whom Zinzendorf first proposed the new project, opposed it most decidedly: he had sufficient influence, however, to have it submitted to the deliberation of the whole church, which assembled for that purpose on the 7th of January, 1731: but here it encountered much greater opposition. The brethren declared, as formerly, that their constitution was much more ancient than that of other Protestant communions; and that for the sake of it they had, like their fathers, left their property and country. Most of those who did not belong to the Moravian brethren, and who were born in the Lutheran church, maintained, with the brethren themselves, that their constitution was agreeable to the Holy Scriptures and to right reason; and that as it had been attended with so many blessings, they ought never to depart from it. They also foresaw, that in abandoning this constitution, the same evil would happen to them that had befallen other religious societies, which, for want of order and discipline, had declined from their original purity.

The count, however, still persisted in his motion, and his rank as president of the church and lord of the manor, joined to his shining gifts, gave his opinion such weight, that the church consented to submit this solemn question to the Lord's decision by the lot. Thus was the brethren's church, with all its future destinies, about to depend upon the Yes or No that should issue from the urn!

According to the ancient custom of the brethren, they wrote two notes, on one of which was inscribed, "To them that are without law, as without law," etc., 1 Cor. ix. 21: on the other, "Brethren, stand fast, and hold the traditions," etc., 2 Thess. ii. 15. The church supplicated the Lord to make known to his people his wise purpose, and we may imagine with what solemn expectation they saw a child under four years of age draw the note. On it was written, "Brethren, stand fast," etc.

With hearts full of gratitude, the brethren renewed their covenant with the Lord, determining from that time to abide by this constitution, to labour in the work of Christ with boldness, and to preach his gospel through all the nations of the world, whithersoever He should send them. The count himself delivered a most powerful discourse on the occasion.

The brethren now being satisfied, and at rest on all sides, cheerfully took upon themselves the reproach of their novel institutions (as they were deemed) and the hatred of the world. From that time they continued to labour in their work, with courage and confidence in the Lord, without suffering themselves to be turned aside, persuaded that the plan they had adopted was conformable to His will.

## CHAPTER XIII.

HISTORY OF THE MISSION TO THE WEST INDIES, FROM ITS COMMENCEMENT TO 1736; AND OF THE GREENLAND MISSION, TO THE YEAR 1739.

### *The Mission to the West Indies.*

THE brethren's missions to the West Indies and Greenland were commenced in the year 1731; and we shall suspend the general history of the church, to give a continued relation of both, up to the time when they were fully established.

The circumstance which gave rise to these two missions was a journey to Denmark, which Zinzendorf undertook in June, 1731, to attend the coronation of Christian VI. Some of the brethren, who were in the service of the count, and attended him on this occasion, became acquainted with a negro from the West Indies, named Anthony, then in the employ of a Danish nobleman. This man frequently conversed with the brethren from Herrnhut, and especially with the elder David Nitschmann. He told them that he had often sat on the sea-shore of the island of St. Thomas, and prayed for a revelation from heaven; and that by the providence of God he had been brought to Copenhagen, where he had embraced Christianity. He drew an affecting picture of the condition of the negroes, both temporal and spiritual, among whom was his own sister, who was also very



desirous of Christian instruction: and he assured the brethren that if a mission were established, there was good reason to expect success.

When the count was informed of these things, he was so moved, that he wished to send Nitschmann immediately to St. Thomas; but as that was impossible, he determined to mention the matter at Herrnhut, and asked permission for Anthony to follow him thither. On his return, he related the whole to the brethren. The account produced in the minds of Leonard Dober and Tobias Leupold, two young brethren of ardent zeal and courage, a lively desire to go and preach the gospel to the negroes. Though they were intimate friends, they did not tell each other that day what was passing in their minds. The next morning, Dober, whose thoughts had been occupied by the subject the whole night, but whose mind was yet undecided, opened the book of texts which lay before him, and read these words, "For it is not a vain thing for you; because it is your life," Deut. xxxii. 47. This much strengthened and encouraged him. He was accustomed, at this time, to meet Tobias Leupold every evening, to converse on the manner in which they had spent the day, and then to pray together; and as he had fixed on him as his companion in this work, he told him what had passed in his mind. We may conceive his surprise and joy, when he learned that Leupold had experienced the same feelings and desires, and that he had thought of no one else as a companion but his friend Dober.

About this time, the single brethren used to meet every evening, and go out of the village by pairs to pray together. On their return, they walked through

the streets singing hymns. One evening, when Dober and Leupold, in company with some of their brethren, were thus singing, they approached the count's house. Zinzendorf came to the door with the minister Schœffer, who was then on a visit at Herrnhut, and without knowing what was passing in the minds of the brethren, said to him, "Sir, among these brethren are missionaries for St. Thomas, Greenland, Lapland," etc. These words filled the brethren with joy, and they immediately resolved to open their minds to him, which they did by letter. The count was rejoiced at their design, and he sent for them, and conversed with them a long time. Their letter was afterwards read at the singing meeting, though without mention of the names of the writers.

On the 29th of July, Anthony arrived, and a few days after was introduced to the church. He gave an affecting description of the state of the poor negroes in the West Indies, expressing a great hope that many among them would be converted, if they could hear of the Saviour; but he added, that hardly any opportunity could be procured for instructing them, unless by becoming a slave, since the negroes were overwhelmed with work, and there was no speaking to them except during their hours of labour.

Dober and Leupold did not suffer themselves to be deterred from their purpose by these accounts; on the contrary, they declared they were ready to sacrifice their lives in the service of their Saviour, and to sell themselves into slavery, in order to gain even a single soul. Their proposition, however, met with little approbation from the church. Most of

the brethren regarded the undertaking as a well-intended, but an impracticable one. Martin Linner, the chief elder, on whom devolved the superintendence of the choir of single brethren, would not consent to part with Leonard Dober, who was a very useful assistant in that service. To the reasons which he urged for this reluctance, we may add that he had fixed on Dober as a person fit to succeed him in his important office, as his feeble health gave him a certain warning of his approaching end.

A whole year passed away before the church came to any determination, and even then not until they had submitted the matter to the lot, by which it was determined that Leupold ought not to go for the present. But as Dober did not the less persist in his project, the count, who was entirely of his mind, asked him if he also would submit himself to the same decision. He replied, that as to the conviction of his own mind there was no necessity, but for the satisfaction of the brethren they might do what they wished. On this day they requested him to draw one from a number of slips of paper, on which were written different sentences, and he drew the following, "Let the youth go, for the Lord is with him." This put an end to all hesitation; Dober received his appointment, and Linner gave him his blessing in the name of the church. As he did not wish to go alone, he asked them to give him David Nitschmann for a companion, at least till the mission was established. The church made this proposal to Nitschmann, who immediately agreed to it, although he had a wife and children whom he was obliged to leave in Europe.

On the 18th of August he took leave of the church, and left Herrnhut on the 21st, accompanied by the count as far as Budissin, several leagues distant from Herrnhut. Zinzendorf gave each of them a ducat, (about half-a-guinea,) besides three dollars each, which they had received from the church, and with this sum they set off, full of joy and gratitude, to travel to Copenhagen, a distance of at least one hundred and twenty leagues.

On their journey they visited several pious persons, and communicated to them their design. But no one encouraged them to persevere, except the Countess of Stolberg, whose Christian conversation they long remembered with pleasure and comfort. Everywhere they were told of difficulties and dangers, arising from the degraded state of the negroes, the unhealthiness of the climate, and other causes. Nevertheless, they resolved to proceed, persuaded as they were that it was the will of God, and that he would protect and take care of them.

When they arrived at Copenhagen, they found no one inclined to favour their project. Persons of all ranks spoke of it as a thing impossible; they were told that no vessel would receive them; that even if they should reach St. Thomas, they could not gain a subsistence, and that they would not be allowed to speak to the negroes. Even those of the directors of the West India Company, who delighted in promoting the progress of the kingdom of God, and to whom they had letters of recommendation, would neither approve nor favour their voyage. They particularly dwelt upon the condition

of the slaves, and the dearness of provisions, insisting upon it, that whites in low circumstances could not subsist. When the brethren replied that they would work as slaves with the negroes, the grand chamberlain, with whom they were conversing one day, told them decidedly, that they would not be permitted to do it. Nitschmann then replied that he would work at his trade as a carpenter. "But this man, the potter, what will he do?" said the chamberlain. "I will support him by my work," replied Nitschmann.

In addition to all these difficulties, they had the grief of seeing Anthony draw back almost entirely, and recant everything he had said. He however gave them a letter to his sister, which was of some service to them. In the midst of all their causes of discouragement they continued unshaken.

Their perseverance at length induced several persons at Copenhagen to take an interest in their project; among these were the two court chaplains, who, being convinced that the calling of the brethren was from the Lord, not only assisted them, but brought others over to the same mind. The royal family having been made acquainted with their design, the queen was disposed to favour them, and one of the princesses sent them a sum of money for their voyage, and a Dutch Bible. Several other persons presented them with similar proofs of regard, among whom were some counsellors of state.

As none of the West India Company's vessels would take them on board, one of the king's officers helped them to procure a passage in a Dutch ship

bound for St. Thomas. The captain received them with pleasure, and the kindness of their friends enabled them, not only to pay their passage, but to furnish themselves with carpenters' tools for Nitschmann. They embarked on the 8th of October, 1732, and the vessel set sail the next day.

On the voyage the sailors often ridiculed them, and endeavoured to dissuade them from persisting in their purpose by the most discouraging representations. But the brethren were unmoved by these efforts; in return, they laboured to their utmost in seeking the conversion of their opponents; and if they did not attain their object, their conduct at least soon procured for them kind and friendly treatment. The voyage, which was often performed in three or four weeks, lasted ten, and was attended with much danger and inconvenience. In calm weather, Nitschmann employed himself in making a sideboard for the captain, which pleased him so well, that, on their arrival at St. Thomas, he recommended him to the whites, for their finer sorts of work.

The missionaries arrived at St. Thomas on the 13th day of December. The text of the day was, "The Lord of hosts mustereth the host of the battle," Isa. xiii. 4; and they were encouraged by it to believe, that as they had now entered the field, in the name and strength of the Lord, he himself would be with them, and lead them on to victory.

They were reflecting on the difficulties they would meet with in procuring a livelihood, in a place where provisions were so dear, and in which they were entire strangers, when a negro came to invite

them to the house of Mr. Lorenzen, a planter. An old servant had given them a letter of recommendation to this person, who was his friend, and had also furnished them with other introductions. Mr. Lorenzen kindly offered them board and lodging in his own house, until they could procure a residence for themselves; and the brethren could not but perceive, in this friendly act, the faithful providence of their heavenly Father.

They commenced their labours on the same day. In the afternoon they went to see Anthony's sister, and her brother Abraham, who were both slaves. They read to them their brother's letter, containing an account of his conversion, and an exhortation to them to follow his example. The words of the Saviour, John xvii. 3, "This is life eternal, that they may know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent," being quoted in the letter, they took occasion to preach to them the glad tidings of redemption, and to tell them the purpose for which they had come to the island. Although the brethren could only speak German, with a few Dutch words, which they had learned from the sailors on their voyage, the negroes understood them, and began to clap their hands for joy; for to this moment they had thought these things the exclusive privilege of the whites, their masters. Anthony's sister and brother were deeply impressed by the truths they heard, and from that day considered the brethren as teachers sent from God to them. The brethren, who are always disposed to observe coincidences, remark, that the text for this day was Matthew xi. 5, "The poor have

the gospel preached to them." They sought every opportunity of conversing with the negroes; they visited them on Saturdays and Sundays, and their success was the greater in winning their confidence and love, because the blacks had never before been treated by the whites with such kindness and condescension. The whites were much divided in their opinions of the brethren. Some honoured them as servants of God, others despised them, and even treated them as deceivers, whom it was necessary, without delay, to drive out of the country. Added to this, they suffered much from the climate of the country.

Nitschmann soon found sufficient work to support himself and his companion; but as he had been charged by the church to return as soon as possible after he had accompanied Dober to St. Thomas, the latter wished to find some means of gaining his living by his trade as a potter. In this, however, he could never succeed, both on account of the bad quality of the clay, and because he had not a proper kiln; but as the time for Nitschmann's return was fixed for April, 1733, he would not detain him. They were, therefore, obliged to separate, and they parted with many tears on both sides. Nitschmann gave Dober all the money which was not absolutely necessary for his own passage; and Dober sent a letter to the brethren at Herrnhut, expressing his entire satisfaction in the work in which he had engaged, and his confident expectation of ultimate success. Nitschmann arrived at Herrnhut on the 24th of July, after having been absent eleven months.

Thus was Dober left alone, without any visible



means of support. His acquaintances in the island had not once conceived that he would part with his friend, and had advised him to return with him to Europe; but he remained firm in the faith, and unshaken in his resolution of abiding at his post. Before three weeks had elapsed, he received a proposal from the governor to become steward of his household. He accepted the appointment, on condition that he should have liberty, after he had finished his business, to attend to the negroes. The governor took Dober into his service simply, as he himself said, on account of his piety. Dober expresses his feelings on this occasion in the following manner:—"The sailors, who till now had ridiculed me, were perfectly astonished, and counted me very fortunate; but I found myself far from comfortable, though I had improved my outward condition. For some time I sat at the governor's table, and had everything, as the world says, that heart could wish; but I was ashamed to see myself so raised above my former ideas of slavery; and this new manner of living was so oppressive to me, that I was often quite wretched. I could only comfort myself by the assurance that the Lord had placed me in this situation; for I had solemnly promised him not to seek employment from any one, but to give myself up implicitly to the direction of his providence."

In the beginning of 1734, he was attacked by a severe sickness, on recovering from which he determined to leave his situation, because, he said, "it tended to divert him from his true calling." The governor consented to it with great reluctance.

Dober hired a little room, and endeavoured to get his living by watching the plantations, or any other labour of that kind. He scarcely got bread and water, but he says that he found himself like a bird that had recovered its liberty, since nothing now hindered him from being fully occupied with the instruction of the negroes. Shortly afterwards, Anne, with her husband, and Abraham, her brother, became converts; he saw them every day, and was much delighted with their manifest progress in knowledge and grace. At the end of April, however, he again accepted the offer of a planter, who requested him to manage a small cotton plantation at the extremity of the island, on which only eighteen negroes were employed.

Ten months had now passed away without any news from Herrnhut; and Dober inquired in vain of every vessel that arrived, whether there were any letters for him. On the 11th of June, he was informed that another ship had reached the island, and before he had time to procure any further intelligence, his friend Leupold, and two other brethren, Schenk and Miksch, stood before him. The joy on both sides was inexpressible. They passed the whole night in conversation. These brethren informed him that eighteen persons had come with them, fourteen brethren and four sisters, to form a colony at St. Croix, where there were plantations belonging to De Pless, the king of Denmark's chamberlain, but which had lain in a neglected state for forty years, and were overgrown with weeds and bushes. This news distressed Dober very much, as he immediately foresaw the fatal issue of the

enterprise. His forebodings were painfully verified by the speedy death of ten of the colonists, who fell victims to the unhealthiness of the climate.

These brethren also brought him the very important intelligence that he had been chosen elder of the church at Herrnhut, in the room of Martin Linner, deceased. As this appointment required his speedy return to Europe, he quitted the service of the planter, to be ready when the first ship was to sail, and in the interim made himself as useful as possible to his brethren. He embarked on the 12th of April, on board of the same vessel which had brought the eighteen colonists for St. Croix. He took with him a young negro, seven years old, named Oby, a child of a very affectionate and obedient temper, and who was baptized in April, 1735, as the first fruits of the brethren's work among the heathen. He died in the Lord, at Herrnhut, March 28, 1736.

Dober arrived at Copenhagen on the 27th of November, 1734, and at Herrnhut in the month of February following. During the two years which he had spent at St. Thomas, he had the pleasure of seeing four negroes receive the gospel; some others also appeared well disposed, who were afterwards truly converted to God.

### *The Mission to Greenland.*

During the same visit to Denmark, in which the count had become acquainted with Anthony, the negro, he also saw two baptized Greenlanders, and received much interesting information respecting Egède's mission to that country. Zinzendorf was

grieved to hear that it was doubtful whether the mission would be continued, and determined, if possible, to send assistance to Egède, the Danish missionary. The missionary spirit, which was then awakened at Herrnhut, favoured his design. While they were speaking of the mission to St. Thomas, some were also thinking about one to Greenland; and two brethren, Matthew Stach and Fr. Böenisch, were strongly moved with a desire to go to those frozen regions.

Having seriously considered the matter, and sought Divine direction, they communicated their wish to the church. The difficulties and dangers of the undertaking were faithfully set before them, and they had to wait more than a year before a definitive answer was given. When, at length, it was determined to send them, Böenisch being then engaged on another journey, Christian David offered to accompany the mission to Greenland, and Matthew Stach chose his cousin, Christian Stach, for his companion. They had only two days' notice of their departure; but their equipment was soon completed, for they took nothing with them but their clothes, trusting to Providence to supply their wants. A small sum of money presented to them by the church, being a part of a donation just then received from a friend at Venice, defrayed their expenses on the road. They were set apart for the work by the elder, Augustin Neisser, by prayer and imposition of hands, and left Herrnhut, January 19, 1733, five months after the departure of Nitschmann and Dober for St. Thomas.

On their arrival at Copenhagen, the brethren were received with great kindness by the friends to whom

they had been recommended ; but they met with very little encouragement to proceed in their undertaking. The question was then in agitation, whether all communication with Greenland should be broken off, and whether the vessel that was about to be sent out should bring back the persons stationed there, either as employed in trade or in the mission. The brethren, therefore, were told, that they would soon be assassinated by the savages, or perish with hunger. They did not, however, suffer themselves to be moved by these representations ; and having learned that the king had consented to the fitting out of a vessel for Goodhaab, the Danish colony, they obtained leave, by means of De Pless, to embark in her, his majesty writing with his own hand to Egède, to recommend them to his kind attention.

De Pless acted with the greatest kindness and prudence. After proposing to the brethren every possible objection, and causing them to be examined by several divines, when he saw them fixed in their purpose, he became a most strenuous supporter of their undertaking. He also introduced them to the acquaintance of several very pious persons of high rank, who encouraged them in their work, and furnished them, unsolicited, with resources sufficient to defray the expenses of their voyage and settlement in Greenland.

One day, as De Pless was asking the brethren how they thought of supporting themselves in the country, they answered, that, with God's assistance, they would work with their hands and cultivate the earth, and that they would build a house, so as to be chargeable to no man. The minister replied that

their scheme was impracticable; for that the country consisted of nothing but barren rocks, and that there was no vestige of wood to be seen in the place. "Well, then," said they, "we will dig into the earth." "No, no," replied he, "you shall take wood with you to build yourselves a house: there are fifty crowns to begin with." A collection was instantly made, with which the brethren were enabled to purchase the materials and tools necessary for building: beams, planks, all sorts of instruments for masonry work, a quantity of seeds, thread, fire-arms, fishing-tackle, grates, windows, cooking apparatus, beds, and different kinds of food.

On the 10th of April, 1733, they sailed from Copenhagen. They had a rapid and prosperous voyage, a few gales excepted, and arrived in Davis' Strait in the beginning of May. They saw the land on the 13th; but the same day a dreadful storm arose, which lasted four days and four nights, and drove them out more than fifty leagues to sea. At length, on the 20th, they arrived at Ball's River, after a voyage of six weeks, near the place where they afterwards established the settlement called *New Herrnhut*.

Immediately on their landing, they waited on Egède. He received them in a very friendly manner, and promised to assist them as much as possible in learning the language. They went immediately to look in the neighbourhood for a habitable spot, near a stream, where they could build a house; they fell on their knees, and consecrated it by prayer, and then began, without delay, to rear a hut, after the Greenland fashion, of stones, with turfs laid between

them, to defend themselves and their furniture from the snow and rain, until they could erect their house. The year was pretty far advanced, the snow having already melted as much as is usual in June; yet it was so very cold, that the turfs often froze in their hands. On the 6th of June, their cabin was so far completed that they could enter it, which they did with thanksgiving, and pulled down the shed of planks, under which they had lodged till that time. The following days, until the departure of the vessel, were spent in writing letters to their friends.

Matthew Stach wrote thus, on the 13th of June: —“What we sought for in this country we have found; that is, heathens, who know not God; who care for nothing but catching seals, fish, and reindeer, and for that purpose are always moving about, living sometimes on the mainland, sometimes on one island and sometimes on another. We wish to tell these people, that there is a God, a Saviour, a Holy Spirit, but we do not yet understand their language; we would visit them, but we know not where they dwell: their whole manner is so very different from ours, that we cannot even make them understand us by signs. Thus, dear brethren, you see our situation in Greenland; but were not things much in the same state when you first commenced at Herrnhut? You know it was so. It is in situations like these that we may say to ourselves, ‘Lose thy way, but do not lose thy faith!’ Yes, the way may be missed by us here; but we every day remember this word, ‘Keep thou our minds in peace.’ When the Lord shall go before us, we will follow him; we are walking under his

eye. When the time of the heathen shall come, the darkness of Greenland will be changed into light, and the cold into heat. If we can do nothing here, we will at least praise His great name, that he has brought us low, and rendered us little in our own eyes. May you, brethren, who are witnesses of the power of our Saviour, who keep your vessels in sanctification and honour before him, walk always under his eye, offering on the altar of your love abundance of perfumes. When you write next year, trim the torches of your faith, that the heat may warm us amidst our ices."

They had scarcely finished building their house, and were beginning to become acquainted with the poor Greenlanders, when a dreadful disease broke out in the country, which seemed likely to put a stop to the whole work. A young Greenland boy, who had been to Copenhagen, and had lately returned, brought with him the small-pox, which was, till that time, unknown in the country. This scourge spread like a plague, and committed such ravages from September, 1735, to the middle of the year following, that it appeared as if the whole population would be destroyed; for through the whole extent of the coast there were scarcely seven thousand inhabitants, of whom from two to three thousand died.

In this distress, the Danish missionary, Egède, was unwearied in visiting the sick and dying, in order to prepare them for death; and he sometimes took the brethren with him. In most places, however, they found only empty huts, or dwellings tenanted with unburied corpses, which they covered



with stones. Egède received the sick into his own house, until it would hold no more; and he and his wife paid every attention to them, without any regard to their own safety.

