A BRIEF HISTORY

OF THE

MORAVIAN CHURCH

M.9S

Jaquerseau



SAMUEL M. WILSON

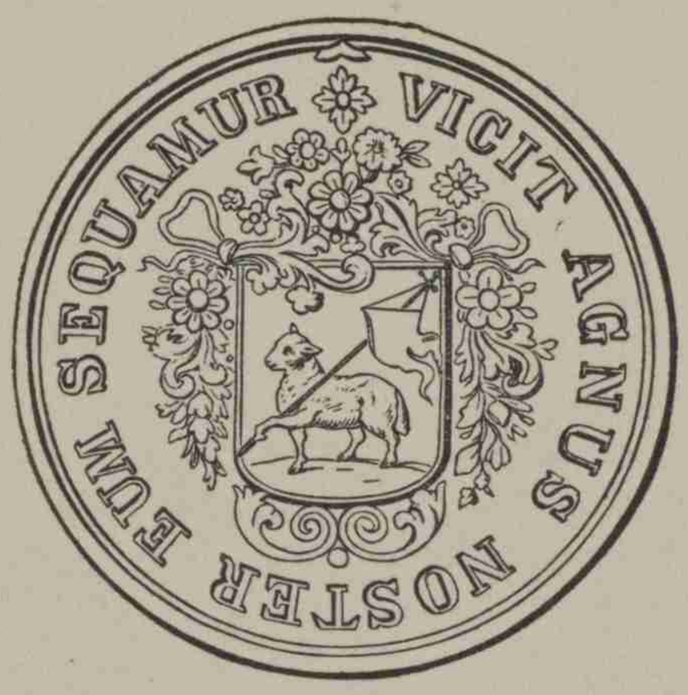
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OF THE

MORAVIAN CHURCH

PREPARED BY
TEACHERS AND FRIENDS OF THE SALEM
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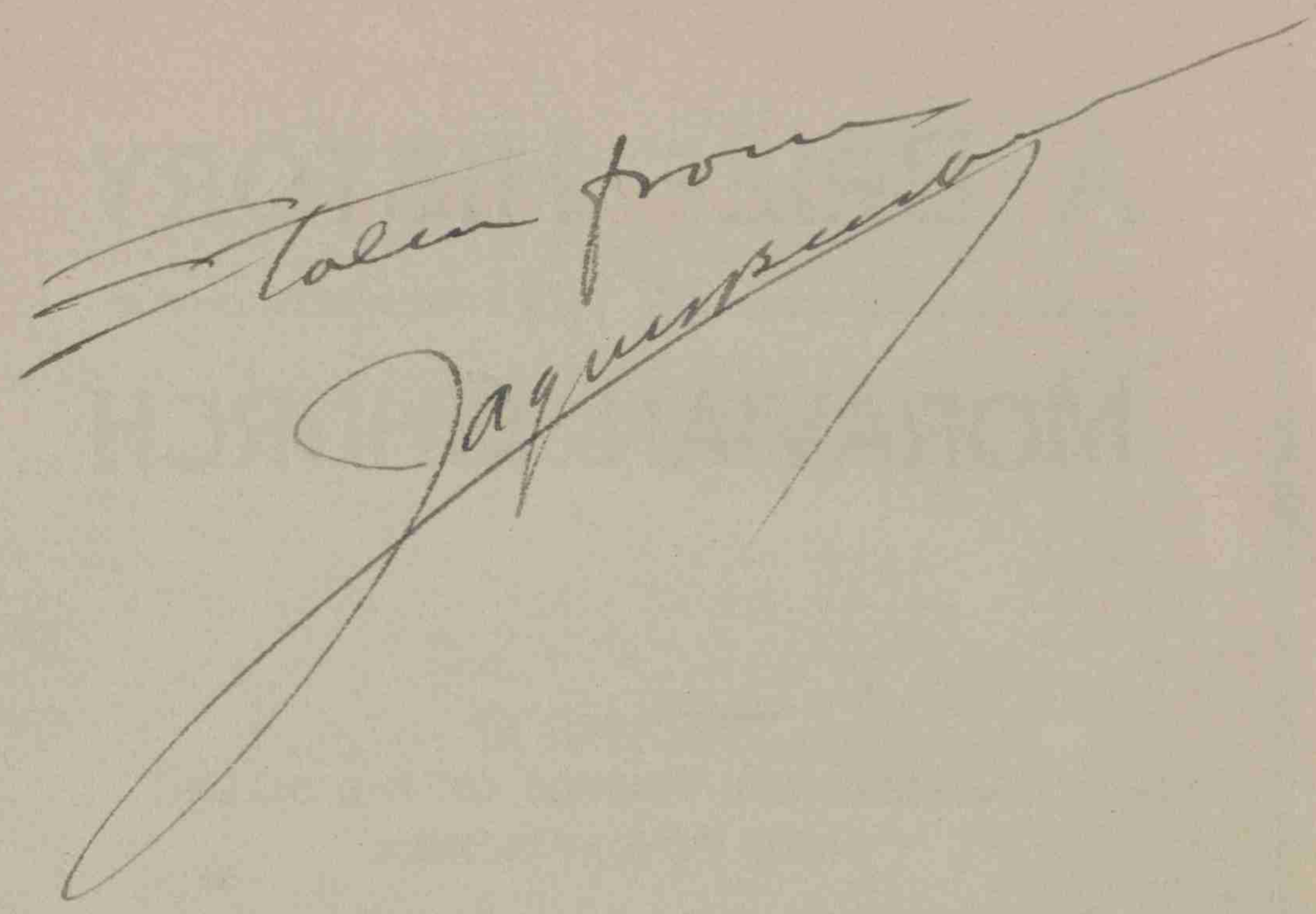


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A Brief History of the Moravian Church

THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH

I—100 A. D.

The history of the Christian Church begins with the birth of Jesus Christ, in Bethlehem of Judea, though His disciples received the name of "Christians" at Antioch, several years after His ascension. The disciples, whom He drew around Him during His three years of active ministry, were members of the Jewish nation, which since the days of Abraham had been particularly set apart by God, and had received many revelations through priests and prophets concerning God's will for men. To these Jewish believers in God, Christ brought new light, a new revelation, confirming the truths of the Jewish Scriptures which we know as the Old Testament, teaching them of the love of God and the brotherhood of men, and of Himself as the Son of God, the Son of Man, the Saviour of the world. The Birth and Life, the Crucifixion, Resurrection, and Ascension of Jesus Christ, moved the men who had known Him best to carry on His work, so that as years passed by the Christian Church constantly increased in numbers and in influence. Although to-day there are many denominations with differing forms of organization, and varying interpretations of certain truths, they are all parts of the universal Christian Church, with the same origin, and with a common history during the early centuries.

After the ascension of Jesus, the Apostles returned to Jerusalem as He commanded them, there to await the gift of the Holy Ghost. Their first act was to select by lot one of the disciples to fill the place of Judas,—the lot fell upon Matthias, and he was numbered with the Apostles. Upon the day of Pentecost Jesus' promise of "power from on high" was most wonderfully fulfilled, and from that day forward we find the Apostles, filled with divine strength and courage, publicly proclaiming the Gospel of Christ and meeting with great success.

But "the disciple is not above his master" and as Jesus had foretold persecution soon came. The boldness of the Apostles and their great success attracted general attention, and the Sadducees, to whom the doctrine of the Resurrection was a stumbling block, having in vain

tried to intimidate the Apostles by threats, took counsel to slay them, but were withheld by the advice of Gamaliel.

In the meantime, certain Hellenistic Jews, provoked by the zeal of Stephen, one of the almoners or deacons chosen for the distribution of alms among the poor, stirred up the people against them. The Sanhedrin did not long resist the popular tumult, and Stephen died, the first martyr.

With this commenced a persecution which led to the dispersion of the disciples, and served to spread the Gospel far and wide, for we read in The Acts, "they that were scattered abroad went everywhere, preaching the Word." Driven from Jerusalem, they preached the Gospel in Judea, Samaria, Damascus, Phœnicia, Cyprus and Antioch, though, at first, only to the Jews. In an extraordinary manner God made known to Peter, and through Him to the whole Church, His will that the Gentiles also should become Christians, and in an equally remarkable way He called Paul to be the Apostle to the Gentiles.

From this time forward, Christianity spread rapidly, and from the account of Paul's travels in The Acts, as well as from fragments of ancient writings, we have reason to believe that the doctrine of Christ had not only reached every portion of the Roman Empire by the close of the first century, but that it had extended its influence into Parthia, India and Scythia.

The Christians were at first persecuted only by the Jews, for the Romans considered them a part of the Jewish nation, which enjoyed religious liberty by virtue of decrees of the Roman senate and of the Emperor, and did not molest them. When, however, the Jews began to make complaints against the Christians to the Roman authorities, it was seen that they stood apart, and being no longer under the shield that was extended over a national religion, their meetings were pronounced illegal, and they became exposed to the full force of the Roman law. How much they suffered varied according to the locality, the intolerance of the Roman officers, and the policy of the Emperors. In the year 64 A. D., Nero, to screen himself, accused the Christians of setting fire to the city of Rome. This was the signal for a severe persecution, which was confined chiefly to the city and its immediate neighborhood. Another persecution took place during the reign of Domitian, which extended over the whole empire and raged until the time of his death, but both failed utterly in their attempt to exterminate the Church, which continued to grow rapidly.

It is evident from the narrative given in the Acts that the first Christians, as long as the converts were chiefly among the Jewish

nation, considered themselves as connected with the Jewish Church and participated in all its institutions. But it appears also that they united in private meetings and "in breaking of bread from house to house," and the Evangelist adds, "All that believed had all things common, and sold their possessions and goods, and parted to them all, as every man had need." The unbelieving Jews, however, calling them in derision Galileans and Nazarenes, drove them from their synagogues, and compelled them to form a regularly constituted society.

The first Christian society was established at Jerusalem, and that became the mother of all Christian Churches. Thither Peter went to render an account of his visit to the centurion at Cæsarea, and Paul to render an account of his labors among the Gentiles. There, also, the difficult question, whether Gentile converts were to be compelled to submit to all the laws of Moses, was brought and decided in the negative.

Naturally, the primitive Church was modeled after the Jewish synagogue, with similar offices and forms of service. These were changed in time, however, according to the circumstances of the Churches.

The Lord left no special rule in regard to the government of His Church except that His followers should have but one Lord and Master, even Christ, and that all the members of His Church, as brethren and sisters, were to maintain a standing of perfect equality, therefore no difference in rank was attached to any office of the Church in the time of the Apostles. The ministry was not a dignity but a service, a function, a duty. In the way of necessary organization there were deacons to distribute alms and attend to such interests, and elders to guard the spiritual welfare of the members. Bishops began to be considered a higher order of the clergy during the second century, but during the first century the title was often used as the equivalent of elder, gradually becoming restricted to the chief elder in a congregation.

While the Apostles were living, or any who had been eye witnesses of the life of Jesus, and had heard His doctrines from His own lips, their lives and their hearts, filled as they were with the Holy Spirit, supplied every want of spiritual knowledge which Christians could desire. Four of their number wrote the story of Christ's life on earth, each recording the doctrines and the events which seemed to him most important. The Apostles traveled hither and thither, preaching and teaching, and, when unable to visit certain Churches, they sent letters of instruction, encouragement and warning, applying the doctrines of Jesus to the needs of their people, and these letters were read

to the Churches in the neighborhood, as well as to those to which they were written. So the Apostolic Church practically had the entire Scriptures, though the canon of the New Testament was not compiled until the second century, or later.

THE EARLY CHRISTIAN CHURCH

100—313.

When the first century ended the Apostle John was still living, but imprisoned on the island of Patmos. Men had all sorts of beliefs, as they have now, for the canon of the New Testament had not yet been compiled,—hence, there was room for much tradition and many opinions. This caused the leaders of the Church to recognize the need for some standard by which all men could test their faith. During the second and third centuries the writings which had come down from apostolic days were carefully studied, those of uncertain authorship or doubtful inspiration were gradually set aside, and at last the five histories which we call the Gospels and the Book of Acts, and the Epistles and Revelation of our New Testament, were accepted, and have ever since been the foundation of the faith and practice of Christians.

During the second century the Church was disturbed by various sects of Ebionites and Gnostics. Since those who held these heresies considered themselves Christian, the orthodox party began to speak of themselves as the "Catholic," that is, the "universal" Christian Church, as distinguished from the unorthodox sects, and the name is still so used, though the term "Roman Catholic" came to have a more limited meaning in the next period of the Church.

In the third century, Paul, Bishop of Samosata, led another sect, called the Monarchians; and at the beginning of the fourth century came Arius, whose teachings were embraced by multitudes, bringing endless and bitter trouble to the Church. Arius was a presbyter in Alexandria, who propounded the doctrine that Christ was a created being, and so not equal with the Father until after the Ascension. A Church Council was called at Nicæa, in 325, which decided that the Son was equal with the Father, the creation of the Son was denied, and His eternal Sonship affirmed. Arius and two friends were banished to Illyria, but the heresy long retained great importance. The chief opponent of Arius was Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria, who was, for half a century, the untiring and intrepid defender of the doctrine of the divinity of Christ.

But Athanasius was not the first to rise up against these various heresies. Among the names that stand out during the second century for fostering the true faith are Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch; Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna; Justin Martyr; and Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons,—all sealing their faith with their lives. Ignatius, some of whose writings still exist, was taken to Rome, where he perished as a martyr in the amphitheater. Polycarp, a disciple of John the Apostle, was arrested and when required to curse Christ answered: "Six and eighty years have I served Him, and He has done me nothing but good; and how could I curse Him, my Lord and Saviour!" Refusing to renounce the faith he was burned to death. Justin, whose writings present us with very valuable information concerning the Church of his time, was put to death at Rome,—tradition says he was scourged and beheaded. Irenæus studied under Polycarp, and his treatise, "Against Heresies," is one of the principal Christian writings of the century. He died a martyr at Lyons. Following these we find an able defender of the cause of Christianity in Tertullian of Carthage, a celebrated writer, and in Clement, one of the most noted founders of the school of theology at Alexandria.

Among the leaders in the third century we may mention Origen and Cyprian. Origen stands out as the greatest luminary of his age, and his influence as an instructor of the clergy as well as an author was very extensive. He met the fate of his master, Ignatius, and thousands of others, in a martyr's death. Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, took part in the celebrated dispute concerning the validity of baptism conferred by heretics. He wrote mainly on Church government and discipline, and he also suffered martyrdom.

From this it will appear how frequent were the persecutions during those years. In the second century we find two great persecutions, while during the third century the sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth and tenth persecutions of Christians took place under Roman authority. The catacombs of Rome belong to this period, being used as places of burial by the Christians, who did not wish to cremate their dead as did the Romans. They also served as meeting-places for the Christians during the worst persecutions, though at other times the homes of members were used for gatherings. Public churches began to be built during the third century, and were modeled after the Roman basilica, which was a court-house and exchange.

During these troubled years the bishops came to have new responsibilities and greater influence. Originally the bishops, of whom the Apostle James was the first, were expected to be overseers and

shepherds, but now various new powers were given to them. This enabled them to guard their people against heresies and aid them in many ways, but also opened the door for that abuse of power which later became so serious a menace to the Church.

Eusebius, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Jerome and Augustine belong to the next period of Church history, but we may mention them here because they were among the most famous of the Church Fathers. Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea, sometimes called "the Father of Church History," was a celebrated theologian and historian. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, was a champion of the Catholics against the Arians and pagans, and powerful enough to force the Emperor Theodosius to do penance for ordering a massacre. John, patriarch of Constantinople, was called Chrysostom, "the golden-mouthed," on account of his eloquence. Jerome is best known by his Latin version of the Bible, called the Vulgate, which is still used by the Roman Catholics. Augustine, bishop of Hippo, was a teacher, preacher, and writer of incessant activity, and in distinction and in widespread and lasting influence he was the foremost of the Latin Church Fathers.

313 is the date of Constantine the Great, who is said to have seen in the sky a flaming cross, with the inscription, "By this conquer." He won the battle, became a Christian, and is called the first Christian emperor. One of his first acts was to issue an edict of religious toleration, which gave the Christian Church legal recognition, and freed them from the terrible persecutions which they had so long endured.

THE ROMAN AND THE GREEK CHURCHES

313—800

The conversion of Constantine to the Christian faith marked the beginning of an epoch. The entire Roman empire, which before had been the champion of paganism and the persecutor of Christianity, now became its protector and patron. Constantine was born in the year 274. His mother was a Christian, but the time or circumstances of her conversion are not known. She had instructed him in the Christian tenets, and when he had his famous vision of the cross in the sky, he was convinced and set about paying his allegiance to this new faith. Whether this was done as a political scheme is not clear, but he did make faith in the Christians' God the standard throughout the empire. He did not persecute the pagans however, but instituted a very tolerant

policy toward them. That he himself was not fully weaned from faith in the pagan gods is claimed by some, and it may be true to a certain extent, but, in the main, he upheld and spread the principles of Christianity.

At the time of his death, however, his son, Constantius, came into possession of the Roman empire. His policy was just the opposite of his father's. He made all who would not accept Christianity, in the eastern part of the empire, leave the realm or suffer death, and thus the new faith became more firmly established in the East, but it lost its hold on the people, who now hated it because of Constantius' persecutions. In the West, however, he did not adopt so bold an attitude, and was more tolerant. Many of the old Roman families who held to the pagan faith were powerful and influential, and he could not risk the sacrifice of their friendship, and so allowed them freedom of belief. By his tolerant policy in the Western part of his empire, pagan superstitions became mixed with the new faith, and so corrupted it that it was not recognized in the East as pure. Naturally, this pagan tendency caused the Church life to degenerate to a great extent, and this reached its climax under the emperor Julian, called the Apostate, the cousin of Constantius, who succeeded to the empire. His eager mind, naturally imaginative, made him a suitable leader for this degenerate type of Christianity. He secretly embraced the pagan faith, and as supreme pontiff personally conducted ceremonies and sacrifices. He tolerated Christianity, but in order to bring it into disrepute he encouraged all other religions and all sectarian controversies. It seemed that the Christian faith in the Roman empire was doomed, but with Julian's death, and the tolerant policy of the next emperor, it again became prominent, and from this time the pagan religion seemed to lose its hold, and slowly weakened before the more powerful Christian faith.

A new danger now faced the Roman emperors. The West Goths, on their borders, had adopted Christianity, through the preaching of Ulphilas, who had gone into their country as a missionary from the East. He became a bishop, and had great success as a leader among the West Goths. He desired to penetrate with his preaching into the country of the East Goths, but they would not receive him. His people were persecuted by the East Goths and he obtained permission to bring a party of his West Goths across the Danube for protection, and thus they came into the limits of the Roman empire. They became greatly incensed at the avarice and intolerance of some of the Roman nobles, and Valens, Emperor of the East, was killed. The empire seemed to be tottering, and only by the skill of Theodosius, hastily

made Regent of the East, was it kept from ruin. He checked the progress of the Goths, and again restored the Roman empire. He favored the Nicene doctrine of the Trinity, and tried by severe measures to suppress Arianism, and a General Council, called in 381 to meet in Constantinople, reaffirmed the Nicene creed.

Theodosius, now Emperor, tried by harsh and inhuman laws to crush out the remnants of paganism, but never fully succeeded. During this time a new leader had sprung up among the West Goths, and Alaric, in 410, captured and sacked Rome and dealt the death blow to Paganism in the Roman empire. The ancient shrines and temples were ordered pillaged and burned, and the patrician families, who were its staunchest supporters, were either destroyed or scattered.

While the Western part of the Roman empire was thus passing through a stormy time, and the pure Christian belief suffered by being mixed with paganism, the Eastern portion, with Constantinople as a center, was being converted to Christianity, which overpowered the old beliefs, and was soon firmly established as a better faith. Thus a purer type of Christianity sprang up in the Eastern part, free from corruption by pagan superstition and ancient philosophy.

Ever since the day when Constantine established his capital at Constantinople, there had been more or less division between the Eastern and Western portions of the empire. Sometimes there were two or more Emperors, nominally ruling conjointly, sometimes one man would get all the power into his hands and rule alone, but always there was an East and a West. In 395 there was a definite and final separation into two empires, though the Church for a time continued as one.

About the end of the fifth century, the Franks, another Germanic tribe, poured down upon Southern Europe, and overcame the earlier bands who had seized Gaul and Italy. Their king, Clovis, had vowed to become a Christian if he won a certain battle, and being the victor he and three thousand of his warriors were baptized.

While these political disruptions and changes were taking place the Church was gradually being built into a strong organization. The bishops of the larger towns soon became prominent, and outranked those of the smaller towns, and the dioceses of Rome and Constantinople loomed up above all, one in the East and one in the West of the empire. The Church Councils gave to these two cities and their respective bishops the highest rank. Soon, however, Rome took to itself the prerogative of being called the first or highest bishopric, and the bishop took the name of "pope." Siricuis, Bishop of Rome from 384 to 398, so styled himself, but for many years the title was applied to

any bishop, gradually becoming restricted to the more prominent. Leo I, who was pope of Rome 440 to 461, was a man of strong will and great courage. He saved Rome from Attila and the Huns in 452, and was foremost in defense of the city when the weak Emperor Honorius was in hiding. He also considered himself the spiritual leader of the Roman empire, and so proclaimed himself to the world. The Council of Chalcedon said the first rank rightly belonged to the Bishop of Rome, as it was the ancient capital of the empire. Leo, however, spurned this idea, and claimed the prerogative because he was the successor of Peter, the chief of the Apostles, vicar of Christ, and the first Bishop of Rome, but he skillfully used the powerful political position of Rome, and interwove it with the churchly consideration. This started the breach between the Eastern and Western Churches, which was to end in their final separation. One of the chief reasons of this widening breach was the difference in temperament of the Greek and Latin. The Greeks in the East had discussions concerning the Trinity and person of Christ, which suited their speculative minds, while in the West the Latins were more interested in such practical subjects as sin and the recovery of man by divine grace, and thus a natural tendency was drawing them apart. The greatest controversy which harassed the Church at that time was the so-called Arian controversy relating to the divinity of Christ. Begun by Arius in the third century the controversy continued, until at the Council of Toledo in Spain in 589 A. D. the "filioque" was inserted into the Creed, by which it was made to affirm that the Spirit proceeded from the Father "and the Son" instead of only from the Father as it formerly stood. This addition was not acceptable to the Eastern Church, and caused the final separation between the East and West, though opportunity had long been sought for separation. Thus the Greek Church has remained to this day,—though nominally recognizing the Pope as head it does not obey his mandates implicitly, and has its own patriarchs and metropolitans. It differs from the Roman Church in a number of smaller details, but this is the main point of divergence. The Greek Church is now the national Church of Russia and of Greece, with a small following elsewhere. The Roman Church, more generally known as the Roman Catholic Church, is widely spread, and has played an important part in the political as well as in the religious history of the world.

During the years from 589 to 800 the Roman Church grew greatly in numbers and political influence. Missionaries went to England, to Germany, and to Hungary, where they met with much opposition but ultimate success. On the other hand, the rise of the Mohammedan

religion, 622 A. D., its rapid growth and armed advance into Europe, threatened the Church and all the western states with extermination, from which they were saved by the Franks under Charles Martel.

But Christianity had, unhappily, parted with its ancient purity and simplicity. The kingdom of God had become identified with the visible Church, through whose mediation, it was thought, salvation alone was possible, and obedience to whose laws was often the sum of the requirements laid on converts. The inner, living power of the Gospel was still in being, but hidden under much formalism. Images and relics came to be greatly venerated, and the sale of "indulgences" commenced. The power of the Pope at Rome gained new strength, and became a factor in all important political changes in western Europe; and when, on Dec. 25, 800, at St. Peter's Cathedral in Rome, the Pope crowned the Frankish king, Charlemagne, Emperor of the "Holy Roman Empire," it typified the close relation in which Church and State stood and were to stand for many a century.

CHRISTIANITY IN BOHEMIA

800—1394.

If Rome was the scene of the first great struggles of Christianity, when a handful of persecuted Christians became a powerful organization, and the despised "sect" grew into the honored Church to which kings and emperors paid due homage, if Rome witnessed the development of Christianity into a great world power, Bohemia was the battlefield in the second and equally vital campaign, when the contest was between a religion overburdened with rites and ceremonies, and a simple faith,—between spiritual ignorance and a Bible which all might read. A lust for power had come upon the leaders, Bible knowledge was withheld from the people that they might be more easily led, and imposing ritual had taken the place of intelligent worship. It was against this false superstructure that the attack in Bohemia was made, that "true religion and undefiled" might be saved to the world.