The whole country round New Herrnhut had become a desert for several leagues north and south, and was regarded as a pestiferous place. The brethren were attacked at the same time with a scorbutic disorder, which obliged them to take to their beds. "We are now," said they, "in a school of faith, and our way is altogether in darkness. As yet we see no signs of success among the heathen, and they even come to find death where they should receive life. If we look to ourselves, we see only misery both within and without; we hardly know how to subsist in this country, and we are sick. Nevertheless, we believe this is for the purifying of our souls, that we may be more strengthened for the service of the Lord. We reflect with gratitude that this disease did not make its appearance among us till we were settled in our dwelling. We have lost all our energy, and even our ability to learn the language. We will, however, take patiently this discipline. Our Lord Jesus will help us, as he helps all the wretched, and we would only be anxious about pleasing him. We comfort ourselves with the thought, that the Lord seldom permits his children to succeed till after the experience of a thousand difficulties. As to our joy, it all consists in the remembrance of the children of God in Europe."

In this distressing situation it was no small pleasure to them to learn, by the first vessel that arrived

from Copenhagen, that the next would bring two brethren to their aid. These were brethren Böenish and John Beck. They arrived at New Herrnhut on the 8th of August, after a long and wearisome voyage, in which they suffered much from the mockery and insults of the sailors.

As Christian David had only been sent out to accompany his brethren, and to help them in their first arrangements, he began to think of returning to Europe.

The four brethren resolved to labour on in the strength of the Lord, and to sacrifice their whole lives to the service of the heathen, if even they should not for many years see any fruit of their efforts. On the 16th of March, 1735, they drew up an agreement to that effect; they then took the Lord's supper, and felt themselves animated with new faith and courage. They had need of it; for soon after they experienced a new trial, sharper and longer than all they had passed through before. The preceding year they had been supplied with provisions by a considerable person at court: this year they had been entirely forgotten. They had not asked any assistance from the church at Herrnhut, which, indeed, for want of experience, had not known how to help them. All these circumstances reduced them to a state of frightful distress. Their whole provision for the year consisted of a cask and a half of oatmeal, half a cask of peas, and six barrels of biscuit, of which they gave Christian David a part, as they did not wish him to depend on the crew of the vessel for his support. The Danish colonists could not assist them, how much

soever they were inclined, because their supplies also were almost exhausted ; they could get nothing by hunting or fishing, as reindeer, fish, and birds were very scarce ; they understood nothing about catching seals, the principal resource of the country ; and the Greenlanders, who were acquainted with their distress, would not sell them any but at a most extravagant price. Often, during a journey of two or three days, they had great difficulty in procuring half a seal ; and, when that was consumed, they were obliged to appease their hunger with shell-fish and raw sea-weed.

At length, God sent them relief through a Greenland stranger, named Ipegau, who came from a distance of forty leagues to the south, and offered to sell them, from time to time, what he did not absolutely want himself. They gradually accustomed themselves to the taste of the seals ; and with the oil, which they made from the fat, they cooked the little oatmeal which they had left, or could procure by their work at the factory. The dearth, however, still continuing, and Ipegau coming less frequently, and at last not visiting them at all, they were forced by hunger to venture out to sea, in an old crazy boat, and in very changeable weather, to the distance of four or six leagues, or even more. Once they were cast by a tempest on a desert island, and detained three days by a severe frost, having their clothes drenched in sea water. At another time, in the month of November, after having exhausted in rowing all the strength that want had left them, they were obliged to pass the night in an uninhabited spot, where they had nothing to eat but a piece of

a seal, which a Greenlander had given them at one of their feasts; and afterwards, having endeavoured in vain to lie down in a hole, which they had made in the snow, they were obliged to keep themselves warm by running. In the midst of these severe trials, which exposed them to the mockery and contempt of the Greenlanders, they did not lose their courage. "After having sufficiently tried us," said they, "and found us faithful to our calling, the Lord Jesus will surely show us his glory."

On the return of Christian David, the brethren had requested the church to send out some of the sisters, who might manage their domestic concerns, that they might give themselves up more fully to their work. In consequence of this, in 1736, they sent them the widow Stach, Matthew's mother, with her two daughters, and a brother, who engaged to conduct them to Greenland. This new reinforcement arrived in safety; and the vessel which brought them, took back the aged Egède, wearied with the labours of fifteen years. Christian Stach also returned by the same vessel, to give the church a more particular account of the mission.

This addition to the family increased the wants and labours of the brethren, especially as they had not received by the vessel half the necessary supply of provisions. The Lord, however, sent them assistance from time to time, and at length the vessel which took back Christian Stach, having brought them everything necessary, began to make regular voyages with provisions, a plan which has continued ever since.

To this moment the brethren had seen no fruit of

their labours. Those of the Greenlanders who came from a distance were very dull of apprehension, and soon forgot what had been said to them. Such as lived at Ball's River, and had been so many years receiving instruction, instead of becoming better, had rather grown worse. The brethren, however, did not cease to pray and strive; and after five years' labour and perseverance, they had the happiness, on the 2nd of June, 1738, of seeing the first fruits of their mission. The following is their own account of this happy event:—

“This day several of the Greenlanders came to visit us. Beck was busily employed in copying part of his translation of the Gospels, and the natives asked what there was in that book. He read them a portion, which we then conversed upon. He asked them if they had immortal souls? ‘Yes.’ ‘Where will they go after death?’ Some said, above; others, below. ‘Who made heaven and earth?’ ‘We do not know; it must have been some very great and rich man.’ They went on from one subject to another, and Beck gave them an account of the fall and redemption of mankind, describing in a very feeling manner, the sufferings of the Saviour, and then read to them the account in the New Testament. Suddenly the Lord opened the heart of one of these savages, called Kajarnak, who had not heard the gospel before, and who approached the table, crying out with great emotion, ‘What is that you say? repeat it again; for I too wish to be saved.’ ‘These words,’ says Beck, ‘penetrated my very soul, and with tears in my eyes, I again declared to our Greenlanders the whole counsel of God. While I was thus

engaged, the other brethren came, and began with joy to preach the gospel to those present. Some of them put their hands on their mouths, as they are accustomed to do when they are astonished; some went away secretly, others asked us to teach them to pray; and as we kneeled down to pray for them, they repeated every expression we used several times over, that they might not forget it. In a word, there was such an excitement among them, as we had never yet seen; and on leaving us, they promised to return again.'

"On the 18th, several came again; and Kajarnak appeared to be really under the influence of the Spirit of God. From that time he visited us more frequently, and, at length, came to live near us. Often, when we speak to him, the tears run down his cheeks. He is an extraordinary man, if we compare him with his more phlegmatic and stupid fellow-countrymen, who absolutely understand nothing but the common matters of ordinary life. He, on the contrary, understands everything, and manifests the greatest affection for us; he is eagerly desirous of instruction, so that he seems to seize upon our words as they issue from our mouths. Oh, dear brethren, what hours of joy we now spend, after so many difficulties and hardships, while we are praying and reading with him!"

Kajarnak soon felt a desire to tell his countrymen what the Lord had done for his soul. He went to fetch his family, and others who lived with him in the same tent, nine persons in all, besides several other heathens, whom he prevailed upon to follow him. Among these, the brethren established a daily

prayer-meeting for the adults, a school for the children, and another meeting for the private instruction of a few whom they could regard as candidates for baptism. They continued also, as long as the season permitted them, to visit those natives who were scattered along the coast, and here and there found attentive hearers.

In the beginning of 1739, there was an extremely hard frost, and in consequence so great a famine, that several of the natives died of cold and hunger. Many of them came to seek an asylum with the brethren, whose two houses were so filled for some time, that they could hardly move in them. Two years before, they were but too happy in their distress, when these poor heathens would sell them a few bones, which they knew not what to do with, loading them all the while with contempt and insult. Now these very brethren used to have fifteen or twenty of the Greenlanders at every meal, to whom they had the pleasure of giving food, and at the same time of teaching them the way to obtain the true Bread of life. Kajarnak assisted them in this work with much zeal, and several received saving impressions, which they carried away with them in the spring, when they returned to their dwellings.

On Easter Sunday, the brethren administered the ordinance of baptism to Kajarnak, and three of his family. After these four persons had declared the ground of their hope before several other natives and the brethren, one of the missionaries offered up a fervent prayer, and these first fruits of Greenland were then introduced into the Christian church by baptism. The new converts shed many tears, and

the spectators appeared deeply interested. The four baptized persons received new names ; Kajarnak was called *Samuel*.

Such were the first fruits of this great work, undertaken amidst so many formidable difficulties. The joy of these conversions was, however, soon disturbed by the necessity, in which Kajarnak found himself, of escaping to the south from his enemies, who were seeking his life, and who had already murdered his brother-in-law, who lived with him. We may judge of the anxious distress of the missionaries at seeing this first fruit of their labours driven to a distance from them ; we can much better conceive the joy they must have felt, when, at one of their love-feasts, about a year afterwards, he suddenly made his appearance, not only without having received any spiritual injury, but bringing with him some companions as the fruits of his labours.



## CHAPTER XIV.

AN ACCOUNT OF SOME OTHER EMIGRATIONS FROM BOHEMIA, BESIDES THOSE OF THE BRETHREN, FROM THEIR COMMENCEMENT, TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REFUGEES IN PROTESTANT COUNTRIES, 1720—1740.

ON Zinzendorf's return from Copenhagen, in 1731, he found more than seventy persons from Moravia, who had taken refuge at Herrnhut. He learned, also, that the subject of emigration seriously occupied the attention of the governments of Lusatia and Bohemia, and that the settlement of Herrnhut was threatened with extinction. This emigration would not have been so much noticed, if it had been the only one of the kind; but at this period there was a great excitement among the Protestants of Bohemia, and thirty thousand at once left the province of Salzburg, in Austria, some of whom went to Prussia, and others to America. In relating the history of the brethren, we ought not to forget other descendants of the ancient church. That we may not interrupt the course of our history, we shall here give a succinct account of those above mentioned, from the time when they appeared distinct from the brethren of Herrnhut, about the year 1720, to the period when they became mixed with other bodies of Christians in different Protestant countries.

We have seen that, about the commencement of

this century, an awakening took place in the parts of Bohemia inhabited by the descendants of the ancient brethren. For some years Christian David had visited that city, in order to promote this religious movement. In several villages round Litiz, he found a considerable number of Christians. He did not try to persuade them to emigrate, but endeavoured to strengthen them in the love of the truth, leaving it to Providence to decide whether they should leave their country or not. Three principal emigrations arose out of this revival, of each of which we shall give some brief account

#### *The Colony of Liberda.*

According to one of their own historians, this colony consisted of about seven Bohemian families, who came and resided some considerable time in Upper Lusatia, eventually settling at Great Hengersdorf, on the estates of the Baroness de Gersdorf, Count Zinzendorf's aunt. In 1727, this lady had sent for a student out of Silesia, named Liberda, to be their pastor, and to superintend an orphan school, that had been established in the place. By his preaching, and the private meetings he held, a great revival was produced among the Bohemians of Upper Lusatia, who came to hear him from all parts. They soon began to hold meetings among themselves in different places; but being disturbed, a number of them united together at Hengersdorf, where they enjoyed religious liberty; others returned into Bohemia, to preach the gospel to their countrymen, and persuaded a considerable number

of them to emigrate; so that in four years the colony amounted to four hundred persons. The Baroness de Gersdorf, who did not much approve of her nephew's operations, wished to found a kind of rival settlement to Herrnhut. Liberda, who at first had been much united in opinion with the brethren, was brought over to the same mind, and dwellings were erected for the newly-arrived emigrants, near Hennersdorf. After a little time, however, the baroness quarrelled with them on some political matters; and an order was sent from the king, forbidding the authorities of Upper Lusatia to receive any fresh emigrants, and enjoining them to prohibit their subjects from going into Bohemia to excite emigration.

The Bohemians being required to engage, on oath, to obey the above-mentioned mandate, and to hold no more private meetings, refused to comply, and the colony was broken up. A large number of them sought refuge at Herrnhut. The brethren received them kindly, but Zinzendorf found himself unable to protect them, as his aunt would not relinquish her claim on their allegiance; and they were consequently dismissed. Some of them were imprisoned, and endured much suffering. A deputation, consisting of Liberda, and eight other persons, was then sent to Berlin, to entreat permission of the king of Prussia to settle there. Without waiting, however, for an answer, a company of about five hundred began their journey, and reached Prussia in safety. But the fear of offending the emperor of Austria prevented the king from openly countenancing them, and orders were issued to re-conduct

them to the frontiers. After wandering about in much misery and danger, many of them found means secretly to reach Berlin, where they lived together in great poverty, unnoticed in any way by the government, and held private meetings for worship, according to their own forms. Meanwhile, Liberda had fallen into the hands of his enemies, and was imprisoned.

In 1735, a considerable change in their favour took place. As it appeared that their emigration had not produced any unpleasant consequences, their efforts to gain an honest living, and the good order they observed among themselves, conciliated for them the regard of several persons of distinction, and even of the king himself. They procured them work, gave assistance to their poor, and at length went so far as to furnish them with a Lutheran pastor and schoolmaster, and to build them a church in the suburb of Fredericstadt, which was dedicated on the 12th of May, 1737, and called *Bethlehem Church*.

In the meantime, the imperial court having instituted an inquiry into the circumstances of their emigration to Berlin, and interposing no obstacles to their reception, ground was assigned them for building, and money given or lent to them for the purpose, and they built the street called William Street. To complete their joy, their old pastor, Liberda, who had escaped from prison, returned to take charge of them once more. Their happiness, however, was soon disturbed by divisions among themselves. Previously to the year 1735, when they had a Lutheran pastor assigned them, some had been in the habit of private communion;

these, therefore, not approving of the Lutheran mode of taking the Lord's supper with the wafer, requested their pastor, on his appointment, to give them the bread according to the reformed custom. The latter, having consulted several divines upon the subject, who dissuaded him, refused their request. Liberda, however, who succeeded him, petitioned the king on the subject, and obtained permission to administer the ordinance in both forms. In the morning he gave it to some in the Lutheran manner, and in the afternoon or evening, to others with the bread.

### *The Colony of Schulz.*

The history of this colony will be the more interesting to us, as the historian, Crantz, lived among them for some time, and was their pastor.

At Gerlachsheim, near Gœrlitz, one or two families of Bohemians had resided for several years, to whom the authorities had promised, that as soon as they amounted to eight persons, they would build them a church, provide them a pastor, and give them land to cultivate. In 1728, having reached the prescribed number, they applied to the government for a preacher, and a student named Schulz, who had just finished his studies, felt disposed to accept the call. This young man had been successively driven from two places on account of the gospel, and had afterwards occupied himself in a school for poor children, established by Schœffer. In one of his visits to Silesia, in 1728, he was again accused of holding prohibited meetings, and thrown into prison

at Brieg, from which he was honourably released after a few months.

Schulz was at Great Hengersdorf when he received the invitation to go and take charge of the Bohemians of Gerlachsheim. He accepted it as a call from the Lord, and lived among the people in great poverty: he received no regular salary, and the poor Bohemians could give him very little. Suspected of pietism, he was looked upon with an evil eye through all the country, and the authorities watched him narrowly, and put him under close restraint. All these things, however, did not damp his zeal; though indifferent to his personal wants, he made a collection for the building of a church, a minister's house, a school-room, and an asylum for poor children; and his appeal was not unsuccessful. Fresh refugees continually arriving, some benevolent merchants of Franconia and Suabia kindly assisted him, and enabled him for some years to furnish the newcomers with such supplies as were necessary in their extremely destitute condition.

Schulz was indefatigable in his duties. He instructed the children every day; on the Lord's day he preached for three hours in the morning, and almost as long in the afternoon; he held meetings for conversation several times in the week, and interested himself very warmly in the concerns of every individual of his flock. Preferring, for the sake of his own liberty, and that of his Bohemian brethren, to remain without ordination, he procured the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's supper to be administered by a German pastor. When it was urged by his parishioners, that he might, if

ordained, have more influence against his adversaries, and might administer the ordinances to them in their own language, he used generally to say, "I heartily consent to preach the gospel to you, but I wish also to preserve my own liberty and yours. I do not think of remaining always with you, but hope some day to preach to the Calmucks. You ought to cast in your lot with the Moravian brethren of Herrnhut. If I should be ordained, and constitute you an ordinary Lutheran parish, you will be obliged, at my death or departure, to take the pastor others may give you, and to keep him, whatever his character may be; but if I leave you on the simple footing of a student or schoolmaster, you will be at liberty to take one of your own number, or from among the Moravian brethren; and the time will certainly come, when you will be called to exercise this liberty." The Bohemians at Gebbardsdorf, and the surrounding places, used to attend his preaching; and after a short time he became the instrument of a new revival on the frontiers of Bohemia, and a fresh emigration, which we shall now proceed to notice.

About the year 1730, two brethren from Herrnhut, visiting their friends in Bohemia, were arrested and thrown into prison. This event roused the feelings of the Christians in that country; and some awakened persons from Gerlachsheim having gone thither about the same time, a religious movement was excited among them; but their meetings were soon discovered, and persecution induced the brethren to seek their liberty in emigration. In 1732, a body of fourteen persons directed their course towards

Gerlachsheim, and, in 1733 and 1734, several other families followed, most of whom had endured imprisonment and torture for the name of Jesus. They were, for the most part, obliged to leave their country in the bitterest frost, and during the long nights of winter, crossing the mountains by paths untrodden by any human foot, that they might not be discovered, and often experiencing the most wonderful escapes.

This arrival considerably augmented the colony of Gerlachsheim, especially after that of Great Hennersdorf was dissolved, in 1732. Most of the people at Gerlachsheim were descendants of the ancient United Brethren. They had lived in the neighbourhood of Litiz, where, even as late as 1760 and 1770, the inhabitants still spoke of the ancient prayer-houses of the brethren, which they called *Braterske Zbory*, or the "Brethren's Meetings." As soon as they heard of the re-establishment of their ancient church, in 1725, they immediately concluded that these were the people with whom they ought to unite, and they emigrated, not only with the design of finding liberty of conscience, but also of renewing their union with the Moravian brethren at Herrnhut. In these circumstances, it was no small joy to them to find their pastor, who preached to them in the Bohemian tongue, in close connexion with the brethren; he often held conferences with the count, frequently went to Herrnhut with his parishioners, and took the establishment there for his pattern in organizing his own church. He not only preached frequently both to the old and the young, and held private meetings at his own house,



but also delivered particular addresses to men and women, married and single persons, widowers and widows. He divided each of these classes into different bands, the members of which conversed with one another on spiritual things. The leaders of these gave him an account, every Saturday evening, of the week's transactions, and thus furnished him with an excellent opportunity of applying his discourses to the circumstances of all his hearers.

Speaking of these things, he says, "That which gave a savour and blessing to my engagements was, that these beloved souls did not confine themselves to my preaching; they exhorted one another, and passed their time in their private rooms, without any detriment to their labour, in reading, praying, singing, and holy conversation. He who could read best, fixed to his wheel or his loom a little desk, on which he placed the Bible, and read to the rest. In every room there were two or three classes, of eight, twelve, or sixteen persons each; and after the reading they conversed together, and then began to sing and pray again."

In each of these rooms one person was appointed, and sometimes two, to watch over the whole; and as the unmarried sisters signified to Schulz their desire to have a separate dwelling, he hired a house for them to work and live together. He likewise procured a distinct apartment for the widows, and furnished them with everything necessary for their labour and subsistence.

All the members of this church watched over one another strictly, and such as did not walk worthily were excluded from the community, until they should

publicly acknowledge their sin, and amend their lives.

The migration continued undisturbed till the year 1736. About this period, however, seventy-two persons of the village of Cyerweny having emigrated at once, the governor of the district complained to the court of Saxony, and was, in reply, instructed that, his subjects having no claim to protection from another government, he was at liberty to arrest them wherever he might find them. They sought for them in vain at Herrnhut, where they were not; and made no inquiry at Gerlachsheim, to which place they had really gone.

The friends of Schulz, however, advised him to retire with his flock into some more distant asylum. He also exhorted his people to take this advice, but they replied, "Where thou art, we will be also." As he was afraid that, if he did not withdraw, they would not only reclaim the seventy-two, but all those who had emigrated in former years, and that this would discourage future emigrations, he retired to Kottbus, whither the seventy-two followed him. But the authorities of Gerlachsheim represented this as a loss of their subjects, and endeavoured to force those who remained to make it good. The poor creatures, not being able to raise the sums required, were robbed of all their property; and, in the month of February, 1737, were obliged to leave their dwellings, and wander through deep snows, as destitute as when they came out of Bohemia, in order to follow their preacher into his new exile. They endured the most dreadful dangers, and experienced wonderful deliverances.

*The Third Colony.*

At Kottbus they found two hundred other Bohemians, who had reached that place before them. These persons, influenced by the great desire of emigration which prevailed in those parts for some years, had at different times reached Kottbus. The king's orders not allowing them to settle, they were once more obliged to depart, after having enjoyed the instructions of a faithful minister during six months. They still thought of stopping in the neighbourhood, and sending for the same minister to be with them; but the latter dying about the end of the year 1736, the arrival of their countrymen from Gerlachsheim induced them to join them, and to take Schulz for their pastor. About the same time the king, who had just openly received the emigrants from Great Hennersdorf, ordered these likewise to repair to Berlin, where land should be given to them to cultivate. Those who were originally with Schulz were settled within the city, and the last company at Ruchsdorf, about a league distant.

At the same time Schulz was regularly appointed pastor over his own flock, and it became necessary, notwithstanding the reluctance which he had formerly expressed, that he should consent to be ordained, which ceremony was performed in Bethlehem Church. Thus were these refugees settled; and in this church they had preaching, both in the German and Bohemian tongues, to a great congregation of both nations. Schulz also continued his private meetings, and in this way the Bohemians found themselves delivered out of all their miseries, and established in

peace. The first colony settled at Berlin was still under the care of Liberda. Divisions unhappily prevailed among them, and Schulz at length found it expedient to remove to Ruchsdorf, that he might avoid taking part in unprofitable disputes. Efforts were made to unite the two colonies, but without success. Liberda and Schulz were not kindred minds. The first body ultimately divided themselves among the Lutherans and the reformed: the followers of Schulz gradually adopted the worship and government of the church of the United Brethren, which they soon afterwards joined.

## CHAPTER XV.

FROM THE TIME OF THE FIRST COMMISSION OF INQUIRY, TO  
THE SECOND, 1732—1738.

A.D. 1732. Movements so decided as those we have been describing, could not fail to excite uneasiness in the surrounding governments, and to draw their particular attention to Herrnhut. After some less serious proceedings, which had ended always to the count's satisfaction, the court of Saxony at length ordered a formal inquiry to be made into the state of this rising colony. This was an event of the highest importance to the church; for, according to the dispositions of the commissioners, and other circumstances attending the inquiry, it might issue either in the establishment, or entire ruin, of the brethren's cause. Yet, although the brethren could not but consider this inquiry as a crisis in their affairs, they were persuaded that, if the issue were favourable, it promised them greater security than they had yet enjoyed. Until that moment they had lived in continual fear, owing to the calumnies of their enemies, of losing the protection of the government, and of being sent back to the countries whence they came. It was therefore with much joy, that, on the 19th of January, 1732, they witnessed the arrival of the chief magistrate of the principality of Gœrlitz, accompanied by the secretary of the district, for the purpose of holding the inquiry. The commissioners

were directed to ascertain whether the brethren of Herrnhut had promoted the late emigrations from Bohemia and Moravia, and to procure exact information about their doctrine and internal arrangements.

The day after the arrival of the commissioners was the Lord's day, and they attended all the meetings; the brethren making no change whatever, that the authorities might obtain accurate information on every subject.

On the 21st, after morning prayer, the commissioners commenced their inquiry. All the inhabitants of the place were summoned to the hall where they usually held their meetings; and the president of the commission called each of the Moravian emigrants in his turn, and interrogated him on his conversion, the persecutions he had endured, the design and occasion of his emigrating, etc., and then drew up a correct account of the whole. There were emigrants from twenty different places, forty of whom had suffered imprisonment. They then proceeded to the examination of the institutions and establishments of the church. Afterwards they visited the orphan house, and the seminary for the young men, the schools, the dispensary, and the residence of the unmarried brethren.

When the commission had finished its labours, the count added to its papers a detailed memorial, in confirmation of every part of the information collected, a letter addressed to the king, and some other similar documents, and the commissioners withdrew, apparently quite satisfied. Although the brethren had to wait some time before they received

the result of this inquiry, yet they perceived from the first, that an impression had been made very favourable to their cause.

The Bohemian emigrations, which soon afterwards took place, however, induced the king of Poland to prohibit the authorities of Upper Lusatia from receiving any fresh refugees from Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia; and the prejudices of the court of Saxony were again excited against the count, so that he was directed, by the royal edict, dated November, 1732, to sell his estates, which was nothing else than a notification of his approaching banishment. Having for a long time perceived the situation of his affairs, he had already begun to convey his property over to his wife, and therefore proceeded to finish what he had begun. At the same time, also, he resigned all his civil offices at Dresden, in order to give himself wholly to the work of God, and especially to the care of the church at Herrnhut.

In the spring of 1732, God had provided him with a distinguished counsellor and helper in the minister Spangenberg, a learned and judicious man, who afterwards rendered the most important assistance to the brethren. He was at that time assistant professor of divinity, and inspector of the orphan house at Halle; but, as his religious sentiments led him to decline uniting in the public communion of the national church, he was forthwith dismissed, and repaired to Herrnhut, where he was joyfully received, and chosen by the count, in the presence of the church, to be his assistant.

This epoch is still further remarkable for an important development of the future destinies of Zin-

zendorf, and of the brethren's church at Herrnhut. Towards the end of the year 1732, this church began to desire a separate pastor, alleging, among other plausible reasons, that Herrnhut then contained nearly five hundred souls; that aged and infirm persons could not attend the church at Bertholdsdorf; and that it was hard to require the pastor of that place to come every Lord's day, in winter and inclement weather, to Herrnhut, to hold the meeting for *strangers*.

With these views, then, a memorial was presented to the magistrates, requesting a pastor, as assistant to the pastor of Bertholdsdorf. They proposed a young minister from Tübingen, of the name of Steinhoffer. The pastor Rothe gave his consent to this request, and notice was given of it to the competent authorities. Steinhoffer, as a Lutheran divine, durst not accept the call, without taking the advice of some men of influence in his own church. He therefore proposed this question to the divines of Tübingen: "Can the church of the Moravian Brethren, on the supposition of its agreement in the Lutheran evangelical doctrine, maintain the ecclesiastical constitution and discipline it has held for three hundred years, and yet preserve its connexion with the said evangelical church?" As, about the same time, Zinzendorf received the order to sell his estates, and he thought it his duty instantly to yield to the spirit of that order, and quit the country, he repaired to Tübingen, in order to give the professors who were about to answer this delicate question, all the necessary information, and, as he thought, to dispose them to a favourable opinion.



The divines not only gave a positive answer in the affirmative, but signified also their conviction of the usefulness, and even necessity, of the private discipline of the brethren. Nothing then seemed to oppose the wishes of the church at Herrnhut; soon, however, difficulties arose, among which was an order received, "That Steinhoffer must not be merely the assistant to the pastor of Bertholdsdorf, but his substitute at Herrnhut." This was what neither Rothe nor Steinhoffer wished, and the last consequently accepted another situation.

Upon this, with the permission of the elector, the brethren sent for two ministers from Wirtemberg, to take charge of the church in the way proposed. Herrnhut, however, had just passed into the hands of a new sovereign, who, as soon as Zinzendorf notified to the court that he had conformed to its orders, in regard to the sale of his estates, granted him permission to remain in the country. The Moravian refugees also were allowed to stay, "*as long as they continued quiet.*"

The church, however, clearly perceived that the edict, which granted them toleration and protection, furnished their enemies with continual opportunities of annoying them; and as, in addition to this, the authorities of Upper Lusatia were forbidden to receive any more refugees, the brethren determined that it would be better for them not to remain all together in one place, but to form different colonies, in countries where they might be received without exciting the jealousy of the governments. The inhabitants of Herrnhut, therefore, soon divided themselves into two bodies: the one, composed

chiefly of people of the country, and other Lutherans, were disposed to remain; the other, consisting of the descendants of the Moravian brethren, who wished to preserve their religious rites and privileges, prepared to form *colonies* (or establishments on their own model in Christian countries), and *missions* among the heathen. By this means they hoped to procure for themselves, and other brethren who might be disposed to leave Moravia, a more settled residence, and also to find opportunities of usefulness in new parts.

An opportunity of establishing the first of these colonies very soon presented itself; and although in its commencement but little success attended the work, yet important and happy effects eventually followed. A trading company of Copenhagen had just purchased, and wished to cultivate, the large and beautiful island of St. Croix, which the French had abandoned, and left uncultivated for forty years past. De Pless, whom we have mentioned in the account of the missions to St. Thomas and Greenland, had bought some estates there, and thought he could not do better for his lands, and the negroes on them, than to request Count Zinzendorf to send two brethren to each of the six plantations which he proposed to establish, to discharge the duties of overseers; and, at the same time, to preach the gospel among them. Several of the brethren felt inclined to accept so promising an offer, and four men and their wives, with ten single brethren, were accordingly chosen, conducted by Tobias Leupold, who, in 1731, had offered to go on the mission to St. Thomas. These colonists set out for Copenhagen on the 18th or 20th

of August, and were accompanied as far as that city by Spangenberg.

Though the brethren arrived at Copenhagen on the 13th of September, they did not embark until the 12th of November. The whole ship's crew amounted to two hundred persons, and the vessel was so small, that they found themselves much straitened for room. To the eighteen colonists a cabin was assigned in the fore part of the ship, on the second floor under the deck, not more than nine feet square, and so low, that they could not stand upright; they were, therefore, obliged to lie down most part of the time; and this was the more distressing, as the weather was often so stormy, that they could not go on deck for some days, to breathe the pure air. The sailors, too, were rough and unfeeling, so that, painful and unwholesome as their situation was, the brethren thought themselves happy in having a corner to themselves, where they might abide in peace, and hold their morning and evening meetings for worship; for they had established among themselves the same religious exercises which existed at Herrnhut. The weather proved so unfavourable, that they were compelled to take refuge in a Norwegian port, called Tremmesund, where they remained till nearly the middle of March, 1734. After a very tedious and painful voyage, in which they suffered much, particularly from want of water, and the ravages of the scurvy, of which disease several of the sailors died, they arrived at St. Thomas, on the 11th of June.

We have already observed that Dober, the only missionary then at St. Thomas, immediately foresaw the bad success of this enterprise. The island of St.

Croix had become a desert, covered with thick brush-wood and vast forests, through which the easterly winds could not penetrate to purify the air. The brethren, however, took courage, and went over with about a dozen negroes; but they were so ill able to bear the scorching climate, that they soon fell sick, and ten of them died in a few months. An attempt was made, it is true, to supply their places the following year, 1735, by a fresh colony of ten persons; and in 1737 a few more went out, accompanied by a physician from Copenhagen; but the enterprise failed at that time. Part of the brethren died without doing any apparent good, others returned to Europe, and others went to join the mission at St. Thomas.

A. D. 1734. Zinzendorf had long been desirous of entering the ministry. He had now determined, after serious deliberation and conference with the church, and after having resorted to the decision of the lot, to seek the accomplishment of his wishes.

He had no need to go through a course of studies, but only to present himself to some theological faculty, in order to pass his examination. Several reasons led him to fix upon Stralsund for that purpose. A rich merchant of that city having asked the church for a teacher, the count availed himself of the opportunity, and went to undertake the office for a time, concealing his real name, both from the head of the family and the professors, who, not knowing him personally, and misled by the recent publications against Zinzendorf, had already begun to preach and write against him.

He arrived on the 29th of March, and immediately

presented himself to the superintendent, under the name of Mr. Freydek, one of the titles of the house of Zinzendorf. He was asked to preach, and gladly accepted the invitation. His first discourse from the pulpit was delivered with much feeling, and unusual freedom of utterance. He became very intimate with the superintendent, so that the latter, among other things, showed him the plan of a work which he was writing against Zinzendorf, and the brethren at Herrnhut. The count asked him if he had read the writings of Zinzendorf; and, on his candid avowal that he had not yet seen them, the count advised him to make himself acquainted with them. He did so, and the result was very satisfactory to Zinzendorf.

After some further conversations, he made himself known to the professors, and afterwards preached four times, much to the satisfaction of the people. At length he requested of the professors a course of conferences, in order to his examination, which lasted some days, and was, at his own request, unusually severe.

The conferences ended, the count delivered his sword to the superintendent, declaring his resolution never to wear it again, but to devote himself entirely to the work of the Lord. The professors then gave him a very full and honourable attestation of his orthodoxy, and he returned on the 19th of April, after making himself known to several other individuals, and among the rest to the merchant, whose children he had instructed during the four weeks he remained in the place.

It was not till the 21st of November that he

announced publicly to the church that he had entered into the ministry. The brethren received the information with very great pleasure, and expressed their sincere benedictions and good wishes. A short time afterwards he set out for Tübingen, having sent a declaration of his decision to the divines of that place, and requested ordination. In this letter he gives an account of his early serious impressions, states his reasons for wishing to become a minister of the gospel, and professes himself willing to fill any office, and discharge any duty, in the church of God.

To this declaration, the faculty published immediately an answer, fully approving the count's desire, and acknowledging him as a minister of the gospel. On the same day, the 19th of December, he preached in the cathedral, and in the hospital church; thus making his public entrance on the ministry.

Another object, which occupied the brethren's attention at the commencement of this year, was the project of a mission among the Laplanders and Samoïedes, a people in the north-west of Siberia. In the early part of January, when some intelligence about the spread of the gospel had been communicated to the church, several brethren again manifested a readiness to engage in a mission, particularly to Lapland. In consequence of this, three of them were sent thither, with express directions to address themselves only to those of the heathen among whom as yet there were no missionaries, that they might not intrude upon any one's labours.

They arrived at Stockholm in November, where they stayed to learn the language, and were much

blessed to many souls. In the year 1735, they commenced their labours in Swedish Lapland; but as they found everywhere establishments for the conversion of the people of the country, they resolved on going into Russian Lapland. In 1736, two of them returned as far as Königsberg, where they were joined by another brother, with whom they went to Moscow. There they found some pious and enlightened individuals, who gave them the necessary assistance and directions for repairing to Archangel, where they met with some Samoïedes, who wished to take them to their country. On applying for their passports, however, they were arrested, on suspicion of being Swedish spies, confined in separate prisons, and, after undergoing examinations for three weeks, they were sent to Petersburg. On their way, their guards were at first very harsh, but were softened by the meekness of their prisoners. One day, as they were crossing a frozen lake, the ice broke, and the sledge sunk with two of the brethren and the two soldiers. The third brother assisted them all to get out of the water; and from that time the soldiers treated the brethren with kindness, since, instead of making their escape, and leaving them to be drowned, they had been the means of saving their lives. At Petersburg they were imprisoned for five weeks, and subjected to frequent examinations; but their simplicity and frankness delivered them. Several persons of rank showed them great kindness, and at length they received a passport for Lubeck, and were dismissed.

After this, the brethren meditated the settlement of one of their *colonies* in a Christian country.

It will be recollected, that the object of such colonies was to provide an asylum for those Moravian refugees who might still arrive in Upper Lusatia, where they would not now be received, that they might not be sent back into bondage in their own country. The principality of Holstein, on the shores of the Baltic Sea, was fixed upon for this colony, and five brethren set out from Herrnhut to Kiel, with a recommendation from Jablonskey.

This colony was to be established on the same footing as that of Herrnhut, and with the same relation to the national church. The duke wished to receive them, but the consistory interposed some difficulties; and, in the beginning of the year 1736, the brethren departed into a part of Holstein, which was under the government of the king of Denmark, where they founded a settlement, which they called *Pilgerruh*, or the "Pilgrim's Rest." The first years of this colony seemed to promise some repose; but dissensions among themselves, and difficulties with the government, led to its dissolution, in 1741.

Another company of the brethren directed their course towards Georgia, in North America. The count had formerly corresponded with the managers of a colony there, who now offered him a quantity of land for the use of the brethren; and as it was probable this might bring them into communication with the Indians, and particularly the Cherokees, who appeared well disposed, some brethren resolved to undertake the mission. The first colony set out in November, 1734, and met with Spangenberg in



London, who had already communicated on the business with General Oglethorpe, then Governor of Georgia. He accompanied them to America, where he laboured for some years among the different colonies and missions of that country. These colonists arrived in the spring of 1735, and were reinforced in the summer by a considerable number, under the conduct of David Nitschmann.

In the same vessel sailed John Wesley, the head of the methodist church, with two of his fellow-labourers, his brother Charles and Benjamin Ingham, all destined for the same country. Their intercourse with the Moravian colonists afterwards became the occasion of a close union between the brethren and a great number of awakened souls in England.

On their arrival at their destination, they built themselves huts in the town of Savannah, and, at a league's distance, established a school, to which the king of the Indians and the natives of the country often came, to hear, as they called it, "the great word." At first the colony prospered, under the blessing of God, both in things temporal and spiritual; but, in 1739, a war breaking out between the English, and their neighbours the Spaniards, the brethren, not being willing to take up arms, were obliged to leave all their property, and retire into Pennsylvania, where they afterwards founded the colonies of Bethlehem, Nazareth, and some others.

A. D. 1735. Soon after the departure of the first colonists to Georgia, the brethren were gratified with the return of Leonard Dober. The church had recalled him from St. Thomas, in order to set

him apart as general elder, which ceremony took place in the month of February, a few days after his arrival, and was distinguished by remarkable solemnity.

This important affair being settled, the church proceeded to take into consideration the desirableness of obtaining regularly ordained ministers of their own, and especially the restoration of the episcopal order, which had become extinct in Comenius, their last bishop. It was felt very desirable that the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's supper should be administered by members of their own body, and that they should not be dependent on others in these respects. As it was manifest that such an alteration as this would make them independent of the Lutheran church, Zinzendorf at first resisted it, knowing the prejudices it would excite against them. But when the question was submitted to the lot, it was decided in the affirmative, and the appointment fell upon David Nitschmann the elder, who had accompanied Dober to St. Thomas.

The count prepared the way for his ordination by a correspondence with Jablonskey: Nitschmann also was examined and approved by him. Having, therefore, obtained the consent of his colleague Sitkovius, of Lissa in Poland, Jablonskey proceeded to his important duty, and conferred on this brother, in the presence of several witnesses of the Bohemian nation, the rank of bishop of the brethren's churches, with power to make visitations, to ordain pastors and deacons in the churches, and to discharge all the other functions of a bishop.

In the month of June, David Nitschmann the

younger departed for Petersburg, in order to learn the state of the pagan population on the frontiers of Russia, and the situation of the exiles of Moravia, who had retired into the Caucasian mountains. During this summer, also, a body of ten persons departed for St. Croix, to reinforce the colony there; and in a few days the other party went out, which formed the colony in Georgia. Several other expeditions, also, were undertaken.

One of these efforts deserves particular mention. In August, the church sent three brethren to Surinam, in South America, to procure information necessary for the establishment of a colony there; this arose out of the following circumstance. On his way to England, through Holland, Spangenberg was obliged to procure translations into Dutch of some papers relating to the history of the brethren, and for this purpose applied to a person named Helong. The facts which thus came to the knowledge of this individual deeply interested him, and afterwards led to the publication of a treatise on the subject, entitled, "The Wonders of God in the Dealings with his Church." This was the commencement of the connexion which the brethren afterwards maintained with Holland; and thus they were induced to send a colony to Surinam, then under the Dutch government. The three brethren who went out, having sent back encouraging accounts, were followed, in 1736, and afterwards in 1740, by some others, who established a plantation on the banks of the Cottica, and began to form connexions with the negroes, the Indians, and even with the Jews established in that country. It seemed, how-

ever, that none of these colonies were to succeed at first: the meetings for mutual edification, which the brethren held, and to which a great number of their neighbours resorted, having excited some disturbance, they were obliged to give up the station, in 1745, and retire; some of them into Pennsylvania, and others to Rio de Berbice, in the neighbourhood. Some time after they returned, and succeeded in forming an establishment.

Towards the end of this year, the count took a journey into Switzerland, in pursuance of a resolution adopted at a meeting of the church. He performed this journey principally on foot, and alone. This method of travelling was preferred by him, because it left him at liberty to pursue his meditations undisturbed; and he could stop when he pleased, as he often did, to converse with passengers on the road. But it exposed him to many inconveniences; partly owing to his being so absorbed in thought that external objects were often unseen and disregarded, and thus danger was incurred; and partly arising from the habit of indiscriminate and profuse generosity in which he indulged, and which not unfrequently led him to give his last penny to a needy traveller.

On the journey he experienced a remarkable preservation. Having stopped one day at the house of a count, one of his acquaintances, and as usual prolonged his conversation till the night was far advanced, he began to think of going to rest; but a strange presentiment urged him to continue his journey. He prayed for direction, and feeling confirmed in his resolution, he left the house, but had

scarcely gone out, when the ceiling of the room in which he would have slept fell down.

A.D. 1736. For some days, at the commencement of this year, the count was closely engaged with the different inspectors, helpers, and elders of the church, as though he had a presentiment of the long banishment that awaited him. He conferred with them on a great variety of subjects, often beginning at five in the morning, and continuing till late at night; and there was not a single individual in Herrnhut whose circumstances did not come under their anxious review. Such of the brethren and sisters as appeared not established in grace, they placed under the inspection of more advanced members. They conversed fully on the doctrines of the church, the method of teaching the different classes, the schools, the poor, the treatment of strangers, etc. On one occasion, they met in the morning to talk over the different subjects that came before them, and did not break up till two the following morning. These meetings continued for several days, with a singular blessing from on high.

If, however, the blessing of God reigned within the church, and in his own soul, several circumstances announced that the count was falling into discredit with the world; and among these must be reckoned the unfavourable view which the king of Denmark had taken of his new profession. The count had written to his majesty, to ask either his positive consent to his becoming a clergyman, or permission to send back the order of Dannebrag, which he had kept till this time. The word for

that day was rather remarkable, "Wist ye not that I must be about my Father's business?" Luke ii. 49. The king answered, that he could not approve of his ecclesiastical profession, and that he had only to return his order; which the count immediately did.

Shortly after, the count set out on a journey to Holland. The Princess of Orange had written to invite him to go and see her at Lewarden, in order to converse with him on a project she had conceived, of founding a colony of the brethren near Ysselstein. Some persons of rank had also requested the brethren to establish missions in the Dutch possessions in America; and others had kindly offered to furnish the mission in Greenland with the provisions necessary in its present urgent distress.

The count therefore visited Herrnhut on the 15th of February, fully expecting that he should be exiled before he could see his brethren again. He had long perceived that he was threatened with something of the kind. On the 4th of March he arrived at Amsterdam, where he hired a house for himself and two brethren who accompanied him, and established with them the same order that prevailed at Herrnhut. A few days after his arrival, he began to hold frequent meetings in his house, at which some preachers of different denominations and several magistrates attended. Here he had opportunities of intercourse with persons of various religious opinions. His own sentiments differed in some respects from those of the Dutch Protestants, and especially in regard to the doctrine of personal election, to which, as held by them, Zinzendorf was

much opposed. This led to warm disputes, and gave rise to a multitude of publications against himself and the brethren. And as every one who attended his meetings was called a Herrnhuter, how various soever the sentiments they might hold, there was not an absurd error or contradiction which was not imputed to him.\*

For the projected colony, a place was chosen near Ysselstein, where the brethren from the colony of Holstein established themselves, in the beginning of 1737, and gave it the name of Hoerendyk. The principal design of this establishment was to afford an asylum to the brethren who could not settle securely in Holstein, and afterwards to furnish a resting-place to those who were going to set out on distant missions, till the time of sailing, and to afford them an opportunity of making preparations for their voyage. This last purpose was fully answered; and the colony subsisted until 1746, when the brethren removed to Zeist, in the province of Utrecht. It proved the means also of opening the eyes of some persons, with respect to the calumnies published against the brethren by their enemies.

On the 16th of April, the count departed to Cassel. On his arrival he found a packet of letters from Herrnhut, and among them a copy of the king's

\* Nevertheless, much good resulted from his visit. Several persons owed their conversion, under the blessing of God, to his labours; and among them was Crellius, the celebrated Socinian writer, who, at the age of eighty, was brought to renounce his error, and rejoice in the atonement of the Lord Jesus Christ. His daughters participated in the same grace, and they all joined the society of the brethren, subsequently formed at Amsterdam.—*Holmes*, vol. i. p. 339.

order to him to leave the country. "Our Saviour," says the countess, who accompanied him on this journey, "granted me grace to be calm, and quietly to follow whithersoever he might lead us. We stayed there only one hour, and the remainder of the journey the count generally walked, and was earnest in seeking the Divine direction as to futurity."

Continuing his route, he met David Nitschmann, who had come from Herrnhut to bring him the original order, and the intelligence that a commission was going thither, with no other design than the total destruction of the establishment.

The order for his exile was absolute, and expressed in the following terms:—"We have resolved, without delay, to advise the said Count Zinzendorf, absolutely to quit our territories from the date of this order," etc. "Then," said the count, in a transport of joy, "the moment is come for collecting together a church of pilgrims; we must go and preach the Saviour to the world."

Pursuing this idea, Zinzendorf collected together such of the brethren as were under preparation for active service in the cause of God, and determined to employ himself in fitting them for their work, by giving them suitable instructions, and conferring frequently with them on the state of the kingdom of Christ, and the best means of promoting its advancement. They were occasionally joined by missionaries returning from pagan countries, and by the brethren who had been sent as deputations to different parts of Christendom. Thus was constituted the count's "church of pilgrims;" a kind of missionary congregation, changing its station



whenever the count changed his residence, but strictly observing all the regulations established at Herrnhut. The special design of the institution was constantly kept in view: plans were formed and carried into effect, for the spread of the gospel in different parts of the world; a very extensive correspondence was maintained with Christians of various religious denominations; and the brethren's foreign stations were supplied with many zealous and effective labourers.