The little kingdom of Bohemia lies in the northwestern corner of the Austrian empire. It is quite small, but very fertile, and the natural rampart formed by the mountain chains on all four sides gave to its people in earlier years a sense of independence which enhanced their natural love of freedom.

The beginnings of Bohemian history are shrouded in uncertainty.

Attila and his Huns laid waste the country on their retreat from Rome, and the inhabitants who escaped with their lives fell an easy prey to the Czechs, a band of Slavonians, who about that time came into the country, tradition says from the Carpathian Mountains. During the next centuries these Czechs lived quietly, cultivating the soil, and selling grain and horses to the neighboring nations. Their religion somewhat resembled the Grecian mythology, with numerous gods and goddesses, nymphs and demons.

Southeast of Bohemia lies the still smaller province of Moravia, whose history has always been linked with that of Bohemia, and through Moravia Christianity made its first entrance into that region. In 836 Prince Mojmir of Moravia learned of it from the Franks, accepted it, and built three churches; in 845 fourteen Bohemian noblemen were baptized while on a visit to the Germans; but neither incident affected the people as a whole.

In 846 Rastislaw become Duke of Bohemia and Moravia. He wanted to shake off the power of the Franks, so when he desired Christian teachers for his people he sent, not to the Roman but to the Greek branch of the Church.

In answer to his appeal Cyril and Methodius came to Moravia in 863, and with them the history of Christianity in Bohemia and Moravia really begins. Cyril and Methodius were brothers, earnest and devout men, who had already labored successfully in other fields, winning to the side of Christianity nations that had long been its wild and formidable foes, and they brought to their new work methods which were sure to win the hearts of the people. They finished a Slavonian translation of the Bible, which Cyril had already begun; they read the Bible to the people, and preached in their own language; they trained young Czechs as priests; they built up a national Church, in which the Czechs felt at home.

But the Roman Church heard of their success, and determined to claim the work on the ground that the first introduction of Christianity into the country had come through its members. Cyril and Methodius were summoned to Rome, but Pope Nicholas died before they arrived. His successor, Adrian II, thought it would be to his advantage to have Bohemia and Moravia comprise a diocese independent of both the German Bishops and the Greek Patriarch, and directly tributary to him, so he received the missionaries very graciously, approved of all they had done, and offered to make them bishops. Cyril, whose health was failing, declined the honor, and died a few weeks later, but Methodius promised him obedience, and was consecrated Archbishop of Pannonia,

which was the ancient name of that diocese. He returned to Moravia, and under his guidance the good work spread into Bohemia, and the first Christian church was built near Prague.

The jealousy of the German bishops then became more intense, and they complained at Rome until Methodius was again called thither, and while he triumphantly vindicated his course the Pope ordered that the Gospels must be publicly read first in Latin and then in Slavonian, and a German suffragan, or assistant bishop, was appointed. From this small beginning the power of the Roman Church increased until Bohemia and Moravia were entirely in its hands. The Czechish language and the Greek ritual fell into disuse, and the native priests were driven out, in spite of the pleas and demands of the common people. The nobility, and such of the inhabitants as traded with Germany, favored the Roman Church; the Latin language, the Roman ritual and doctrines were introduced, and a German was made their bishop. Now and then a Bohemian ruler would reawaken the national spirit, and a new attempt would be made to regain their Bible and the Slavonian Church, but it was in vain, and religious liberty slumbered for two centuries and a half.

About the middle of the fourteenth century signs began to appear that the mediæval Church system was breaking up. It had bound the human mind in its icy fetters for ages, but it could not bind the Spirit whom God had sent. Under His divine influences a reaction set in, and slowly gained strength until it burst forth as an overwhelming flood. Men began to think for themselves, not simply as the Church commanded, and here and there some one came to the opinion that the Bible should be the standard of belief, and not doctrines which the Church had created. But so strong was the hold of ignorance and error that people learned slowly.

In 1347 Charles (later known as Charles IV, Emperor of Germany,) became King of Bohemia, and under his guidance it entered a golden age of material prosperity. He took Bohemia away from the archbishopric of Mayence and created an archbishopric of Prague; he organized the Slavonian Monastery of Emmaus, and founded the University of Prague. He meant to make Bohemia great, and to advance the cause of the Roman Church, but the result was not what he expected. There was a reawakening of the Christian life of Bohemia under the first archbishop of Prague, a man of apostolic ways. The Slavonian Ritual, although in a Romish form, and the Czech language, were used in the Monastery at Emmaus; and the renewed spirit of national life, with its traditions of true and free religion, became a power in the

University, which soon grew to be one of the greatest in Europe, and which sent forth John Huss, one of the epoch-makers of history.

Three forerunners prepared the way for his coming, Conrad of Waldhausen, Milic of Kremsier, and Matthias von Janow. Conrad was a distinguished preacher, who settled in Bohemia about 1360. He had been on a pilgrimage to Rome some years before, and was deeply impressed by the multitudes who swarmed into the city, paid the price of absolution without one thought of repentance, and immediately fell into fresh sin. After that, with a boldness that came from God, he exposed the vices of the times, and called sinners to repentance. He met with wonderful success in Bohemia, and in spite of fierce opposition from the priests he continued to teach the necessity of a living Christianity, of a renewal of the heart, and of saving faith in Christ.

Milic laid aside wealth and power in Church and State in order to serve the Lord in poverty and lowliness. He was an eloquent speaker, and though of a mystical turn of mind he stirred the spirit of the people to its depths with his solemn protest against the vices of the age, his earnest call for a General Council that the Church might be reformed, and his plea for the preaching of the pure Gospel that the spiritual kingdom of Christ might spread.

Matthias, a pupil of Milic, was a writer, not a preacher. His position was bold and evangelical, and the truths which he set forth were as a trumpet blast that announced the coming reformer. He died in 1394, one year after John Huss took his first degree at the University of Prague.

HUSS AND THE HUSSITES

1394—1457.

John Huss was born at Husinec, Bohemia; the day and year of his birth are uncertain, but thought to be July 6, 1369. His parents were peasants, though in good circumstances. Of his early life nothing is known. He studied at the University of Prague, where he soon attracted attention by his great scholarship. He was graduated from this place in 1396, receiving the Master's degree. He was appointed University lecturer two years later, and held this chair for some time, lecturing on the doctrines and practices of the Roman Church.

In 1401 he was elected Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy, and here again demonstrated his great depth of learning and breadth of scholarship. For the next two years he labored here, and was then

made rector of the University, which position he likewise filled in an able manner. He was also, in the year 1402, ordained to the priesthood, and in addition to his professorship preached in the Bethlehem Chapel at Prague. Having read some of the writings of Wyclif, he became inspired in such a measure that he sought to spread the doctrines among the Bohemians, and being the preacher of the Bethlehem Chapel, University professor, and private confessor to the queen, his utterances carried great weight with them. He did not hesitate to attack the Court, with its vices, which he condemned in strong terms; then he took the priests to task for their loose manner of living, and especially for the sale of indulgences.

In 1403 he was forbidden by the authorities of the University to discuss these questions in the lecture room or in the pulpit. In 1410 the Pope, John XXIII, issued a bull against the teachings of Wyclif as heretical, and ordered them burned, and as Huss had been denouncing the same things as Wyclif, he was ordered to cease from speaking against the Church. He and his followers were placed under the ban of the Church and ordered to appear before the next General Council.

In 1412 Pope John XXIII proclaimed a crusade against the King of Naples, and promised indulgence to all who volunteered for service. Huss now took up the matter of indulgences, and denounced the practice as wrong, which caused a breach between himself and the Church of Rome. A Papal interdict was issued against him; he appealed to the Council and to Christ; and feeling himself no longer safe in Prague withdrew to the castle of a friendly nobleman.

In Nov., 1414, in obedience to a summons from the Pope, under the protection of the King of Bohemia and with a promised safe-conduct from the Emperor Sigismund, he went to the Council, convened at Constance. He may have fancied that he would at that time have an opportunity to defend his views in open debate, but in this he was mistaken, and soon learned that he was to be tried as a heretic. He was kept imprisoned a long time, was treated with great cruelty, and not formally accused until June 5th, 1415. On June 7th thirty-nine charges were made against him, some of which he acknowledged as based upon his teachings, while others grossly misrepresented them, and upon being asked to recant his teachings he refused to do so unless they could be proven wrong.

The formal trial and execution of Huss took place about a month later, and the events of that day have been thus described:

"On Saturday, July 6, 1415, there was great excitement in the city of Constance,—the largest Council that had ever been held in this city

was in session. From all parts of the Western world distinguished men had come. Pope John XXIII was there; Emperor Sigismund was there; there were a thousand Bishops, over two thousand Doctors and Masters—about two thousand Counts, with Barons and Knights, Dukes, Princes, Ambassadors—in all over 50,000 strangers. And now, after months of discussion, the Council assembled in the cathedral, to settle once for all what should be done with John Huss. But why was John Huss there? And what had he done to offend the Pope and Emperor? For the last twelve months John Huss had been the leading figure in Bohemia. He had raised his voice against the vices of the people,—against priest, clergy, archbishop! He had gone further still in declaring that Christ was the only true head of the Church, and that the Pope was not to be obeyed unless he taught that the Bible and not the Church was the true standard of faith; that the Pope had not the keys of heaven; that man could be forgiven by God *only*, through faith and repentance; that the supposed miracles worked by the saints were a fraud; that the priests who duped the people by the sale of indulgences were servants not of Christ but of the Devil." Indulgences had become a mammoth traffic—any one could procure a pardon for sin and a safe entrance into the eternal world. Any one received a pardon who would fight for the causes of the Roman Catholic Church; the buying of a bone, or a lock of hair, or a piece of garment, a finger or toe nail of some saint, obtained promised pardon for sins, past and future, and large sums were paid to the priests, who traveled the length and breadth of the land, robbing the poor and ignorant, the grieved and troubled, even selling at great prices pardons for friends who had already departed. "All this is in vain," said Huss, "God alone can forgive sins, through Christ."

"And now John Huss stood before the Council. His face was pale, his limbs were weak and trembling from many months in the dungeons. Short and sharp was the public trial, for the trial was but a sham. He was condemned to death as a heretic; his priestly robes were taken from him; a fool's cap a yard high, with pictures of devils painted on all sides, was placed upon the hero's head; in this seeming disgrace he was led to a meadow, outside the city. He was bound to a stake with seven moist thongs and a chain, and fagots of dry wood were piled about him to the chin. As the flames arose and the wood crackled, he sang, 'Christ, thou Son of the living God, have mercy upon me!' and thus the great reformer passed, as by a chariot of fire, into the presence of the Master, who had died for him, and who has said: 'To him that endureth to the end will I give a crown of life.'"

His ashes were gathered and, together with the ground on which the stake had stood, were thrown into the Rhine.

Nearly a year later, May 30th, 1416, Jerome of Prague suffered martyrdom on the same spot. He was the most intimate friend and active helper of John Huss, a highly gifted man, an acute reasoner and eloquent speaker, but of a restless disposition and fiery temper. He came to Constance to help Huss, but was advised by friends that it was of no use, and that he must return to Bohemia as quickly as possible. This he attempted to do, but was arrested and imprisoned, suffering much in mind and body, but dying with the same fortitude which Huss displayed.

The day Huss suffered death at the stake was a sad day for Bohemia. His followers were insulted by their leader's death, it angered them, it grieved them, they felt cut to the heart. A Hussite League was formed, whose members pledged themselves to act in unison, to allow free preaching of the Gospel on their estates, etc. A Catholic League was formed in opposition, but for four years nothing of moment took place.

Then the Hussite Wars began, and for sixteen years Bohemia, single-handed, defied all Europe. Famine stalked through the villages, blood-red war defiled the valleys, party after party rose and fell, houses were burnt, families murdered, and death haunted the land. Sigismund, now also King of Bohemia, was determined to crush what he called heresy in that province, and persuaded the Pope to begin a crusade against the Hussites, who found their greatest leader in John Ziska, the blind leader of the Taborite party. He formed the rough Bohemian peasantry into a disciplined army, armed them with lances, spears, iron-pointed flails, clubs and slings. He led his men to battle to the sound of psalms and hymns, and won victory after victory, and never lost a battle. After his death in 1424 Procop the Great took his place as leader, and gained fresh victories, until Europe was forced to admit that Bohemia could not be conquered by force of arms.

Unfortunately, however, the Hussites had from the first been divided amongst themselves, and stood united only when great danger threatened them from without. The two chief parties were the Utraquists, or Calixtines, and the Taborites. The name of the former denotes the chief point of their contention (*sub utraque*—under both kinds, *calix*—a cup,) which was that the laity should receive both the bread and the wine in the Lord's Supper, whereas the Catholics had come to permit only the clergy to take the cup. The Utraquists were the conservative and aristocratic party, who hoped for reunion with

Rome, when the Romish Church had been purified. The Taborites, so called from their meeting place, Mount Tabor, were progressive and democratic. They accepted the Bible as the only source of faith and rule of practice, and they went far beyond the Utraquists in antipathy to the Church of Rome. The scriptural character of their system was, however, marred by extreme views and at times by fanaticism. The great Ziska belonged to the Taborites, and after his death his immediate followers assumed the name of Orphans, and became a third faction, occupying a middle position between the other two.

In 1433 a Council of the Roman Church met at Basle, and the Hussites were invited to send delegates. They did so, and after much debate an agreement was reached whereby concessions were secured for Bohemia which satisfied the Utraquists. But the Taborites and Orphans were not content, and in 1434 the battle of Lipan was fought, the Taborites were utterly defeated, and the Utraquist Church became the National Church of Bohemia, with John of Rokycana at its head.

Rokycana was a very able man, but vain, greedy of popularity, and ambitious, desiring above all else to become the spiritual ruler of Bohemia. At first he cherished thoughts of reconciliation with the Romanists, but when he realized that the Pope would not stand his friend he began to preach most bitterly against him, and sought to make the Utraquists an independent national Church. But the Utraquist Church itself was in a bad way, and something more was needed before true religion could be restored to Bohemia.

Scattered throughout Bohemia and Moravia were men who were quietly trying to live as Huss had taught them, not as the Hussites had fought, and they were now brought into a union which would grow into the Church of the Unitas Fratrum, "The Unity of Brethren." Remembering the doctrines of Huss, stirred by the strong sermons of Rokycana, some of them begged the eloquent preacher to tell them what they must do in order to be accepted of God. He referred them to Peter of Chelcic, next to Huss the greatest Bohemian writer of the century. Little is known of his personal history, but his influence was great. In his writings he took an independent position disagreeing with both Utraquists and Taborites where he thought them wrong. Strong in his opinions as to doctrine, he looked upon Christianity as a life, rather than a creed, and taught that to love God above all and one's neighbor as one's self is the supreme law. He led Gregory, and the others who came with him, to see that it was not enough to long and pray for a reformation, but that for such a cause they must work, venture, suffer. His intercourse with these seekers after light con-

tinued for several years, and he died about the time the Unitas Fratrum was begun.

Filled with enthusiasm Gregory and his friends begged Rokycana to lead a reformation, and when he refused they began to hold services here and there, where the Scriptures were read and explained. What they most needed was a rallying place, and such a place God showed them, and there the Unitas Fratrum was founded.

RISE OF THE UNITAS FRATRUM

1457—1473.

Gregory, later known as "Gregory the Patriarch," was a nephew of Rokycana, but a wholly different man,—a man of strict morals and deep piety, ready to undertake and endure all things for God's honor, but humble, without ambition, seeking not his own. At the time when he became prominent he was about fifty years of age. About him gathered those who wished to see the establishment of a pure Church, and those who had studied the pamphlets of Peter of Chelcic. From the midst of the Catholic Church, from all ranks of society they came, in no small numbers, to join this godly leader, with the question in their faces and on their lips, "Where shall we abide? Not always can we wander, not always can we hide."

Rokycana advised that they settle in different parishes, where the priests were in sympathy with them, but Gregory realized that they needed to be drawn more closely together, not scattered, and at last asked Rokycana to secure permission for them to settle in the Barony of Senftenberg, which belonged to George Podiebrad, then Regent of Bohemia. Rokycana was glad to be rid of his troublesome followers, Podiebrad thought the settlement would benefit his estate, so permission was given them to locate in the little village of Kunwald, near the castle of Lititz, and Rokycana saw them leave the section around Prague with great joy, and even gave help in their removal.

For four years they enjoyed a home life,—built cottages, cultivated their fields, opened workshops, and lived in peace. In Michael Bradacius, Priest of Senftenberg, they found a friend willing to serve them as minister or priest, and he and Gregory were put at the head of affairs, and certain principles were drawn up to regulate their doctrine and practice. They did not yet think of establishing a new Church, but only meant to have an association which should help them to live true Christian lives.

Their society, the Unitas Fratrum, or "Unity of Brethren," was organized in 1457, tradition says on March 1st, and in the same or the following year twenty-eight elders were appointed as spiritual guides of the people. Rokycana looked upon them with favor, and around them gathered rich and poor from all parts of Bohemia, from the mountains, from Moravia, from the Waldensian settlements; there were priests from the Roman and Utraquist Churches, noblemen, students, tradesmen, and artisans of every type and rank. Naturally, in so large a company there were differing opinions on certain points, notably the Lord's Supper, but a Synod was called which adopted practically the view taught by Peter of Chelcic, which is still accepted by members of the Unitas Fratrum. They also resolved to regulate their Christian life by the Biblical standard. Bradacius also began to simplify public worship, and so the first step was taken toward a Protestant ritual.

Meanwhile George Podiebrad had become King of Bohemia, and had begun to hope that he might also reach the position of Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. Just when he most wished to conciliate the Pope complaints were made against the Brethren at Kunwald, on the ground that they had changed the ceremonies usual at the Lord's Supper, etc., and he indignantly ordered that all his subjects must join the Roman Catholic or the Utraquist Church or leave the country, and that "heresy" must be driven out from the University of Prague and elsewhere.

About this time Gregory went to Prague to visit Brethren there. The King ordered their arrest, but a friendly magistrate gave them warning of what was coming, that they might escape. Some went, but several boastful students declined to flee, and Gregory thought it his duty to stay with them. Soon the magistrate appeared, with the salutation: "All who wish to live in Christ Jesus must suffer persecution," and led them to prison. The students, after tasting one torture on the rack, feared a second, and recanted, but Gregory remained steadfast, and was wrenched so terribly that he fell as dead from the rack. But God was with him, and gave him a beautiful dream or vision, in which he beheld three faces, of which we will hear later.

Gregory's release was secured through Rokycana, and the King's edict created such a stir among the Bohemians that he revoked it, but issued a new one directed especially against the Brethren, and ordering that any priests who conducted Communion after their fashion should immediately be put to death without trial. Gregory was again put into prison, deep down in a dungeon, starving, cold, old, and without any bodily comforts. Bradacius was cast into a dungeon in the Castle

of Lititz, and many others were cruelly tortured or oppressed. A few denied their faith, but most of them were inspired with courage and determination. The happy homes and little churches for Christian worship were broken up, and the Brethren fled to the woods and mountains to live the lives of the hunted deer. They cooked their meals by night, and while the enemy slept they read their Bibles around their watch fires, with the stately pines, the kindly moon, and the quiet stars keeping vigils with them and telling no tales. From this we may, perhaps, in a small measure, catch the meaning of the words of Jesus Christ: "Foxes have holes and birds of the air have nests, but the Son of Man hath not where to lay His head," and "the servant is not greater than his Master." "Pit-men" they were often called in derision, yet daily they increased in numbers, and as their fires shone out in the dark forest, so their pure lives shone out among the people.

Attracted by the steadfastness they had shown, there came both priests and laymen asking to be admitted to their communion, among the latter noblemen, who invited the Brethren to settle on their estates. Gradually the persecution died out, and the imprisoned members were released, but the conviction spread that a more complete organization must be given to the Church, and that it must be more absolutely grounded, in doctrine and practice, on the Holy Scriptures. A synod was called at Reichenau, in 1464, which drew up a series of statutes,—the oldest document of the Unitas Fratrum now extant.

In 1467, just ten years after the beginning of the Unitas Fratrum by the Kunwald assembly, the Brethren met in a tanner's cottage at Lhota. Friendly priests of the Utraquist Church had advised them to establish their own ministry, and they felt that it would be impossible to count on a sufficient number of priests who might leave the Utraquist Church to join them, so they met at Lhota with these questions burning in their hearts: "Is it God's will that we separate entirely from the Papacy and hence from its priesthood? Is it God's will that we shall institute, according to the model of the primitive Church, a ministerial order of our own?" With earnest prayer the lot was cast, and both questions were decided affirmatively. The Synod therefore took the decisive step. About sixty delegates were present, with Gregory the Patriarch in their midst. After earnest prayer, nine men were elected by ballot from among this number,—three of these nine were to be chosen by lot for pastors of the Unitas Fratrum, if the Lord so willed. There were only nine men, but there were twelve slips, nine blank, three with the Bohemian word "jest" (meaning "is") thereon. These twelve slips were put into a vase—then came the solemn moment. Earnest prayer was offered, and then a boy drew out one slip and

another until the nine men each stood with a slip. Oh, what would it say? Would there be nine blanks, or would they be accepted? Yes, three were accepted; Matthias, Thomas, and Elias, each held a slip with "jest" upon it, and God had again assured them of acceptance as a Church. Their hearts were filled with thankfulness beyond expression; the chains of Rome forever snapped. The three men that held the slips with "jest" on them Gregory immediately recognized as bearing the faces he had seen in his wonderful vision while on the rack.

The Synod then took up the subject of their ordination, as a result of which two separate and distinct steps were taken. First, the three candidates were ordained by an aged Waldensian priest among them, because "the New Testament makes no distinction between bishops and priests; in the time of the Apostles priests administered the rite of ordination, and the Brethren desire to follow the example of the Apostolic Church in all things." In the second place the episcopacy was obtained for them. "A distinction, it was said, was made at an early day, immediately after the time of the Apostles, between bishops and priests; to the former was committed the exclusive power to ordain. These considerations induced the Synod to resolve upon the introduction of the episcopal office, through which the congregations would be more closely united among themselves and better able to meet inimical proceedings, indignities, and evil speaking from without."

Michael Bradacius and two other priests were therefore sent to a colony of Waldenses, living in Moravia, where Stephen and another bishop, whose name is not known, consecrated them bishops. These Waldenses claimed to be of very ancient origin, and although there is some uncertainty whether the episcopate they possessed in 1467 came from the Roman or from the Greek Church, there is no doubt that Stephen had a valid episcopate, and that he gave it to the Unitas Fratrum, and even the bitterest enemies of the Unitas Fratrum never questioned it, nor attempted to attack the ordination of their ministry.

On their return to Bohemia, Bradacius and the other two bishops reordained Matthias, Thomas, and Elias; and then, with the approval of the lot, Matthias was consecrated bishop, and the independent ministry of the Unitas Fratrum was fully established.

When Rokycana heard of this he was very angry, and immediately started another persecution. The Waldenses were dispersed; Bishop Stephen was captured and burned at the stake. The Brethren suffered greatly; many were driven from their homes, racked or imprisoned. In Moravia Jacob Hulava was burned alive in the presence of his family. The numerous chapels which the Brethren had built were de-

stroyed, and they were forced to meet secretly in the forests. But the leaders remained firm, the more wealthy members aided the poorer, and in 1471 the persecution ceased with the death of Rokycana and Podiebrad.

Two years later, Sept. 13th, 1473, Gregory the Patriarch died, leaving the Church which he had helped to found with an ever-increasing membership and an ever-widening influence.

THE UNITAS FRATRUM UNDER LUKE OF PRAGUE

1473—1528.

With the death of Gregory the Patriarch, who had practically founded the Brethren's Church and completed its organization, there began a new period of its history. Gregory, with his stern devotion to the strict ideas of Peter of Chelcic, had ruled with an iron hand, and had been an autocrat without any to dispute his authority, but soon a new and more liberal policy began to assert itself. The Church was strong in members. Over an area of 900 square miles around Kunwald its followers lay scattered. It was no longer a despised sect, but an honored Church. Aldermen and rich citizens, professors, landlords and knights represented it in the land and among the people. It could no longer keep aloof from the State, but must take its place and do its part in the world. For this purpose it needed to forget rather than remember the last words of Gregory the Patriarch: "Ah, Matthias, beware of the educated Brethren." Strong, well-equipped, sagacious leaders were demanded by the crisis that had arrived in its history.

To inaugurate this newer and broader policy of the Church two men were raised up at this time. One, known as Luke of Prague, and born in 1460, was a graduate of the university of that name, and was a deeply-read theological scholar. He realized the demands of the hour and had the courage and faith to take the tide at the flood. Associated with him, and almost equally prominent in its policy was Procop of Neuhaws, also a university graduate and a representative of the advanced and educated element in the Church. These two led the movement against the bigotry and narrowness of sectarianism which was threatening, and struck the keynote for a broader policy. First and foremost it was settled that the writings of Peter and Gregory should no longer be authoritative as teachers of the Church. "We

content ourselves," ran their declaration, "with those sacred books which have been accepted from of old by all Christians, and are found in the Bible."