Zinzendorf, however, judged it right to send back the countess to Herrnhut, that she might be there during the sitting of the commission. He agreed with her, that she should employ all her fortune in the support of her household and the work of God around it, without sending him the least part, and he would endeavour to support himself and his church of pilgrims. It will easily be conceived, that this was no small trial of his faith; for according to the manner in which he had lived, and with all the new establishments which he had formed for some years past, far from having laid up anything, he had contracted heavy debts, and his situation as a banished man was not much in his favour with his creditors. In these circumstances the providence of God very manifestly interposed: a rich man in Holland, scarcely known to the count, undertook to discharge all his debts, receiving a moderate rate of interest for the sum advanced for that purpose. The count accepted the offer, "and thus," says he, "the Lord has made my way plain, which was at that time altogether dark, though I myself never distrusted God."

Before we proceed to give an account of the proceedings of the commission, we ought to make a few observations on the causes of the double storm which now assailed the count. The more immediate occasion was a trifling one, as is often found to happen. It was the ill-will of a nobleman residing near Herrnhut, whom the count had in some way offended. It was to no purpose that Zinzendorf sent this man a mild and submissive letter: all was in vain, he replied only by reproaches. Some years after, the Lord opened his eyes by means of a train of events, the last of which was a fire, which caused him great loss. While he was arranging some papers that had escaped the flames, he was much struck at meeting with Zinzendorf's letter, a re-perusal of which was greatly blessed to him; from that hour he became the avowed friend of the brethren, and of every good work.

It must, however, be confessed, that the chief thing that for a long time had prejudiced the minds of many against the count, was his reception of the Moravian and Bohemian refugees. From whatever cause it arose, such was the state of things; and the count was enabled to accept this exile with fortitude, and even with joy. The following are among his thoughts on this subject:—"Whenever a man cherishes in himself the desire of living and dying in the little corner in which he was born, he thinks only of himself, and a feeling of this kind may have an influence over his whole life, rendering him the slave of his own will, and love of home, so far as to retard all his efforts in the work to which he is called by the Saviour. There is but

one thing truly valuable, and that is to carry with us whithersoever we are called to go, a heart happy in the Lord; and the place in which we can serve him best, is that which ought to be our home."

Such were Zinzendorf's sentiments and feelings on this occasion. With these impressions, he commenced his pilgrimage, as his mode of life for some years might fitly be called.

The countess, who returned to him as soon as the business of the commission had closed, presided over the temporal affairs of his house with a wisdom and economy which cannot be sufficiently admired: and during the whole time that this extraordinary manner of life was continued, we see very small means accomplishing very great results. Every member of this wandering church, who had any fortune, provided for his own wants; he who had nothing was supported by the rest; but no one, either brother or sister, was paid for his services. To external appearance, the count's house, like the houses of all other great noblemen, was furnished with servants of both sexes, but these all belonged in some way or other to the church. The meetings were held as at Herrnhut, with great regularity. The Lord's days, festivals, communion days, and others, were all observed as in any other church, and they were incessantly occupied in conferences, correspondence, and receiving visits from persons of every country in the world.

## CHAPTER XVI.

FROM THE SECOND COMMISSION OF INQUIRY, IN 1736, TO  
THE END OF THE YEAR 1739.

A.D. 1736. The commissioners arrived at Herrnhut on the 9th of May, and remained till the 18th, pursuing their inquiries with more rigorous exactness than before; but the Lord so overruled it, that just and upright men were appointed; and thus the severity of the investigation only served more clearly to show the honesty of the brethren. On this, as on the former occasion, the church did not deviate from any part of its order; the elders and assistants, who were all examined separately, spoke with the utmost freedom, without fear or dissembling, leaving the issue of the matter wholly to the Lord. The commissioners were generally satisfied with the doctrine preached among the brethren; it was only in the constitution of the church that they wished some alteration to be made; but the brethren being sensible, that if they yielded anything, there would be no end to concessions, and that in doing this their independence would be attacked, determined to concede nothing, but offered to emigrate again rather than make any sacrifice of this kind. Upon this it was not required.

All the commissioners highly applauded the excellent order of the church at Herrnhut, and acknowledged the count's innocence; and Löscher

in particular, the ecclesiastical superintendent of Dresden, exhorted the brethren affectionately to abide on the good foundation of the doctrine which they had professed, and to persevere in their union with the Lutheran church, notwithstanding the defects which they perceived in it, holding forth the light of truth to all around them.

This, however, was merely the opinion of the commissioners; they had still to wait for the royal decision, which did not arrive till the end of fifteen months, and not before a third commission was appointed, in the month of February, 1737. These commissioners did not confine their attention to the church at Herrnhut, but were charged to procure information about the Bohemian refugees, from all the authorities of Upper Lusatia which had received them. The brethren, however, were once more acquitted of all blame, and received, on the 7th of March, 1737, the royal decree, which ran thus:—  
“As long as the church at Herrnhut continues in the Confession of Augsburg, it may enjoy in peace the constitution and discipline it has hitherto maintained.”

In the month of June, Zinzendorf left Ebersdorf, and went to live in the old decayed castle of Ronneberg, near Hanau, where Christians of all denominations, and even Jews, repaired to his meetings. As the country was in a state of great poverty, he distributed to the children bread and articles of clothing, at the same time preaching the word to those who would hear it. This, as we may naturally suppose, led to fresh persecutions.

At this place he was again joined by the countess

and his children, who had stayed to witness the departure of the commissioners, and to make all the necessary arrangements at Herrnhut. Those of the brethren who were preparing to form missions or colonies, also arrived with her.

On the 17th of July, the count set off on a long projected journey into Livonia. While there he formed many valuable acquaintances, preached in several places, and was requested by the authorities to found institutions in the country for Christian education.

In Lithuania and Esthonia he succeeded in setting on foot a subscription for supplying the people with the Scriptures at a cheap rate. Many persons requested him to furnish them with tutors, or faithful stewards; and several preachers applied to him for assistants in preaching or conducting schools. A lady of distinction, who had formed the plan of an institution for training some of the peasantry of the country as schoolmasters, and instructing the young in the knowledge of the gospel, was one of his most intimate acquaintances, and requested him to recommend her a chaplain and some catechists. The count promised to do all in his power, and immediately sent for five brethren for the institution, among whom was a pupil of the establishment at Jena. The student, after being very closely examined, was received with great commendation, and this unpretending institution became the means of a revival, the influence of which was felt by some thousands of people in the country.

On his return, the count passed through Berlin, and was cited to appear before the king of Prussia,

who had conceived the most unfavourable opinion of him. For three days he held close conversations with his majesty ; “at the end of which,” says Zinzen-dorf, “the king declared, in rather energetic terms, before the whole court, that he regarded the charges brought against the count, of disturbing the church and the state, as altogether calumnious :” he added, that his plan of labouring in the work of God, in his character as a nobleman, was singular, but there was nothing blameworthy in it ; it was rather to be approved than condemned. Consistently with these expressions, he gave orders to his minister in the circle of the Upper Rhine, to protect the brethren’s establishments in that country. At the same time, in order to avoid offence, and that the work might proceed in an orderly manner, he advised the count to get himself ordained to the episcopal office. This advice strengthened the inclination he had long felt, and he therefore wrote to Jablonskey, who had ordained Nitschmann, and to Nitschmann himself ; and the king directed Jablonskey to confer with the count on the subject. Having arranged everything, Zinzen-dorf requested that the principal divines among the Lutherans at Berlin would examine his orthodoxy, as he did not wish to enter on the office but as an adherent to the Confession of Augsburg. The king having agreed to this, the count laid all the proper documents before the divines, giving them six months to examine them, and set out for Ronne-berg. When he had nearly reached his home, he received information that his wife and his church had been driven out of the country, and had repaired to Frankfort, whither he hastened to rejoin them, and

continued to fulfil the work of an evangelist, holding public meetings, to which a great crowd of hearers resorted.

In closing the account of this year, we shall mention some missions which the brethren attempted in the course of it, with the success which attended them. Two brethren were sent to Guinea; but this mission was productive of no fruit. George Schmidt, who had been imprisoned for six years, on his going into Bohemia with Melchior Nitschmann, was sent to the Cape of Good Hope. He arrived in 1737, built a hut, and formed a plantation among the Hottentots, on the banks of the river Sergeant. He soon gained the confidence of the people, who sent their children to his school. In the meantime, until he was able to instruct them in their own language, he taught them to read and sing in Dutch, and formed them to regular habits of labour. But when he thought of baptizing those who had received the faith, he found so many obstacles in the way, that he was forced to return to Europe, in order to obtain permission. It seems, also, that he needed some repose among his brethren, after the labours he had undergone. This step, however, was disastrous to the mission. The Hottentots who had been collected, remained together for several years, sighing after their teacher; but when Schmidt and several other brethren wished to go out to them, they were not allowed for some time; and when at last they obtained permission, they found their people all scattered. Their mission has, however, after a long pause, been resumed with success.

Towards the end of this year, the count prepared



for a journey to England, which he had for a long time contemplated. Before he set out, he assembled a synod of the brethren, from Herrnhut and other places, who were then with him. This first synod of the renewed church of the brethren was held on the 10th, 11th, and 12th of December, 1736, in the castle of Marienborn, about eight leagues from Frankfort, which his cousin, the Count of Yssenbourgmerholz, had lent him for the occasion. Immediately after it broke up, the count departed for England.

A.D. 1737. On the 20th of January, this year, the count reached London, where he immediately had a conference, on the subject of the episcopacy of the brethren, with Dr. John Potter, who had just been nominated archbishop of Canterbury. The trustees of Georgia having requested some missionaries for the negroes of South Carolina, also applied to the archbishop, when he recommended the brethren, and stated, that they belonged to an orthodox and episcopal church, whose doctrine contained nothing that was opposed to the thirty-nine articles of the church of England.

The count, therefore, began to take the necessary measures for the establishment of this mission; and, at the commencement of the following year, sent for a person, of the name of Boehler, from the university of Jena, who was appointed to the double office of forming, in concert with another brother, the mission to South Carolina, and officiating as a preacher to the colony of Georgia. This mission, however, very soon met with difficulties, which obliged the brethren to direct their attention solely

to some Swiss, who had settled in the town of Purisbourg:

The above mentioned were not the only objects which engaged Zinzendorf's attention during his residence in England. He formed an acquaintance with a great number of the nobility and clergy, and entered into friendly relations with the quakers and methodists, which were maintained for several years. He also held meetings, which were attended by a great number of the pious of different denominations; and some German brethren in particular requested him, on his departure, to unite them in a form of church order, that they might be able to continue their meetings.

On his return, Zinzendorf passed through Holland, where he met with Christian Stach, who was returning to Greenland, having been sent to Germany as a deputation from the mission in that country. After spending a short time in Frankfort, he set out for Berlin, in order to be examined, as he had proposed; and, on the 7th of May, received episcopal ordination from the hands of Jablonskey and David Nitschmann. About this time his father-in-law obtained permission, from the King of Poland, for him to return to Herrnhut; he therefore repaired thither on the 30th of June, and soon after received a decree granting legal protection to that establishment.

Not long after, however, the count was again required to subscribe certain conditions, with which he could not comply; he therefore left Herrnhut. He departed on the 4th of December, after addressing an affectionate discourse to the church. His

departure was looked upon as an act of contumacy; and, on the 13th of April following, an order was received at Herrnhut, forbidding him ever to return into the country.

A.D. 1738. Zinzendorf at first went into Wetteravia, whence he despatched some brethren to England and America. He afterwards repaired to Berlin, where he formed his household, as before, upon the model of a church of the brethren. He held public meetings four times in the week, twice for the men, and twice for the women. The number of hearers was so great that they were obliged to stand for want of room: citizens and military, clergy and courtiers, were mixed without distinction, except that a few persons of the highest rank, or of very delicate health, were accommodated in an adjoining apartment. In this way he preached sixty discourses on some articles of Luther's catechism, on the Lord's prayer, and several texts of Scripture, which were some time after printed, and have since been translated into different languages.

From Berlin he returned into Wetteravia, where he occupied part of the castle of Marienborn, and founded a colony of brethren in that neighbourhood, which was called Herrnhag. This settlement was to the reformed, what Herrnhut was to the Lutherans. The brethren rather chose for their establishments of this kind isolated situations, that they might not too much excite the attention of the surrounding inhabitants, or produce any disturbance by the novelty of their forms of worship. This settlement of Herrnhag, which only began in 1740, in a few years exceeded in number the church of

Herrnhut. In the course of this year the celebrated John Wesley, accompanied by his colleague Ingham, paid a visit to the churches of Herrnhut, Hoerendyk, and Marienborn, of which he speaks in high terms of approbation in some of his publications.

The most important event of this year was the count's setting out on a visit to the missions in the West Indies. He first repaired to Holland, where he arrived about the end of October, and although he had hoped to sail immediately, and the vessel was ready, some circumstances obliged him to stay till the 21st of December.

While he was thus detained, the divines at Amsterdam published a "Pastoral Letter," containing a violent attack on his religious opinions, and those of the church at Herrnhut. The attack was as disingenuous as it was unprovoked. It was true, that the theology of the count was somewhat different from the system commonly received, particularly on the subject of election, on which point he mainly agreed with Baxter; and it is not improbable that the fervour of his imagination sometimes betrayed him into expressions which should not be too literally interpreted. But the pastoral letter was altogether unfair and unjust; the real opinions of the brethren were misrepresented or caricatured, and invective supplied the place of argument. Several of the magistrates were so indignant at the proceeding, that they would have prevented the publication; and some of the ministers protested against it. It was however published, and did much mischief. The ship was about to sail, when Zinzendorf received the letter, and he only

had time to issue a brief "declaration," complaining of the iniquity of the measure.

Among the labours in which he was employed, while detained in Holland, may be mentioned the preparation of a book of texts for the ensuing year, which is worthy of notice on account of its preface.

The book of texts for 1739, is dedicated to all the churches of the brethren and their different missions. These are enumerated in the preface, and we shall give a sketch of them, in order to furnish a just idea of the extended labours of the brethren at this period.

1. *Herrnhut*. 2. *Herrnhag*. 3. *Hoerendyk*. 4. *Pilgerruh*. 5. *Ebersdorf*. Here, about the end of the preceding century, was founded one of those little societies, which, though still united to the national church, held its own meetings for edification and discipline. This society gradually more united to the brethren, received some of its ministers from them, and at length was numbered among their settlements. 6. *Jena*. The young count, Zinzendorf's son, was studying here at this period, and not only had a church in his own house, but held a meeting, at which many of the students and other pious persons attended. 7. *Amsterdam*, and, 8. *Rotterdam*. There were some brethren in both these cities, in the service of a number of persons, who looked up to them as their spiritual guides. 9. *London*. 10. *Oxford*. 11. *Berlin*. 12. *Greenland*. 13. *St. Croix*. 14. *St. Thomas*. 15. *St. John*. Some slaves, who had been converted at St. Thomas's, were sold into this island, and afterwards visited by the missionaries from St.

Thomas. 16. *Berbice*. 17. In *Palestine* and the surrounding countries an attempt was made about this time to establish a settlement. 18. *Surinam*. 19. *Savannah*, in Georgia. 20. Among the negroes in *Carolina*. 21. Among the savages of *Irene*, in the territory of the Creeks in Georgia, the brethren had a colony, very near the colony of Savannah. 22. *Pennsylvania*. In this province Spangenberg, who resided several years in America, laboured with great activity. 23. *Cape of Good Hope*. 24. *Livonia*. 25. *Esthonia*. 26. *Lithuania*. 27. *Russia*. There were a few brethren stationed at Petersburg. 28. On the coasts of the *White Sea*. 29. *Lapland*. 30. *Norway*. There were here, as well as in *Russia* and other places, a few brethren, who supported themselves by the labour of their own hands, and were employed by the pastors of the country in visiting awakened souls in their parishes. 31. In 1729, Christian David visited *Switzerland*; and Baron F. de Watteville, of Berne, one of Zinzendorf's principal coadjutors, kept up a correspondence with several of his relations and acquaintances in that country. Among these may be reckoned Samuel Lutz, the truly Christian pastor of Yverdun.

We have already mentioned that a mission to the island of Ceylon was at this time in agitation; and while the count was setting out for America, David Nitschmann, jun., in company with a physician, departed for this island. Ceylon was then subject to Holland; and the Dutch East India Company not only gave their consent to the mission, but also granted the two missionaries a free passage. They had a very distressing voyage; a contagious disorder broke

out in the vessel; and a short time before their arrival, Nitschmann wrote in the following terms:— “We have just thrown another person overboard, making eighty-one since we set out.” The surgeon of the vessel fell a victim to the disorder, and Nitschmann’s companion was obliged to take his place. The two brethren, however, arrived safely at the Cape, where they found Schmidt labouring with great activity among his Hottentots. After some delay, occasioned by the suspicions which the pastoral letter had excited against them, they proceeded to Ceylon, where they arrived about the end of the year, and were at first received in a very friendly manner. But the letter having followed close after them, they were soon looked upon as little better than atheists. They found little difficulty in undeceiving the authorities on the subject, but it was utterly impossible to satisfy the people, and a new governor going out, procured an order requiring their return to Europe.

In the month of December, this year, Zinzendorf lost another of his children, an interesting little girl, five years of age, who, like the others, died in the faith. Like them, she delighted in praying, singing hymns, and conversing with the brethren; and, as she drew near her end, spoke of death with the utmost composure.

A. D. 1739. The count arrived safely, on the 28th of January, at St. Eustatius, having the wind in his favour the whole of the voyage from the Texel. He immediately went to St. Thomas, when the first news he received on landing was, that the missionaries had been three months in prison. “And what,” said he to one of the negroes, “have the negroes been doing

all this time?" "They are standing fast in the faith; and there has been a great awakening among them. The imprisonment of the brethren also preaches powerfully." On the count's interposition, they were released.

"The very day on which I arrived," says Zinzendorf, writing to his brethren in Europe, "our brethren, who were quite ignorant of my coming, had entreated the Lord to send me among them, feeling that they stood in need of my assistance. Coincidences of this kind are not surprising amongst us; we are pretty well used to them."

The count immediately applied himself to the work of the Lord, and on this subject he relates the following incident:—

"Three days after my arrival, brother Martin being ill, and the duty of holding the meeting devolving on me, I was most agreeably surprised and delighted, when, after an excellent prayer by one of the negroes, as I was about to begin with one of my favourite hymns, I suddenly heard all the negroes (more numerous than any meeting I had ever held in our churches) accompanying me aloud in their own tongue, many of them with tears, singing the following hymn:—

'My Lord, my Lord, who hast redeemed me,' etc."

The number of the negroes, seriously concerned for their salvation, amounted at that time to nine hundred: six hundred and fifty men, and two hundred and fifty women. These were instructed separately, the brethren, as we have before observed, taking the greatest care in all their meetings, to keep the sexes



distinct. The poor slaves did their utmost to come to the brethren every evening, however few in number; but their principal meeting usually began on Saturday night, and did not close till seven or eight o'clock the next morning. The progress of the gospel among them was the more remarkable, as they and the missionaries were equally exposed to persecution for the sake of the truth. Often did their cruel masters rush into the midst of them, when assembled together, beat the poor creatures most dreadfully, and disperse them with horrible blasphemies. Then, indeed, was the time for them to remember the words of the Holy Scriptures, "Here is the patience and the faith of the saints."

The opposition to the brethren partly arose from the depraved conduct of the Europeans, who found their base passions thwarted by the conversion of their slaves; and partly from the jealousy of the clergy, who would not suffer the brethren to administer the ordinance of baptism. The imprisonment of the missionaries had proceeded from these causes; an imprisonment which, had it continued, would have ruined their health, and brought them speedily to the grave. The count, having obtained their release, wrote to the government at Copenhagen, and an order was sent out to the authorities of the island to protect the brethren against all their enemies, civil or ecclesiastical.

This interposition in the brethren's favour, however, was but a partial measure: it did not go to the root of the evil. The planters continued to annoy and harass their slaves the more: they required them to hold their meetings by day, while they compelled the

negroes to labour till late at night: they even went to the meetings with sticks, and swords, and guns, to break them up, the negroes not daring to make the least resistance. The count, therefore, proposed to hasten his return to Europe, in order to intercede for them with the court. Before his departure, however, the six hundred and fifty negroes who attended the meetings united in addressing a petition to the King of Denmark, which they all signed, praying for deliverance from the vexations to which they were exposed. The females also addressed the queen in similar terms.

The count wished to visit the islands of St. John and St. Croix, but he could only reach the latter place, where he beheld, with mingled solemnity and thanksgiving, the tombs of the brethren and sisters who had died there. He stayed five weeks, and then left the West Indies, and returned to Europe. On his voyage he composed, among other things, the original of that hymn so well known in Germany and other places,

"Jesus, thy blood and righteousness  
My beauty are, my glorious dress," etc.

He found that a great revival had taken place among the brethren in England. Considerable excitement had been produced in Holland, by the pastoral letter on the one side, and by the protest of four of the ministers on the other, and great bitterness prevailed among them; but the brethren enjoyed profound peace, and abundant prosperity. The count published another "declaration" against the calumnious accusations of this letter.

The constant labours in which Zinzendorf was engaged, and the fatigues endured on his voyage to and from the West Indies, so much affected his constitution, that he was at last confined to his bed, and began to think that the Lord was about to call him to himself; but he was mercifully restored. During this illness, though he was very weak, he composed an answer to the pamphlets published against him while he was on his voyage to St. Thomas. It was entitled, "A Review of the late Publications," etc. A report had spread on all sides that he had died on the voyage, and upon this several persons, whom he had considered as his friends, had taken part with his enemies. He closes this work with these lines,—

"Ne'er shall my heart its memory lose  
Of Jesus' dying love," etc.:

thus showing how great a measure of Divine unction rested on his soul, amidst disputations that are often very dangerous to piety.

The labours of the count in the church were much devoted at this time to the bands of single brethren and sisters; the younger brethren, in particular, he regarded as a nursery of witnesses and soldiers of Christ. For these two classes of Christians he composed a great number of hymns. About this time, also, the brethren established a seminary at Herrnhag, from which afterwards their church, as well as many other Protestant churches, were supplied with faithful ministers.

It was at this period that the rich merchant of Stralsund, with whom Zinzendorf had lived as tutor to his children, and who had since taken up his

residence at Herrnhut, departed for Algiers, to preach the gospel to the slaves; and some delightful fruits of his labours soon appeared.