Henceforth men of rank could join the Church without laying down their rank; oaths might be taken; profits in business might be made, and state offices might be filled. Thus the Church emerged from its obscurity as a sect, and took its proper place as a herald of the Reformation.

Its position in doctrine was definitely stated by its Council of Elders in 1495, when in answer to the question put by Procop of Neuhaws: "By what is a man justified," it declared itself for the great doctrine of justification by faith, and thus took by right the position it can justly claim for all time of being the first free Evangelical Church of Europe.

For forty years Luke of Prague was the great leader of the Church. He extended its usefulness in every possible way, in the firm conviction, gained by wide experience, that with the exception of one other in the mountains of Savoy, it was the only pure Christian Church on the face of the earth.

While the policy of the Church had become more liberal that it might offer the truth freely to all classes, and satisfy the spiritual cravings of all seeking its fold, its principles of daily living among its members, and its strict organization, had not in any way been surrendered. In every detail of their lives, in business, in pleasure, in Christian service, in civil duties, they took the Sermon on the Mount as their guide. The same strict law held good for all,—the child and the old man, the serf and the lord, the candidate and the bishop. Their doctrine shone like a lamp, but the Brethren's Church drew men to it chiefly by their lives, their practice and their discipline. The influence of these things extended under Luke's wise direction. He established the ministry on a firmer basis; he enlarged the number of bishops, of whom he became one; he made Procop of Neuhaws the head of a Council of Elders with extended powers. The Church services were beautified, and the ritual made more tasteful. He gave an impulse to sacred music and singing, and encouraged education and learning in every way. He made use of the new art of printing, publishing a "Catechism for Children," the first Brethren's Hymn Book, "Confession of Faith," (sending the latter to the King,) and numerous pamphlets, treatises, and portions of the Bible. Between 1505 and 1510 only sixty printed works appeared in Bohemia, but of these fifty were issued by the Brethren's Church.

With such a leader, with a growing and enthusiastic following,

making themselves deeply felt upon the spiritual and intellectual heart of the country, and jealously watched by their powerful enemies, the Utraquists and the Roman Catholics, the Brethren could not escape opposition and ultimate persecution. Vile and blasphemous stories were invented to arouse the superstition and hatred of the people, accusing them of secret crimes, sacrilege, poisoning and witchcraft, not to mention other iniquities. These were printed and scattered broadcast by their enemies. But in 1500 a more powerful enemy had taken up arms against them. Pope Alexander VI sent an agent to Bohemia to preach against the Brethren, and the King was stirred up by the wicked rumor that another Ziska would arise in the land from among this hated people, and light again the flames of a religious war. In 1507 he issued the Edict of St. James, forbidding their meetings, requiring their tracts and books to be burnt, and ordering all who refused to join either the Utraquists or the Roman Catholics to be immediately expelled from the country.

Thus began a bitter and merciless persecution, and from 1510 to 1516 was a period full of trial and danger, when the enemies of the Church seemed on every side triumphant. It was only brightened by the light of martyrdom and by the contrast between the faith and courage of its members over against the apparent darkness and hopelessness of the struggle.

Luke of Prague showed himself during these dark years a true and heroic man of God indeed. He hurried in secret from settlement to settlement, he held services in woods and gorges, he cheered the parishes by pastoral letters, he comforted the downhearted, and spared no effort to reach and influence the mind of the King. At one time he was imprisoned by a robber knight, loaded with chains, and threatened with torture and the stake. Then came a time of rest, which seemed sent by the special act of God. The Brethren's enemies were mysteriously struck down as if by divine retribution. One fell dead in his chair; another was upset in his sleigh, and impaled on his own hunting knife; another was found dead in his cellar, so that it became a common saying among the people: "Let him who is tired of life persecute the Brethren, for he is sure not to live out the year." To brighten this period the more came news of another ally arisen across the Giant Mountains.

Martin Luther had become the standard bearer of religious freedom in a large field, and his sturdy championship of a pure faith not only thrilled the Brethren with a kindred spirit, but led them to hold out to him as soon as possible the hand of fellowship. Two Brethren

were sent as a deputation to visit him; and that union of effort and of purpose might be more completely realized they presented him with a copy of their Confession of Faith, and their Catechism, seeking his advice on points of doctrine and conduct, and opening their hearts gladly to all that the great Reformer had to say. While the intercourse between the leaders of these two revolts against Romish tyranny was not altogether free from misunderstanding, it was the means of a closer acquaintance, and there was infused thereby into the ranks of the Unity a greater enthusiasm and desire to adapt itself more closely in methods and training to the new learning that the Reformation was spreading over Germany.

As these bright days dawned, the life of Luke of Prague drew to its close. His period of usefulness had been a long one, he could look upon a work well done, and though he left a Church much weakened by persecution, it had been purified and strengthened by trial, and was well fitted for the coming and wider period of its usefulness. He relinquished his work with reluctance, but still in faith that God would raise up another head to guide his beloved Church in safety through the storms he saw before it. Now, under a man fitted for the stress of those strenuous times, and not alone in its championship of the pure gospel, the Church was to enter upon a broad and useful career.

JOHN AUGUSTA AND HIS TIMES

1528—1572.

Luke of Prague, like his predecessor, Gregory, had passed away when his work was done. He had achieved the task set before him nobly and well, and was the man of God for his day, but now, as a wider path lay before the Brethren, God again raised up for the work a man equipped and thrilled with the power for his task. Gradually, through influences born of persecution and the newer teachings of the day, there had grown up in the Church a ministry of young men, many of them graduates of the great Wittenberg University, and all gifted with a keen insight into the increasing needs of the Church, and full of an unquenchable eagerness to share in the great victory of Protestantism that seemed so nearly within reach. Of the older leaders of the Church at this time, one of the most open minded was John Horn, the senior bishop of the Executive Council. For eighteen years he had taken part in the government of the Church, ruling faithfully and well,

but while realizing the importance of the events of the Reformation, he made no attempt to change the exclusive policy which prevailed during the time of Luke. He was wise enough, however, to see and value the temper and sincerity of the younger party in the Church, and was friendly to it. In 1532, at the Synod held at Brandeis on the Adler, Bishop Skoda resigned the presidency in favor of John Horn, and announced that new elections to fill the vacancies in the Executive Council would take place. Just as the elections were about to begin, a young priest, John Augusta by name, rose and addressed the Synod. He said he spoke in the name of a number of his fellow-priests; that he and they were unanimously of the opinion that the Executive Council had become torpid and was an inactive body; that it did not show itself equal to the requirements of the age, and that there must be infused into it a newer and more vigorous element. With an imperturbable self-possession, which struck the older members of the Synod dumb, he proposed himself and four of his friends as candidates for the Council. He and they were elected. But a still greater triumph awaited the bold speaker. He and two of his associates, of like progressive views, were chosen bishops, and immediately consecrated. Bishop Horn being in sympathy with the position of his new colleagues, the Unitas Fratrum now assumed a far more conspicuous attitude. From this time forward its history constitutes an important part of Bohemian history in general.

John Augusta was the son of a hatter, and born in Prague in the year 1500. Originally a member of the Utraquist Church, he became dissatisfied, and in 1524 he joined the Brethren, and soon began to prepare for the ministry. In 1529 he was ordained a deacon, and in 1531 advanced to the priesthood. Augusta must be classed among the men born to rule. His energy was boundless, his will indomitable. His persistence, however, often degenerated into obstinacy, and his ambition too often kept his steps from that humility worthy a follower of the Divine Master. Yet he was a great man, and his work was illustrious. Endowed with natural gifts of an extraordinary character, he became Bohemia's most distinguished preacher, earned the title of the "Bohemian Luther," stood high among many eminent nobles as a trusted counselor and friend, and labored for the Unity with burning zeal and fiery enthusiasm. His career was a drama, setting forth heroic incidents, tragic scenes, and a lamentable fall. No other bishop of the Brethren was like him in his glory and in his shame.

The first step of the newly organized Council was to draw closer the relations of the Unity with the German Reformer, and to this end

a new Confession of Faith was compiled in the year of the Synod by Horn and Augusta, and presented to Luther. It was a thoroughly Protestant Confession, and while its absolute correctness in point of doctrine gained the approval of Luther and his colleagues, they accorded unqualified admiration to the discipline of the Brethren. "You alone," said Martin Bucer, "combine a wholesome discipline with a pure faith."

But while Augusta thus strengthened the influence of the Church he was not blind to the political issues that threatened it through the growing jealousy and power of its enemies. Lewis of Bohemia had fallen in 1526, in battle with the Turks, and a new king reigned in Prague. He was of the famous Hapsburg family, (from time immemorial Catholic,) Ferdinand the First, King of Hungary, Archduke of Austria, King of the Romans, and brother of the Emperor Charles V. By his election the Bohemian people became entangled in the meshes of European politics, and the safety of their isolation was gone. Already in 1535, Ferdinand began to show an alarming hostility. He summoned members of the Unity to Prague for trial, and cast into prison John the Hermit, a priest of extraordinary influence and piety, and the two young Barons von Janowic, on whose domains he labored, and who refused to surrender him. Although this persecution was as yet a little flame it might at any moment burst into a consuming fire, and John Augusta determined to check it as far as he was able. In conjunction with his fellow-bishops and other members of the Council it was determined to present to the King a new Confession of Faith. It was drawn up by Horn and Augusta, and set forth the origin of the Unitas Fratrum, and the growth of its faith as shown in its various Confessions. It contained a manly preface by the nobles connected with the Unity, and twenty doctrinal articles, and was signed by twelve barons and thirty-three knights. Baron Conrad Krajek, the richest and most influential member of the Unity, was selected as the most suitable person to secure an audience with the King, and, on the 11th of November, 1535, he was granted an interview. His reception was at first not propitious, but three days later the deputation formally presented the Confession, and Ferdinand received them with royal graciousness, and promised to leave the Brethren in peace provided they proved themselves true and faithful subjects.

For a while there was a lull in the storm. Peace and plenty reigned in the land, and the Brethren extended the borders of the Church on every side. Scattered throughout the country were 400 places of worship, with 200,000 members; and famous schools, patron-

ized by the leading nobility of the kingdom, perpetuated the teachings and enhanced the influence of the Unity. The greatest nobles of Bohemia belonged to the Church, while the people loved it, and it looked as if it might some day become the national Church of Bohemia. Yet bitter hatred was being nursed in the ranks of the Utraquists, and time and again charges were being brought against the Brethren. Twice in the Diet the King was induced to order the arrest of John Augusta, but the danger passed and the days of the Unity were bright for a time longer. Then fell the darkness and terror of a great tempest.

The Smalcald League of Protestant German princes, headed by John, Elector of Saxony, was arrayed against the Emperor Charles V, and Ferdinand, King of Bohemia, called together his loyal subjects to take up arms and fight with him for his brother and his cause. Now the Protestant nobles of Bohemia were in a quandary, and must choose between loyalty to their sovereign or their faith. Their choice was made at a great meeting held at the house of Baron Kotska, a member of the Unity, and a Bohemian League, composed largely of nobles from the Utraquist and Brethren's Churches, was formed, which made an effort to send troops in support of the Elector of Saxony. Before they could join the Protestant forces the battle of Mühlberg was fought, the Emperor was triumphant, and King Ferdinand returned to Prague to wreak vengeance on his enemies. The grand opportunity for which he was waiting had come, and John Augusta and the Brethren's Church, against whom his hatred was most directed, were to feel the full weight of a bigoted tyrant's wrath.

There was no dallying in the King's plans. On the 22d of August, 1547, four nobles, one of them a member of the Brethren's Church, were executed. Others were robbed or banished to certain towns or castles for life. Churches were closed and worship forbidden; ministers and people fled into the mountains and woods; and all the cities that had been the chief seats of the Brethren fell into the relentless hands of the King. As a final climax to his vengeance a royal mandate was issued to the effect that the Brethren must either join the Roman Catholic Church or leave the country forever within six weeks.

One of the most fascinating chapters in the history of the Unity followed this edict. To the surprise of their enemies the Brethren chose the alternative of banishment rather than apostasy. By hundreds and by thousands, along all the main roads leading out of the country into Poland, in caravans, with wagons for the women and children and weaker ones, they marched to their exile with songs, as in a triumphal procession. Everywhere the people welcomed them

and entertained them, mayors and town councils turning out in their honor, and guards of foot soldiers and horsemen escorting them on the way. But many a weary day passed before they found rest for their feet. Turned from Great Poland they sought Polish Prussia, and were again ordered away; only after six months of weary wandering did they find a hearth and home at Kœnigsberg, in East Prussia, among their brethren of the Lutheran Church. Ferdinand knew not what impulse he had set in motion. The exodus from Bohemia, led by men like George Israel, not only established the Brethren's Church in Prussia, but through the fiery zeal of himself and others, in seven years built it up in Poland, with Ostrorog as its center, and many noble families to support it. Forty congregations were established, and an influence was attained that finally, at the great Synod of Sendomir, succeeded in uniting into one Confession all the Protestants of the land of their adoption.

Meanwhile the fires of persecution were flaming out more fiercely in Bohemia, and Augusta, his fellow bishops and members of the Council, were compelled to seek concealment. Bishop Horn had died, and Augusta, succeeding him as President of the Council, spared not himself on behalf of his Church and stricken people. His energetic character expanded in proportion to the perils that surrounded him. In the name of the entire Church he sent a letter to the King, beseeching him to spare the Unity, which was innocent and had not conspired against him. The only reply was the declaration of Ferdinand's unalterable determination to adhere to his royal mandate, and his messenger, John George, was arrested at Prague, imprisoned, narrowly escaping the rack, and only set at liberty at last on condition that he leave the country. A second royal edict appeared against the Brethren, commanding the first to be strictly enforced, and ordering the arrest and imprisonment at Prague of every minister of the Unity.

There was none whom the King more eagerly longed to get within his power than John Augusta. He had come to regard him almost as a personal enemy, because of his fearless efforts on behalf of his people, and it was well known that a liberal reward would be paid for his arrest and capture. This set his emissaries constantly on the watch, and at last, by craft that was almost satanic, they succeeded in their purpose. On the plea that the advice of a faithful minister was needed he was lured into an ambush, and, with his friend, Jacob Bilek, was seized by three armed ruffians and borne off in triumph. Both were immediately taken to Prague, and lodged in prison, Augusta being confined in the famous White Tower. He

was placed in a dungeon, and fetters were fastened to his hands and to his feet. He was urged to betray the hiding-place of his Brethren and to confess the treasonable designs of which he and his colleagues had been suspected. When he refused tortures were inflicted such as only the bigotry of a cruel tyrant and his creatures could devise. Like a hero he refused to betray his trust or prove unfaithful to his people. When his agonies were at their height he was asked what his Brethren were doing: "They are seeking refuge with one accord in impassioned prayer to God!" was his illustrious answer. At last the King, angered by the obduracy of his victim, himself recommended new methods of torture, but before his messenger arrived Augusta and his friend Bilek, who had been even more cruelly treated, found a new place of imprisonment in the old and isolated castle of Purglitz.

Here, for 16 years, with only a short interval again in the White Tower, Augusta languished in imprisonment. At times it was lightened in its rigor, and he was visited secretly by friends, and was able to open up a regular correspondence with the rest of the Brethren in Bohemia, which was maintained steadily throughout the whole imprisonment. From the four walls of his gloomy dungeon he still continued to wield the sceptre of his power. He wrote sermons and homilies for his persecuted people; he gave advice in times of difficulty and danger; and composed many hymns.

But persecution, though long and leaving a track of terror and hardships, at last slackened, and the Brethren's Church in Bohemia began to recover from the blow. It is true many of its members had been compelled to leave their native land, but many, too, had remained, bending but unyielding, till the great storm should blow over.

The change came through political issues. In 1556, Ferdinand, through the resignation of his brother, Charles V, became Emperor, and was succeeded as King of Bohemia by his son, Maximilian, a man well inclined to the Protestant cause. The Brethren saw their opportunity and sought the favor of the new monarch. Times had changed, their enemies were weakened or had tired of persecution and hatred that had failed in its objects, and a period of rest and growth began. They presented a copy of their hymn book to the King; rebuilt their chapel at Jungbunzlau, other congregations following their example, and by 1557,—a hundred years after the settlement of Kunwald—the Church of the Brethren was firmly established and divided into three provinces, Bohemia, Moravia and Poland.

The bright light of a new growth and strength shone upon the figure of the once great leader of the Church, but he was no longer honored with the trust and confidence that had so long been unreservedly given him. John Augusta in his prison failed to realize that even in persecution men grow and develop. Outside the four walls of his dungeon times were rapidly changing and men needed leaders who could study events and act quickly. As president of the Executive Council he had long been the autocrat, and his courage and heroism had fixed firmly his hold upon the Church's loyalty and devotion, but the Church was often in perplexity, and needed one in its midst to whom the government could be entrusted. After much hesitation, and repeated refusals on his part to consent to an election of new bishops, the Council, at a period when Augusta's fate was most doubtful, determined at last to take its own course. New bishops were elected, and the Council appointed from those chosen John Czerny to be First Senior in Bohemia and Moravia, and George Israel to the same post in Poland. When, by chance the news reached Augusta long after the event itself, he was filled with rage and indignation, and in repeated letters declared the action of the Council illegal. That body, though it had not acted in an open and upright manner by concealing from him the new appointments, justified itself by an appeal to the constitution of the Unity, and thenceforth began the eclipse and downfall of the great leader of the Church. It is sad to note how disappointed ambition and wounded pride beclouded his judgment and led him farther yet from his brethren. While he may have been thoroughly honest in his hope that a National Church could be erected by a union of the discordant Protestant elements of the country, his coöperation with the Utraquists and Jesuits to secure his liberty, though in furtherance of his great scheme, was a sacrifice of principle, and justly forfeited the confidence of the leaders of the Unity. When finally he became a member of the Utraquist Church, and declared his belief that salvation could not be found outside that body, the Council took action, excluding him from the Unitas Fratrum and depriving him of all ministerial and episcopal functions.

At last, in 1564, his release from prison came. It was a pathetic, broken figure that issued from his cell, speaking of a heroism and endurance for conscience's sake hardly ever equaled, but the glory of his closing years was obscured by the cloud that never completely lifted. He was reconciled again to his Brethren, and confirmed their acts, but never could regain the confidence of former days. He was a great and good man, though an erring one. In all the subsequent

history of the Church, his equal can not be found. We mourn over his faults, we bring a tribute to the greatness of his works, to his heroism as a confessor, and to the zeal, endurance and high aims he infused into the Unity.

PROSPERITY AND DEFEAT

1572—1621.

With John Augusta the last great bishop of the ancient Unitas Fratrum passed away. Good men and true followed him in the episcopal office, but none who were such leaders as he had been. Still the Unity continued to grow and increase in influence in spite of several outbreaks of persecution, instigated by the Jesuits. The Jesuits were a Roman Catholic Order, established in 1534, consisting of both priests and laymen. From the first they showed a burning zeal in promoting the growth of their Church through any and all means; by 1600 they had secured a firm foothold in Bohemia, and from then on they were the tireless enemies of all Protestants, and especially of the Brethren.

But for a time the Protestant cause was too strong for them. Only a few Utraquists were left, while many of the people had become Lutherans, and still larger numbers belonged to the Unitas Fratrum, which labored with unabated vigor. Synods were held, young men were educated for the ministry, and the greatest literary work of the Unity was given to the world. This was the Kralitz Bible, so called because it was printed at Kralitz. It was the first translation of the entire Bible from the original Hebrew and Greek into the Bohemian language, and a commission of eight trained men spent fourteen years in its preparation. It was in six volumes, the first being printed in 1579, the last in 1593. Even a Jesuit, writing in 1668, said of it that "its style deserved to be praised above all measure," and it has furnished, word for word, the text of the Bohemian Bible published by the British and Foreign Bible Society of to-day.

Shortly after the printing of the Kralitz Bible two new leaders came to the front in the Unitas Fratrum. They were not bishops, but noblemen, for during the last few years the nobles in the Unity had been steadily gaining in influence. It was they who gave the Brethren protection against persecution, who acted as mediators between the Unity and the State, who supplied land for the churches, and money for the support of the ministry. They were enthusiastic,

God-fearing men, who loved the Unity and gave themselves freely in its behalf, so it was natural that leadership should now fall into their hands. Chief among them were Wenzel von Budowa of Bohemia, and Charles von Zerotin of Moravia, and under them the Unitas Fratrum entered a new period of its history, glorious, though brief. The ministers of the Unity were the most highly educated in the country, and in every village there was a parish school, so that the Brethren had the honor of making the Bohemians the best educated people of their time. Along with culture went comfort and plenty hand in hand, and great men often came from afar to see the famed settlements of the Brethren. In sacred music the Unitas Fratrum also took the lead. It was the first Protestant Church to issue a hymn book, and eight editions had now been published. The words of the hymns breathed devotion and brotherly love, the melodies were sweeping and strong. They were sung in cottage and in castle, and in an age when congregational singing was little known the Brethren, Sunday by Sunday, praised God with united voices.

And yet the Unitas Fratrum was still under the ban of the law, old edicts against them were still unrepealed, and there was a constant danger that something might give the King and the Jesuits a chance to begin another persecution. Indeed, an attempt was made in 1602, though it was unsuccessful, and only brought the Unitas Fratrum and the Lutheran Church more closely together.

In 1608 the great opportunity of the Protestants came, and their nobles were quick to take advantage of it. Rudolph was a very weak king, and his people and his own relatives turned against him. Hungary, Austria and Moravia revolted, and when an army advanced against Prague Rudolph called upon the Bohemians to defend him. Then the Protestant nobles, led by Budowa, took a decided stand, and refused their help unless he would sign a charter giving full religious liberty to Bohemia and Moravia, revoking all edicts against the Protestants. Rudolph twisted and squirmed, made promises and broke them, as the nobles and the Jesuits by turns pressed on him, but finally the nobles conquered, and on the 9th of July the King signed the Bohemian Charter, which granted all that the nobles had asked.

When this was announced in Prague the people could hardly contain themselves for joy, and throughout all Bohemia the Charter was hailed as the final cure for all religious ills. There was a "Board of Twenty-four Defenders," whose duty it was to see that the terms of the Charter were observed. The Word of God was preached in 500 churches. The Bible was a free book, and Budowa was regarded as

a national hero. The Brethren had at last won their freedom, and as they had eight representatives on the Board of Defenders, they willingly subscribed to the general Bohemian National Protestant Confession; and with their own ritual and their own government recognized by law, they could henceforth preach and teach in their own way without fear of sword and stake.

This prosperity, however, did not last long. Already in 1611 complaints began to reach the Defenders that the Catholics were growing unfriendly, a significant sign, as since the signing of the Bohemian Charter they had been outwardly on good terms with the Protestants. This renewed opposition was fully revealed in the Church Building difficulty. One clause in the Bohemian Charter was not quite clear, and the Jesuits twisted it to suit their own purposes. According to that clause there was to be complete religious freedom on all "Royal Estates." The question arose: What were "Royal Estates?" Were Church Estates—estates held by the Church of Rome as a tenant of the King—"Royal Estates," or were they not? When the Charter was granted it was commonly understood that they were, and acting on this understanding the Protestants had built churches on two Church Estates. The Jesuits, backed by Martinic and Slawata, argued that all Church Estates were the sole property of the Church of Rome, and so they came and demolished the churches and used the wood of one for firewood. The Protestant nobles appealed to the Emperor, but to their great dismay he upheld the Jesuits, despite the fact that the nobles had given him his throne.

In 1616, as if conscious of a coming storm, the Brethen met at Zerawic for what proved to be the last United Synod of the ancient Unitas Fratrum, and there drew up an invaluable document. It was a full account of the institutions of the Unity, and was called the "Ratio Disciplinæ" or "Order of Discipline," and it remains to this day the best picture of the life of the ancient Brethren's Church.

In 1617 Ferdinand II became King of Bohemia. When he took the oath, at his coronation, to keep the Charter, all knew the proceeding was a farce. He was half Jesuit, and it was said that he had secretly sworn not to grant anything to the Protestants that would be against the Catholics. In every Romish church in Bohemia the priests preached sermons against the Protestants. The King's government, led by Martinic and Slawata, openly broke the Charter. Protestant ministers were expelled from their pulpits and Roman Catholics put in their places. The King's officers burst into Protestant churches and interrupted the services. It seemed evident that

trouble was brewing. On Oct. 31st, 1617, the Protestants held a grand Centenary Festival in honor of Martin Luther, which enraged the Catholics, and on Nov. 10th the Catholics held a Festival which maddened the Protestants. The Jesuits never tired of stirring up strife between the parties, and abuses of every kind were heaped upon the Protestants until the Charter had been violated in almost every particular. Appeal after appeal to the King and Emperor was met with harshness and scorn, until it seemed that now was the time for the twenty-four Defenders to rise and do their duty;—now was the time to make the Charter no longer a mockery. The Defenders came to the royal castle in Prague, and burst into the room where four of the King's Regents were assembled, among them Martinic and Slawata. As the Defenders stood in the presence of the two men who had done most to bring affliction upon the people they felt the decisive moment had come. The interview was stormy. Paul von Rican, as spokesman, read a document, charging Martinic and Slawata with breaking the Charter, and appealed to the crowd which had gathered in the corridor. They shouted, and one voice was heard to say, "Into the Black Tower with them." But another, Rupow by name, cried: "Out of the window with them, after the ancient Bohemian fashion." No sooner said than done. The two men were seized and thrown out of the window, sixty feet from the ground, but falling upon a heap of rubbish they escaped with nothing worse than a few cuts and bruises, and a report spread that the Virgin Mary had stretched out her hands to save them.

Events now came thick and fast, like hailstones in a storm. The Defenders took measures at once, gathered an army, deposed Ferdinand, and elected Frederick, the Elector Palatine and a son-in-law of James I of England, as King of Bohemia; then they ordered the Jesuits out of the realm. There was a scene in Prague when the Jesuits departed. They formed in procession in the streets, and clad in black marched off with bowed heads and loud wailing. For a moment the Protestants of Prague went mad with joy. In the great Cathedral they pulled off the ornaments and destroyed costly pictures, and the new King conducted a mock celebration of the Holy Communion. What a fever men's minds must have been in when such sacrilege could be committed!

Then the army of King Ferdinand marched toward Prague, and the battle of the White Mountain was fought, Nov. 8th, 1620. The army of the Defenders was routed, churches were destroyed, villages were pillaged, ministers of the Gospel were murdered, and Bohemia lay crushed under the heel of the conqueror.

As the members of the Unitas Fratrum had led in the demand for religious liberty, and when it was attained had joined hands with the other Protestants, and had shared with them in the frenzied attempt to hold their rights by force of arms, so now they shared in the great defeat, suffering more heavily than any other from the measures that followed it.

The Jesuits were recalled; priests of the Unity and Lutheran ministers were ordered to leave Prague in three days and Bohemia in eight. The Defenders and other leaders were left at large for three months, then when they thought the danger was over they were summoned before the Governor "to hear a communication from the Emperor." It was only a ruse, and they were all arrested and imprisoned, and tried on various charges. Twenty-seven were condemned to death, the rest to other punishments. June 21, 1621, was appointed for their execution, which took place in the Great Square of Prague.

On the west side of this square was the Council House, and in this were the prisoners, half of whom were members of the Unitas Fratrum. In front of their window was the scaffold, draped in black. When, early in the morning, the prisoners looked out of the window, to take their last view of earth, they saw a brilliant, gorgeous, but to them terrible scene. There was prayer in that martyrs' room. There was the last earthly communion with the Eternal. Not one of their number showed the white feather in the presence of death. Swiftly and in order the work was done. One man, named Mydlar, was the executioner, and being a Protestant he performed his duties with as much decency and humanity as possible. The sword which was used for the first eleven victims is still to be seen in Prague, with the names inscribed upon it, and among them is the name of Wenzel von Budowa. Had the Protestants conquered, Budowa and his associates would rank in history along with Washington and other heroes, and though they failed and perished their testimony for Christian patriotism and evangelical religion and personal faith is immortal.

THE BRETHREN IN EXILE

1621—1722.

After executing the Defenders of Bohemia, the King and his servants left not a stone unturned to destroy the Protestants. Their churches were either destroyed, or turned into Roman Catholic chapels by customary methods of purification and rededication.

What actually happened during the next few years no tongue can tell. We read that thirty-six thousand families left Bohemia and Moravia rather than endure the persecutions inflicted on all Protestants.

There were several distinct features of this anti-reformation, besides the general oppression of the people. First came the seizure of the church buildings; then Protestant clergymen were everywhere driven from their parishes; Protestant literature was, as far as possible, destroyed, the Kralitz Bible being particularly sought out; a wholesale confiscation of property took place; the currency was intentionally depreciated, so that multitudes were reduced to poverty; commissions were sent through the country to bring the people into the Roman Catholic Church; all those who refused to become Catholics were banished.

The members of the Unitas Fratrum suffered with the rest. Their priests tried bravely to remain in the country to comfort their people, Charles von Zerotin and others used all their power and influence to protect the Brethren, but it was in vain, and in 1627 Zerotin and those he had sheltered went into exile,—a type of thousands of the best and bravest of the Brethren.

Driven from Bohemia and Moravia, the Brethren held together as far as possible, and went to countries where they hoped to reëstablish their Church,—to Poland, Hungary, Transylvania, Prussia and Silesia. Of these settlements the more important were in Poland, to which country many of the Brethren had gone in earlier persecutions. The Polish branch of the Unity had also suffered severely from the Jesuits, but in spite of opposition Lissa now became the center of the Unity's work. There the printing press was again set in motion, there Synods met, and from there the bishops and their assistants did what they could to relieve the necessities of the exiles, many of whom were in deepest poverty.

The most prominent figure during these years was John Amos Comenius. His story is very interesting, but can be given here only in outline. Born in 1592 in Moravia, he received a good education, and began his career as Rector of the school at Prerau. He was pastor at Fulneck in 1620, when the town was sacked, and his library was burned on the public square. With a company of friends he went into exile in 1628, pausing on the frontier mountain-top to look back to the homeland, and offer an impassioned prayer that God would preserve therein "a seed of righteousness." In 1632, he was consecrated a bishop of the Unitas Fratrum. His life-work had two distinct aspects. As a member of the Unitas Fratrum he gave to it

whole-hearted devotion. He collected funds for the needy; he republished the Kralitz Bible, the Ratio Disciplinæ, the hymn books and Confessions of the Brethren; he led in the government of the scattered congregations; he impressed upon his people the necessity for maintaining a succession of bishops, that they might be ready, if God pleased, to renew the Unitas Fratrum. In addition to all this he was one of the greatest educators the world has ever known, the founder of the modern theory of education. He was honored in England, in Sweden, in Holland, was even invited to come to America as president of Harvard College. His literary activity never flagged, and his fame to-day is even greater than when he lived. He died in 1670.

Meanwhile the exiles continued to suffer change. Periods of comparative peace would be followed by war and its desolation. Lissa was twice destroyed by fire and twice rebuilt, but the Brethren slowly turned to the Reformed Church (Calvinistic), and were finally absorbed by it. Certain congregations, however, still cherished their descent from the Unitas Fratrum, and maintained that line of bishops until 1841, when it was broken by death. Since then it has been thrice revived through the renewed Unitas Fratrum. In the same way the congregations scattered in other countries were absorbed by other Churches, but details of the change are wanting.

THE "HIDDEN SEED"

1621—1722.

In the period from the Anti-Reformation to 1722 a "Hidden Seed" of the Unitas Fratrum remained in Bohemia and Moravia. This seed consisted of such Brethren as for various reasons did not emigrate. The rulers sought to suppress every vestige of Evangelical religion, forbidding even family worship in such houses as were suspected of Evangelical tendencies, and allowing no Protestant to settle and acquire property in any part of Bohemia and Moravia. Nevertheless, in secret, especially among the peasantry, the faith of the Brethren was maintained, and both the government and the Roman clergy found it impossible to extinguish absolutely the spark which still glowed.

A detailed history of the "Hidden Seed" for the first fifty years can not be given; all that can be said is that religious worship was kept up, as far as possible, by stealth, sometimes in the cottages of

the peasants or castles of lords, and sometimes in the recesses of forests or mountains. During this time the Brethren were visited by ministers of their Church from Silesia and Hungary, who dispensed the sacraments. Comenius, too, did what he could to foster the "Hidden Seed" by secretly sending to Bohemia and Moravia copies of the Bible, Catechism, Hymnal, and works relating to the Unitas Fratrum.

In the first quarter of the eighteenth century, the "Hidden Seed," both in Bohemia and Moravia, showed signs of new life. Such life can now be traced back to several sources. It flowed, in the first place, from the Evangelical literature which began to spread in richer streams than at any previous time since the Anti-Reformation.

Wenzel Kleych, who was born in 1678, was one who did much to awaken the "Hidden Seed." He read everything he could find on the subject of the Brethren's Church. This brought on him severe persecution, and he resolved to seek a country where he could breathe the atmosphere of religious liberty, and follow his literary inclinations in peace. He and his wife, with their two children, forsaking their rich farm, left by night, and made their way to Zittau, in Saxony, where they eked out an existence by gardening, spinning and washing. In time they became more prosperous, and Kleych was able to have printed a new edition of the Bohemian New Testament, and much other religious literature, which he sent by night across the frontier to Bohemia and Moravia.

The testimony borne by the fathers of a former generation was another source of new life, and these men prophesied of the renewal of the Brethren's Church, thus encouraging the younger generation.

Christian David, "the servant of the Lord," was born on the last day of the year 1690. He was an ignorant shepherd, entangled in all the superstitions of Rome, but was, through the Son, made free indeed, and enlightened by the Holy Ghost he was inspired to work for Christ with a zeal which nothing could quench. In 1713, after learning the trade of a carpenter, he left Moravia, looking for work as a journeyman, and seeking Christ as an awakened sinner. He visited Hungary, Austria and other places; joined the Protestant Church; served as a soldier in the Prussian army; lay sick unto death in a hospital; escaped from the hands of the Jesuits—all the time growing in grace and in the knowledge of God,—and, at last, in 1717, he came to Görlitz, in Silesia, where he met with Melchoir Schäfer, the pastor of a Lutheran church, and other men of sterling piety. He determined to make that place his home, but was soon moved by the Spirit to visit his native country in order to proclaim the Gospel.

In the course of his journey he came to Sehlen, and formed the acquaintance of the Neissers, upon whose heart he made a deep impression. On his return to Görlitz he was seized with a severe illness, and again brought to death's door. No sooner had he recovered than he set out again and proceeded to Sehlen, where he proclaimed Christ with great power. His exposition of Christ's words, "And every one that hath forsaken houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my name's sake, shall receive an hundred fold, and shall inherit everlasting life," moved the Neissers to their hearts. They begged Christian David to look for a retreat in a Protestant country, where they could worship God in spirit and in truth. He consented to do so, but three years elapsed before a place was found. On Monday, in Whitsunweek, the 25th of May, 1722, Christian David arrived at Sehlen with the intelligence that Count Nicholas Louis von Zinzendorf, a pious young nobleman, was willing to receive them on his estate of Berthelsdorf, in Saxony. In the night of the following Wednesday, soon after 10 o'clock, Augustin and Jacob Neisser, their wives and four children, together with Michael Jaeschke and Martha Neisser, ten persons in all, leaving behind houses and farms and whatever else they possessed, took their silent way afoot through the village, and led by Christian David turned toward the Silesian frontier. They were the first of those witnesses that had been ordained to go into a strange land, and build unto God a city, at whose sacred fire the dying Unitas Fratrum should renew its youth like the eagle's. Thirty years later the membership of the renewed Unitas Fratrum included 2,000 descendants of the ancient Unitas Fratrum, not counting the many whose ancestors had been indirectly connected with or influenced by that Church.

RENEWAL OF THE UNITAS FRATRUM

1722—1735.

The young Count von Zinzendorf, on whose estate the Moravian refugees found shelter, was surrounded in infancy by a religious atmosphere, his parents, George Louis von Zinzendorf and Charlotte Justina,—maiden name von Gersdorf,—being personal friends of Philip Jacob Spener, the father of Pietism, who became the sponsor of their son Nicholas Louis, born May 26th, 1700, in Dresden, where his father was minister of state at the Saxon court. When Spener

laid his hands on the head of this boy, he seemed, in the spirit of prophecy, to set him apart for the advance of Christ's kingdom.

George Louis died when his son was only six weeks old, and Zinzendorf's first religious impressions were received from his mother's account of his father's piety. After his mother's second marriage, he became the ward of his grandmother, Henrietta Catherine, Baroness von Gersdorf, and her daughter Henrietta, dwelling in their castle of Gross Hennersdorf, Upper Lusatia, Saxony, and the result of their careful religious training was early shown in the tender nature of their young charge. His grandmother, a very spirited woman, was imbued with the views of Spener, especially those recognizing the importance of greater spirituality among Christians, and the formation of "little churches within the Church," whose members as consecrated Christians should aim to advance personal piety and the purity of the whole Church. The doors of Gross Hennersdorf were thrown open to meetings of this character, after one of which Zinzendorf's pious tutor Edeling took him aside and spoke to him of the love of his Saviour. Much of that night the child Count spent in tears, but gave himself to Christ, dating his consecration from this event. The window in the castle is still shown, from which in simple faith he threw letters written to Jesus, who had thus early become to him a personal Friend and Saviour.

At the age of ten, Zinzendorf entered the boarding school at Halle, where, although the harsh treatment he received caused him much unhappiness, he advanced satisfactorily in his studies, enjoying the advantage of sitting at the table with Francke, a follower of Spener, and in that way becoming somewhat acquainted with missionary and educational work. During this period occurred the covenanting with Frederic von Watteville and three other associates that in later life they would labor for the conversion of the heathen, their fraternity being called the "Order of the Grain of Mustard Seed."

At the age of sixteen, Zinzendorf's uncle transferred him to the University of Wittenberg, hoping he would there lose his pious notions. He studied law according to his guardian's desire, but devoted his spare time to theology, and his simple rule of life, *to love the Lord Jesus Christ,* kept him firm in the faith.

Then followed a period of foreign travel, on which tour the sight in the picture gallery at Düsseldorf of an "Ecce Homo," beneath which were the lines, "This have I done for thee! What hast thou done for me?" strengthened the determination of his childhood to devote his life to the service of Christ.

In obedience to his grandmother's wishes, he entered public life as councilor at the court of Saxony, but his ambition was to secure an estate which should be the center of his work for Christ. He therefore purchased Berthelsdorf from his grandmother, secured Andrew Rothe as his village pastor, and appointed John Heitz manager of his new property, both men chosen on account of their piety.

On the 7th of September, 1722, his marriage with Erdmuth Dorothea, Countess Reuss, gave him a sympathetic helper in his efforts for the furtherance of Christ's kingdom. At their marriage a chivalrous impulse moved the Count to transfer his property to his wife, and this proved to be an excellent arrangement, for her skillful management of the estate left the Count free to devote his time to his philanthropic and religious pursuits, while her interest in his plans led her to allow the revenues to be used for their advancement.

The refugees from Moravia having arrived in Saxony during Zinzendorf's absence in Dresden, it devolved upon Heitz to decide upon a suitable location for them. The Baroness von Gersdorf suggested a place where there were good springs, but Heitz preferred some point on the road from Löbau to Zittau, as affording the refugees a better opportunity to live by their trades. He therefore, after much prayer, watched from the Hutberg (a hill about one mile from Berthelsdorf) the rising of mists from the lower ground, to learn where water was to be found. Over a spot near the foot of the hill an abundant mist hung, and Heitz exclaimed with gratitude: "Upon this spot will I, in Thy Name, build them the first house!" The land was wild and marshy, so discouraging in its prospects, that Augustin Neisser's wife exclaimed: "Where shall we find bread in this wilderness?" But when Christian David struck his axe into the first tree to be felled, he quoted with cheery faith the words from the 84th Psalm, "The sparrow hath found an house, and the swallow a nest for herself, where she may lay her young, even Thine altars, O Lord of Hosts, my King, and my God"; and in due time the prophecy was fulfilled. The little settlement was named Herrnhut (with the double meaning "Under the Lord's care" and "On the Lord's watch"), and messages sent back to Moravia soon brought other refugees to share their retreat, including the three brothers of the Neissers already there. But although the Neissers had heard the prophetic words of their grandfather Jaeschke that the Church of their forefathers would be renewed, neither they nor their associates seem as yet to have had any further desire than to secure a home where they might serve God according to His word.

But now five young men of Zauchtenthal, Moravia, resolved to bring about the resuscitation of the Unitas Fratrum, if God would use them for this purpose. They were David Nitschmann, a weaver, known later as the Syndic or agent of the Moravian Church in negotiations with different governments; David Nitschmann, a carpenter, to whom the episcopate was later transmitted, and who became identified with the commencement of foreign missions; Melchoir Zeisberger, the father of David Zeisberger, the Apostle to the Indians; John Töltschig, who was to be instrumental in establishing the Moravian Church in the north of England and Ireland; and David Nitschmann, the Martyr, who, as his name indicates, returned on a visit to Moravia, was captured, and died in prison at Olmütz, April 15th, 1729. Forbidden by Töltschig's father to hold religious services, and warned against attempting emigration, these five youths left their homes in Zauchtenthal on the night of May 2d, 1724, and when outside the place, knelt down, commending themselves and their relatives to God, and then departed, singing the exile hymn of the Bohemian-Moravian Brethren:

"Blessed the day when I must go
My fatherland no more to know,
My lot the exile's loneliness;

"For God will my protector be,
And angels ministrant for me
The path with joys divine will bless."

They purposed to proceed to Lissa and in this ancient Polish center of the Unitas Fratrum labor for its renewal, but resolving first to visit Christian David at Herrnhut they were welcomed with joy. They were disappointed in the appearance of the place, but being present at the corner-stone laying of a college which Zinzendorf and several others were erecting, they were so impressed with the devotion and perfect submission to God's will of the Count and Baron von Watteville that they felt providentially directed to remain in Herrnhut, where they became important factors in the renewal of the Church.

At this time Zinzendorf was more interested in his cherished plans for establishing a center of religious influence in Lusatia, similar to that at Halle, than he was in the Moravian exiles. The College, however, lasted only a year and a half, and then was turned into an orphanage. Later its large hall was used as a place of worship for the people of Herrnhut.

Meanwhile the emigration from Moravia continued, and by May, 1725, ninety refugees had gathered at Herrnhut. Every emigrant was questioned as to the cause of his presence there, and if this were

other than the desire to serve Christ fully he was advised to return to his home. Zinzendorf offered no inducements to refugees, Christian David's repeated visits to his fatherland, ten in all, being opposed by him; and finally he undertook a journey to Kremsir, hoping to come to some agreement with the Austrian government, as the tide of emigration still continued. This visit, however, was without result.

The preaching of Rothe attracted others desiring freedom of conscience, and from the vicinity and from different parts of Germany they came, in such numbers that in the space of five years over three hundred people had gathered in and near Herrnhut. Meanwhile the differences in religious sentiment had given rise to disagreements. The exiles, under the leadership of the five young men, desired a renewal of the rules and principles of the Unitas Fratrum, those not from Moravia had other wishes, and differences in points of doctrine caused much dispute. This state of affairs continued about two years, until in 1727 Zinzendorf came to Herrnhut, and devoted his entire time to remedying the trouble. It was indeed a perplexing situation. Count Zinzendorf was a Lutheran, and as his tenants the settlers were members of the Lutheran parish of Berthelsdorf. To be at once their landlord and their trusted adviser was difficult; to formulate regulations which should please the various parties without conflicting with the State Church required still more care. Personal, intimate conversation with each inhabitant of the place, followed by consultation with Rothe, Christian David, Marche (the Count's legal advisor), and with the more influential of the Moravian exiles, resulted in the drawing up of forty-two statutes to regulate the communal life of Herrnhut, with special regard to the traditional discipline of the Unitas Fratrum.

On May 12th, 1727, this "Brotherly Agreement" was unanimously adopted, each individual giving the Count his right hand as a pledge to abide by the compact, and in this way peace and order were restored. During the following weeks interest in spiritual things greatly increased, many meeting in different "bands" for prayer, the study of the Scriptures, and the interchange of personal experiences. Soon after, Zinzendorf found in the library of Zittau a copy of the "Ratio Disciplinæ" of the Unitas Fratrum, published by Comenius years before, and was amazed at the substantial agreement of the statutes of May 12th with the discipline of the ancient Unitas Fratrum, proving the purity of the traditions preserved amongst the "Hidden Seed."

Then followed the celebration of the Holy Communion at Berthelsdorf on Wednesday, August 13th, attended with such a wonderful realization of the Lord's presence and baptism of His Spirit that the

day is still commemorated as the spiritual birthday of the renewed Brethren's Church. The day began with a short address on the Lord's Supper, at Herrnhut, by Pastor Rothe, who had given the invitation to this special celebration of the Communion in the Lutheran parish church at Berthelsdorf. There he administered the rite of confirmation to two Moravian candidates, and an earnest discourse followed. During the singing of the hymn beginning:

"My soul before Thee prostrate lies,"

the congregation knelt, and then Count Zinzendorf offered the public confession. He interceded for a true union of hearts, a freedom from any sort of schism, for a solid foundation in the blood and cross of Christ, etc. Three other fervent prayers followed, and the absolution was pronounced by Pastor John Süss, of Hennersdorf, who administered the Sacraments. The hearts of those who partook were deeply touched, and they covenanted before the Lord to be and remain one in Him.

The awakening of religious interest among the children, which quickly followed, and the beginning of the "Hourly Intercession" on August 27th, were significant features of the revival.

Count Zinzendorf had always been deeply interested in missions to the heathen, and one result of the events of 1727 was a desire among the Moravians to carry the Gospel to lost souls. In 1732 two men, Leonard Dober and David Nitschmann (later Bishop), left Herrnhut on their way to the West Indies to preach to the negro slaves. The next year Matthew and Christian Stach and Christian David sought the inhospitable shores of Greenland.

Moreover numerous visits were made to various parts of Europe for the purpose of winning friends. Count Zinzendorf was a nobleman, and a man of great personal magnetism, but the way in which the Moravian refugees met and won the respect of princes and University Professors attest their ability and character also. Denmark, Sweden, Hungary, Silesia, Prussia, and England, appear in their itineraries. At Jena many friends were made, some of whom later joined the Unity, the most prominent being August Gottlieb Spangenberg, then a Lutheran divine, later a bishop of the Brethren's Church, and one of its most able leaders.

But the very success of the Herrnhut movement brought fresh troubles. The leaders at Halle became jealous, and enemies of Zinzendorf and of Herrnhut made it increasingly difficult to maintain the position of an organization within the Lutheran Church, though Zin-

zendorf even took orders as a Lutheran clergyman that he might the better stand between the Moravians and the State Church. Two attempts to persuade Herrnhut to drop its characteristic features and become simply a Lutheran congregation failed. Ordained ministers were needed for the mission fields. And so, step by step, Count Zinzendorf and the men of Herrnhut were led toward the actual reëstablishment of the ancient Unitas Fratrum. Although they did not fully realize it, the decisive step was taken when the Episcopate of the ancient Unitas Fratrum, carefully preserved by the congregations of the Brethren in Poland, was transferred to one of the "Hidden Seed." On March 13th, 1735, David Nitschmann, the carpenter of Zauchtenthal, the refugee to Herrnhut, the missionary to the West Indian slaves, one of the elders at Herrnhut, was consecrated a bishop of the Unitas Fratrum, at Berlin, by Daniel Ernst Jablonski, a grandson of Comenius, "Preacher at Berlin, Elder, Senior and Episcopus of the Bohemian-Moravian Brethren in Great Poland," with the written concurrence of his "colleague in Great Poland," Bishop Christian Sitkovius, Superintendent of the united Reformed and Brethren's congregations in that country.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE BRETHREN'S CHURCH IN GERMANY

1735—1775.

The history of the Brethren's Unity in the years which followed David Nitschmann's consecration as a bishop of the Unitas Fratrum is somewhat difficult to understand unless special note is made of two distinct tendencies, which, modifying each other, in turn exercised the leading influence in the Brethren's policy.

Count Zinzendorf, the friend and patron of the Moravian emigrants, the gifted poet and preacher, the foremost member of the renewed Unitas Fratrum, was a man to whom denominational lines meant very little. Greatly attracted to the Moravians by their piety and willingness to serve Christ in any and every way, his ambition was that he and they might bear the Gospel message into all the world, beginning with the friends and neighbors whose religious life needed new warmth and energy. His ideal, carried to complete realization, would have made the Unitas Fratrum simply a society of energetic evangelists, serving all denominations and all races without distinction, and receiving accessions only from those who desired actively to share in their

labors. On the other hand there were those who, like the five young men of Zauchtenthal, earnestly desired the renewal of the Unitas Fratrum as such, who cherished the traditions of its ancient usefulness and dignity, and who believed that men and women awakened through their agency should be gathered into congregations as integral parts of the Unity. Add to this the complications arising from the growth of a new movement in lands possessing an established State Church, and the utterly different conditions in the New World and the mission fields, and it will easily appear that the final result could not be foretold, could not even be permanently shaped by legislative action at any given time, but would of necessity be the product of all these forces. The simple faith, the burning zeal of Zinzendorf made an indelible impression upon the theology of the Brethren, and his breadth of view has been a priceless heritage; but his policy of restricting membership hampered numerical growth for many years, even though circumstances made him an important factor in the definite reorganization of the Unitas Fratrum, and the wishes of his associates, the desires of awakened souls, and the natural development of the work led to the establishment of many congregations.