We have already mentioned the success with which the Lord crowned the efforts of the brethren in the West Indies: in Georgia and South Carolina the cause was in its infancy; the brethren had some good hopes about Surinam and Berbice, and had been for some time making preparations for a mission to the interior of South America. Intelligence had reached them of the miserable state of the savages in that extensive country, accompanied with an invitation to go over and help them. One of the brethren accordingly set off for this destination early in the year, and arrived the following summer at New York. He knew no one in that city; but he soon found an opportunity of preaching the gospel to two Indians of the Mahikander nation. At their invitation he repaired to Albany, about sixty or seventy leagues from New York, in order to become their preacher. Not finding himself comfortable there, he went over to Chekomekah, an Indian town on the frontiers of New England. The Indians, given up to drunkenness, received him at first with the most dreadful menaces; he did not, however, suffer himself to be terrified; and although his life was scarcely a moment safe, he had soon the happiness to bring some of the savages over to better feelings. In 1741, he had gathered round him a numerous auditory, and the next year was enabled to baptize three of the Indians, as the firstfruits of the nation.

Towards the end of this year, the count, accompanied by Baron Frederic de Watteville, took a

journey into Switzerland. "We most frequently," says Watteville, "travelled on foot, and always enjoyed a feeling of great nearness to the Saviour."

During this year the count published a very interesting work, entitled, "Jeremiah, a Preacher of Righteousness." It was composed on his passage to the West Indies, and is addressed particularly to ministers: it has been the means of doing much good.

We shall close this chapter, with some observations made by Zinzendorf, about this time, in writing to one of his friends. "One of my favourite plans," says he, "is to contribute, as much as lies in my power, to the accomplishment of the grand design of our Lord (John xvii.), the gathering together of the children of God. I do not wish to join them in the bond of the Moravians, but in that general communion in which the Moravian sect must be at length lost, and this distinction become quite unnecessary for the particular work which is now assigned to them. I still labour as much as possible to bring souls to confess their sins, and receive the grace of the Saviour; for this purpose I love pulpits, and would gladly travel a hundred leagues to preach in one: in fine, from the year 1727 to the present moment, I have incessantly endeavoured to unite all the children of God, even those who do not reside in the same place. This latter plan, however, I am beginning to abandon, not only because I see no means of accomplishing it, but because I think I discover, in the opposite state of things, a secret working of Divine Providence."

## CHAPTER XVII.

GENERAL HISTORY, A.D. 1740 AND 1741.

A.D. 1740. In the month of June, this year, the brethren held a synod at Gotha, on account of the approaching departure, for South America, of Bishop Nitschmann, and the female elder, Anne Nitschmann. At this synod, Zinzendorf, having mentioned the censures which were cast upon him, and the unfavourable impressions which existed in the minds of some divines and statesmen, on account of his uniting in his own person the titles of count and Moravian bishop, begged to be discharged from the episcopal functions, and that some one might take his place. The synod represented to him, that as long as the brethren's church sought only to please the Lord Jesus Christ, the count would not fail to incur the hatred of the world: but as he continued to press the matter, though they would not accept his resignation, they elected another person to the office of bishop, the Rev. Polycarp Müller, a Lutheran divine, who had formerly filled a professor's chair in the university of Leipsic.

On reviewing the innumerable calumnies cast upon the church for some years past, the synod also felt that it was the duty of the brethren to examine carefully whether they might not have furnished their enemies with some occasion to reproach them. This led to a conversation, in which was manifested

an unusual degree of Christian frankness. The count commenced with an acknowledgment of the faults which he had committed; other brethren did the same; and it appearing to the church, on reflection, that they had been guilty of great injustice to Professor Francke, of Halle, the synod directed a written apology to him to be prepared, and deputed two of their number to go and present it. The following is a copy:—

“Whereas the church of Christ descended from the brethren of Moravia, and now assembled in conference, at Gotha, to deliberate on several important subjects, has seen reason to acknowledge that its members have not always been sufficiently careful to avoid every appearance of hostility to the laudable institutions of Mr. Francke; and whereas it is not enough that Count Zinzendorf should have, several years since, personally acknowledged his error in this matter, since he ought to have dealt more severely with brother Spangenberg, respecting the differences between him and the authorities at Halle; and whereas it is thought that the count ought to have conducted himself with more humility as a disciple of that eminent servant of God, Augustus Hermann Francke, and the church has cause to bewail with him the wrongs which he formerly committed, his negligence since that time, and his recent faults: the whole synod, therefore, consisting of the elder and bishops of the Moravian brethren of the Confession of Augsburg, has unanimously resolved to request the Rev. Leonard Dober, general elder of all the churches, and his colleague,

Polycarp Müller, to wait personally on the worthy Mr. G. A. Francke, divinity professor at Halle, and director of the establishments of his late father, not only to repeat the apologies already made by the count, in 1735, but also humbly to present those of the whole Moravian evangelical church, as far as it can partake in the faults of its individual members, promising to preserve in future that respect for the institutions at Halle, which, on many accounts, they so much deserve, and zealously and faithfully to repair all former injuries as much as possible, and in every way to strengthen the sacred bond of brotherly love with the said respected professor.

“ Given at Gotha, 13th of June, 1740, in the name of the church.

“ DAVID NITSCHMANN, *bishop.*

“ LOUIS DE ZINZENDORF, *bishop.*

“ JOHN MARTIN DOBER, *president of Herrnhut.*

“ JOHN MICHAEL LANGGOUTH, *pastor of Herrnhag.*

“ JOHN PETER THIELE, *elder of Hoerendyk.*

“ JOHN GOTTFRIED BEZOLD, *president of Pilgerruh.*”

Submissive as this address was in its spirit and tenor, it was not well received. Perhaps it was judged to be too long in coming, or perhaps Francke thought some preparatory actions should have taken the place of mere words; however this might be, when the two deputies arrived at Halle, they were



not even admitted to an audience, and in that state the matter rested.

About this time the church was much increased, even through the reproaches which were heaped upon it. In the publications of the day, in the pulpits, and in the colleges, things were attributed to the brethren, so atrocious, and, at the same time, so absurd, that many persons deemed them perfectly incredible, and determined to inquire more particularly into the matter. Multitudes, therefore, of all ranks, rich and poor, learned and ignorant, attended the meetings of the church, and when they perceived the actual state of things, warmly espoused the brethren's cause. Many visitors arrived from England, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Switzerland, Livonia, and many places in Germany, among whom a wonderful work of the Holy Spirit was soon manifested, both in the public meetings and private conversations.

"In the course of this year," says Spangenberg, "the count was like a perpetual spring, constantly pouring out hymns and spiritual songs." At one of those prayer-meetings, so commonly held in the early times of the brethren, for the purpose of invoking the Divine blessing upon each other, he recited a most delightful hymn in the assembly. On the 13th of August, an extraordinary day in the church, he preached a very powerful discourse, and composed, extemporaneously on the occasion, six hymns, in which he commended to the Saviour all the churches of the brethren, particularly the missionary establishments in different parts of the world, and all the brethren who were journeying either by land or by sea.

As the visits of strangers became every day more frequent, the count thought proper to fix an hour to receive and converse with them. On these occasions, all the information they desired was granted to them, and they were permitted to state their difficulties and scruples, which were answered by a faithful explanation of everything.

On the 10th of December, some additions were made to the church, that strikingly showed the power of the Holy Spirit, in gathering together persons of every tongue, and tribe, and nation. Of several brethren who were received together, one was a native of Poland, another of Hungary, a third of Switzerland, the fourth an Englishman, the fifth a Swede, the sixth a Livonian, and the seventh a German.

As the calumnies vented against the brethren's church did not cease, and as violent complaints had been made against the church of Herrnhag before the court of justice at Wetzlar, the count, who was very ill at the time, caused himself to be conveyed to that city, that he might procure from the court a thorough investigation of the brethren's cause. For that purpose he invited the attention of the magistrate, both to himself and the brethren, that he might notice anything that was really blameworthy. He was told, however, that the court would by no means consent to enter into this investigation; that the accusations brought against the count were well known, but were not judged worthy of notice; that the dispute would cease of itself, if the brethren would but observe a strict silence on the subject; and that it would be well for them to labour the

more carefully to publish nothing but simply their evangelical sentiments and principles.

One of the members of this tribunal added some further observations, which we cannot forbear transcribing. "The person and doctrine of Jesus were far more calumniated than the church of the brethren has been; but the Saviour comforted himself with the thought, that his Father acknowledged him. The brethren's church therefore ought to submit to the judgments of the world, and to be willing to be persecuted with Jesus.

"Doubtless," he adds, "it is painful not to have a moment's rest, and to be always the object of reproach; but sufferings and the cross belong as essentially to your excellent church, as the wounds, and blood, and death of your Lord. These are the elements in which it lives, and by which it must be purified more and more, as it were by fire. As to the danger you apprehend, that in time the boldness of your enemies may be attended with fatal effects, I hope that I shall never see it; and I leave this, as well as many other subjects of anxiety, which are not, perhaps, destitute of foundation, to my successors, to whom I can give no other advice, than to submit patiently to whatever trials may occur, or to seek humbly a preservation from them. Moreover, our God ever liveth, and your cause is His own; he will plead it, and will suffer nothing to come to pass but what is agreeable to his own will, which is always perfect and good. What you suffer, you suffer together with the church, for the love of God and of Jesus; and surely this is happy suffering, from which one should hardly pray to be

delivered. Go on, with your fellow-labourers, to preach the gospel simply, according to the measure of knowledge which God has bestowed upon you, and he will support you. O sacred sufferings! O glorious conflict! O blessed triumph!"

Another synod was held at Marienborn, from the 5th to the 31st of December, of which the count has said that there never was such a one, either before or since. It was opened by himself with an extemporaneous hymn. One of the principal subjects treated in this synod was doctrine, and the following declarations were unanimously adopted:—

"The Holy Scriptures are the great standard by which in all cases we should abide; we ought not to put our own productions, however good, in comparison with the Bible, or pretend in any way to add to it by our writings.

"The Holy Scriptures, of the Old and New Testament, are works so absolutely Divine, that every doctrine, sentence, and prophecy of future events, and everything relating to theology, contained in them, is full and complete, whether for the salvation of private individuals, or for the use of those who have to bear witness to the truth. So complete are they, that, until the second coming of Christ, nothing further is necessary; nor is it possible to produce anything that shall exceed them."

As calumnies and insults of the most dreadful kind continued to be heaped upon the count, in one of his publications, on "The Forgiveness of Offences," he speaks in a way that to some may appear affected; but Zinzendorf was altogether an original character, and not to be judged by common rules.

“I look up to every man,” says he, “who undertakes to instruct me, as my superior, until I find that he brings me nothing better, or more novel than what I already know. Should he even become my enemy, I regard him still, as long as I can, as my faithful friend, or rather as so generous a friend of the public, that he is obliged to sacrifice to it his friendship for me, and that, in my view, is being the friend of the community.

“I consider too, that the common duties of man to man are not, comparatively, the highest in obligation; but I belong to a family in which we are bound to act towards the ungrateful and wicked, with kindness like that which I have experienced from my God; thus the person of my enemy becomes sacred and inviolable. These are not speculative principles with me; many of the faithful witnesses to the truth who are near me, and of whose cause I have never lost sight for thirty years, know that I practise them. But if they do not know it, there is One who does.”

The count was accustomed to read to the church those publications of his opponents which attacked him personally. “When an author,” says he, “sends me his work, which often happens, I do him the justice to read it to the church, when there is the greatest number of strangers present, taking all necessary care not to spoil the reading. When I have done this, I make no reply, but show the book to any person who wishes to see it. If there is any truth in the accusations, this reading has a double advantage: it serves to diminish the excessive estimation in which the church holds me, and

it furnishes me with an opportunity of acknowledging my faults, and warning my brethren by my example."

A.D. 1741. At the beginning of this year, the count made preparations for his long proposed journey to Geneva. It was natural that, with his capacious mind, and earnest desire to establish connexions with every body of Christians, he should be anxious to attempt something in this city, then one of the most important stations of the reformed church. He arrived in Geneva at the beginning of March, accompanied by the countess and his family, and a number of the brethren, amounting to forty or fifty persons, who were lodged in several houses in the neighbourhood of his own residence. Together they formed a little church regularly organized; every band had its separate worship in the morning, after which the whole church commonly assembled to hear a discourse from the count; at eight in the evening, they held their singing meeting, followed by an exposition of a portion of the Scriptures, by one of the more learned brethren, at which a few persons attended; and the day closed with a meeting of those brethren and sisters who had distributed among themselves the hours, from four in the morning till midnight, to devote to meditation and prayer. At the same time, the others, who did not belong to this band, held their evening worship. The interval, from midnight to four in the morning, was spent in prayer by one of the brethren in turn.

The peculiar customs of this little church soon drew multitudes of visitors, and an evident blessing attended their meetings. The church of Geneva

had already in some measure departed from the faith, and the brethren therefore availed themselves of every opportunity of preaching the Lord Jesus, as the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world. Among others, Baron de Gersdorf, who had been recently converted, bore a powerful testimony to the grace of God in Christ Jesus; and such was the impression produced by the word among persons of all ranks, that there was scarcely an hour of the day without some meeting for the preaching of the gospel.

The count soon became acquainted with a number of learned men; but it is easy to perceive, notwithstanding the caution which the brethren always use in adverting to the subject, that they found the city in that state of unbelief to which we have already alluded, and which a few years afterwards was publicly avowed to the world by the well-known article in the *Encyclopédie*.

Zinzendorf was not, however, ashamed of the gospel of Christ; and although he entrenched himself here, as he did in other places, too much under those formalities which weaken its effect, and even manifested a kind of politeness towards the enemies of Christ, of which the ancient saints give us no examples, yet in the end he candidly avowed the truth. Nor did he content himself with preaching it; he also published a memorial of a hundred and eighty pages, a copy of which is still to be found in the library of that city, entitled, "A Letter to the Venerable Company of Pastors and Professors of the Church of Geneva, on the Subject of the Church of the United Brethren." It is a very

interesting document, in the highest degree original, and although very short, considering the extensive nature of the subject, yet it contains many valuable and surprising accounts relative to the brethren's church, both ancient and modern. This pamphlet was presented to the pastors and professors, in the name of the church, by three of its ministers; and notwithstanding it was likely, from its singularity, even more than most other evangelical works, to be an object of contempt to the Socinians, yet it was received with great respect, on account of the high rank of its author. A deputation was sent, with the moderator at its head, to convey their thanks to the count, addressed to him in his character of bishop of the United Brethren.

During his residence at Geneva, Zinzendorf also reprinted in French, a book of texts, which he had published the year before, entitled, "The Lamb of God represented to the Life in the Holy Scriptures." This little book contained a selection of texts from the Old and New Testaments, tending to establish the Deity and glory of the Redeemer. It was dedicated to M. Vermet, the principal of the university, and M. Lullin, professor of ecclesiastical history. In this instance, however, all considerations of worldly politeness yielded to the enmity of the human heart to the gospel; and those who professed to believe in the Divine Son of God could not be prevailed upon to receive this testimony to his Divinity. The dedication met with an ungracious reception from the two pastors, as soon appeared from some of their published papers, and Zinzendorf found it necessary to leave Geneva.



The week before his departure, he collected into classes, similar to those which existed among the brethren, a number of persons who had been awakened during his stay at Geneva, and gave them some directions as to the manner in which they should conduct their meetings for mutual edification. On the 16th of May he left the city, with his family, accompanied by a mob of people, who assailed him with stones. Ten years afterwards, a brother at Geneva wrote to the count, that this shower of stones had spoken to the consciences of some persons, who, since that time, had sought acquaintance with the brethren.

As the count was disposed, this year, again to visit South America, he summoned a new synod, in which he announced, as he had done in that of Gotha, his wish to lay down his office of bishop. It was not his intention absolutely to divest himself of all the duties attached to his charge, for he had never ceased to attend to several of them, such as preaching, the administration of the Lord's supper and baptism, the ordination of deacons, ministers, and bishops, etc., but as his own inclination, and, in his judgment, the call of God, urged him more and more to the work of an evangelist, and as he was desirous of exercising this function for the good of all communions, he wished not to be bound too closely by an office, so decidedly specific as that of a bishop over one of the sections of the Christian church. The synod upon this elected a new bishop in his place.

On the 15th July, the count held a love-feast, at which sixty persons attended, with some brethren and sisters from Herrnhut and the adjacent places,

who had entered into his service. Some of them were about to depart on different engagements, and the count recited a hymn suited to their circumstances, and another of seventy-four stanzas for the single brethren, exhorting them to devote themselves to the Lord with their whole heart, and to be ready to go forth on his service, whenever and in whatever manner it should be his pleasure to employ them.

On the 5th of August, Zinzendorf departed from Germany, on his second voyage to America. He arrived safely in London, where he stopped till the end of the month. Spangenberg, who had frequent communications with him at this time, observes, that he was much engaged in communion with the Lord, and in self-examination as to the whole of his former life; that he was very severe in marking the faults he had committed in the service of the Saviour, and implored forgiveness for them with great contrition. These feelings were expressed in a most lively manner, in several of the hymns which he composed at this time. He was also much occupied in reflecting on his past intercourse with others, and carefully inquiring whether he had offended any. To all these he wrote letters, asking their pardon for the faults he might have committed; and, lastly, his time was much taken up in providing for the prosperity of the churches in Europe, during his proposed voyage.

The count had his choice, either of going in a man-of-war, or in a merchant vessel under convoy, and as there was a war at this time between England and Spain, some of his experienced friends advised him to take one of these courses; he however preferred a merchant vessel, which he had hired for himself,

which was unarmed, and would sail more swiftly. Besides this, he did not wish to offend the quakers and Mennonites, whose principles were opposed to war. Writing to one of them at this time, he says, "I desire no other company than what is mentioned in that Scripture, Rev. vii. When my friends went to Philadelphia, last year, I did not scruple to procure Spanish passports for them. We may take some unnecessary precautions when a third person is concerned, I should never have done as much for myself; I should consider it as abandoning my ancient charter, Luke xii. 7."

At length, after several delays occasioned by contrary winds, he set sail. During the voyage he employed his time, as usual, from morning till night, in different labours for the churches, and in composing a number of hymns. He arrived in America about the end of the month of November.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

### DESCRIPTION OF HERRNHUT IN 1740.

WE cannot leave the brethren, whom we have followed through so long a series of events, without endeavouring once more to exhibit, if possible, a correct and lively picture of their state at the above period. For this purpose we shall, as before, take a rapid survey at the establishment at Herrnhut, which will always be the most natural representative of all the rest.

At the time of which we speak, Herrnhut had become a little town. It was regularly built; the streets straight and neat, and everything indicated peace and good order. Most of the inhabitants were living in the full enjoyment of their spiritual privileges; the rest were, externally at least, walking according to the rules of the establishment, abstaining from everything manifestly contrary to a Christian life.

We may remember the watch that was kept during the night, and its beautiful chantings of verses of Scriptural warning; nor can we forget the beautiful burial ground, adorned with plantations of trees, presenting, as the Germans finely express it, the fair image of "a field of God," where rest the seeds of a future harvest of spiritual and glorified bodies.

It was the custom of the brethren, probably derived from the earliest times of their church, for the sake

of avoiding vanity and conformity to the world, to adopt one uniform dress both for men and women, which is the same at this day. Some slight difference was allowed among the females, in the different classes of girls, adults, married women, widows, etc.

This little town bore some resemblance to a great convent, divided into several cloisters: here stood the houses allotted to widowers and widows; there were those appropriated to the single brethren and sisters, and the youth, both male and female; on each side were the workshops belonging to the different classes of artisans, and as the whole place had its general superintendent, so every building, every trade, every workshop and room, was under the direction of a brother or sister, who were themselves subordinate to other superiors. We must not, also, forget the daily visits paid by the different members of the church to every family in its turn, to carry them the word of the day and the salutations of the brethren.

Zinzendorf, who was never weary of holding meetings among the brethren for the promotion of their joy in the gospel, introduced the custom of love-feasts, which were of different kinds, and very numerous, but conducted with that sobriety and temperance which become the children of God. Besides those of the whole church, there were some kept by families, in which parents celebrated the anniversaries of their marriage, their birthdays or those of their children, or any event of that kind. There were others for the different bands, classes, and orders of the church, as elders, missionaries, etc. The count, on these occasions, often used to assemble round him all in whose

persons and circumstances some similar trait was observable, such as those who had been brought to the knowledge of the truth at the same time, who had been received into the church on the same day, or who had experienced similar spiritual trials; and he never failed to enliven such meetings with a few couplets, and sometimes entire hymns, which he had composed, or which he uttered extemporaneously. This taste for simple, unpretending poetry prevailed generally in the church; and every one brought, on these occasions, his little tribute of verses, which in a measure made up, by their unction and deep feeling, for every literary imperfection.

If we look into the interior of this church, we shall have to observe a most complicated, and yet a most complete discipline, according to which the order of different ranks was often inverted, and each became, in his turn, superior and subordinate; watched over by others, and watching over others in all things. As to the active exertion which prevailed in the church, and the diversity of the means used for its edification, we may form some slight idea from the following quotation taken from Zinzendorf's life:—

“At this time the count could not be present at the morning meetings, which were held at four o'clock in the summer, and at five in the winter, because he was accustomed to work till midnight, and often later. In April, however, he began his family worship at six o'clock in the morning. He likewise held frequent conferences with the elders, teachers, inspectors, monitors, nurses, almoners, assistants, etc., not together, but every class by itself; in order to impart to them clear notions of the fundamental

principles by which a church of Christ should be regulated, and the particular duties which belonged to each, according to their respective functions.

“A number of single brethren having associated together in 1728, in a house appropriated to their use, entered into all the arrangements suitable to their situation; and the count for some time gave them lessons in writing and geography, with some general ideas of ecclesiastical history. In the discourses addressed to the general body of single brethren, he laboured very carefully to give them just views of the duties and graces especially necessary in their condition. He also addressed several homilies to the single sisters, particularly applicable to the little societies formed among them, and was anxious that they might be wisely organized, and provided with faithful leaders. The countess sometimes assembled these around her, to converse with them upon their different duties.

“The count likewise took a deep interest in those who had been recently married, showing them, from the Scriptures, how they ought to act, so as to keep themselves in that purity of spirit which became their new situation. Nor did he forget the children; and, in general, as Spangenberg observes, there was observable, at this period, an earnest desire, among young and old, for communion with the Lord Jesus, and the abundant participation of his grace.”

We may form a still more accurate idea of the state of this church, at the times we are describing, from the following extract, taken from a document left for the use of the churches by Zinzendorf, on the eve of his departure for America.