The consecration of Bishop David Nitschmann in 1735, intended to enable the Unity to send ordained ministers to the mission fields and to give the Brethren a better standing with their enemies, failed signally to accomplish the latter purpose. The storm of criticism and abuse centered about Count Zinzendorf, and in March, 1736, the Saxon Government banished him from Herrnhut. The confiscation of his estates was threatened, but being warned in time he completed the legal transfer of the property placed in his wife's hands at the time of their marriage, adding thereto such as had since been acquired, and this ownership by Countess Zinzendorf was allowed to stand unmolested, although the revenues continued to be used for the purposes of the Unity. A further attempt to crush Herrnhut failed, because the commission sent to critically examine the affairs of that place reported so favorably that the Saxon Government declared they should be undisturbed so long as they remained faithful to the Augsburg Confession (which did not in any way conflict with Moravian doctrine, constitution, or discipline).

Count Zinzendorf took the decree of banishment very calmly, and devoted himself to promoting the interests of the work outside of Saxony, and for some years Wetteravia became the administrative center. In this district, near Frankfort-on-the-Main, was the half-ruined castle of Ronneburg, whose owners were deeply in debt and

urged the Moravians to settle there that their thrift might redeem the estate. Zinzendorf accepted the proposal in order to reach the forlorn population in the neighborhood, the estate of Marienborn was also leased, and Herrnhaag, a second Herrnhut, was founded a few years later.

Aggressive evangelistic activity marked the Wetteravian era. The "Pilgergemeine" (later known as the "Jüngerhaus") was established there and was a prominent factor in the Church during the rest of Zinzendorf's life. It was "a union of men and women whose mission it was to proclaim a Saviour in the whole world, and who therefore intinerated from place to place in accordance with the needs of the cause," making its headquarters in Wetteravia, Berlin, Holland, England, or Berthelsdorf acording to circumstances. To this period also belongs the complete elaboration of the "Choir System." (See chapter on Moravian Festal Days).

In July, 1736, Zinzendorf visited Livonia, where a successful Diaspora work was soon begun, and on the way home he was invited to visit King Frederick William I of Prussia, who wished to see the much-criticised Count. The shrewd monarch came to the conclusion that the Count's only fault was that "he wished to be pious though a nobleman," and he advised Zinzendorf to have himself consecrated a bishop of the Brethren's Unity. His chaplain, Bishop Jablonski, endorsed this suggestion, and after a committee of eminent divines had arrived at a satisfactory conclusion regarding the Count's orthodoxy he was consecrated at Berlin, May 20th, 1737, by Bishops Jablonski and David Nitschmann, with the written concurrence of Bishop Sitkovius. While this matter was pending Zinzendorf convened the first Synod of the renewed Unitas Fratrum at Marienborn; visited Holland, where many friends had been won in Amsterdam, and a settlement was commencing at Heerendyk; and crossed to London, where Archbishop Potter was most cordial, and urged him to accept the episcopate. His first exercise of episcopal powers was the ordination of Peter Böhler, December 16th, 1738.

In the same month Zinzendorf and several companions sailed for St. Thomas to inspect and strengthen the mission work there, and on his return he visited England, Holland and Switzerland, where Montmirail became a center for Diaspora activity. This Diaspora work has always been characteristic of the renewed Unitas Fratrum in countries with Established Churches, and consists of pastoral care of members of the State Church who wish to be associated with the Brethren's Unity without severing their connection with their own denomination.

In September, 1741, Zinzendorf passed through London on his way to Pennsylvania, and a conference was held to provide for the administration of affairs during his absence. The most important action taken was the abrogation of the office of "Chief Elder"; Jesus Christ was recognized as the only "Chief Elder of His Church," and the supervision of the Unity's activities was placed in the hands of a "General Conference."

During Zinzendorf's sojourn in Pennsylvania the influence of the Nitschmanns, Neissers, etc., came to the fore. Niesky was established in Lusatia, Neudietendorf in Thuringia, while the suggestion of Frederick the Great of Prussia, that the Brethren settle in his newly accquired province of Silesia, led to the establishment of several congregations, and gave opportunity for the securing of a concession from the Prussian King which distinctly recognized the Unitas Fratrum as an independent Church with an episcopal constitution, and granted its members liberty of conscience in Silesia.

This movement toward independence did not accord with Zinzendorf's views, and on his return from America in 1743 his associates yielded to his influence and placed the entire control of affairs in his hands,—a marked departure from the custom of conferential government which had always obtained in the Unitas Fratrum, both ancient and renewed. Nor did this individual management prove a success, and when the bitter trials which closed the Wetteravian era came upon them the Count himself reinstituted the conference government which has never since been interrupted.

The troubles mentioned were two-fold. By this time Pietism had swung too far toward sentimentalism, and the Brethren, especially in Wetteravia, caught the contagion. Zinzendorf, with his poetic temperament, had a natural tendency toward metaphorical terms, and for quite a while did not realize whither they were drifting. When his eyes were opened he speedily ended the extravagances; hymns and liturgies written during those years were suppressed; and the Brethren's Church was quickly purged from the temporary unwise sentimentalities of some of its members. Since then the Unitas Fratrum has instinctively shrunk from anything bordering on religious extravagance, so the experience had a permanently beneficial effect, sad though it was at the time.

Great financial difficulties were also pressing upon the Unity. With unexampled generosity Count and Countess Zinzendorf had ever used the income from their estates for the support of the enterprises of the Brethren's Church, and when its rapid increase outgrew the revenue, money was freely borrowed upon their property. Now the limit was

reached and several heavy losses fell upon them just when they were least able to bear it. The government of Wetteravia became unfriendly to them, and in 1749 the Moravian settlers were ordered to leave all the costly improvements they had made or give up their Church, and once more they chose religious freedom and emigrated, some to America and some to other congregations of the Unity. Then certain friends in Holland, who had advanced money on most liberal terms, became dissatisfied because the interest was not paid. The American settlements were self-sustaining, but in Germany, Holland and England bankruptcy seemed imminent. Count Zinzendorf had pressed onward, so full of faith in his cause that he never doubted the means would be provided; but when compelled to face the issue at the close of 1752 he made no attempt to treat the debts as belonging solely to the Unity, but held himself responsible, pledged his own credit to the utmost, organized finance committees to work out the problem, and with the help of generous friends in England, Germany and Holland confidence was restored and a beginning made toward a better financial system.

In 1747 the edict of banishment against Count Zinzendorf was revoked, and he gladly returned to Herrnhut. Another royal commission examined into the affairs of that village, the doctrine, discipline, and episcopate of the Brethren's Church and its relationship to the State Church; and the very favorable report brought a proposal from the Saxon Government to lease to the Unity the castle and estate of Barby, on the Elbe. This was done, the theological seminary was moved thither, and in 1771 Barby became the seat of the governing board of the Unity, remaining an important center until 1809, when the troubles of the Napoleonic wars caused the Brethren to surrender the property into other hands. A second sign of favor from the Saxon Government was received in September, 1749, when a royal decree granted the Brethren full freedom of conscience, worship and ritual in Upper Lusatia and on the estate of Barby, in recognition of their substantial adherence to the tenets of the Augsburg Confession.

In 1749 the formal recognition of the Unitas Fratrum by the English Parliament made London an important center, and for several years Zinzendorf and other of the leaders spent much time there, but in 1755 the Count came back to Herrnhut, making it once more the center of the largely increased activities of the Brethren's Church,—in 1743 already it had been reckoned that there were 21,000 people in close connection with the Unity.

The next year a great bereavement came upon the Count and the

entire Unity, for Countess Zinzendorf died June 17th, 1756. Less widely known than her gifted husband she had served the Unity with tireless energy, making the estates do their utmost toward bearing the expenses of the varied enterprises, never murmuring that the interests of her family were merged in the general cause, but aiding and cheering every one, whether Moravian emigrant or German lord. The Count never recovered from the blow. A year later friends persuaded him to marry Anna Nitschmann, the beloved leader of the Moravian women, but his health gradually failed, and he passed away, May 9th, 1760, almost his last intelligible words being "Ich werde nun zum Heiland gehen,"—"Now will I go to the Saviour,"—the Saviour whom he had so dearly loved and so loyally served.

It had been prophesied that the Count's death would mean the disintegration of the Unity, but such was not to be the case. The more prominent men took counsel together as to the best means for continuing the work, and provisional arrangements were made for the management of Church affairs. Spangenberg soon became a recognized leader, a position for which he was in every way fitted, and his efforts were ably seconded by a score of others. A most important Synod met in July, 1764, consisting of ninety representative Brethren, and there a constitution was framed for the Unitas Fratrum, whereby the supreme power was vested in the General Synod to be held from time to time, with executive boards to manage affairs in the intervals.

The financial question presented peculiar difficulties, for Count Zinzendorf left four heirs, three daughters and a nephew of his first wife, (his second wife died shortly after he passed away), and his estates naturally belonged to them, although they were pledged for the debts of the Unity. Both the Brethren and the heirs displayed a noble spirit, and a settlement was reached by which the Unity assumed the debts and took over the property, making a cash payment to the heirs.

With the conclusion of the Seven Years' War prosperity dawned for Herrnhut and the other congregations. The thrift and character of the people had at last triumphed, their industries were widely and favorably known, and the Saxon Government regarded them with approval. The schools of Neuwied were attracting attention; Zeist (in Holland) enjoyed the favor of the Stadholder of Holland and the King of Denmark; and the first systematic attempt was made to collect and arrange the archives of the Unity. At the General Synods of 1769 and 1775 a permanent constitution was adopted, the doctrinal position of the Unity was formulated, and the Brethren's Church began a new chapter of its history.

THE MORAVIAN CHURCH IN ENGLAND AND IRELAND

1728—1775.

In the early summer of 1728, three members of the Herrnhut congregation arrived in London,—Wenceslaus Neisser, John Töltschig, and David Nitschmann, the Syndic. As in the case of many of the early Moravian messengers, their funds consisted of faith rather than coin of the realm, and long before they reached their destination their money had completely given out, and one of them was about to sell himself for a period of years in the service of the Dutch East India Company, when a compassionate stranger came to their assistance and helped them on their way. The object of their visit to England at this time was to form a connection with the "Society for the Promoting of Christian Knowledge," and although they carried letters to certain members of the English court their errand did not succeed because of the hostility of Ziegenhagen, the court preacher.

The visit of Spangenberg from December 28th, 1734, to February 3d, 1735, was more successful. His business in London was to prepare the way for the Georgia colonists, and while he succeeded in making the necessary arrangements with General Oglethorpe, he too had constantly to contend with the antagonism of court preacher Ziegenhagen, who was an adherent of Halle, and bitterly opposed to any movement that was identified with Herrnhut. On January 14th, 1735, the first company of Moravian colonists for Georgia arrived in London, and from this date until February 3d, 1735, when they set sail, new friends were daily springing up, and assistance was given them in various ways; and the religious services which they were accustomed to hold, and which were largely attended by German residents, and the acquaintance made with influential citizens, helped to open the way for the establishment of the "Moravian" Church in England, that name being given on account of the nationality of some of these first visitors, and being so generally used that it finally became one of the recognized titles of the Unitas Fratrum.

In January, 1736, Zinzendorf visited London for the purpose of conferring with the Trustees of Georgia respecting the colonists in Savannah, and also to seek advice from Archbishop Potter of Canterbury in regard to his own consecration as a bishop of the Brethren's Church. During this visit Zinzendorf organized the first "Society," which led to the formation of a Moravian congregation in London a few years later. But before this, on October 31st, 1735, the second

company of colonists for Georgia had set sail under the guidance of Bishop David Nitschmann, and on the same ship went John and Charles Wesley, Benjamin Ingham and Charles Delamotte. The Wesleys were sons of Samuel Wesley, a clergyman of the Church of England, and while at the University of Oxford they, with two companions, had formed a little society for religious improvement, and by their strict and methodical habits had gained the name of "Methodists." Both brothers had taken orders in the English Church, and were on their way to Georgia, John to serve as rector at Savannah, and Charles as private secretary to General Oglethorpe. Their two companions were going to do mission work in Georgia.

There was living in London at that time James Hutton, a bookseller, who was a pious man and a friend and sympathizer of the Wesleys, and when the latter called in London, on their way to America, he accompanied them to their ship. There he saw the little group of Moravians on their way to Georgia, was deeply impressed, and felt that he wanted to know more about them. He kept up a regular correspondence with the Wesleys, and in the little "Vestry Society" which he formed in his own home, amongst his friends, it was the custom to read the letters which had been received. One of them told of the voyage out; how the time was spent on the ship; how a great storm came on, the waves rose, the thunders rattled, the lightning flashed, and the passengers shrieked for fear, and huddled together, expecting at any moment to be lost, and how during the storm the Brethren had sung their hymns and remained calm and fearless, and when asked if they were not afraid replied: "We are neither afraid for ourselves nor for our children". Wesley further told of the work among the Indians; how at one Moravian service he almost thought that Paul and Peter had arisen from the dead, so powerful was the preaching; and how his brother Charles, at a Moravian song service, was so carried away that he imagined he was in the presence of a choir of angels. "What," asked Hutton, "did this all mean? What did these 'Brethren' have which he lacked? What was the secret? Why could these people do things which he and the Wesleys could not do?" At last John Wesley, being in a similar frame of mind and greatly discouraged, returned from his work in America, in 1738.

About this time Peter Böhler arrived in London. He was a learned man, had been ordained by Zinzendorf, and was on his way as a missionary to the negroes in South Carolina. On the day of his arrival in London he met John Wesley,—a meeting which was to be of much consequence for all ages to come,—and later on Böhler was introduced to Hutton by Wesley, and these three young men, being of kindred

minds, had many earnest talks on religion. The result was that the mists and doubts which had been clouding the minds of Hutton and Wesley were at last cleared away. On May 22d, 1738, Böhler left for America, but a few days before this he and Wesley drew up a set of rules for the "Society," which met at Hutton's home until it grew so large that it was moved to the "Great Meeting House" at 32 Fetter Lane. Shortly after this, Hutton wrote to Zinzendorf asking that on his return from America Böhler might be appointed Pastor of this "Society," which was still a "Vestry Society," the members regarding themselves in every way as members of the Church of England, though in touch with the Unitas Fratrum.

Associated with the "Fetter Lane Society" were a number of young men who were destined to play an important part in the religious awakening of England; and for a time it seemed that John Wesley, one of the leaders, would permanently cast in his lot with the Moravians. Being deeply interested, he with Ingham (who had returned from Georgia), visited Herrnhut. There he heard Christian David preach and had many interviews with him. Ingham was favorably impressed with all he heard, but Wesley "mingled admiration with questioning," and on his return to England tried to persuade Hutton and his Society to separate from the Moravians, but without effect, for Hutton at once left for Herrnhut to strengthen the bonds which linked his Society to the Brethren. The difference of opinion between Wesley and the Moravian leaders continued to increase, and although they had frequent intercourse, and repeated efforts were made to effect a union, the disagreement came to a head on July 31st, 1739, when Wesley and those who were of his way of thinking left the Fetter Lane Society and organized the "Foundry Society" in Moorfields. The bitterness thus created did not last long, for it was soon apparent that each body had its own particular mission to fulfill. A few years later, Spangenberg, while administrator of affairs in England, made several attempts to come to some understanding with Wesley, but his efforts were not successful; and the final parting of the ways took place in 1743, when Wesley and Zinzendorf were unable to agree concerning truths which they honestly deemed fundamental.

Already the work of the Moravians had begun to grow and spread in different directions, so that by May, 1742, there were twenty-four laborers engaged in the English field, the first English hymn book had been published, and on November 10th, 1742, Spangenberg organized, out of the Fetter Lane Society, the "London Church" or "Moravian Brethren formerly of the English Communion." The membership

numbered seventy-two and so great was their zeal that a few years later sixty-five of them were engaged in active service in different parts of the world.

On May 12th, 1749, the British Parliament, without a single dissenting vote, passed a law acknowledging the Unitas Fratrum to be "an ancient Protestant, Episcopal Church," thus granting to its members full liberty of conscience and worship. This act was of great importance to the Church, not only for its work in England, but for the American Colonies as well; for the Church of England was at least nominally the State Church in America until the Revolution, and this Act of Parliament gave the Moravian settlers in America certain privileges granted to no other denomination except the Anglican.

In the early part of the eighteenth century,—the time in which the Methodist and Moravian Churches began their work in England,—the life and condition of the people was far different from what it is now. Public and private life was somewhat coarse; the work of the Church amongst the masses of the people could hardly be discerned; religion was almost at a standstill; but a brighter day was beginning to dawn, and in different parts of England strong, earnest preachers were at work, and revivals were taking place in many localities. Among those who labored earnestly for this awakening was Benjamin Ingham, the companion of Wesley, and like him a clergyman of the Church of England. He preached with great success in Yorkshire, founding numerous "societies," and when he needed help he turned to the Moravians, having become intimately acquainted with some of them in Georgia. With John Töltschig he was on particularly friendly terms, and at his invitation Töltschig visited him in Yorkshire several times. Two years later Ingham offered his "societies" to the Brethren's Church, the offer was accepted, and immediately a company of twenty-six brethren and sisters of the London congregation organized themselves into the "Yorkshire Congregation,"—May 26th, 1742,—and set out for Yorkshire. The field of work was mapped out into five districts, each under a competent leader and assistants, while Bishop Spangenberg took command of the whole. In six months time forty-seven preaching places had been arranged in Yorkshire.

Meanwhile Ingham was forming new "societies" in Lancashire, which he also transferred to the Moravians. The work was among the poor and the meetings were held in cottages, barns, or in the open air,—the ministers tramped from place to place on foot. The work was difficult; opposition broke out in many places, the preachers were often stoned and beaten, were dragged before magistrates and charged

with various crimes, but still they persevered and their work grew, and remains to this day in the congregations of Leeds, Bradford, etc. Lamb's Hill, later called Grace Hall, and finally Fulneck, was begun in 1744; situated between Leeds and Bradford, it became the central congregation of northern England, with its Boys' Boarding School, Widows' House, Sisters' House, Brothers' House and other Church enterprises,—the Herrnhut of the English Moravian Church.

Another successful worker was John Cennick, who became one of the most powerful and noted preachers of his time, and did more toward spreading the Moravian Church through England and Ireland than any other man. Cennick was born in 1718; in 1739 he became associated with Wesley and Whitefield, and began preaching; two years later he separated from them, and in 1745 became fully connected with the London Moravian Congregation. His fields of labor were London, Dublin, the west of England, and the north of Ireland. His meetings were often held in the open air, as his congregations generally exceeded one thousand people. On his second journey through the north of Ireland he had become so popular that as many as ten thousand people sometimes attended his services. His reception was not always cordial at first; often his meetings would be nearly broken up by mobs, who would pelt the preacher with stones, or eggs, or water, and in many other ways try to discourage him, but he would not give up, and in time he became the founder of more than 200 societies and preaching places in Ireland, and many others in the west of England. Broken down in health he returned to London, where he died July 4th, 1755, at the age of thirty-six years.

Cennick was not only a successful preacher, but he also contributed much to the hymnology of his Church, and twenty-five of the hymns in the American Moravian Hymn Book are from his pen. In this connection several other members of the English congregations should be mentioned. John Gambold, born 1711, died 1771, another early associate of the Wesleys, and later the first English Moravian Bishop, wrote a number of hymns, and edited one edition of the English Hymn Book. Benjamin LaTrobe found time in his busy life as preacher and financier to write hymns; while Christian Ignatius LeTrobe, "Senior Civilas,"—that is a bishop in secular affairs,—was both poet and musician. Quite at the close of this period came James Montgomery, born in Scotland, in 1771, who was perhaps the best known of them all as a poet and hymn-writer.

During the years when Cennick and his assistants were preaching in Ireland, many faithful laborers were laying the foundations of the work

in Northampton, Hereford, Bedford, Derby, Nottingham, York, Cumberland, Lancaster and Chester counties in England. John Caldwell and his assistants preached at Ayr, and at forty other places in the Lowlands of Scotland; and John Gambold established the work in South Wales;—in all there were ten districts and some four hundred preaching places. Later on the work was divided into four main districts, each with its fully organized congregations and their surrounding preaching places.

John Töltschig, already mentioned as a friend of Ingham, aided greatly in the work in Britain. Modest, and averse to controversy, he possessed a talent for organization, and great tact in smoothing difficulties. He was one of the five young men who left Moravia in 1724, with the express hope of reviving the Unitas Fratrum, and having renounced his home at that early age, he became one of their typical "citizens of the world," serving his God, his Church, and his fellowman faithfully, in Germany, America, England, Ireland,—wherever need called.

Bishop Spangenberg, who had been in charge of affairs in England since the organization of the London congregation, was called to Pennsylvania in 1734, and his place was taken by Leonard and Martin Dober, who in 1752 were succeeded by Peter Böhler. In 1755, Frederick William von Marshall, Benjamin LaTrobe, and Peter Böhler, stood at the head of affairs, though often called upon to serve in other important work of the Church.

It was the policy of those at the head of the Unitas Fratrum in Britain to prevent all unpleasantness with the Church of England, and so Zinzendorf's idea of a "Church within a Church" was strictly adhered to, comparatively few of the societies and preaching places founded by the Moravians during this period being organized into congregations. In 1774, a strict rule was laid down that only such members of these societies as "had a distinct call to the Moravian Church" should be allowed to join it. All other members of the societies, though connected with the Brethren in a way, remained members of the Church of England, and once every three months, with their Moravian minister at their head, went in procession to Communion in the parish church.

THE MORAVIANS IN GEORGIA

1735—1740.

Among those who came to share the hospitality of Count Zinzendorf during the years immediately preceding the renewal of the Unitas Fratrum were a company of Schwenkfelder. Their sojourn on his estate was brief, but they are of interest because their necessities led directly to the Moravian settlements in Georgia and Pennsylvania.

The Schwenkfelder took their name from Casper Schwenkfeld, a Silesian nobleman contemporary with Luther, who had in the main embraced the reformer's doctrines, but formed some opinions of his own in regard to the Lord's Supper, and one or two other points. His followers were persecuted in turn by Lutherans and Jesuits, and in 1725 a number of them threw themselves on the mercy of Count Zinzendorf. He permitted them to stay for a while at Herrnhut, where their views served to increase the confusion which prevailed prior to the revival of 1727, about which time he moved them to Ober-Berthelsdorf, a neighboring village.

In April, 1733, the Saxon government decreed that all Schwenkfelder were to leave the kingdom, and this, of course, affected those who were living at Ober-Berthelsdorf. One company emigrated to Pennsylvania within a few months. A larger body consulted with Count Zinzendorf as to their destination; the Province of Georgia, recently established, was selected, and Zinzendorf's negotiations with the Trustees of Georgia secured them the promise of free transportation and a grant of land. In Holland, however, they changed their minds and decided to follow the first party to Pennsylvania.

The Schwenkfelder failing to avail themselves of the opportunity in Georgia, Zinzendorf again opened negotiations with the Trustees along slightly different lines. Foreign missions were almost unknown in Zinzendorf's boyhood, yet from his earliest days his thoughts had often turned to those who lay beyond the reach of the Gospel. Much was being published in the newspapers about Georgia, and he saw an opportunity to carry the truth to the heathen, and also the advantage that the Moravians might gain from a settlement in America to which they could go if the persecution in Saxony waxed violent.

The Trustees repeated their promise of land, provided the colonists would go at their own expense, and after much discussion the decision was reached that Zinzendorf should ask for a tract of 500 acres, and that ten men should go over to begin a village, their families and addi-

tional settlers to follow them in a few months. Spangenberg was sent to London to prepare the way, and had numerous interviews with General Oglethorpe, and the Trustees, who granted 500 acres of land on the Ogeechee River to Zinzendorf, for the colonists, 50 acres to Spangenberg, and 50 acres to David Nitschmann, later known as the Syndic.

Nitschmann and the first company left Herrnhut on Nov. 21, 1734, reaching London Jan. 14, 1735. Then Nitschmann returned to Germany, and Spangenberg took his place as leader, sailing with the party on February 6th, and reaching Georgia on April 8th, after nine and a half weeks on shipboard.

There was no immediate opportunity to occupy the 500-acre tract, which lay at a considerable distance from Savannah, so the Moravians decided to establish headquarters in the town itself. Each 50-acre grant included a town lot, a garden of five acres, and a farm of forty-five, which served their purpose admirably; work on a house and on their garden was at once begun, and rapid progress made. Many of their number became ill, owing to the change in climate, and one man died, but otherwise they were successful in making a start, forming acquaintances in the town and among the Indians, and in general preparing the way for the second and larger company, which reached Savannah Feb. 17th, 1736, led by David Nitschmann, the Bishop.

The arrival of these additional settlers, seventeen men and eight women, was followed by the formal organization of their congregation, Anton Seifert being elected "chief elder" or pastor, and John Töltschig business manager.

The ordination of Anton Seifert, which occurred on March 10th, is of more than local interest, in that it is the first unquestioned instance of the exercise of episcopal functions in the United States. Prior to this, and for a number of years later, clergymen of the Church of England and English-speaking Catholic priests were ordained in the Old World before coming to the New, remaining under the control of the Bishop and of the Vicar Apostolic of London; while the Spanish Catholics were under the Suffragan of Santiago de Cuba, and the French Catholics under the Bishop of Canada. Therefore when Bishop Nitschmann came to Georgia and in the presence of the Moravian Congregation at Savannah ordained one of their number to be their pastor he was unconsciously doing one of the "first things" which are so interesting to every lover of history.

On March 15th Spangenberg left for Pennsylvania, to visit the Schwenkfelder, and Bishop Nitschmann followed him on March 26th, and then the colonists settled down to the two-fold object of their

coming to Georgia,—self-support, and missionary work among the Indians.

The Moravians had borrowed money from the Trustees of Georgia to pay their passage over and to maintain them during the first few months, and to repay this while supporting themselves laid quite a heavy financial burden on them. Spangenberg, with his keen insight, grasped the idea that a common purpose warranted a community of service,—the labor of all for the benefit of all,—with every duty, no matter how lowly, done as unto the Lord. "Who worked much, gave much, who worked less, gave less, who did not work, because he was sick or weak gave nothing into the common fund; but when they needed food, or drink, or clothing, or other necessary thing one was as another." This plan worked so well in Georgia that it was used in Pennsylvania and North Carolina when those settlements were new, being abandoned when the need for it passed.

During the first year of the Brethren's stay in Georgia a good deal had been seen of the Indians, but no start had been made toward teaching them, except that some of their words had been learned. The chief, Tomochichi, made the missionaries welcome, and promised to do all he could to admit them into all parts of his nation. The frequent visits of the Indians to Savannah gave the Moravians many an opportunity for meeting them, as they always went to the Moravians' house, where food and drink were theirs at any time.

In July, 1737, Peter Rose and his wife went to live among the Lower Creeks, to which tribe Tomochichi belonged. In August it was decided to build a schoolhouse for the Indian children, in the hope of reaching the older men and women with the Gospel message. The site selected was one mile above Savannah on an island in the Savannah River, usually called Irene, and in September the building was finished, and was solemnly consecrated by Seifert. At first everything was encouraging. The children learned fast, the Indians gave five acres of land for a garden, it was cleared and planted, and all went well until the Spanish war rumor was felt. Then, true to their wild instinct, the Indian spirit rose and they took the war path against the Spanish. Benjamin Ingham had been aiding the Moravians in the Indian work, and at this juncture he decided to go to England for help, and Rose who was a well-meaning man and much loved by the Indians, but lacking in executive ability, was recalled to Savannah. Ingham was one of the four young Englishmen who came to Georgia on the ship which brought the second company of Moravians. The others were John and Charles Wesley, and Charles Delamotte, and the intimate friend-

ship there begun was destined to greatly affect the lives of all concerned, and incidentally it opened the way for the founding of the Moravian Church in England.

On the 16th of October, 1738, two Moravian Brethren, Peter Böhler and George Schulius, arrived in Savannah, as missionaries to the negroes of South Carolina. Böhler had been a Professor at Jena, and was a highly educated man, an able leader, and fitted to play an important part in the Church of his adoption. In later years he became a Bishop of the Unity. Böhler and Schulius wanted to locate the mission in Charleston, where there was a large negro population, but Oglethorpe refused his consent, and at his command they settled at Purisburg, where he rented a large house and two acres of ground for them, and ordered that supplies should be furnished them from the store at Savannah. At first the outlook was fairly promising. There were not many colored children, but the older negroes were interested, and the owners allowed the missionaries free access to their slaves. The German and Swiss settlers were very anxious to have their children taught, so Schulius agreed to take the white and Böhler the colored children. David Zeisberger, the future "Apostle to the Indians," joined them and was helpful in many ways. Soon Böhler was taken ill with fever, and on the 4th of August Schulius died, after an illness of eighteen days.

In September Böhler returned to Savannah, having convinced Oglethorpe that the small number of negroes at Purisburg made a mission of little use. He planned to itinerate among the plantations and so reach the slaves, but the critical condition of affairs in the Moravian congregation detained him in Savannah.

During their sojourn in that city the Brethren had had numerous experiences. At first their neighbors were very friendly, the Jews were especially courteous to them, but when rumors of the Spanish war came, and the Brethren refused to bear arms it caused hard and bitter feelings.

In October, 1737, the British Government declared war on Spain, and in November fighting in the colonies commenced, and of course the question as to the liability of the Moravians for military service became vital. As their unwillingness to bear arms was a matter of conscience they sturdily refused to fight, even when the other settlers threatened to burn their house over their heads; but finally, rather than remain in a town where they could not secure freedom of conscience, they resolved to do, as some of them had done in other lands, leave the results of their years of arduous toil, and move away. The debts to the

Trustees of Georgia had been fully paid, some of the colonists had already gone, and nine had died, so, having sold some stores to secure money for their traveling expenses, the last of the Moravians left Savannah, April 13th, 1740, George Whitefield taking them on his sloop to Pennsylvania.

As a mission to the Indians and as a permanent settlement the Moravian sojourn in Georgia was a failure, principally on account of the war between England and Spain. As a *school* for the Moravians it was eminently successful. The leaders of the Church, especially Spangenberg, had learned how best to handle a settlement in a new land, and what the colonists could do in the way of supporting themselves and the missionaries they sent out; and the successes in Pennsylvania and North Carolina were largely based on the lessons learned in Georgia.

When the Moravians left Georgia their real estate was placed in the care of James Habersham, as agent. As the 500 acre tract had proved too inaccessible, and had not been occupied, no attempt was made to retain ownership. The garden and town lots were ultimately sold, but the farm lots were not worth the taxes, and the title to them was allowed to lapse.

WORK OF THE UNITY IN PENNSYLVANIA

1734—1775.

Among the leaders of the Unitas Fratrum in the eighteenth century, August Gottlieb Spangenberg stands forth preëminently for his services to America. He not only conducted the first company to Georgia, but was the virtual founder of the permanent settlements in Pennsylvania and North Carolina, and their wise director through many critical years. He learned to know the Herrnhut Brethren during his student days at the University of Jena, and the friendship continued when he became a Lutheran minister, a professor at Jena, and later superintendent of the school work in the famous orphanage at Halle. In 1733 his zeal and his efforts to effect a union among Christians of diverse views caused his dismissal from Halle, and that led him to throw in his lot with the Moravians, and devote the whole of his able life to the service of their Church.

As has been said, Spangenberg led the first colony of Moravian settlers to Georgia, and stayed with them a year, then on March 15, 1736, he left for Pennsylvania, having been commissioned by Zinzendorf to

look after the welfare of the Schwenkfelder, ascertain the condition of the entire German population in Pennsylvania, and investigate the chances for work among the Indians.

The company of Schwenkfelder, who had reached Pennsylvania in September, 1734, had been under the joint leadership of Christopher Wiegner, of Silesia, who had entered into close fellowship with the people of Herrnhut, Christopher Baus, a Hungarian, who had joined the Brethren, and George Böhnisch, one of the Moravians from Herrnhut, so the story of the Moravian Church in Pennsylvania may be said to begin with their arrival. Wiegner, with the assistance of Böhnisch, at once proceeded to clear a tract of land and build a home in the Skippack woods, Böhnisch also preaching and doing evangelistic work as opportunity afforded. Meetings were held on the farm of Wiegner and were of the character of a federation, for the Germans in the colony gathered there for mutual religious help, irrespective of denomination, and were called "The Associated Brethren of the Skippack."

On reaching Pennsylvania Spangenberg took up his abode at the house of Böhnisch, working as a laborer on Wiegner's farm, so as not to be a burden to any one. In 1737 Böhnisch returned to Europe, and his evangelistic work was taken up by Spangenberg, who had by this time gained much information regarding the needs of the new colony, and had become acquainted with a number of leaders of other religious bodies, who later were of material assistance to the Moravians, some entering into full connection with the Moravian Church. In 1739, Spangenberg returned to Europe, thus ending his first period of activity in America.

Early in 1740 John Böhner came to Pennsylvania from Georgia, seeking a temporary place of abode for the colonists who were about to leave Georgia on account of the war between England and Spain, and on April 25th that party arrived in Philadelphia, George Whitefield having brought them on his sloop from Savannah. They expected to find Spangenberg and Bishop Nitschmann in Pennsylvania, and were disappointed to learn that the former had left and the latter had not yet arrived. Dissatisfied, and on the point of dispersing, they were kept together by Böhler—who had accompanied them from Georgia—pending the arrival of Nitschmann, who had been commissioned by a Synod of the previous year to lead a colony from Germany to America, at the earnest solicitation of Spangenberg, who saw a great opening for labor among the German settlers and the Indians.

In accordance with this desire on the part of Spangenberg three men had been sent out from Germany, John Hagen, Christian Henry

Rauch, who became the first missionary to the northern Indians, and Andrew Eschenbach. Hagen proceeded to Savannah hoping to labor among the Indians there, Rauch landed at New York, while Eschenbach itinerated among the Germans living around Philadelphia. When Hagen found the work in Georgia abandoned he joined the Brethren in Pennsylvania.

While on his way north, Whitefield had determined to establish a negro school in Pennsylvania. He therefore purchased from William Allen of Philadelphia a tract of 5,000 acres in the Forks of the Delaware, asked Böhler to superintend the erection of a schoolhouse, and employed his band of Moravians, among whom were a number of carpenters and masons. Böhler accepted this offer, and on May 10, 1740, the contract with Whitefield was concluded, and soon afterward they set out from Germantown for the place of the intended school and village, which Whitefield had named *Nazareth.* All went well until November when Böhler went to Philadelphia to report to his employer Whitefield. The latter led the discussion to certain controverted points of doctrine, and unable to make Böhler yield his view concerning free grace, Whitefield ordered him and his people to leave Nazareth immediately. This was almost impossible because winter was approaching, and by the intercession of Justice Irish, agent for William Allen, from whom Whitefield had made his purchase, Böhler secured a temporary stay of the sentence. Meanwhile Eschenbach, who had come in October, reported that he would soon be followed from Europe by Bishop David Nitschmann and a company of Brethren.

When Nitschmann arrived in December he entered into negotiations with William Allen and bought 500 acres at the junction of the Monocacy and the Lehigh, but as it was now midwinter the Brethren decided to remain in Nazareth until spring. In February, 1741, the matter of locating permanently was decided by lot in favor of the tract at the junction of the Monocacy and Lehigh. Work was at once begun on a log house for residence and worship,—a one-story building, 20x40 feet, divided by a log partition into two parts, one for the cattle, and the other for the people of the colony, with sleeping quarters in the attic under the steep-pitched roof.

On account of financial troubles Whitefield was unable to retain his Nazareth tract, and on July 15, 1741, he sold it to the Brethren for £2500, the transfer being arranged in England.

In July, Christian Henry Rauch came from his labors among the Indians, and the Pennsylvania Moravians held the first Communion

service, and Rauch preached the first public sermon, with I Pet. 1:18, 19, as his text. On September 28th, Bishop Nitschmann laid the first stone for the new "Gemein Haus," which during the early years of the settlement was to serve as home and hospice, manse and church, administration office, academy, dispensary and town-hall, the loved resting place of many weary pilgrims, the busiest center to be found in all that section.

Early in December Zinzendorf arrived in America, landing at New York. He visited among the German families, and formed the acquaintance of Henry Antes, who knew the conditions of Pennsylvania very well and was ready to give information. He finally reached the settlement on the Lehigh, and at the Christmas Eve vigil service gave it the name of *Bethlehem* in remembrance of the old town, our Saviour's birthplace.

In the breadth of his christianity Count Zinzendorf was two hundred years ahead of his time. No man ever cared less for proselyting and more for the real bond of union which should exist among Christians, regardless of denominational name. The Association of Skippack was directly in line with his desires, and wishing to promote a similar movement on a larger scale he visited many homes and invited the Germans of every branch of the Christian Church then represented in Pennsylvania to attend a conference at Germantown. At first it seemed as if a federation of the Churches would actually be achieved, and seven "synods" were held in quick succession, but the time was not yet ripe, denominational differences could not be laid aside, and the effort failed.

For awhile Zinzendorf preached in the German Reformed Church of Germantown, and then went to Philadelphia to live in a house which had been prepared for him. While there he was called as pastor of the Lutheran congregation which worshipped with the Reformed Church in a building on Arch Street. They had been without a pastor for some time and being unable to secure one from Germany they were prompted to ask Zinzendorf, who had taken orders as a Lutheran minister before he became a bishop of the Moravian Church. After some hesitation he accepted and all went well until a disturbance was made while he was holding a service for the Lutherans, and in order to prevent a repetition of the act Zinzendorf built a church of his own on Race Street for the use of Lutherans and Moravians.

June 7, 1742, a company of Moravians arrived who were called "The First Sea Congregation" as they had been organized into a congregation while at sea, Peter Böhler being their chaplain. After a

few days' rest in Philadelphia the majority of the members went to Bethlehem. The proceedings connected with their establishment at that place, and the first organization of the people for communal life and for religious and secular activity, began on the 23d of June, Count Zinzendorf presiding at the meetings. These meetings continued until June 25th, and in them all aspects of the settlement at Bethlehem were thoroughly discussed. It was to be first of all a missionary center, and measures were taken to make possible the great activity which followed. The members of the congregation were divided into two sections, one part to go abroad as evangelists, the other to stay at home and work, earning the means for their own support and that of their missionaries. The communal life, found so advantageous in Savannah, was introduced here, and the marvelous amount of work accomplished for Indians, German settlers, transient guests, and more or less distant neighbors, attests its suitability to the time and circumstances.

During the latter part of this year Zinzendorf made three extensive tours into the Indian country for the purpose of inspection,—the first in the region beyond the Blue Mountains, the second to Dutchess Co., New York, and the third to the Wyoming Valley in Pennsylvania,—all important in promoting the work of the Moravian missionaries among the Indian tribes.

July 17, 1742, the English contingent of The First Sea Congregation arrived at Bethlehem from Philadelphia, remaining until the end of the month, when they journeyed to Nazareth. In October of the same year, however, the majority of them returned to Philadelphia, only a few remaining to guard the Nazareth property. In 1743 word was received from Germany that a large number of colonists expected soon to leave for America. As it was thought wise that they should occupy the tract at Nazareth masons and carpenters proceeded to Nazareth to finish the Whitefield house, upon which no work had been done since the laying of the foundation stones. In 1744, the house was finished and thirty-three newly married couples occupied it.

January 1, 1743, Zinzendorf dedicated the new Church in Philadelphia, and soon afterwards returned to Europe. The next year Spangenberg, who had been consecrated a bishop, came to take charge of the work, relieving Böhler who returned to Europe. His field of labor was an extensive one. He was Superintendent of the Indian Mission, had charge of the itinerant preachers, to a great extent looked after the work in Surinam and the West Indies, was Superintendent of the economic life of Bethlehem and Nazareth, and presided over

all the undertakings controlled by the "Pennsylvania Synod," the federation which still existed between the Moravians, Lutherans, and Reformed.

Christian Henry Rauch, who had gone to work among the Indians, began to see the fruit of his labors, as was evidenced by the organization of a congregation at Shekomeko in Dutchess Co., New York, which by the end of 1743, had 63 baptized Indians. But in the spring of 1744 opposition arose on the part of unscrupulous whites who were deprived of their trade in liquor, which the Indians under the care of Moravian missionaries did not use. They complained to the English and claimed that the Moravians were Papists in disguise and emissaries of the French sent into the country to spy out English fortifications. The missionaries were now required to take an oath of allegiance to King George, which on account of conscientious scruples they refused to do, saying that they were willing to solemnly *affirm* this allegiance. The assembly at New York made the oath obligatory, and this caused the Brethren to remove the mission to the interior of Pennsylvania beyond the settlements of the colonists.

Spangenberg and Zeisberger with an interpreter made a journey to the center of the Six Nations, and concluded a treaty with them for a settlement at Wyoming on the Susquehanna. This place soon proved unsafe because of the French, and the Indians were again removed beyond the Blue Mountains, where at the junction of the Mahoni and the Lehigh land was purchased, a village founded and a mission church built and named Gnadenhütten. Two years later it had 500 Christian Indians under its care.

Meanwhile the work among the settlers was being vigorously prosecuted, and at least fifteen schools had been started and supplied with teachers. In it all the primary aim was not to advance the interests of the Moravian Church as such. The work was unselfish and disinterested to a degree. No denomination was organized in the colonies as yet, and the furtherance of vital religion was the sole aim of the evangelists. But the inevitable result of the earnest efforts of the Brethren was that many adherents were gained for the Moravian Church, and in time it became evident that the strictly undenominational theory must be abandoned, and real Church organization take its place.

When Bishop John von Watteville arrived in America, in 1748, he called a synod at Bethlehem, and arrangements for a district organization were formulated. In the next few weeks von Watteville visited the chief scenes of evangelistic activity, and in thirty-one localities,

exclusive of the mission stations, he organized Moravian congregations, most of them being in Pennsylvania.

Spangenberg was now succeeded by Bishop John Nitschmann, Sr.; but Cammerhof, his chief assistant, dying soon after, Nitschmann returned to Europe, and Spangenberg was reappointed executive. His assistant was Bishop Matthew Hehl. His first work was to prepare for the reception of large numbers of colonists who were soon to come from Europe. He also negotiated with Lord Granville for the purchase of a tract in North Carolina and visited that place in 1752.

In 1754, a new work was undertaken in Lancaster Co., Pennsylvania, where a tract near the old preaching station of Warwick was purchased and a new station established and named *Lititz* in commemoration of the old home of the Unity.

Colonists continued to pour in from Europe in considerable numbers. New tracts of land were purchased, forests cleared, roads built and cultivation begun, but in the midst of this prosperity the French and Indian War broke out, atrocities were perpetrated along the western frontier of Pennsylvania, and the Moravian stations were in grave danger. On November 24, 1754, the worst fears were realized at Gnadenhütten on the Mahoni. While at their evening meal the missionaries were attacked by a band of marauding Indians, the house was set on fire, and those who tried to escape were either shot down or tomahawked. Only four persons escaped to tell the terrible experience. Another station across the Lehigh a mile away saw the burning buildings, and the inhabitants fled, finally reached Bethlehem, and told the terrible news. Death and devastation followed everywhere in the wake of these marauding bands.

The settlement at Bethlehem now took extra precautions and was patrolled by sentries day and night, and the children from near-by homes were gathered in a house centrally located and easily defended. In a few weeks the village was surrounded with a stockade and two swivel guns were mounted. The hostile forces actually advanced to within six miles of Nazareth, but the Moravian village escaped the necessity for armed resistance.

The year 1759 ushered in an era of peace and of renewed efforts to carry the Gospel to the Indians. Nain, begun during the war, became the center of much missionary activity. Meanwhile the wonderful career of "The Apostle to the Indians," David Zeisberger, was well begun. There are many stirring chapters in Moravian history, but none more thrilling than the story of this man's life. Not even an outline can be given here, so full of incident was it, but when this

pioneer of civilization, this linguist, this fearless explorer, eloquent preacher, dauntless herald of the Cross, died in 1808, his Indian brethren mourned as sincerely as did those of his own race.

In August, 1760, the news of Zinzendorf's death reached America, and was followed by radical changes. Spangenberg was needed in Europe and left immediately, to be followed two years later by Böhler. The work was left in the hands of Nathaniel Seidel and Frederick William von Marshall.

June 20, 1762, may be regarded as the beginning of a new era in the history of the American Church. The "Economy,"—that is the communal life,—at Bethlehem was given up, the need for it having ceased, and other changes were gradually made. The Moravian Church in America was not at that time an incorporated body, and lands purchased by the Unity were held in the name of certain trusted individuals, who obligated themselves to use them only for the good of the Church. Title was conveyed as need required by the usual methods of sale and bequest. So in 1751, a nominal sale had been effected by which David Nitschmann, Sr., had been made "proprietor" of the property in America, and at his death it had been transferred to his executors, who "sold" it to Nathaniel Seidel. Men now leased land from him on their own account, though it was not sold with title deed until much later. During this time Nazareth Hall was started as a Church Academy for boys. It had been built in 1755, as a manor house for Zinzendorf, whose return to America was then expected. Since 1759, it had been used for educational purposes. In 1763, Frederick Lembky became principal of the School, which at one time had an attendance of 106. The school was suspended in 1779, on account of financial straits, but was reopened later.

In 1765, a visit was made to America by David Nitschmann, the Syndic, as a representative of the directing board in Germany. He convened a synod at Bethlehem in May of that year, composed of 33 ministerial and 14 lay delegates. The entire proceedings of the General Synod of 1764, were discussed with reference to the American Church.

A new church was built in 1758, at Newport, R. I. In 1762, a congregation was organized at Broad Bay, Me. October, 1768, a synod was held at Lititz, presided over by Bishop Hehl, and was noteworthy as being the last under the old constitution.

In 1770, Christian Gregor, John Loretz, and Hans Christian Alexander von Schweinitz were commissioned to visit America to carry into effect certain resolutions recently passed by a General Synod in Germany. Von Schweinitz had been appointed "administrator" of

property in America, which belonged to the Unitas Fratrum as such. A settlement between the American estates belonging to the Unity as a whole, and the property of the individual congregations was effected; Bethlehem received 4,000 acres with buildings and certain business concerns, and in returned assumed $87,000 of the Unity's debt, and all other congregations settled on a similar basis.

In 1774, a congregation was established at Hope, N. J., near the present town of Oxford. David Zeisberger and John Heckewelder pushed the work among the Indians, and a number of new stations were established, but the American Revolution was drawing near, and when it came many of the Indian stations had to be abandoned or moved. The Christian Indians suffered severely at the hands of embittered heathen and suspicious white men, many were massacred, others were driven from one place to another, some finally taking refuge in Canada. Even the return of peace brought little relief, and while the missionaries followed them through danger into exile the promising work which had been so dear to the hearts of the Pennsylvania Moravians, and for which they had given freely of means and life, was virtually ruined by the Revolution.

THE SETTLEMENT OF WACHOVIA, NORTH CAROLINA

1753—1775.

"Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature," was the watchword of the Moravian Brethren in Germany. After the West Indian and Greenland missions had been started, even earlier than the middle of the eighteenth century, they looked hopefully toward settlements in America. In Pennsylvania they succeeded in establishing permanent congregations, and successful mission stations; but the experience there, as in Georgia, demonstrated the difficulty of maintaining their rules of life in close contact with neighbors of divergent views, and the leaders of the Church began to consider the feasibility of securing a large tract of land, where a settlement might be safe from interference, and still furnish a center for missionary activity.

In England the Moravians were well known for their thrift and industry, and liberal offers were made to induce them to settle in Nova Scotia, Maryland, etc., but the most promising proposal seemed that of Lord Granville, owner of a large tract of land in North Carolina,

of which he offered Zinzendorf 100,000 acres at a reasonable price. A conference was held November 29th, 1751, at Lindsay House, London,—at that time the seat of government of the Moravian Church,—and there it was decided to accept Lord Granville's offer.

Bishop Spangenberg, having been appointed to visit the trackless wilderness of western North Carolina and select this tract, left Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, on the morning of August 25th, 1752, accompanied by Henry Antes, Timothy Horsefield, Joseph Miller, Herman Lösch and John Merk, all on horseback. At Edenton, N. C., they were joined by Churton, the surveyor general and agent of Lord Granville. From Edenton they directed their course west to the Catawba River. Here Horsefield fell sick, they left Miller as attendant, and Spangenberg with Antes, Lösch, Merk, Churton, and two hunters continued their way. They manfully entered the deep unknown forests, wandering far and wide over miles of mountain country; they traveled over Indian trails and buffalo paths, followed by Indians who watched them with suspicious eye; they passed over stream and mountain, through wind and blizzard and rain, to find themselves one hundred miles from civilization, lost in the mountains, no food for horse and little for man, temperature at zero, and ground covered with snow. Spangenberg wrote that he could not remember ever to have felt so cold a wind as that in the December blizzard in the mountains of North Carolina.