“I behold with joy,” says he to the brethren, “that in the midst of so many sects into which the Christian church is divided, our simple preaching of the expiatory sufferings of the Lord Jesus Christ has brought some souls into that unity, for which he prayed to the Father. It is but just that you should receive the recompense of it: reproach, and calumny, and the hatred of the wicked are the unfailing portion of Jesus and his servants. Rejoice, then, in your infirmities and sufferings.

“The classes in all the churches will do well to communicate their affairs to those whom your beloved elders shall nominate for that purpose. There ought to be as close a connexion between the churches and every individual member, as there is between the hand and the foot; yea, even between the foot and its different joints.

“What is the education of children? A holy method of teaching them, even from the cradle, that they belong to Jesus, and that all their happiness consists in knowing him. On this account the greatest punishment they can suffer should be, not to be allowed to pray and sing with their companions, or to go to school, or to study together.

“The charges, or functions of the church, consist in something more than the mere distribution of labour among different individuals. And here we have need of some persons to fulfil a kind of office without name or title; an office which embraces and comprehends everything, and which I cannot better describe than by comparing it to a hinge, or the key of a watch, which has a connexion with everything. Such Marthas as I here refer to, when they



are animated with the spirit of Mary, know how to be everywhere. They manage matters in such a manner, at funerals, anniversaries, changes of business, and, in a word, on all occasions, that a single person of this description has, in one week, despatched a hundred different affairs, assisted the regular officers, and all without the movements being perceived.

“The *elders* should be especially careful that no inconsistency may appear in their conduct. They should be a refuge and resort for all descriptions of persons, friends as well as foes. The *helps* should, in everything regarding the church, be always ready to be employed, like a physician or surgeon in town, whom every one calls upon in time of need. The *waiting brethren* are, for each particular part, what the helps are for the whole body. It is their duty to keep the lights, beds, benches, and every piece of furniture intrusted to their care, in complete order.

“The *inspectors* ought to have their eyes and ears open in every direction, but their mouths closed; they should have such an accurate idea of everything that falls under their inspection, that they may bring it to the monitors ready prepared, so that the latter may be merely the channels of communication. If they should, however, have a strict eye, they should also have a compassionate heart, and be ready to rejoice when the fears they have entertained prove to be unfounded. A *monitor* ought to have a heart that unites, in an equal degree, great faithfulness towards Christ, and great tenderness towards his members; he should ever keep in view the claims of the Redeemer, and the weakness of his brethren; he ought to know

the grand secret of gaining, by love, every soul that belongs to the Saviour.

“The *nurses* should be able wisely to distinguish maladies that are simply corporeal, from those that have relation to spiritual things, and which may be, in the hands of the Lord, either a chastisement of his love, a trial of faith, or simply an affection of the nervous system, etc. They ought to know how to treat all these different cases, availing themselves of the assistance of the physician and other servants of the church. The *almoners* should so labour among their brethren, that beneficence and brotherly kindness may prevail in the church.

“We should not *work* to live, but live to work; and when we think there is nothing more to do, we must be in a bad and declining condition. In a church we must work; and as the general providence which feeds the ravens, and is particularly promised to Christians, is yet consistent with so large an allotment of trial to the witnesses for the truth, that they may be sometimes called to show themselves God’s faithful servants in the midst of famine and nakedness, these must therefore depend, less than other men, on the regular supply of their moderate portion; they are moreover called to labour with their own hands, not only that they might not be chargeable to any one, but that they might have something to give to those that need. The means of assisting the different members of the church, and supplying them with work, both in times of scarcity, and when exposed to the hatred of the world, which will be but too ready to slander them, or in the midst of the frequent banishments to which they are

exposed, added to the continual labour which the spiritual necessities of the church constantly demand; all these things are matters of attention to those whom the Lord has judged worthy to be placed in authority over his children.

“When we send one or more brethren into any neighbouring town or village, or, as we may have opportunity, to some more distant country, over the sea, to the islands, or any other part of the world, in order to attempt anything for the promotion of the Saviour’s kingdom, or the regulation of its concerns, we call it a *deputation*. When these deputations become numerous, and establish themselves in any country, they are called a *colony*; if their meetings are regular, and according to apostolic order, then they are called *churches*.

“As to *sufferings*, I may just observe that while the church is young, it does not need to be prepared for them, but passes through them with comparative indifference. A few storms arise, but they speedily subside, and do not much interrupt its peace. When the church becomes more established, they rage more violently; but we are no longer in fear of them, they cannot upset the vessel. They may perhaps sweep a sailor or two from the deck, but the ship keeps her course. Let us only be still, and direct our course according to that wisdom which is hidden from the world; the Lord will bring to nought the purposes of the wise. His enemies thought to seize on Elisha at Dothan, and they found him in the midst of Samaria. Like the people at Ephesus, the ungodly know not often why they cry out, and they soon hold their peace. One word more on this subject: the church

and the cross, religion and reproach, are inseparable; it is therefore nothing new, that the Lord should suffer his children's privileges to be accompanied with threatening dangers, their blessings to be seasoned with injuries, and commendations with insults; so that while they are praised on the one hand, they are persecuted on the other: it is the way of the world.

“The *institutions*, or *establishments* of the church, are the means which the Lord uses for instruction and edification, as the *seminaries* for literary education, and our orphan and boarding-schools for children; the associations of persons of different sexes and situations in life, as the *choirs*; of natural men, or persons who are seeking after truth, but do not yet comprehend it, as the *classes*; of souls more closely united, as the *bands*; and of the church generally, as *conferences*, *assemblies*, etc.

It is very important that the brethren should labour everywhere in the true spirit of the community, not seeking their own advantage, but that of the whole church. To consult our own ease at the very time that we are sending hundreds of our brethren into all parts of the world, in the midst of poverty and distress, and while the church altogether is so poor, would be an affront to the cross of Jesus. I am therefore of opinion, that we ought to reject every man who shows a disposition to seek his own ease and advantage, and if he be a brother, we ought not to trouble ourselves with his complaints.

“Christians should submit to the *ordinances of man for the Lord's sake*. The churches of Christ are called to yield to them as far as they can, and to

conduct themselves with all simplicity, without suspecting evil; but immediately they come to the point which conscience forbids them to pass, then they should be inexorable, and let nothing move them. Neither times, nor laws, nor prescriptions, are of any avail here; the churches have but one plan, that is, the Lord's; and but one Master, even Jesus.

“What we call *opportunities*, are those little meetings which are held periodically, on certain days, weeks, or hours, that the brethren may exhort, reprove, and encourage one another; such are the meetings for singing or prayer, love-feasts, etc. These ought to be attended to in a reverent manner, as in the presence of the Lord, with simplicity and order, and in confidence of a blessing, which, though not always felt at the moment, yet, according to the promise of Jesus, cannot fail.

“The *choirs* have been already described. In those of our churches which are fully organized, each choir has its subdivisions into classes and bands, with its labourers, charges, and elders, the whole under the superintendence of the general elders and helpers of the church. Whoever knows the secret blessedness of these institutions will take great delight in them. We may observe, that every general elder of each church, or of the whole body, is absolutely subordinate, as to his private conduct, to the elders of the choir to which he belongs, and rejoices in being directed by them, and in submitting to them.

“The *classes* are little associations, forming parts of the same choir, and composed mostly of converted persons, or those who desire to be so. Married people commonly constitute separate classes, and are

under the direction of a married brother and his wife. The *bands* consist of two, three, or more persons, united in the name of Jesus for conversation, in simplicity and sincerity, on the concerns of their souls; concealing nothing from each other, but exercising the greatest mutual confidence. Warm affection, united with discretion and daily intercourse, are the necessary elements of such an alliance.

“The calling to be a soldier of Christ, is in consequence of an eternal election of grace as to this particular point. To endure sufferings for the name of Christ, is to such as easy and natural as for a fish to swim. An old proverb says of certain persons, that ‘they cannot fall without picking up something;’ so the soldiers of Christ can draw some advantage from everything to the glory of their Lord.

“Your companion in the work of the Lord,

“ZINZENDORF.

“On board the Saint Martin,  
December 27, 1738.”

These remarks may give us some idea of the government of this church, and the union of natural and spiritual gifts, which Zinzendorf introduced into every department of its administration. We should recollect, that he held almost daily conferences on this subject, and that with persons every way capable of advising him.

In the happy times of the church which we are now reviewing, one means of edification quickly followed another. Hardly could any one pass a few minutes with any of the inmates of this vast seminary, without hearing the most penetrating and unusual

sounds. These were from the four trumpets, playing the air of a hymn, from the top of the turret over the hall where they met. The almost magical effect of these instruments was often heightened by a solemn arrangement; they gave the signal of the decease of one of the members. Immediately on his breathing his last, the church was warned of it in this manner. Every choir of the church had a peculiar melody, to announce the death of its members, so that at the time when many in the church were dying, every one might know, by a certain sound, who was at that moment entering into his rest.

At present these trumpets have also another use; they call to the place of worship. We shall first speak of the children's meetings. Besides the religious conversations appointed to be held among them on certain days, under the direction of a superior, their public meetings have usually been attended with a wonderful blessing. Often does the minister, who instructs them, prostrate himself with them, as he does sometimes with the adults on solemn occasions, and implore on their behalf, with tears and sighs, grace from above; while children and catechists chant, in responsive hymns, the feelings of their souls.

The meetings of the church having been held at the first in one of the count's halls, he from that time always studied to give to the places where the brethren met an air of freedom from all ecclesiastical distinctions, even in the name. The church was thus always called the *hall*, however large it might be; the turret at the top of the building was surmounted by

a lamb, and rose just above the surrounding houses ; the pastor stood on an elevated platform, with only a table before him, which, on festivals, was adorned with flowers. The floor also, after the German custom, was lightly sprinkled with white sand.

The entrance of the different members of the church into the hall was characterized by the same order as everything else. First, the choirs of young people of both sexes made their appearance, by opposite doors, to take the benches assigned to them, the men on the right side of the pastor, and the women on the left. After them came the married brethren and sisters, in the same order ; and then the widowers and widows ; and lastly, the children of both sexes, who took their places next to the preacher. When all were seated, the pastor came forth from the vestry, accompanied by the elders, who seated themselves on his right hand, on the same platform, while the sisters, who bore the same office in the church, took their places on his left.

We may form some idea of the atmosphere, as we may call it, which surrounded the hearers, and the spirit which pervaded the assembly, from the words of Zinzendorf himself. "Our meetings," says he, "should be conducted with reverence and solemnity. Whether we teach or pray, whether we sing or meditate, whether we remain sitting or standing, or in what situation soever we may be, everything should breathe the spirit peculiar to the church. We should conduct ourselves as in the presence of the Lamb, with a feeling of reverence and adoration, as in the enjoyment of sensible communion with the spirits of the just made perfect ; we should seek that people



may not enter the place with indifference, but, on the contrary, be constrained to acknowledge that God is in the midst of us; that they may behold, among those present, evidences of the power of the truth, which, without a single word spoken, may carry conviction to their hearts; that the Spirit of the Lord may breathe upon us; that the preachers may speak with all wisdom; and that mere human orators, for whom no temple is sufficiently large, nor auditory sufficiently numerous, may be silent with astonishment in the midst of a company of little children."

If ever the idea has been realized, of a nation of kings, an army of generals, or a church of priests, we may behold it here; for many of the members of this church fulfilled duties which required an advanced state of Christian experience, and showed themselves, by turns, powerful preachers, eminent missionaries, and Christians deeply versed in the ways of God towards men. If we examine the personal qualities of those who were commonly intrusted with the preaching of the gospel, we shall observe, besides Zinzendorf and Rothe, a Dober, a Christian David, the Linnerns, and several others, of whose striking gifts we may judge, from the letters we have already quoted, or the sketches we have drawn of their lives. Before, however, we proceed to give a specimen of the preaching in this church, let us follow the ordinary course of a meeting, and notice the singing.

We may remember the description Zinzendorf has given of the first organist at Herrnhut, who, according to his expression, made the music of the church resemble the celestial harmonies. In music, as in

other things, Zinzendorf did not study to make men more spiritual than God has made them, nor did he forget that they have senses; he endeavoured to sanctify, and not to annihilate human tastes and feelings. The following remarks of his, on this subject, may serve to give us a more extensive view of their singing at this period.

“In the meetings of our church, we sing scarcely anything else than the common hymns, known throughout Germany; but, in our private meetings, the leader of the singing collects together verses from twenty or thirty hymns treating on the subject under consideration, and presenting a continual repetition of it with the greatest clearness and order. The precentor, the organist, the preacher, and hearers, are so well trained to this plan, that there is no stop, nor is any one obliged to turn overt he leaves of a book. No one can form an idea of it, who has not been an eye-witness. In the singing-meetings held at my house, my son, who is about ten years old, can pass on his organ from one melody to another, without any one perceiving that the hymns have not been arranged and concerted on purpose. There is no interruption, and the youngest can join in the singing with the rest, without opening a book; for all our children are in the habit of committing the hymns to memory. I know not how they do it, for no one obliges them to this labour.

“In our public meetings, I first have one of the usual hymns given out; but after the discourse, if I find nothing in the common collection which suits my subject, or if I wish to impress it more deeply on the minds of my hearers, or to present a prayer to the

Saviour for this purpose, I dictate to the brethren some new hymn, which I never thought of before, and which is forgotten as soon as it has answered its end. The auditory perceives no difference, and I only mention it to give an example of the manner in which things are conducted among us. That which we aim at constantly is an appropriate service, suited to all sorts of persons, all circumstances, and all the modifications of things and times, and to act always as in the presence of God. Every gift, which our Saviour bestows upon us for this purpose, we possess for use, and not for display, or to excite attention."

We come now to the discourses which were preached in this church, and of these, too, Zinzendorf has given so complete an analysis, that we cannot do better than cite the following passages from his writings.

"Our whole system of theology," says he, "is founded on the love of God our Saviour, which induced him to take our flesh and blood, and to suffer the death of the cross that he might atone for the fault of Adam, and remove the distance naturally existing between God and the human race. The sacrifice of the cross; therefore, not only shows us the greatness of our misery, but also the merciful design of our Saviour to justify us, and to render us happy. The establishment of a union between us and the Saviour takes place without any merit or worthiness on our part; an earnest desire of the soul, a dissatisfaction with ourselves, a kind of shame, that, being the creatures of God, we have lived so little for his glory, are all dispositions, which may be regarded as the precursors of other graces. He who has once

seen himself lost in his sin, and saved by Christ, again loses himself, by a happy exchange, in love and tenderness, in admiration and gratitude towards his God. Such a one has found an inexhaustible source of love and thanksgiving, of entire devotedness of heart to his Saviour, his Friend, his Benefactor; and as soon as he knows and loves Jesus, he thinks so little of growing weary of his attachment, that he would advance still farther in intimacy and communion with his Beloved. From that moment it is only in his presence he walks or stops, wakes or sleeps, labours or rests, eats or drinks, sings or prays; for He is always with him.

“In the midst of all this we are still poor sinners, and are every day ashamed when we think of ourselves. Our strength is altogether that of Christ, and our salvation is from him alone, from his forgiveness, his righteousness, his merits, and his wounds. It is he who clothes us with holiness; we are his people, poor and wretched, but beloved by him, and loving him in our turn. There is a power in the forgiveness of sin that destroys sin; and the gospel by which we obtain the pardon of iniquity, is also the power of God to heal our infirmities. He who realizes this feeling never loses it; he is ever conscious of being a poor sinner, for ever dependent upon the mere grace of God. Poor and weak, however, as a gracious soul feels itself, it is still united in the closest bonds to the Saviour, and has free access to him. In this situation, it most willingly and promptly carries all its sorrows to him, with a contrition and humiliation of heart that ever preclude levity and presumption. For, while coming to him

with all our faults and wanderings, and enjoying a sweet familiarity with him and with the Holy Spirit, we cannot forget that he is our Creator and our God, and thus we cannot think or act before him with lightness. Everything thus passes as if we were in his presence; we weep when weeping becomes us, and when we rejoice in his grace, it is only with the deepest reverence. Familiarity with the Saviour thus produces not levity, but the most solemn awe, combined with complete tranquillity and happiness. It is the Saviour's will, that we should enjoy what has cost him so many and such great sufferings to procure; his hours of agony, his passion and death, have made happiness a duty; so that we are as much required, in order to testify our gratitude, to be happy as to obey. We degrade and dishonour his merits, instead of glorifying his bitter sufferings, when we do not enjoy full happiness in him, and all that peace and joy which he has purchased with his blood. With these sentiments, we at the same time experience a strong feeling of shame, when we look at ourselves, and think that we were the occasion of his sufferings; we are distressed on considering how ungrateful we have been, and how little we have done for his glory; thus our happiness and joy are mingled with the greatest adoration, before Him who has redeemed us.

“A soul that lives to the Saviour ought to be absorbed in his love; this love should surpass all that we can ever feel for parents and children, and husbands and wives, and everything in the world; for he gave his life for us. It must possess the whole heart; the Saviour will not accept a mere share in our affec-

tions; all our powers of soul and body should be devoted to him. The love of Jesus also produces in the heart a sincere and ardent love to all men, the evil and the good. The witnesses for Jesus especially, ought to have hearts devoted to all men, esteeming it their joy to love and to do good to all. These dispositions excite neither self-righteousness nor vanity; they have a tendency to produce only that beautiful, lovely, and holy harmony which the aviator has bequeathed to his people, as the mark by which they should be known.

“It is true, that the love which we should bear to all is required particularly towards those that belong to the Saviour; without this we are not true brethren, we are not in a state of grace, or members of the body of Christ. Even those of his children of whom we have never heard, as soon as circumstances introduce them, however slightly, to our knowledge, become immediately dear and estimable to us; their joy and grief become ours, as ours are shared with them. The communion of the children of God is a necessary consequence of our communion with Christ.

“The same faith in the death of Jesus which makes our lives peaceful and happy, also affords us profit and joy in the prospect of death. We are assured that the angel of death can do us no harm; but we shall fall asleep in the arms of Jesus, and thus our departure will be tranquil and easy; our dwelling-place shall be with the Lord; a few days, or months, or years, will conduct us to him, and the lively and constant hope of rejoining our Saviour forms a principal part of our happiness and joy here below. And it is God alone who works all these things with

wonderful power in our hearts, by means of his gospel ; it is not at all of ourselves. From the blessed moment in which a soul receives the message of the death of our Saviour on the cross, it is sensible of no feelings but those of love and grace, holiness and redemption ; it can do nothing but weep at the feet of the Saviour : a holy familiarity with him exalts and humbles it at the same time. It can present to Jesus nothing in return, but ardent love and absolute devotedness. Rejoicing, and yet ashamed at the same time, a believer thus lost in the love of his God has only one word to reply to every command, *I am a sinner.*"

These extracts may give some feeble idea of the unction that attended Zinzendorf's discourses. We have not selected the most brilliant passages, but those which most clearly express the fundamental principles of divinity held by the church of the brethren. We add an extract from a discourse still extant, of another of the brethren's preachers, J. de Watteville, afterwards one of the most distinguished bishops of this church.

"As it is the unhappiness of the natural man to be ignorant of the Saviour, and entirely estranged from him ; so the radical cause and fault from which arises the unhappiness of every one that already knows the Saviour, is want of vigilance in keeping up a constant connexion and communion with him ; it is, that other objects steal into the mind, and render us in some degree indifferent to his love. As a man, when he is first awakened from the sleep of spiritual death, and feels his want of the Saviour, is terrified, and laments incessantly until Jesus appear ; so also ought a soul, which has experienced the grace of

God, to be affrighted immediately it perceives the least coldness towards its Saviour. A brother should not wait till he perceives strong symptoms of corruption and sin in him, in order to feel deep distress; but the moment he sees that he has advanced a single step without a fresh visit from his Saviour, and that his heart has lost some of its affection for him, this alone should be sufficient to make him shed tears of grief; and they will never cease to flow, until the Friend of his soul again appears, and looks on him with kindness. No, my brethren, we must not wait for the full outbreaking of our corruptions, in order to be sensible of our loss of communion with the Saviour. It is the will of our Friend that we should rejoice in him, and bear him on our hearts at all times, and that he should fill us, as he once did the temple, with his presence. Oh, what joy is it to our Saviour, when, sleeping and waking, we still hold communion with him! Our hearts should converse always with this dear Saviour, and for this purpose we want no audible words."

These are some specimens of the general strain of preaching among the brethren. That we may feel their full impression, it is of great importance to remember, that discourses of this kind were their daily food, their constant provision; and as appears from innumerable manuscript and printed works, which might be quoted, they were accustomed constantly to receive exhortations of this kind, or even superior.

In noticing the hymns used by this church, we find ourselves embarrassed by the abundance of matter. It is not the beauty of the language which



recommends them to our regard; on the contrary, the style is often barbarous and uncouth; the elevation of their sentiments and the depth of their views constitute their only merit. Sometimes, in a series of stanzas of very great excellence, we meet with some expressions which we cannot strictly justify, and yet we feel as if we would not change them, unless absolute necessity requires the alteration. With these exceptions, we imagine that no reader, who has risen above the prejudice of disliking everything he has not been accustomed to in his own church, will find any one of these hymns, which for unction, depth, maturity, and weight of thought, does not equal anything to be found in other collections.

The brethren have composed several thousand hymns: the great German collection, which they use to this day, contains about two thousand two hundred; the French collection, only five hundred and sixty-six. Two hundred of them, at least, might be quoted as highly deserving of notice; and the reader, who takes the trouble to consult the "Brethren's Hymn Book," will meet with a rich feast of evangelical and pious sentiment.\*

We have now given some faint idea of the kind of preaching that prevailed amongst the brethren; we have adverted to their public and private worship, the piety which prevailed in their churches, their families, and their own hearts; and we might, to finish the picture, furnish some details of their different meetings, their festivals, litanies, and other

\* We have inserted a few, as a specimen, at the end of this chapter.

similar matters. But we must forbear; we have already reached the limits assigned to this work, and should only be repeating the same things in different language. Everything among the brethren partook of the spirit by which they were animated; and wherever, to the present moment, we see them persevering in their devotedness to the Saviour, there we shall behold the same simplicity and love which formerly characterized them in so high a degree.

Our account presents only a feeble picture of the true life of God that existed in this church. In order to have a better notion of these things, we have need to collect into one view all the scattered traits to be found in this work, and to recollect the impression which we received from reading the whole of these pages.

# HYMNS.



## PRIMITIVE CHURCH.

O HEAD, so full of bruises,  
So full of pain and scorn,  
'Midst other sore abuses,  
Mocked with a crown of thorn!  
O head, ere now surrounded  
With brightest majesty,  
In death now bowed and wounded!  
Saluted be by me.

O Lord, what thee tormented  
Was my sin's heavy load!  
I had the debt augmented,  
Which thou didst pay in blood:  
Here am I, blushing sinner,  
On whom wrath ought to light,  
O thou, my health's beginner!  
Let thy grace cheer my sight.