Then they turned eastward again, traveling by the compass, and on December 27th, after fourteen weeks of travel, they came to the Yadkin Valley, and found a section of rolling woodland, well watered, with prospects for good fishing and hunting,—it reminded them of the beautiful lands of Austria and the ancestral estate of the Zinzendorfs in that country, called "Wachau" (from "Wach" a stream, and "Aue" a meadow),—and as it seemed just what they wanted, 98,985 acres were surveyed, and on January 25th, 1753, Spangenberg gave the tract the name which it has born for a century and a half, "der Wachau," or *Wachovia.*

On August 17th, 1753, the survey was approved by Lord Granville, and deeds made out to James Hutton of London, as "proprietor," in accordance with the custom by which individual members of the Moravian Church held title to real estate, "in trust for the Unitas Fratrum." To supply funds for this new enterprise a land company was formed among interested friends in England and Holland; the money advanced for the purchase and for transportation of early settlers being

gradually repaid from the sale of lands not needed for the Moravian settlements. The records give the total cost of Wachovia as follows:

Purchase-money	$2,420.00
Four per cent interest, four years	387.20
Quit-rent, thirty-five years	25,129.82
Purchase of fee simple title (in 1788)	4,840.00
	32,777.02

The successive "proprietors" of Wachovia were:—James Hutton, of London, 1753-1778; Frederick William Marshall, of Salem, N. C., 1778-1802; Christian Lewis Benzien, of Salem, N. C., 1802-1811; John Gebhard Cunow, of Bethlehem, Pa., 1811-1822; Lewis David von Schweinitz, of Bethlehem, 1822-1834; William Henry Van Vleck, of New York City, 1834-1844; Charles F. Kluge, of Salem, N. C., 1844-1853; Emil A. de Schweinitz, of Salem, 1853-1877. On December 1st, 1877, the Unity sold the property which it still held in Wachovia to the Southern Province of the Moravian Church, and as this was an actual purchase the fee simple title passed to the "Board of Provincial Elders" of the Southern Province.

By October 8th, 1753, Wachovia had been surveyed, papers filed, and plans for forming a settlement in these forest wilds of the South completed. On that date a company of twelve single Brethren set out from Bethlehem, Pennsylvania,—Bernhard Adam Grube, pastor; Jacob Lösch, warden; Hans Martin Kalberlahn, physician; Hans Peterson, tailor; Christopher Merkley, baker; Friedrich Jacob Pfeil, shoemaker and tanner; Jacob Lung, gardener; Herman Lösch, Johannes Lisher, and Jacob Beroth, farmers; Erich Ingebretsen, and Heinrich Feldhausen, carpenters. These men, with their carefully selected trades and professions, were to begin the first village in Wachovia, and with them went Gottlob Königsderfer, Nathaniel Seidel, and Joseph Haberland, who were to return to Pennsylvania after a brief visit.

In a great covered wagon drawn by six horses these men started on their journey, passing through rivers which must be forded, where the banks had to be cut down to make it possible to drive in and out, over mountains wild and steep, and through dense forests and sparsely settled territories. They were on the way almost six weeks, and then on November 17th, at three o'clock on Saturday afternoon, they reached the spot where now stands the town of *Bethabara,* better known as "Old Town."

In an empty cabin formerly built and occupied by Hans Wagoner, a German, they took shelter. The text for the day was, Rev. 2:13,

"I know where thou dwellest, etc." In the evening, when keeping their first love-feast, they were forcibly reminded that they were indeed in the wilderness, for they heard the wolves howling round about their cabin.

Sunday they kept as a real day of rest, to be followed by weeks of earnest, manly toil, felling trees and clearing land, so that in December Br. Lösch put in the first wheat. Later they enlarged the cabin, made themselves as comfortable as possible, and travelers often stopped with them, attracted by the physician, tailor, and shoemaker, whose services were greatly needed in that new country.

Game was all the food at hand, and they had to go to Virginia for salt, to the Yadkin River for flour and corn, and to the Dan River for oxen, in preparation for the speedily approaching winter.

A touching and beautiful sketch might be written of the first Christmas Eve, when they gathered and held their love-feast, and heard in this new wild home the story of the Christ child, "while the wolves and panthers howled and screamed in the forest near by."

During the next year trade commenced with their neighbors, and the records indicate a Carpenter Shop, Tailor Establishment, Pottery, Blacksmith Shop, Shoe Shop, Tannery, and Cooper Shop. Doubtless many of these industries were carried on under one roof, but their establishment was the foundation of the prosperity of the village. As regards prices we learn that a stranger passing through wished to buy a pair of shoes and was willing to cut down and trim one hundred trees in payment.

The first summer they harvested wheat, corn, tobacco, flax, millet, barley, oats, buckwheat, turnips, cotton, besides a great many garden vegetables.

Love of music appeared from the very beginning; their first instruments were a trumpet and some flutes.

In 1754, Br. Grube, their minister, was recalled to Pennsylvania, and Br. John Jacob Fries, an accomplished scholar, came as his successor. The journeys back and forth between Pennsylvania and North Carolina became frequent. In September, Bishop Peter Böhler arrived, and during his stay the name of "Bethabara" was given to the little village.

As North Carolina was an English Colony the Church of England was for many years the Established Church, with its Parishes in charge of Vestries which had supervision over the spiritual affairs, kept the register of births and marriages, etc. The Moravians desired liberty of Church administration, and petitioned the Legislature to

erect Wachovia into a separate Parish, and asked permission "to regulate the matters in said Parish according to the Rules, Rites and Forms of our ancient Episcopal Protestant Church." This petition was granted in October, 1755, and the new Parish received the name of Dobbs Parish, as a compliment to Governor Dobbs.

By 1756, the Bethabara colony consisted of sixty-five souls, a number of married couples and more unmarried men having arrived.

About this time the French and Indian War came on, with all its attendant horrors. Cherokees, Creeks, and Catawbas had been in friendly relations with the white population, but the tide had turned, and now their enmity gave much trouble. The Moravian Brethren maintained peace with the Indians just as long as possible, feeding them as they passed through the town. But as danger became more apparent they took every precaution, and made provision for defense, building a stockade or fort, arming every man with a gun, and quietly placing their sentinels.

The month of March, 1759, was filled with terror. On the 9th a man arrived at Bethabara, having fled from the Indians. Among the refugees already in Bethabara were a Mr. Fish and his son, who had been driven from their home on the Yadkin. They persuaded this stranger to accompany them to see if their house had escaped the red men's torch. Before reaching home they were attacked by Indians hiding in the bush from which the arrows flew thick and fast. Father and son fell dead, the stranger was wounded in two places, and with an arrow passing through his body and protruding from his back he escaped, and without withdrawing the arrow (as that would have been certain death) made his way towards Bethabara, hoping to reach it and receive spiritual advice before he died. Through the woods he made his way. It began to rain, and, still worse, he came in sight of a band of Indians. To elude them he plunged into the river and again escaped. All night through the forest, in darkness, and rain, he made his way to Bethabara, where Dr. Bonn extracted the arrow and saved his life. Thus runs the story of Indian cruelty and treachery during eight long years of the early history of the Wachovia settlement; many detailed accounts equally thrilling and interesting may be found in Dr. Clewell's "History of Wachovia." From thirty and forty miles around families sought refuge at Bethabara. Those who had learned to love and respect those who so lovingly protected them applied for membership in the Moravian Church, and this led more or less directly to the founding of congregations at Bethania, Friedberg, and Hope.

Bethabara at this time had the communal system which had been established at Bethlehem, and strangers could not well adapt them-

selves to these regulations, and there were likewise among the Brethren those who preferred their separate housekeeping. It was therefore decided to begin a new settlement, three miles to the northwest, in the "Black Walnut Bottom." On June 12th, 1759, the site of *Bethania* was chosen. Eight families from Bethabara, together with eight families from the neighborhood, built houses and settled in the new village. But it was a trying time, for in addition to the danger from prowling Indians the two villages were plunged into deep distress by a virulent fever which visited them in midsummer. Twelve of their members died, including the pastor, the physician, and one of their business managers, and nearly all were seriously ill. Bishop Spangenberg was present on a visit, and stood bravely by them during this darkest chapter of their history.

From the first it was the intention to establish a chief town in the center of the Wachovia Tract, and with the closing of the Indian War the time for such a step seemed to have come. Affairs in the Colony had returned to a normal condition, more Brethren had come from Bethlehem to cast in their lot with the Brethren in Bethabara and Bethania, and wider views were entertained and new plans conceived. Surveys were made and sites suggested, and on February 14th, 1765, the site was chosen for *Salem,* as Count Zinzendorf had christened the projected central town.

Frederick William von Marshall took an active part in the selection of the site for Salem, and was the ruling spirit in Wachovia for many years. He was a man after Zinzendorf's own heart, and to him the Southern Province of the Church owes a great debt. He was born in Saxony, and connected himself with the Moravian Church under the Count's influence. He spent more than sixty years of active, loving service in the upbuilding of the Church of his adoption, giving thirty-four to Wachovia. Along the middle walk, near the entrance to the Salem God's Acre, is his grave, the white stone bearing the dates 1721-1802.

The first act in the founding of the new town took place January 6th, 1766. During the singing of a hymn the work was formally begun by the felling of the first tree (in the lot on the west side of Liberty street, third south of Shallowford). On February 19th eight young men moved into the first house. On their way from Bethabara they were fortunate enough to kill two deer, part of which Br. Peterson prepared for dinner. Homes were after this erected in quick succession, and during the next year many of the Bethabara community moved to Salem, being joined by still more Brethren from Bethlehem, as well as by a goodly number from Germany.

In 1767 and 1771, Governor Tryon visited Wachovia, and was greeted on his arrival at Salem by the "Band," which likewise furnished music while he was dining in the Brothers' House. Of this colonial period a great many interesting details concerning the "Regulators," visits of Governors and other men in authority, letters and negotiations between the Brethren and the government, etc., have been preserved in the Church records.

1771 may be looked upon as the birthday of the Southern Province of the Moravian Church, for in that year Wachovia was removed from the care of the Church at Bethlehem, and received full powers for local self-government. The administration offices were located in Salem, which was at the same time separated from Bethabara, and organized as a distinct congregation. The first meeting hall was consecrated on November 13th, 1771, the date being annually remembered as the "Congregation Festival." Marshall, Tiersch, Utley and Graff were put in charge of affairs spiritual and temporal. Marshall was the local representative of the Unity's Elders' Conference, and held a Power of Attorney from James Hutton to sell or lease lands belonging to the Unitas Fratrum as a whole. Partly on this account, and partly by virtue of his ability and personality, he was the leading figure in Wachovia for more than a quarter of a century. Even before the Revolutionary War he became a naturalized citizen of North Carolina, and this had much influence when the Moravian lands were in danger of confiscation after the War, and Marshall explained to the Legislature that Hutton, an Englishman, had transferred the title to Wachovia to him. Paul Tiersch was the first pastor of Salem Congregation; Richard Utley was warden, and John Michael Graff was leader of the married people. Salem Congregation leased 3159 acres of land from the Unity, paying an annual rent therefor, until 1826, when the lease was determined, and the tract bought by the congregation for $2795.62. At the close of 1772, there were 120 persons connected with the Salem Congregation.

Meanwhile another Moravian congregation was coming into existence on the southern edge of Wachovia. In August, 1754, one year after the arrival of the Moravian settlers in Wachovia, Adam Spach settled about three miles from the southern line of the land of the Brethren. In September he visited Bethabara, in order to become acquainted with his nearest German neighbors, and soon cut a road from his house to Bethabara. His visits were often repeated and during the Indian War he and his family took refuge in the Bethabara Fort. In 1759, Br. Bachof visited Adam Spach in his house and

preached to him and eight assembled German families. Not until 1766 could they be promised a stationed minister. Then they gathered a congregation and built for themselves a church, which was consecrated March 11th, 1769. On February 18th, 1770, Br. Bachhof was introduced as their minister, and in 1772 they were formally constituted a Moravian Brethren's Congregation, to be known by the name of *Friedberg,* (Hill of Peace).

In 1769, quite unexpectedly, six German families arrived in Wachovia. They were part of a company of emigrants from the Palatinate and Wurtemburg, who had settled near Broad Bay, Maine, but having trouble about the title of lands there they had resolved to move to North Carolina. The authorities at Salem agreed to sell them some Moravian land, and a church was built, and consecrated in 1775, with Tycho Nissen as the first pastor. This new Moravian Church received the name of *Friedland,* and the congregation was formally organized in 1780.

The first English-speaking Moravian congregation in Wachovia was *Hope,* in the southwestern corner of the tract. A church was begun there in 1775, the congregation being organized in 1780.

The coming of the Revolutionary War, therefore, found Wachovia in a flourishing condition, with four established congregations, and two others almost ready for separate existence. It had become the center of trade for miles around, and was known from one end of the Province of North Carolina to the other.

MORAVIAN MISSIONS

1732—1775.

Among the Moravian Brethren the period from 1732-1775 was one of extraordinary activity in mission work. We might say the movement began in 1727, for in that year Count Zinzendorf obtained leave of absence from the Court of Saxony to devote himself more entirely to Church work, the Unity experienced great spiritual refreshment, and four evangelistic movements were made by the Brethren in Europe—in Voigtland, Saalfeld, Denmark and Hungary. During the next year they spoke of more distant countries,—such as Lapland, Turkey, and Ethiopia,—and discussed the practicability of evangelizing Greenlanders, negro slaves, and others of the lowest of the human race, and

twenty-six unmarried men of Herrnhut banded themselves together to prepare for such service when the way should open.

Two years later, Count Zinzendorf attended the coronation of Christian VI in Copenhagen, and while there some members of his retinue heard from a negro in the service of Count Laurwig an account of the condition of the slaves in the Danish West Indies. When this news reached Herrnhut it deeply impressed the members of the Unity, and Leonard Dober, a potter, was possessed by the thought of a call to go as missionary to these slaves, and independently of Dober, Tobias Leopold was also moved to devote his life to this work. The two men confided in each other, and eventually a letter from them was read, without names, to the congregation. In this letter they expressed their willingness to sacrifice life or be sold as slaves if necessary to carry out their purpose. Upon this letter alone is based the tradition that any Moravian missionary was ever sold as a slave, for in the event the sacrifice was not demanded. After due consideration the offer of Dober was accepted, while David Nitschmann, (the carpenter), became his companion instead of Leopold who followed two years later. It is well to remember that this was only ten years after the first exiles had settled in Herrnhut, and that the total membership of the Unity was at this time only about six hundred.

The missionaries left Herrnhut August 21st, 1732. Count Zinzendorf's carriage took them as far as Bautzen, and from there they set out on foot for Copenhagen, six hundred miles away. Their funds amounted to a little over three dollars apiece, and their only baggage was a bundle on their backs. Only once on their journey did they receive an encouraging word, and at Copenhagen they encountered all kinds of discouragement,—ridicule, opposition, evil stories of the West Indies, etc. Their quiet persistence, however, finally won support in Court circles, Princess Amelia's gift of a large Dutch Bible proving particularly useful. At last they set sail, in a Dutch vessel, on October 8th, 1732, for *St. Thomas.*

Work was begun immediately upon their arrival. Nitschmann was soon recalled, and for sixteen months Dober had no word from Herrnhut, when he was surprised one evening by the arrival of eighteen Brethren, one of whom was Tobias Leopold, his friend and companion in volunteering for the mission service. They took up the work in the West Indies, while Dober, who had been appointed Chief Elder at Herrnhut, returned to Germany. Soon after the work was bitterly opposed, and on false accusation the Brethren were imprisoned, October 22, 1738. Zinzendorf arrived at St. Thomas in 1739 and procured their release after they had been confined for three months.

The mission at *St. Croix,* 45 miles south of St. Thomas, was begun by part of Leopold's company, who were engaged to act as overseers of plantations as well as missionaries. The fourteen men and four women had sailed from Stettin, Germany, in November, 1733, but rough weather compelled them to winter in Norway, and it was over six months before they reached St. Thomas, where they stayed twelve weeks and where several of them died. The plan of mixed duties on the plantations, opposed from the start by Zinzendorf, was a failure. Eleven more men were sent in 1735, four dying in two months after their arrival, and soon after the whole enterprise was abandoned. But converted slaves from St. Thomas were sold to owners on St. Croix, and through their efforts a mission pure and simple was attempted in 1740. The two Brethren sent suffered shipwreck and one was drowned, and the enterprise was again abandoned, but was renewed in 1743, and in 1744 occurred the first baptism on St. Croix, the beginning of a work which still endures.

A missionary named Brucker settled on *St. John,* a small island six miles east of St. Thomas, in 1754, and was successful from the start.

At the request of two English plantation owners, a mission was started in *Jamaica* in 1754. During the first four years, these two proprietors, who were themselves members of the Unitas Fratrum, gave over $12,000.00 to the mission. These gifts, however, gave the owners too much prominence in the mission, and made it too secular and too closely related to the plantation management, so although the station (Carmel) on this estate was held for seventy years it was never prosperous, and real success in Jamaica did not come until the site of the mission and its management were changed.

Missions were started on *Antigua* in 1756, *St. Kitts* in 1777, and *Barbados* in 1765, though it is well to say that the work on Barbados has never been as successful as on some of the other islands, either numerically or in its effect on the dense population of 966 per square mile—the densest on earth except the Island of Malta. Still many souls have felt its beneficent influence.

The work in the West Indian field has been rather fully treated, as that was the first to be established, and experiences there are typical. The limits of this chapter preclude more than touching on the establishment in other fields. The accounts read like a romance, and are well worth studying in their fuller form.

The second mission undertaken by the Moravians in foreign fields was not in the tropics, but in the arctic regions. The impulse which led Dober and Leopold to offer themselves for service in the West Indies induced Matthew Stach to declare his wish to preach the gospel

to the Eskimos of *Greenland,* among whom Hans Egede, a Dane, had been laboring, single-handed, for years. On January 13th, 1733, Matthew Stach, his cousin Christian Stach, and Christian David, who had led the emigrants from Moravia, set out from Herrnhut, equipped as the West Indian missionaries had been with no resources except their faith and courage. In Copenhagen they met with all manner of ridicule and opposition, but Count von Pless was won by their steady determination, and helped them on their way, giving them the means wherewith to buy lumber for a house, which must of necessity be taken with them, as they would find no timber on that inhospitable shore.

Landing in Greenland in May they were welcomed by Egede, and began their strange new life in "New Herrnhut," as they called their house. In cold and loneliness, often in hunger and danger, the months passed by. The Eskimo language was difficult to learn, and the natives were unresponsive. In 1734 and 1735 a few more missionaries joined them, but it was not until 1738 that they began to see the fruit of their labors. Heathen coldness gradually yielded before the message they had brought, the little chapel became too small, and in 1745 a frame church was sent out from Germany in sections, was erected in what had seemed an almost hopeless field, and consecrated in the presence of some three hundred interested Eskimos. Thereafter the work steadily increased, although storms raged, famine threatened, and a number of their most useful members were carried off by an epidemic. Two new stations were established, and other missionaries came to aid in the large work and take the place of those who had died or had been recalled to Germany. Matthew Stach prepared a brief Eskimo grammar and lexicon; and after thirty-eight years of labor in the Greenland mission he in 1771 retired to Bethabara, North Carolina, where his last days were spent.

In 1738 a mission was established at "Pilgerhut" among the Arawack Indians in *Surinam,* or Dutch Guiana. By 1756 Pilgerhut had grown to be a Christian colony of two hundred and thirty-three, Soon after (1758) the superintendent, Mr. Schumann, had to visit Europe, thus leaving the colony with no ordained laborer. Then came famine, sickness, and a negro insurrection, and the mission was burned, including the property of the Brethren, together with an Arawack grammar and dictionary. But in spite of the climate and a series of untoward events which destroyed one station after another the missionaries persevered, and in 1766 a successful work among the Bush Negroes was commenced. The mission begun in Paramaribo in 1739 was abandoned for a time, but ultimately an important congregation was established among the negro slaves of that city.

John Christian Ehrhardt, a Moravian pilot from Holland, with four missionaries who volunteered to be left on shore, touched on the south-eastern coast of *Labrador* in 1752. The boat (the *"Hope"*) with Ehrhardt, sailed farther north, and the missionaries prepared to settle, but within four weeks the *"Hope"* returned, it was learned that Ehrhardt and the captain, with five sailors, who had landed with merchandise for the natives, had been murdered, and the four missionaries were obliged to help the distressed mate navigate the ship on the homeward voyage. The next attempt was by Jens Haven, of Danish birth, a carpenter belonging to the Brethren's Unity. He spent six years studying the field and its needs, learning the language in Greenland, and reached Labrador in 1764. He did not stay, however, but again visited the place the next year. The Labrador mission was permanently established in 1770.

Among the *American Indians,* a mission was established in Georgia on an island in the Savannah River in 1735, but was abandoned in 1738. (See chapter on Georgia.) Henry Rauch and others established a mission at Shekomeko, New York, in 1740. In Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Canada, and Massachusetts we find record of over twenty mission stations served by such men as Zeisberger, the Heckewelders, and many others, some graduates of the University of Jena. (See chapter on Pennsylvania.)

George Schmidt, after great delay and discouragement, landed at Cape Town, July 9, 1737, as a missionary to the Hottentots of *South Africa.* His first convert was baptized March 31, 1742. After making nearly fifty converts Schmidt was driven away by the Protestant European inhabitants of the country. The mission was not reëstablished until 1792.

To complete the list of missions during the period 1732-1775 we must also record those which were not permanent, which will be done by simply mentioning the country or the race and the dates of establishment and abandonment. Sometimes both occurred in the same year.

Persia, 1747-1748. Ceylon, 1740-1766. Kalmuck Tartars, 1768-1823. China, 1742. Tranquebar, 1775-1796. Christian Slaves in Algiers, 1741. Guinea, 1737-1771. Egypt, 1752-1783. Lapland, 1734-1735. The Samoyedes on the shores of the Arctic Ocean, 1737-1738.

Many of these were abandoned on account of the high mortality due to bad climate, and there were other causes beyond human control.

The Diaspora mission, the nonsectarian work of the Unitas Fratrum

among members of State Churches on the Continent of Europe, was begun as early as 1727, and has been continued to the present time, when a hundred thousand people are ministered to by our Church in this way. (See chapter on the Brethren's Unity in Germany.)

THE CHURCH UNDER THE CONSTITUTION OF 1775

1775—1857.

Upon the death of Zinzendorf provisional arrangements were made for the government of the Unitas Fratrum, until a Constitutional Synod could be convened. This Synod met in 1769. Six years later, in 1775, the General Synod supplemented the legislation of 1769, and made such changes as time had shown to be desirable.

The details of the Constitution adopted need not here be given, but three points should be noted. The general management of the affairs of the Church was entrusted to a committee elected by the Synod, and known as the *Unity's Elders' Conference.* Individual congregations everywhere were instructed to provide for the salaries of their ministers and other local expenses, instead of simply contributing to and being provided for by the general fund, as heretofore. All ministers, and those members charged with the care of the finances, were made directly responsible to the Unity's Elders' Conference.

On account of the great distances which separated many congregations from the Unity's Elders' Conference, the effect of the centralization enforced by the third provision mentioned was to retard the growth of the Church, and in all three Provinces extension at home received less attention. Aggressive energies were reserved for the field of foreign missions. There was still the *Diaspora* work, and the widely extended influence of the educational undertakings, but one purpose became increasingly characteristic, viz, the effort to cultivate the simple Christian life in the quiet retreats of the "settlements," where religion was the all-absorbing topic and chief factor in life. A Moravian "settlement" normally consisted of a village, all of whose inhabitants were adherents of the Moravian Church. Its spiritual affairs were superintended by an Elders' Conference, of which the minister was chairman, and of which all other ordained servants of the Church, resident in the place, and the women who had the oversight of their sex, were members. Matters of primary importance, however, were referred to the decision of the Church Council, a larger body of male

communicants. The inn, general store, mill, smithy, tannery, and other industries, were frequently the property of the congregation. There were establishments known respectively as the Widows', Brethren's and Sisters' Houses, where members of these "choirs," or divisions of the congregation, prosecuted trades for the benefit of the establishment, and in return received a home and the necessaries of life. Daily services were held in the chapels of these Houses, and each evening of the week, as well as on the Lord's Day, the entire population of the "settlement" met for worship in the Church.