I'll here with thee continue,  
(Though poor, despise me not,)  
I'm one of thy retinue  
As were I on the spot,  
When, earning my election,  
Thy heart-strings broke in death:  
With shame and love's affection  
I'll watch thy latest breath.

I give thee thanks unfeigned,  
O Jesus! Friend in need!  
For what thy soul sustained,  
When thou for me didst bleed:

Grant me to lean, unshaken,  
 Upon thy faithfulness ;  
 Until from hence I'm taken  
 To see thee face to face.

Lord, at my dissolution,  
 Do not from me depart ;  
 Support, at the conclusion  
 Of life, my fainting heart ;  
 And when I pine and languish,  
 Seized with death's agony,  
 Oh, by thy pain and anguish,  
 Set me at liberty.

### SWERTNER.

HIGHLY favoured congregation,  
 Founded firm on Christ the Rock !  
 Own with thanks and adoration,  
 He's the Shepherd, we his flock :  
 He's our Saviour, whose great favour  
 We've 'midst many trials proved,  
 We're unworthy, yet beloved.

Most who enter your bless'd borders  
 View with awe your Master's aim ;  
 And your government and orders  
 Prompt them to revere his name.  
 Lord most holy ! may we truly  
 Prize our great predestination  
 In thy chosen congregation.

Think, my soul, how great the favour  
 In Jehovah's courts to dwell !  
 There poor sinners meet their Saviour ;  
 There the sin-sick souls grow well.  
 Was not Jesus always gracious,  
 When we, conscious how we failed,  
 To his loving heart appealed ?

## ROTHE.

Now I have found the ground wherein  
 Sure my soul's anchor may remain ;  
 Even Christ, who, to atone for sin,  
 Was as a spotless victim slain ;  
 Whose mercy shall unshaken stay,  
 When heaven and earth are fled away.

O Lord, thy everlasting grace  
 Our scanty thought surpasseth far ;  
 Thou showest maternal tenderness,  
 Thy arms of love still open are ;  
 Thy heart o'er sinners can't but break,  
 Whether thy grace they slight or take.

God in man's death takes no delight ;  
 Each soul may grace and life obtain  
 In Him, who left his glory bright,  
 Took flesh, and died, and rose again ;  
 And now he knocks, times numberless,  
 At our heart's door, and offers grace.

O Love! thou bottomless abyss,  
 My sins are swallowed up in thee ;  
 Covered is my unrighteousness,  
 From condemnation now I'm free,  
 Since Jesus' blood, through earth and skies,  
 " Mercy, free, boundless mercy!" cries.

By faith I plunge into this sea,  
 Here is my hope, my joy, my rest ;  
 Hither, when sin assails, I flee,  
 I look into my Saviour's breast :  
 Away, sad doubt and anxious fear,—  
 " Mercy" is all that's written there.

Though waves and storms go o'er my head,  
 Though strength, and health, and friends be gone,  
 Though joys be withered all, and dead,  
 Though every comfort be withdrawn ;  
 Steadfast on this my soul relies,—  
 Jesus, thy mercy never dies.

Fix'd on this ground may I remain,  
 Though my heart fail, and flesh decay;  
 This anchor shall my soul sustain  
 When earth's foundations melt away:  
 Mercy's full power I then shall prove,  
 Lov'd with an everlasting love!

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### ZINZENDORF.

WHAT joy or honour could we have,  
 Polluted as we are,  
 If not the holy Lamb of God  
 Our joy and honour were!

Of nothing we have ever done,  
 To boast could we desire,  
 When he to judge us shall appear,  
 Whose eyes are flames of fire.

None is so holy, pure, and just,  
 So perfected in love,  
 That his best plea, or self-defence,  
 Of any weight could prove.

Nor is there any other way  
 Into the holy place,  
 But Christ who took away our sins,  
 His blood and righteousness.

We know the righteousness complete  
 Which he procured for all;  
 We know the kind reception given  
 To the poor prodigal.

We know the Shepherd's love, who left  
 The ninety-nine behind,  
 And through the desert anxious went,  
 The hundredth sheep to find.

To him poor sinners may appeal  
 With all their misery;  
 The angels joy to see him come,  
 Christ calleth,—“Come to me.”

## GERHARD.

GIVE to the winds thy fears,  
 Hope, and be undismay'd ;  
 God bears thy sighs, and counts thy tears,  
 God shall lift up thy head.  
 Through waves, through clouds, and storms,  
 He gently clears thy way ;  
 Wait thou his time, so shall the night  
 Soon end in joyous day.

He everywhere hath way,  
 And all things serve his might ;  
 His every act pure blessing is,  
 His path unsullied light.  
 When he makes bare his arm,  
 What shall his work withstand ?  
 When he his people's cause defends,  
 Who, who shall stay his hand ?

Leave to his sovereign sway  
 To choose, and to command ;  
 With wonder filled, thou then shalt own  
 How wise, how strong his hand.  
 Thou comprehend'st him not,  
 Yet earth and heaven tell,  
 God sits as sovereign on the throne,  
 He ruleth all things well.

Thou seest our weakness, Lord,  
 Our hearts are known to thee ;  
 Oh, lift thou up the sinking hand,  
 Confirm the feeble knee :  
 Let us, in life and death,  
 Boldly thy truth declare,  
 And publish, with our latest breath,  
 Thy love and guardian care.

## SCHINDLER.

LAMB of God, who thee receive,  
 Who in thee desire to live,  
 Cry by night and day to thee,  
 As thou art, so let us be.

Fix, O fix our wavering mind,  
 To thy cross us firmly bind:  
 Gladly now we would be clean,  
 Cleanse our hearts from every sin.

Dust and ashes though we be,  
 Full of guilt and misery;  
 Thine we are, thou Son of God  
 Take the purchase of thy blood.

Sinners who in thee believe,  
 Everlasting life receive;  
 They with joy behold thy face,  
 Triumph in thy pardoning grace.

Life deriving from thy death,  
 They proceed from faith to faith;  
 Walk the new, the living way,  
 Leading to eternal day.

Bless'd are those who follow thee,  
 While this light of life they see;  
 Filled with thy sacred love,  
 They thy quickening power prove.

Praise on earth to thee be given,  
 Never-ceasing praise in heaven;  
 Boundless wisdom, power Divine,  
 Love unspeakable, are thine!

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SHALL I, through fear of feeble man,  
 The Spirit's fire in me restrain?  
 Awed by a mortal's frown, shall I  
 Conceal the word of God most high?



Shall I, to soothe the unholy throng,  
 Soften thy truth, and smooth my tongue  
 To gain earth's gilded toys, or flee  
 The cross endured, my God, by thee!

No; fearless I'll in deed and word  
 Witness of thee, my gracious Lord;  
 My life and blood I here present,  
 If for thy truth they may be spent.

For this, let men revile my name,  
 No cross I shun, I fear no shame;  
 I no reproach nor sufferings dread,—  
 Is Christ with me, I'm not afraid.

Give me thy strength, O God of power;  
 Then let winds blow, or thunders roar,  
 I need not fear, by sea or land,  
 For thou, my God, wilt by me stand.

### SWERTNER.

SING hallelujah! praise the Lord!  
 Sing with a cheerful voice;  
 Exalt our God with one accord,  
 And in his name rejoice;  
 Ne'er cease to sing, thou ransom'd host;  
 Praise Father, Son, and Holy Ghost;  
 Until, in realms of endless light,  
 Your praises shall unite.

There we, to all eternity,  
 Shall join the angelic lays,  
 And sing, in perfect harmony,  
 To God, our Saviour's praise:  
 "He hath redeemed us by his blood,  
 And made us kings and priests to God;  
 For us, for us the Lamb was slain."  
 Praise ye the Lord!—AMEN.

## APPENDIX.



CONTINUATION OF THE HISTORY TO THE DEATH OF COUNT ZINZENDORF. BRIEF SKETCH OF THE PRESENT STATE OF THE MORAVIAN CHURCH.

THE original work from which this is translated ends with the preceding chapter. We have thought it advisable to add the following brief particulars, which, no doubt, will prove interesting to general readers.

Leonard Dober, it will be recollected, had been chosen general elder in the year 1735. The duties of this office were very numerous and burdensome, and involved a heavy responsibility. The general elder was superintendent of the whole work in which the brethren were engaged, at home and abroad. He was expected to be thoroughly acquainted with the circumstances of every congregation and establishment, and to be prepared to give advice, or to exert his authority, as the occasion might require. He maintained a constant communication with all who laboured for the church in every part of the world. He was president of the elders' conferences, and pronounced the final decision on all disputed questions. And every member of the church was at liberty to consult him respecting his personal concerns.

It is obvious, that the individual on whom this office devolved, ought to possess qualifications of a very high order, and such as are rarely combined in one person. Dober felt himself, at length, so much oppressed with the weight of perplexity and care, that, in the year 1740, he tendered his resignation. It was not accepted till the next year, when, at a synodal conference, held in London, it was unanimously resolved to abolish the office altogether; and, instead of depending on the wisdom of a fellow-man, to seek direction from the great Head of the Church, in all cases in which the Scripture and the leadings of Providence did not furnish a clear rule of action, by the use of the lot.\*

Numerous settlements and societies of the brethren were founded, both in Europe and America, in the period included between the year 1740 and the death of Count Zinzendorf. A brief notice of some few of them will be now given.†

\* It is a fundamental principle in the constitution of the brethren's church, that the lot ought not to be used in any of the following cases:—1. When the subject is clearly decided in holy writ. 2. When the will of the Lord is distinctly marked out by the leadings of Divine Providence. 3. When the point in question is already determined by a fixed rule in the constitution of the church. Its use, therefore, is restricted to those cases on which no decisive judgment can be formed by any of the just-mentioned rules, when much may be said for either side of the question, and when the adoption or rejection of a proposed measure involves the general welfare of the church; such as the appointment of persons to episcopal and other offices, the formation of new settlements, the establishment of new missions, etc.—*Holmes*, vol. i. p. 289.

† For an account of the brethren's labours in America, see "Missionary Records, North America," published by the Religious Tract Society.

*Niesky*, in Saxony, contained two institutions for ministers' children: in one of them the pupils received instruction in the common branches of education; in the other they commenced the study of the classics and general literature, preparatory to their admission into the theological seminary which was established at Barby, another settlement in Saxony. There, the young men destined for the ministry pursued their studies, under the direction of a minister and competent tutors. Their term of continuance was usually three years, during which time, in addition to the study of divinity and ecclesiastical history, they improved themselves in the knowledge of the learned languages, and received instruction in mathematics, natural philosophy, logic, and other sciences. In the year 1789, it may be observed, these institutions changed places, the theological seminary being removed to *Niesky*, and the school to Barby.

The society formed in *London* was at first connected with John and Charles Wesley, who were for some time strongly prepossessed in favour of the brethren, having had much edifying intercourse with them in *America*. On the return of the Wesleys to England, Peter Boehler, one of the brethren's ministers, accompanied them to Oxford, where he preached and held private meetings for prayer and conference, which were attended by many persons, both members of the university and inhabitants of the city. A regular society was formed in *London*, and a minister appointed to preside over it. The union between the two parties did not, however, continue long. Various points of difference, relating to doctrine and

discipline, were soon observed, and the consequence was an entire separation.

The cause prospered in other parts of England. Societies were formed in Bedfordshire, Wiltshire, Somersetshire, and Cheshire. But it was in Yorkshire that the brethren's institutions took deepest root. By the labours of Benjamin Ingham, a great number of persons had been convinced of sin, and savingly converted to God. At their earnest solicitation, the brethren sent John Toeltschig, one of their ministers, into Yorkshire, under whose direction many societies were founded, some of which still remain. This, at length, led to the formation of a colony, or settlement of the brethren, on the plan of that at Herrnhut. Fulneck, in Yorkshire, was the place chosen for that purpose. It lies in the township of Pudsey, about six miles west of Leeds. A purchase of land was effected, and the settlement was regularly organized in the year 1755. It has been ever since the most important station of the brethren in England. In addition to the ordinary arrangements for the single brethren and sisters, etc., two schools were established; one for boys, and the other for girls. They were at first intended for the children of ministers and other labourers in the brethren's church; but they have since been also used as boarding-schools on a large scale, many persons not in connexion with the brethren having requested permission to send their children to them for education. Similar schools have been established at other settlements and stations.

In *Ireland*, much good was done through the instrumentality of the Rev. J. Cennick. This excel-

lent man was at first in connexion with Whitefield; he joined the brethren in 1745. His labours in Ireland commenced in 1746. During nine years, he was diligently engaged in the work of the Lord in that country, assisted by the Rev. Benjamin La Trobe and others, and was eminently blessed. At Dublin, and several places in the north of Ireland, congregations were formed, some of which still exist. Much opposition was encountered, and sometimes the preachers were compelled to seek safety by flight. Mr. Cennick died in 1755, in the prime of his years, much and deservedly lamented.

In 1741, some brethren in London associated together for prayer and conference relative to missionary objects. Prayer meetings were held once a month, when such intelligence as had recently arrived from abroad was communicated, and each contributed, according to his ability, to a fund established for that purpose. This was the origin of "The Brethren's Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel among the Heathen."

The progress of the brethren's societies in England rendered some legislative enactments in their favour necessary, that they might be publicly recognised as a religious body, and protected in the free enjoyment of their modes of worship, and the diffusion of their principles and institutions. Lieutenant-General Oglethorpe was their friend on this occasion. He succeeded in obtaining a committee of the house of commons, to examine the allegations of a petition presented by the brethren, and the numerous documents, illustrative of their principles and history, by which it was supported. A bill was subsequently

introduced, which passed through both houses, with little alteration, and received the royal assent, June 6, 1749. By this bill the church of the brethren was acknowledged, as "an ancient Protestant Episcopal Church;" the free and full exercise of their worship and ecclesiastical constitution was guaranteed; simple affirmation in the name of Almighty God was allowed to them instead of an oath; a dispensation from serving as jurymen, in criminal cases, was granted; and they were exempted, under certain conditions, from actual military service in the North American colonies; this last exemption has been since extended, on payment of a small fine, to the militia at home. Much good resulted from this measure. Various calumnies, which had been propagated against the brethren, were closely investigated by the parliamentary committee, and their falsehood exposed; correct information respecting their tenets and practices was widely disseminated; and an impression was very generally produced, highly favourable to their cause.

The introduction of the brethren into Russia was distinguished by successes and sufferings of no ordinary character. Count Zinzendorf's journey into the Russian provinces of Livonia and Esthonia, has been already noticed; and it has been stated that five brethren were sent into Livonia, in 1737, in compliance with the solicitations of several persons of rank, who wished to avail themselves of their services in the education of their children. One of them, Magnus Frederick Buntebart, was appointed director of a seminary for training schoolmasters, instituted by Lady Hallert, and was also assistant to the parish

minister of Wolmershof. His labours were so blessed, that in a short time several thousand persons were brought under concern for the salvation of their souls, and a general awakening took place throughout the district. Additional help being thereby required, more brethren were sent into the provinces. Some of them became tutors in noblemen's families, or assistants to the parish ministers; others, who were mechanics, introduced several manufactures, before unknown in Livonia, and employed their leisure hours in instructing the natives in Christianity. Astonishing results followed their efforts. "In many districts, every parish, and in many parishes almost every family, became seriously impressed with the truths of the gospel. A striking change took place in the moral deportment of the people: gluttony and drunkenness, vices to which they had been much addicted, were laid aside; and the time formerly spent in alehouses was now occupied in useful conversation, in reading the Bible, in prayer, and in singing hymns."\*

About the same time, two Lutheran clergymen, in the island of Oesel, engaged the assistance of some of the brethren in their parochial labours, and were signally blessed. Of Hoelterhof, one of these clergymen, it is said, that, "besides the regular service in the parish church, he went every Sunday to the adjacent villages, for the purpose of proclaiming the message of reconciliation to those of his parishioners who could not come to church. Multitudes followed him from place to place, and his testimony con-

\* Holmes, vol. i. p. 362.



cerning Christ crucified approved itself as the power and wisdom of God to the poor and oppressed Esthonians. Every day in the week his house was literally besieged by visitors, who came singly and in companies, to inquire what they must do to be saved. Nor was this a transient impression; the seed of the Divine word fell into good ground, and brought forth the fruits of righteousness. Many of these oppressed vassals, who, in the days of their ignorance, had thought it no sin to defraud their proprietors, were now convinced of its guilt. They almost stripped themselves of the little they possessed, and conveyed provisions and household furniture to their lords, which they offered as a compensation for articles they had formerly purloined." Gutsleff, the friend and coadjutor of Hoelterhof, laboured at Arensburg, and with similar success. His ministry "was blessed to the awakening and conversion of many, among whom were several noble families, and some country clergymen. Among other proofs of the general reform that took place, it may be mentioned, that *during the period of five years, from 1740 to 1745, not a single criminal process occurred, and many publicans were compelled to shut up their houses, there being scarcely any demand for ale and spirituous liquors.*"\*

These events excited the enmity of certain evil-disposed persons, who lodged false accusations against Gutsleff and Hoelterhof, who, together with Fritsche and Krugelstein, members of the brethren's church, the latter a physician, were thrown into prison, where they endured great sufferings, and were not

\* Holmes, vol. i. pp. 354, 355.

released till twelve years afterwards. "But the word of God was not bound." Their converts still continued to meet together, though commonly by night, and in the forests, to elude the vigilance of their persecutors, who sought every opportunity to detect and punish them. They believed, and waited patiently for the Lord; and their faith was rewarded. The work continued to advance, year after year, and it still prospers: in the provinces of Livonia and Esthonia there are, at the present time, upwards of thirty thousand members of the church of the brethren.

Among the missionary labours of the brethren, in the period now under review, may be mentioned the efforts of Richter, formerly a merchant at Stralsund, who relinquished his commercial engagements, and joined the brethren at Herrnhut, that he might be employed in diffusing the gospel. His first attempts were among the gipsies, and there was reason to believe that he did not labour altogether in vain. He then proceeded to Algiers, to administer spiritual instruction and consolation to the Christian slaves in that city. The plague was then raging, notwithstanding which he daily visited the objects of his solicitude, preaching the gospel to them, and attending them in their sickness, till at length he caught the infection, and fell a sacrifice to his zeal, in the year 1740. He was succeeded by two brethren, who resided at Algiers for several years, and had the happiness to see some fruit of their efforts, in the hopeful conversion of many of the slaves.

Zinzendorf lived in exile ten years. In the year 1747, an inquiry was instituted into his case, and the

result was, that he was permitted to return to Saxony, and a royal decree was issued, re-instating him in all his former privileges. Before he availed himself, however, of this decree, the count procured another commission of inquiry relative to the brethren's church, which was still the object of most foul and calumnious accusations. The examination terminated in the most favourable manner, and a royal charter was issued, dated September 20, 1749, empowering the brethren to form settlements in any part of the Saxon dominions, and conceding to them full liberty of conscience.

The excellent and devoted Christian David was called to his rest, February 3, 1751. His life had been eminently active. Thrice he visited Greenland, in pursuance of missionary objects. He undertook many long and toilsome journeys, in different parts of Europe. When new ground was to be broken up, he was ever ready for the work. His labours were much blessed and honoured, and many acknowledged him as their spiritual father. He died at Herrnhut, where he usually resided when not actually engaged in the service of the church, and where he followed his trade as a carpenter. Count Zinzendorf preached his funeral sermon, in which he bore an affectionate and faithful testimony to his piety and zeal. "He was a man of so extraordinary a character," the count observed, "that we used to say, we have but *one* Christian David."

A heavy trial came upon the brethren in the year 1753. The expenses of erecting their settlements, supporting the theological seminaries and other institutions for education, establishing and carrying on

their missions in heathen countries, and providing for the maintenance of the widows and children of the missionaries, amounted annually to very large sums. To meet these demands, the count and his lady expended the whole of their splendid incomes, reserving but a small portion for their domestic expenses, which were curtailed in every direction, in order that the necessities of the cause might be supplied. Some friends occasionally helped them, and those of the brethren who possessed property cheerfully co-operated. But as the expenditure continued to increase, Zinzendorf found it necessary to mortgage his estates. During his exile, the mortgagees called in their money, when some friends in Holland advanced the sums required, and at a much lower rate of interest than had been paid before, at the same time engaging to assist the brethren by annual contributions. This proved a temporary relief. Still expenses increased, and more money was borrowed by the brethren. At last, one of their creditors, having fallen into difficulties, required payment, and others of them hearing of it, and fearing that they were in danger of losing their money, pressed for a settlement. It was a time of severe trial. But the noble spirit of Zinzendorf saved the cause. He made himself personally responsible for the whole sum, and undertook to pay both principal and interest, by instalments, within a certain time. His proposition was accepted, the threatened ruin was averted, and the 23rd of February, 1754, was observed as a day of public thanksgiving to God, in all the congregations of the brethren.

A severe loss was sustained, not only by Zinzen-

dorf himself, but by the brethren's church at large, in the year 1756. On the 19th of June, in that year, the countess departed this life, in the fifty-sixth year of her age, and the thirty-fifth of her union with her husband. She was a woman of a powerful and well-cultivated mind, and admirably qualified for that general management of affairs which the count's engagements in the cause of God rendered it necessary she should undertake. Meek in temper, and condescending in manners, she knew how to maintain her dignity without haughtiness, and therefore was not less respected than loved by all who knew her. Her piety was unaffected and fervent. In penetration and prudence she excelled most. Her liberality was of a princely character. As the wife of a good man, calumniated and persecuted for his religion, she shone with surpassing brightness. "When for the gospel's sake he relinquished all his expectations of wealth and worldly honour, and subjected himself to banishment and persecution, instead of repining at her loss (as the world would call it), she accounted it gain to suffer the loss of all things that she might win Christ. Instead of harassing her consort by grieving and murmuring, she confirmed him in his resolution, and encouraged his faith and trust in God. When he was disqualified from attending to his temporal concerns, she took the whole management of his estates, as well as of his domestic affairs, into her own hands. Though of a delicate constitution, and the mother of twelve children, she accompanied her husband on many of his journeys and voyages; or bore repeated and long separations from him without repining, whenever they were rendered

necessary by his labours in the vineyard of Christ. In short, they were of one heart and soul, not only in their conjugal relation, but in their determination to consecrate themselves, their children, their time, and their wealth, to Christ and his service.”\*

Zinzendorf married again in the following year. The object of his choice was Anna Nitschmann, whose name is already recorded in this history, in connexion with the establishment of the choir of single sisters at Herrnhut.

The last three years of the count's life were spent in revising his publications, adding some new ones to their number, and in several journeys into distant parts of the European continent. His incessant labours had now greatly impaired his health. In the spring of the year 1760, it was evident that his strength was rapidly declining. But his ardour was unabated; no considerations could induce him to intermit his usual labours; and his last days were diligently occupied in his Master's service. On May 9, 1760, his toils ended. His closing hours are thus described by his biographer:—

“Although Count Zinzendorf had spent a very uneasy and sleepless night, he persevered in his work, on May 5, and finished the task, which, according to his usual custom, he had set himself for that day. When he had completed the manuscript (of the annual collection of texts), he handed it to a friend, with these words; ‘Now rest will be sweet.’ He dined with his family, but ate very little. In the afternoon he composed a hymn, and attended a

\* Holmes, vol. i. p. 418.

solemn meeting of the single sisters. In the evening he conversed in a very confidential and affectionate manner with his three daughters, and other members of his family. His mind was kept in perfect peace, stayed upon the Lord.

“On the following day, he grew sensibly weaker in body, but his mind had not yet lost its activity. He continued his revision of the texts for 1761, and had all the letters which arrived read to him, together with some accounts from the missions, when he expressed his joy at their prosperity.

“On the 7th, his cough and other symptoms increased in violence; he got no sleep, and speaking became difficult. He received all his friends who came to see him with the greatest cordiality, but could not speak much. On the 8th, he was remarkably lively and cheerful, and said to his son-in-law, and some other persons who were in the room, ‘I cannot express how much I love you all. I am now in my proper element. We are together like angels, as if we were already in heaven. Could you have believed it, in the beginning of our work, that Christ’s prayer, *that they all may be one*, would have been so happily realized among us?’ In the afternoon, he finished, with astonishing presence of mind, his revision of the collection of texts for the next year. This was his last labour.

“When this was done, he gave vent to the grateful feelings of his soul, and with praises and thanksgivings to the Lord, recounted the many personal mercies he had received, and the many manifestations of Divine grace which had accompanied his services in the brethren’s church. Addressing those who were

present, he said, 'Did you think, in the beginning, that our Saviour would do so much for us, and by us, as you now see with your eyes? What great things hath he done in our congregations, among our friends in different religious denominations, and among the heathen! With regard to the last, I did not extend my hopes beyond two or three first fruits: and now we may reckon some thousands of converts.'

"In the same happy state of mind he passed the following night. He was still occupied with writing, made many inquiries concerning persons and things, and spent much of his time in silent prayer. He lost his speech for a few minutes, but soon recovered it. Early in the morning of the 9th, he said to one of his visitors, 'I am perfectly content with the ways of my Lord. He determines with the utmost precision what concerns his children; but, in the present instance, *you* do not think so. I believe my work among you is done; and should I now depart this life, you know my mind.' His voice became weak, and he could say no more. His son-in-law, Bishop Watteville, having seated himself close by his bedside, he thus addressed him: 'My dear Johannes, I am going home to our Saviour; I am ready. I am fully resigned to the will of my Lord, and he is satisfied with me, for he has pardoned me. If he has no further use for me here, I am quite ready to go to him; for there is nothing in my way.' After this he gave directions about a few things he wished to be done.

"Baron Frederick von Watteville, and David Nitschmann, now entered his room. He addressed them in a few words, which however were scarcely



intelligible. Hereupon he sent for his children, but was not able to speak. By this time nearly a hundred persons had collected in his room and the adjoining apartment. He raised himself in bed, gazed at them with a look expressive of serenity and affection, and then reclining his head, and closing his eyes, fell gently asleep in Jesus, about nine o'clock in the morning, having attained the age of sixty years."\*

Count Zinzendorf was unquestionably an extraordinary man. His rank would have opened the way to honourable distinction in this world. His wealth furnished the opportunity of obtaining every indulgence. His literary acquirements were highly respectable, such as, in most instances, would have led to pride of intellect and a love of human praise. But when Zinzendorf was called by Divine grace, he consecrated himself and his all, unreservedly, to the service of the Saviour. "I have but one passion," he said; "it is the love of *Him*: nothing but *Him*." His whole life illustrated these expressions, and proved his sincerity. We have seen with what diligence, what anxiety, what ardour, and at what an expenditure of strength, ease, health, and property, he laboured to promote the interests of the church of Christ among the United Brethren, in spite of the calumny and persecution which malignant men excited against him. He wholly sacrificed himself to the cause. Such a man might not always conform to the ordinary customs of society. His actions might not sometimes bear to be measured by the strict

\* Holmes, vol. i. pp. 421—423. (Quoted from Spangenberg.)

rules of worldly prudence, or even of truly Christian policy. He might be deemed eccentric, or extravagant. He might write too fast, and correct his writings too little; his fervour might seem enthusiastic; but in the general soundness of his principles, and especially in the excellence of his character and the purity of his motives, he was truly exemplary. His piety must not be submitted to our weights and measures. We may be so cool, and so cautious, as to deem that to be wildness and incoherency, which, on close examination, will be found perfectly compatible with the "truth and soberness" of Christianity. It would be far better to seek a higher elevation of aim, and a more pervading spirituality. Our religion requires not less mind, but more heart. When salvation, and grace, and eternity are the theme, we cannot feel too much, nor need we be afraid of yielding ourselves to the most powerful influences of Scriptural truth. Happy are those whose sentiments and spirit accord with those of the apostle; "Whether we be beside ourselves, it is to God: or whether we be sober, it is for your cause. For the love of Christ constraineth us; because we thus judge, that if one died for all, then were all dead: and that he died for all, that they which live should not henceforth live unto themselves, but unto him which died for them, and rose again," 2 Cor. v. 13—15.

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As the design of this work, and the limits assigned to it, will not allow us to prosecute this history any farther, nothing now remains but to present a brief view of the present state of the Moravian church.

The *doctrines* of the church of the United Brethren accord generally with those of other evangelical churches. They cannot be more concisely or better expressed than in the "declaration" issued by a general synod, held at Barby, in the year 1775.

"The chief doctrine to which the church of the brethren adheres, and which we must preserve as an invaluable treasure committed unto us, is this: *that by the sacrifice for sin made by Jesus Christ, and by that alone, grace and deliverance from sin are to be obtained for all mankind.*

"We will, therefore, without lessening the importance of any other article of the Christian faith, steadfastly maintain the following five points:—

"1. The doctrine of the *universal depravity of man*: that there is no health in man, and that since the fall he has no power whatever left to help himself.

"2. The doctrine of the *Divinity of Christ*: that God, the Creator of all things, was manifest in the flesh, and reconciled us to himself; that he is before all things, and that by him all things consist.

"3. The doctrine of the *atonement and satisfaction made for us by Jesus Christ*: that he was delivered for our offences, and raised again for our justification; and that, by his merits *alone*, we receive *freely* the forgiveness of sin, and sanctification in soul and body.

"4. The doctrine of the *Holy Spirit, and the operations of his grace*: that it is *he* who worketh in us conviction of sin, faith in Jesus, and pureness in heart.

"5. The doctrine of the *fruits of faith*: that faith must evidence itself by willing obedience to the commandments of God, from love and gratitude to him.

“The more these Divine truths are oppugned in our day, the more careful will we be to maintain them, and see to it that they be duly acknowledged, declared, and believed among us; that we may know the only begotten Son of God as our Redeemer, his Father as our Father, and the Holy Ghost as our Teacher, Guide, and Comforter. Thus we shall secure our own salvation, and fulfil the calling we have received of God.”\*

The *government and discipline* of the church of the United Brethren are, in most respects, the same as have been already described in this work. In the intervals between the general synods, the administration of the affairs of the body is committed to “the elders’ conference of the unity,” which at present consists of ten persons, bishops and lay elders. “The official duties of this board are—the preservation of sound doctrine, and the general oversight of the church; for which purpose its members hold occasional visitations, and maintain an uninterrupted correspondence with all the congregations, societies, and missions. It further belongs to them to appoint ministers and other labourers, to supply vacant offices, and to determine on the formation of new congregations or missionary settlements, or the relinquishment of old ones. The general inspection of institutions for education, and of the finances of the unity, and the direction of whatever involves the interest of the church, in spirituals and temporals, are likewise vested in this board. There are, also, provincial and local conferences, for the necessary

\* Holmes, vol. ii. p. 61.

despatch of business in the several districts and congregations.”\*

The *institutions* of the brethren are thus enumerated:—Settlements, societies, town and country congregations, missions, and schools.

1. SETTLEMENTS. A settlement is a village, inhabited by members of the brethren's church, and by such Christian families as have special permission to reside there. Such a settlement consists, besides family houses, of the following public buildings: a chapel, with adjoining dwellings for the minister and elders; a single brethren's house, and a single sisters' house; frequently, also, a house for the widows of ministers and others; school-houses for boys and girls; and an inn for the accommodation of travellers. The inhabitants of these settlements, whether married or single, men or women, follow their various occupations on their own account. The single brethren's and sisters' houses are called “choir-houses.” “Every such house is furnished with dwelling-rooms, with a hall for social worship, a general refectory and dormitory, and with separate accommodations for the infirm and sick. To the brethren's houses, workshops are attached, in which the inmates carry on their businesses. The same is the case in some of the sisters' houses, in which manufactories for weaving are established. The inhabitants receive the whole of their earnings, and a moderate charge is made on them for board and lodging. The superintendence of a brethren's house is committed, subject to the control of the elders' conference, to two of

\* Holmes, vol. ii. p. 333.

the elders, residing in the house; one attending to the spiritual care of the family, and the other to its domestic and external concerns. In the sisters' house, female elders are appointed to these offices."\* The inhabitants of the settlements are expected to defray the public expenses that are incurred, and to submit to all regulations established for the preservation of good order; but residence in a settlement is in no case compulsory, nor are the single brethren and sisters obliged to live in the choir-houses. In the settlements in Great Britain and Ireland, the above arrangements cannot be fully carried out.

The following are the situations and names of the settlements, with the dates of their formation:—

In *Upper Lusatia*. Herrnhut, 1722; Niesky, 1742; Kleinwelke, 1751; Gnadau, 1767.

In *Silesia*. Gnadenberg, 1743; Gnadenfrey, 1743; Gnadenfeld, 1780; Neusalz, 1747; Neuwied, 1750; Ebersdorf, 1746; Neudietendorf, 1742; Koenigsfeld, 1807; Christiansfeld, 1772; Zeist, 1748.

In *England*. Fulneck, 1744; Ockbrook, 1750; Fairfield, 1784.

In *Ireland*. Gracehill, 1765.

In *Russia*. Sarepta, 1764.

In *Pennsylvania*, United States. Bethlehem, 1741; Nazareth, 1744; Litiz, 1757.

In *North Carolina*, United States. Salem, 1766.

These settlements contained, in the year 1822, 10,001 members.

II. SOCIETIES. The name of "Society" is exclusively given to those religious associations in con-

\* Holmes, vol. i. p. 253; vol. ii. p. 339.

nexion with the brethren's church, the members of which still attend the public ministry, and the sacraments in the parish churches; but have private meetings for edification among themselves, and adopt such parts of the brethren's constitution as are suited to their circumstances.\*

Of these societies there are sixteen in Germany and Prussia; seven in Switzerland and France; four in Denmark; three in Norway; two in Sweden; thirteen in Russia: containing in all about 100,000 members.

III. TOWN AND COUNTRY CONGREGATIONS. An establishment of the brethren in a town or village, where they possess only a chapel, and perhaps a school-house, is called a town congregation; or a country congregation, where the members of the church live among their fellow-citizens or villagers, and not together, as in a settlement.

These congregations are thus situated:—Berlin, containing, in 1822, 274 members; Norden, in Friesland, 29 members; seventeen in England, namely, London; Baildon, Gomersal, Mirfield, and Wyke, in Yorkshire; Dukinfield, in Cheshire; Woodford, in Northamptonshire; Salem, in Lancashire; Kimbolton, in Huntingdonshire; Bedford; Bristol; Kingswood; Bath; Malmesbury, Tytherton, Wiltshire; Leominster, and Devonport, 2,212 members; Brockwear, Haverfordwest, in Wales, 68 members; Ayr, in Scotland, 94 members; five in Ireland, 605 members; nineteen in the United States of America, 4,301 members. Total, 7,583 members.

\* Holmes, vol. i. p. 28.

IV. MISSIONS. The brethren have continued their missionary labours in the same unostentatious and self-denying spirit with which they were begun, and have been very extensively useful. The history of their operations is very interesting, and presents some of the noblest specimens of Christian heroism, both in action and suffering, ever recorded. The brethren have seemed to delight in attempting what most men would have regarded as impracticable; and their perseverance has equalled their courage. More than a century has elapsed since the first missionaries landed in the West Indies and in Greenland. Their great object has been steadily pursued ever since, and with unabated ardour. God has raised up labourers, as opportunities for employing them have been presented, and those opportunities have been embraced with thankfulness and joy.

The church of the United Brethren may indeed be called a "missionary church." No other body of professing Christians can lay an equal claim to that appellation; for the establishment of missions to the heathen is considered by them as part of the business of the church, as such, and one of the main designs of its existence, while every brother and sister stands prepared to go wherever the general voice shall determine, according to the opinion entertained of their qualifications and gifts. It cannot be matter of surprise, that such a society should be favoured with peculiar tokens of the Divine approbation. God has wonderfully blessed the efforts of his servants. The flowers of piety have blossomed on the bleak and frozen shores of Labrador and Greenland; the slave-islands of the



West have received "the liberty wherewith Christ has made us free;" and the refreshing waters of life have cheered the sultry plains of Southern Africa, producing verdure and fruitfulness, and causing the wilderness to sing for joy.

The means employed by the brethren, in their foreign operations, are generally the same as those adopted by other missionary institutions, with such modifications as their peculiar discipline renders necessary. Wherever it has been practicable, regular settlements have been formed, as in Europe, in which the usual regulations, services, divisions into classes, etc., are punctually observed; thus bringing considerable bodies of the natives under the constant influence of religious truths and exercises, and subjecting them to a salutary inspection. Schools are founded in these settlements, both for children and adults; and, in Africa, infant schools have been recently introduced, with much good effect. The missionaries have also translated the New Testament and the greater portion of the Old into the Esquimaux language, the New Testament and Psalms into the Greenlandish and Negro-English, which have been printed by the British and Foreign Bible Society, and most gratefully received by the native converts.

At an early period in the history of their missions, the brethren determined to avail themselves of the assistance of such of the natives as should appear to be qualified to instruct their countrymen, and were disposed to engage themselves in the work. The desirableness and necessity of such a measure must be obvious to every reflecting mind; for, how-

ever well acquainted a foreigner may be with the language and general customs of those among whom he is called to labour, he cannot possibly sympathize with them in those feelings, habits, and modes of thinking, which are peculiar to themselves, and may be properly called national. "I have been a heathen," said Tschoop, one of the Indian converts, "and therefore I know how heathens think." Without the agency of such men (always, however, under the judicious superintendence of European missionaries), the gospel is not likely to be extensively spread in a pagan country. All missionary societies act upon this principle as far as they are able; but it is due to the brethren to state, that they were the first to adopt the plan, and that they have carried it into operation on a large scale. The native converts employed by them are called "helpers," and their duties are thus described:—"To maintain a prudent and watchful oversight over those members of the congregation who are specially intrusted to their guidance; to guard against any disorders that might find entrance among them; to assist them with their spiritual advice and experience; to visit the sick, and ascertain the wants of the poor; to endeavour to preserve peace, and reconcile differences. They are also employed to visit the different classes of the congregation, under the immediate superintendence of the missionaries; and to converse freely and confidentially with the small companies of communicants, baptized adults, or catechumens, of which these classes consist, on subjects connected both with their spiritual and temporal state, seeking

to lead them onward in the way of faith and holiness. The result of their labours is communicated, from time to time, to the missionaries, who seldom, especially in very extensive missions, take any step affecting the advancement of individuals in the privileges of the church, or their suspension or exclusion from its ordinances, without previous consultation with the helpers. For this, a private opportunity is generally afforded, previous to the communion and prayer-days, and likewise at a solemn conference, which the missionaries occasionally hold with them, and at which a variety of topics connected with their office are discussed, and the needful counsel and encouragements administered. The female helpers have similar duties to perform in reference to their own sex, and maintain a like intercourse with the wives of the missionaries, to whose guidance they are specially committed."\*

\* See the "Periodical Accounts" of the United Brethren, vol. xiii. pp. 1—5.

The missions of the brethren are thus distributed, according to the returns towards the close of 1861. The names of the *settlements* are printed in italics.

Countries.	Stations.	Formed A.D.	Mis- sion- aries.	At- ten- dants.	Com- muni- cants.
GREENLAND, 1733	<i>New Herrnhut</i>	1733	} 20	1,938	823
	<i>Lichtenfels</i> .....	1758			
	<i>Lichtenau</i> .....	1774			
	<i>Fredericksthal</i> ..	1824			
LABRADOR, 1730	<i>Nain</i> .....	1771	} 29	1,138	352
	<i>Okkak</i> .....	1776			
	<i>Hopedale</i> .....	1782			
	<i>Hebron</i> .....	1830			
NORTH AMERICA, 1734.					
DELAWARES	<i>New Fairfield</i> ...	1792	} 9	891	89
	<i>Westfield</i> .....	1838			
CHEROKEES	<i>New Spring- place</i> .....	1801			
	<i>Canaan</i> .....	1843			
WEST INDIES. DANISH ISLANDS, 1732.					
ST. THOMAS	<i>New Herrnhut</i>	1732	} 23	4,882	2,078
	Town of St. Thomas .....	1843			
	<i>Niesky</i> .....	1753			
ST. CROIX	<i>Friedensthal</i> ...	1754	} 23	4,882	2,078
	<i>Greenkey</i> .....	1842			
	<i>Friedensberg</i> ...	1771			
ST. JAN	<i>Friedensfeld</i> ...	1804	} 1,310	487	487
	<i>Bethany</i> .....	1754			
	<i>Emmaus</i> .....	1782			
BRITISH ISLANDS.					
ANTIGUA, 1756	<i>St. John's</i> .....	1756	} 22	7,668	3,627
	<i>Gracehill</i> .....	1774			
	<i>Gracebay</i> .....	1797			
	<i>Newfield</i> .....	1817			
	<i>Cedar Hall</i> .....	1822			
	<i>Lebanon</i> .....	1838			
<i>Gracefield</i> .....	1840				
Carried forward.....			103	19,922	8,310

Countries.	Stations.	Form- ed A.D.	Mis- sion- aries.	At- ten- dants.	Com- muni- cants.
Brought forward	.....	.....	133	19,922	8,310
<b>BRITISH ISLANDS</b> (continued).					
ST. KITTS, 1765	Basseterre .....	1777	} 10	3,322	1,233
	Bethesda.....	1820			
	Bethel.....	1832	} 10	3,184	1,111
	Estridge.....	1845			
BARBADOES, 1765	Sharon.....	1767	} 10	3,184	1,111
	Mount Tabor...	1825			
	Bridgetown ...	1836	} 34	13,320	3,928
	Clifton Hill.....	1841			
	Fairfield.....	1823	} 6	1,954	0
	New Eden.....	1812			
	Irwin Hill.....	1815	} 63	27,093	3,186
	New Carmel ...	1627			
	New Fulneck ...	1830	} 59	8,654	2,079
	New Bethlehem	1833			
JAMAICA, 1754	Beaufort.....	1834	} 6	1,954	0
	Bethany.....	1835			
	New Hope.....	1838	} 6	1,954	0
	Nazareth.....	1838			
	Litiz.....	1839	} 6	1,954	0
	Bethabara.....	1840			
TOBAGO, 1790 (renewed 1827)	Montgomery ...	1827	} 6	1,954	0
	Moriah.....	1842			
<b>SOUTH AMERICA.</b>					
	Paramaribo, Town.....	1778	} 63	27,093	3,186
	Ditto, Planta- tions.....				
SURINAM, 1735	Charlottenberg.	1835	} 59	8,654	2,079
	Rust-en-Werk .	1845			
	Salem.....	1840	} 6	1	1
	Bambey.....	1841			
	Genadendal ...	1792	} 6	1	1
	Groenskloof ...	1808			
SOUTH AFRICA, 1736 (renewed 1792)	Enon.....	1818	} 6	1	1
	Elim.....	1824			
	Robben Island.	1823	} 6	1	1
	Shiloh.....	1828			
	Clarkson.....	1839	} 6	1	1
	Kyèlang.....	1856			
ASIA	Ebenezer.....	1859	6	1	1
AUSTRALIA			6	1	1
Total.....			308	77,450	19,848

There are forty-two stations, sixteen of which are regular settlements.

It should be observed, that both male and female missionaries are included in the list, and that the "congregations" comprise children as well as adults.

The expenses of the missions amount annually to upwards of £13,000. As this is a much larger sum than could be raised by the brethren among themselves, they are assisted by the contributions of other Christian denominations, both in Europe and America. In the year 1817 was formed the "London Association in aid of the Missions of the United Brethren." By the zealous efforts of those who have managed that institution, large sums have been collected in this country. The receipts for the year 1847 exceeded £4,000. A similar association exists in Scotland; and considerable sums are also obtained on the continent of Europe, and in the United States of North America. Nevertheless, the missionary fund is frequently inadequate to the expenditure, and heavy debts are consequently incurred, which are not discharged without great difficulty and extraordinary efforts.

In addition to their foreign operations, the brethren have established a mission in Ireland, among the Roman Catholics and others. Six Scripture readers are employed, who are stationed in the counties of Antrim, Cavan, Londonderry, and Down, and have met with encouraging success.

V. SCHOOLS. The brethren have established schools at the principal settlements, and other places, for the general education of their children. Their plans have been so much approved, parti-

cularly on account of their excellent methods of communicating religious instruction, and their careful and continual oversight of their pupils, that they have been solicited to admit the children of other persons. Their schools have, in consequence, become regular boarding-schools. There are fourteen of these in England and Ireland, situate in the following places:—Fulneck, Gomersal, Mirfield, Wyke, Fairfield, Dukinfield, Ockbrook, Bedford, Tytherton, and Goosehill. In Germany and Prussia there are fifteen schools; in Switzerland, two; in Holland, two; in Denmark, two; in Livonia, one; in Ireland, two; in North America, four. The total number of pupils, whose parents are not in connexion with the brethren's church, is upwards of 1,400.\*

Here we must close. On the ecclesiastical government and discipline established by the brethren, various opinions will be entertained; but the purity of their intentions, and the fervour of their piety, are generally acknowledged; and true Christians, of all denominations, unite to admire the disinterestedness, the unwearied assiduity, the "humbleness of mind," the spirit of love and union, and the patience in suffering, by which they have been, and are still, eminently distinguished. Their labours and success are a cheering and humbling comment on the word of the Lord; "NOT BY MIGHT, NOR BY POWER, BUT BY MY SPIRIT, SAITH THE LORD OF HOSTS," Zech. iv. 6.

\* For an account of the brethren's method of education, see Holmes, vol. ii. pp. 74—76.