In the course of years the altered attitude of the theological world towards the Brethren was becoming apparent. The former tone of controversy had given place to one of esteem and approval on the part of conservative theologians, manifested in the reception accorded to several of the publications now issued, notably Spangenberg's *Idea Fidei Fratrum,* Gregor's *Hymn Book,* and Lieberkuhn's *Catechism.* A famous philosopher at one of the universities wrote: "I even now prefer to read Spangenberg's 'Idea.' Of a certainty our posterity must get back their theology from the Moravian Brethren." Gregor's Hymn Book met with equally favorable reception, and was so excellent that it remained in use in the Churches for a hundred years.

During the twenty-first General Synod, which met at Herrnhut in 1789, arrangements were made to issue quarterly reports of the work of the Moravian Church in the mission fields, for the information of friends in Britain, and thus *Periodical Accounts Relating to Moravian Missions,* probably the oldest publication devoted wholly to Protestant missionary intelligence, came into being.*

Special attention was now paid to Diaspora work and to the schools of the Church. Diaspora activity had reached its zenith. A convention of forty-four ministers engaged in this work was held at Herrnhut. Fundamental principles for the conduct of the work were formulated, and carefully considered instructions drawn up, that the possibility of proselytism might be removed, and the wisest means of promoting Christian character amongst the members of State Churches be employed.

In America the country was passing through her great struggle for independence. At the beginning of the struggle the majority of the

*An interesting statement regarding this publication appears in an editorial in its centennial number, March, 1890. "Entering Mrs. Beeby Wallis' back parlor, at Kettering, for that memorable meeting, October 2, 1792, which founded the Baptist Missionary Society, William Carey threw on the table several numbers of the "Periodical Accounts." 'See what these Moravians have done,' he exclaimed, 'can not we follow their example, and in obedience to our Divine Master go into the world and preach the Gospel to the heathen?' "

Brethren entertained conservative sentiments, or refused to take sides, and even when their sympathies became enlisted for the colonists, their rules forbade them to become soldiers, though they cheerfully furnished quantities of provisions to the troops. When they refused to bear arms, it was not from cowardice, for they were brave and able men, as was shown upon many an occasion, and it really required great courage to remain inactive for conscience sake. Their refusal to take an oath was also a matter of conscience, as with the Quakers and some other bodies of Christians; and besides the leaders knew they might at any time be called to serve the Moravian congregations in England, and they felt that to take the "oath of allegiance" to the new United States Government would cripple their usefulness in the wider field of Moravian activity. These conscientious scruples involved the American Brethren in many difficulties and brought upon them heavy financial burdens. In Pennsylvania some were cast into prison, while in North Carolina Moravian lands narrowly escaped confiscation. As time went on the sentiments of the younger men underwent a marked change. and by them the new order of things following the Revolution was accepted with satisfaction.

In April, 1779, Bishop J. F. Reichel arrived in Bethlehem, Pa., commissioned to adjust the American affairs of the Church to the enactments of the Synod of 1775, and to give comfort and counsel to his Brethren. On Aug. 5th he convened a conference of ministers at Lititz, at which the work was mapped out. Had the American Moravian Church then received such freedom of operation as that enjoyed by the Methodist and Protestant Episcopal Churches its future in America would have assumed a different form, for while those Churches were making provision for natural and active expansion, the tendency to ultra-centralization in the Moravian Church caused it to ignore the boundless opportunities in America.

In 1780 Bishop Reichel visited Salem, N. C., where he was of great service in harmonizing conflicting political views. He also inaugurated the "Ministers' Conference" on Sept. 15th, 1780. This consisted of a gathering of all the ministers of the Province in Salem, the first Thursday morning of each month, for a friendly discussion of the affairs of each congregation, though the conference had no executive powers. This monthly "Ministers' Conference" has remained an active and permanent organization in the Southern Province from 1780 to 1909, a period of one hundred and twenty-nine years.

The opening years of the new century were discouraging for the Brethren. One and another of the ablest men were passing away. On both sides of the Atlantic was felt the strain of a transition period when

old things were failing and the new were not yet established. The campaigns of Napoleon were remaking the map of Europe, and the Moravian Church, with its congregations scattered through so many kingdoms, was in a position which might well bewilder its leaders. Bravely they struggled to hold the helm steady, and nobly did the Church weather the storm, through years of anxiety and danger.

In the United States there was the unrest which attends the formative years of a new nation, an unrest shared by the Moravians, who in addition to national problems were learning by degrees that customs and rules suited to a German congregation needed modification to become permanently useful in America. Their faith in the ultimate success of their system was shown by the building of a large church in Salem, N. C., in 1800, and a still larger one in Bethlehem, Pa., in 1806. Another event, foreshadowing the larger independence which was coming for the American Province, was the establishment of a theological seminary at Nazareth, Pa., in 1807, in order to train men for service in American congregations, which had hitherto been dependent on European institutions for ministers. Advances were also made in the line of general education. The boarding school for girls, in Bethlehem, Pa., founded in 1749 for the daughters of Moravian missionaries, was in 1785 opened to girls of other denominations as well, becoming favorably known as the *Young Ladies' Seminary.* A similar institution, *Linden Hall,* was begun at Lititz, Pa., in 1794. In 1785 *Nazareth Hall* was reopened as a boarding school for boys. In 1802 *Salem Academy* was founded in response to the wish of visitors to Salem, N. C., that their daughters might be received as boarding pupils, and share the advantages of education enjoyed by the Moravian girls in their day-school.

England, too, had her troubles, civil and industrial, all of which had their effect on the Moravian congregations; but the most striking event in Church life there was the increasing interest in foreign missions, which took visible form in *The London Association in Aid of the Missions of the United Brethren,* founded Dec. 12, 1817. This society was destined to become a very important factor in the history of Moravian missions, and it presents a spectacle almost unique,—a combination of Christians of every name for the express purpose of supporting the work among the heathen carried on by one particular division of the Christian Church. The Napoleonic Wars having rendered difficult communication between the British Moravian Congregations and the Unity's Elders' Conference, a measure of independence was of necessity assumed, and a seminary for the training of their ministers was opened at Fulneck in 1808.

Amid all changes in method of administration at home, and in spite of perplexities in the financial situation, diligence and persistence characterized the prosecution of foreign missions. In Greenland there was steady progress, though the orders of the Danish Government, which broke up the settlements and scattered the natives along the coast to improve trade, hampered the efforts of the missionaries. In Labrador results came slowly, but surely. In the West Indies there was a large increase in activity, amid the manifold disturbances caused by war, the emancipation of the slaves, and destructive storms and earthquakes. The work in Surinam became important. The mission to the Hottentots in Cape Colony was renewed in 1792, after an interval of fifty years. The work among the North American Indians in Canada and Ohio was slowly dying as white settlers pushed the tribes from one temporary resting place to another; but the Moravians were loath to give up their efforts for the aborigines, and in 1801 a mission was begun among the Cherokees of Georgia, and promising results were obtained. From 1827 to 1837 the government of Georgia sought by various means to obtain the land which had been granted by the United States to the Cherokees. In 1831 the missionaries were driven from Spring Place; in 1834 a large body of the Indians emigrated to the Indian Territory, most of the others following three years later. In 1841 the mission was renewed in the new home of the tribe; it was crushed out during the Civil War, but was recommenced in 1866, and lasted till 1899.

Three new mission fields were opened during the latter part of this period,—the Moskito Coast, Australia, and Central Asia. The Moskito Coast, in Central America, on the shore of the Carribbean Sea, was a semi-independent state under the protection of Great Britain when the first missionaries settled there in 1849. Their labors were directed toward the conversion of the natives,—the Moskito Indians,—who received them gladly. In 1850 a mission was commenced among the "Blackfellows" of Australia, possibly the lowest type of savages. In 1856 a mission station was begun in northern India on the border of Tibet, in the hope of carrying the Gospel into that tightly closed land.

In April, 1830, the Provincial Helpers' Conference in Bethlehem, Pa., received letters from their colleagues in the South, calling attention to the religious needs of certain Brethren, who since 1825 had been moving from North Carolina and settling in what later became Bartholomew County, Indiana. Fortunately for the future of Church extension in America, this suggestion received favorable consideration.

It was during these years that home mission work developed. Stated preaching was being done at Camden Valley, New York; Sandygate

and "The Mills" on the Battenkill, two neighboring places in Vermont; and in Wayne County, Pa., which later became Hopedale. Following Hope, Ind., came the congregations at Dover, Ohio, West Salem, Ill., and others.

In the South, at Salem, N. C., the *United Brethrens' Home Missionary Society of North Carolina,* was organized. This was in consequence of the evangelistic labors of V. N. Zevely in the mountains of Virginia, resulting in the organization of the congregation at Mount Bethel. New Philadelphia congregation was organized in 1846, the first of a new series of Moravian congregations in Wachovia.

On March 31, 1849, the *Bethlehem Home Missionary Society* was formed to systematically prosecute the work of Church extension, under the administration of eleven directors. The formation of auxiliary societies in various congregations was encouraged. Thus the American Church stood definitely and hopefully committed to a policy of aggressive Church extension, and the long pent up energies of the people now burst forth with remarkable force. By 1857 there were sixteen centers of home missionary activity, with a number of filials, having a membership of 850 communicants.

Meanwhile the agitation of needful changes in the Constitution of the Church had gathered considerable headway, especially in America. There it had been felt for some decades that the Moravian Church could not fulfill her calling if hampered by the remnants of the exclusive system and by an absence of home rule. These convictions were definitely formulated in a Provincial Synod held at Bethlehem, May, 1855. Agreement was reached as to various matters of fundamental importance, and a memorial was drafted for presentation to the Unity's Elders' Conference, setting forth reasons why these changes were deemed requisite, and requesting that a General Synod be convened, at an early date, to act in the premises. Briefly, the changes desired were as follows: Supervision of Provincial affairs by a board, the members of which should all be elected by the Provincial Synod, and should serve as its executive; power of self-organization to be granted to this board in place of having its President selected by Unity's Elders' Conference; accountability of this executive board to Provincial Synod and not to Unity's Elders' Conference, for all acts that concern the Province as such; nomination of bishops by Provincial Synods; and separation of the Unity's funds and properties from Provincial funds and properties.

Upon receipt of this memorial of the American Province, the Unity's Elders' Conference granted provisional consent, and summoned a General Synod to meet in the spring of 1857. At that Synod the Constitu-

tion was altered to meet the change of view, centralization gave place to Provincial independence, and the modern Moravian Church came into being.

THE DOCTRINE AND GOVERNMENT OF THE MORAVIAN CHURCH

By RT. REV. EDWARD RONDTHALER, D.D.
President of the Provincial Elders' Conference of the Southern Province.

I have been asked to write an article for this carefully prepared series of papers on the Moravian Church, with the particular request, on the part of the editor, that I seek to answer, within brief compass, some of the questions which people are apt to ask about the Moravians.

There is probably not one member in the Moravian Church of America who was born in Moravia, or Bohemia, or any other Slavic country, and there are very few whose distant ancestors were born in the region which has given this Church its popular name. We are called "Moravians" for the same reason that the first Congregationalists in America were called "Pilgrims,"—in memory of the fact that a few members of our ancient Church, nearly two hundred years ago, became exiles for conscience sake, giving up homes and property in the old Kingdom of Moravia, and gathering fellow-believers in Christ around them in freer lands. In point of fact we are like other American Christians, people mainly of English and German stock, and our proper name is the "Unitas Fratrum," sometimes translated "United Brethren," or more literally "The Unity of Brethren."

If it be asked how we are governed,—we answer,—by a General Synod which meets once in 10 years at Herrnhut, Saxony, in order to review our doctrine, ritual, and constitutional needs, and elect the officers who superintend our foreign missionary work. In the interval between these General Synods a Unity Board watches over our general rules and principles and attends to our general interests. We thus form one organic body throughout the world—the only Protestant Church with which this is the case.

Our world-wide unity does not, however, interfere with the perfect independence of our Provinces in Germany, England, and in the United States, North and South. Each of these Provinces has its own Synod, with full jurisdiction over its own affairs, and its own Executive Board, called the "Provincial Elders' Conference," acting for the Church, in the interval between Synods. These Provincial Boards together form the General Board of the Unity, with an Executive Committee located at Berthelsdorf, Saxony.

In a sense the Moravian Church is Episcopal. Its episcopate was derived from the General Christian Church through the Austrian Waldenses, and the line has been carefully preserved ever since in a precise succession—bishop ordained by bishop—name for name—through a period of 442 years, and was acknowledged by Act of the British Parliament in 1749. The Bishop ordains the Presbyters and the Deacons. He is, however, a spiritual rather than an executive officer, of the Church, which is actually governed by Synods, and these Synods may or may not elect him into their administrative boards. Upon this modified view of the Episcopate, both Episcopalians and Presbyterians may join hands, and the Moravian Church is able to maintain equally friendly relations with both.

Its friendly relationships with other Churches is one of its broad distinguishing features. With the Episcopal Church, as the Act of Parliament, above referred to shows, it has had many friendly points of contact, reaching through centuries. Calvin and his fellow-reformers at Geneva were warm friends of the Unity, and the Synodical character of the Church has, among Presbyterians, confirmed this old attachment. In Germany, the best-loved name for the Church is "Die Gemeine," i. e. "The Congregation," which indicates to Congregationalists the emphasis laid by the Moravians on the rights of the people, as embodied in the separate congregations. With Luther our forefathers were in friendly correspondence and learned much from him, and we have always declared our substantial agreement with the Confession of Augsburg. With the Methodists we have the tender tie of the conversion of the Wesleys through their friendly converse with Böhler, Spangenberg and others. Thus we are united in the special emphasis which we and they are accustomed to lay on the experience of the forgiveness of sins through faith in our sin-atoning Saviour. Although we baptize our infants, and administer baptism by sprinkling or pouring, yet our kindly appreciation of the Baptist position, and of that close adherence to the Scriptures, which we prize in common with them, have been the occasion of much fellowship between them and us.

The Moravian Church did not start in a doctrinal but rather in a practical Reformation. It would have continued part of the National Church if it had been satisfied that the people *lived* right. What it has evermore desired has been the union of believers in Christian *living*. The Moravians were content to sit at the feet of Luther and Calvin and many another great teacher, sent from God, in order to learn the doctrine which might lead them to better lives. It has been this practical cast of Moravian theology which has given Moravian manufactured goods their acknowledged trade-value in the world's markets. It was

in this practical turn of the Moravian mind as into a fertile field, that Zinzendorf planted his doctrine of the Saviour's love, controlling all the relations and duties of life.

The world-wide missionary work of the Moravian Church grew out of no preconcerted plan. It arose from the simple willingness to go wherever they were called, in order to spread the Gospel,—it might be in the next village of Saxony, it might be in Greenland. The Moravian mechanic's answer to the question when he could start on a proposed missionary journey to Greenland has become classic amongst us:—"I will go to-morrow if I can get my shoes soled by that time."

The Moravian missionaries have been most drawn to fields to which no one else was willing to go. They are laboring in many such fields now,—as among the Indians of Nicaragua, the Bush Negroes of Surinam, the Eskimos of northern Labrador, the Tibetans of the Himalayas. When Dr. Sheldon Jackson could get no one to undertake missions to the natives of central Alaska, he came to the Moravians and frankly stated the fact,—and they went. It has been in this strangely Providential fashion that the Moravian mission work has come to be represented in every quarter of the globe.

It is well known that the Moravian proportion of missionaries abroad to ministers at home, and of members from among the heathen to members at home, is larger than in any other Church. But when admirers of the Moravians claim that the percentage of their gifts to missions is also larger, they claim too much for us:—they claim, in fact, what is hardly possible. We can not do both things at the same time,—go out into the field, and stay at home and pay the expense. If other Churches did not add their contributions to ours, as they have most kindly done, we should not be able to carry on more than a third, at most, of our work, and when they cease to help us as liberally as they have done, the work must greatly suffer in the wideness of it.

Our Church is often called "The Renewed Church of the Brethren." This is partly due to the fact that the nucleus of the modern Moravian Church was formed of exiles whose forefathers had belonged to the more ancient Church of John Huss and his followers. But it is mainly due to another fact,—a mighty revival took place among these exiles, residing at Herrnhut in Saxony. This revival covered a great part of the year 1727 and culminated in a remarkable experience at the Communion Table of Aug. 13th of that year. The wonderful experience then made has caused the Moravian Church to be a Church friendly to revivals when conducted in the calm, considerate, sincere and practical way which we have learned from our fathers. We are rather dismayed by what seem to be forced and artificial attempts at revival, but we love

the genial and calm, yet deep refreshings of the Holy Spirit which carry on a quickened religious and a deepened moral sense from age to age.

God has, from the outset, drawn our attention to *children,* and consequently the Moravian Church has for four centuries abounded in educational labors. The pioneer of modern education, whose tercentenary was celebrated a few years ago, the world over, was the Moravian exile-bishop, John Amos Comenius. Scarcely had the Church been renewed under the genial influence of the Saxon nobleman, Count Zinzendorf, before people from everywhere, and especially out of the more cultivated classes, began to send their children to our renewed schools. These are scattered over many lands. On our missions, the schoolhouse always stands beside the Church. In Germany, Switzerland, Holland, England, and America, our seminaries and boarding schools are very widely known and have more pupils in them from other denominations than from our own. The present premier of Great Britain, —Mr. Asquith—was a pupil in our School at Fulneck, England, as many other eminent men and women have been in our institutions. The emphasis which Moravian instructors lay on heart-religion is, no doubt, the real basis of the long prosperity of the Moravian educational system. It is the heart which controls the intellect. A keen thinker and great scholar whose heart-views are wrong receives hurt through his education both for himself and for all with whom he is intimately connected. It is the Moravian insight into this central principle which has made it an educational Church.

The Moravian belief is a *point of view,* rather than a strictly formulated creed. This point of view is *Christ and Him crucified.* Our second founder, Count Zinzendorf, said of Christ: "I have but one passion and that is Christ, and He only." By his glowing influence, in hymns, sermons, conversations, and self-sacrifices, he very largely led our Church into its Christ-centered views. Every doctrine and every practice is considered by the Moravians in its bearing upon the atonement, the love, the living presence of the Christ of God. Owing to this peculiar emphasis upon *the present* Christ, Moravians of very different opinions can form one harmonious people. Some of them are more Calvinistic in view, others more Arminian, some love the Episcopal forms, others are more drawn by a Methodistic heartiness, but with the atoning Christ at the center, they can readily fraternize with each other on the circumference. The motto of the Evangelical Alliance, "In essentials, unity; in nonessentials, liberty; in all things, charity" has long been the polestar of the Unity.

The Christ-centered Moravian view does not only give the Church large liberty in doctrine, but likewise in ritual. The Moravians have

ample liturgies based partly on the confessions of the early Christian Church, and partly on their own historical experiences of Christ; but they also give full opportunity for extempore prayer, so that the visitor may, at the time of presence in worship, find either practice in full use. The Apostolic love-feast is very dear in many Moravian congregations; in others, it may seldom or never be found. In some congregations the members are divided into "choirs" or "classes"; in others it has not been found convenient so to do. In towns and villages where Moravians live together in large numbers there are beautiful customs attaching themselves especially to the Easter and Christmas time. In other lands or localities, and especially in great cities, these customs may not be found. "Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty," and no one can understand the Moravian life unless he bears this fact in mind. He should look for the essentials of the Moravian view in the preaching and in the practice and in the fellowship, and he will find them,—but in nonessentials he may not recognize the customs of one Church in those of another only a few miles away.

It has often been asked why this Church is so small in America,—though according to the general belief of evangelical Christians it combines so many strong points of doctrine and practice.

It is doubtless small because, until very recent years, its members did not want it to be anything else. Most of the old leaders believed that, as a small Church, seated at a few local centers, they could do their work for Christ better than if they were a large Church. Then, too, the long missionary training through which the Church has passed,—to go only where they were expressly called to go,—has greatly prevented them, amid the sharp competition of denominations, from seeking out new fields for themselves.

This view, or if we may so choose to call it, this prejudice of the fathers, has in late years yielded to the conviction that for the good of our fellow-men, we had better spread abroad and not always wait until they find us and call for us. The results of this changed policy are already showing themselves, especially in the United States, where, within a few years, there have come to be more members than in all the rest of the home Unity, taken together. Now that we have really, under God, resolved to grow, our percentage of annual increase compares very favorably with the general growth of the Church of Christ.

The chief historian of our Moravian Church in recent years, the greatly honored Bishop Edmund de Schweinitz, was accustomed to say that he believed the "Unitas Fratrum," the Moravian Church, was being reserved for some great future need of the Christian Church at large. Any one who has, to any extent, studied the strange vicissi-

tudes of this Church,—has seen it prosper widely,—then be almost utterly crushed,—then wonderfully revived, to dwindle again in various places and in succeeding generations,—and yet after its well-nigh five centuries still to live on, and ever and anon strike fresh root,—such a student can scarcely fail to come to de Schweinitz's view: "The Moravian Church is reserved of God for some special future." It may be for that time when all lesser distinctions in creed and form will fade into the one clear light of the central Christ; when there will be no more denominational distinctions but Christ will be all in all; and then, practically, if not in name, it will be the Moravian view which will have prevailed at last.

THE BRETHREN'S UNITY IN GERMANY

1857—1909.

By REV. ADOLF SCHULZE,
Editor of the Unity's Publications in Germany.

I. Introduction.—With the important General Synod of 1857 a new chapter in the history of the Unitas Fratrum began. Up to this time all the Provinces of the Unity had been under the care of a single directing board (the Unity's Elders' Conference, at Berthelsdorf, near Herrnhut), but now the American and English Provinces were organized with Provincial Synods, and Provincial Boards. The German Province received a Provincial Synod, but the Unity's Elders' Conference, which remained the highest executive board of the Unity, continued to direct the affairs of the German Province, and it was not until 1899 that a separate German Provincial Board was established. Since then the four Provinces have formed a true Church union. As one Church they carry on the great work of the Unity, the members united by their mutual Christian faith, and certain generally accepted rules of Christian life in the congregations. They all accept the word of the Cross, and acknowledge the duty of Missions among the heathen, and the maintainance of Christian fellowship with other denominations. But on this common foundation the four Provinces have developed along their several, individual lines during the past fifty years. We take up the story of the Brethren's Unity in Germany.

The German Provincial Elders' Conference consists of two sections. One, composed of five brethren, has general charge of Church and School affairs; the other is the Finance Committee, with three members. The German Province owns a large number of businesses,

estates, houses, etc., and it is the duty of the Finance Committee so to manage these as to secure a large part of the money needed to carry on the Church work, for salaries and pensions. Moreover it conducts the general financial affairs of the Province.

Each congregation has its own Board of Elders. The Pastor is chairman, there are certain ex officio members, and others are elected by the congregation. This Board is charged with the material and spiritual welfare of the congregation.

II. The Outward Growth of the German Province.—Now you will ask how many congregations there are in the German Province, and where are they? Have they increased in the last half century? Unfortunately the number of members has increased but little; in 1857 there were 6,400 members, and in 1907 about 8,300. How does this come? In America the Brethren's Church has grown far more in the same time! The explanation lies in the vastly different conditions in the two countries. In Germany there can be no aggressive work without conflict with the State Church, and the Unity must be content to maintain its old congregations. New members come from outside the boundaries of the Unity only when actuated by very strong desire, so but few new congregations have been established in fifty years. The German Province numbers 23 congregations, 2 being in Holland, 2 in Switzerland, and the rest in Germany, mostly in the eastern and northern portions. The largest are Herrnhut, the mother congregation and seat of the directing board, with 1,179 members, and Niesky, with 1,168 members.

When the work of the Brethren's Church was restricted in Germany it turned toward Bohemia and Moravia, the home land of the Unity. In 1870 a congregation was organized at Pottenstein, and there are now five congregations and about 1,050 members. But the further story of the Bohemian and Moravian work does not belong here, as it was transferred to the care of the Unity as a whole, and is no longer a special field of the German Province.

III. Social Life in the German Congregations.—What is a German congregation like? If we try to picture it we must make a difference between the city congregations and the "settlements." In the former the members live scattered over the city (as in Dresden), or largely gathered near the church, (as in Neuwied). The "settlements" are little towns which the Brethren have built for themselves. These are all much alike in appearance. Usually in the center there is an open square, with trees in it, surrounded by the principal buildings of the congregation. First of all we find the church, built in simple style,

without a tower but with a little belfry on the roof; then the Brothers', Sisters', and Widows' Houses, probably a school, homes for the pastor and warden, the hotel, etc. Grouped on several streets are the business places, and homes of the members. In many congregations there is a special Diaspora House, for the entertainment of Diaspora workers and members.

In earlier years the members of the Brethren's Church lived very much among themselves, cut off from the outside world. But this quiet, contemplative life is being broken. The stir of trade and modern industrial life is being felt more and more. The establishment of great industrial enterprises has weakened the smaller country congregations by drawing their members to the cities, while the larger and more favorably situated congregations have been benefited. Many young men have been obliged by business to move away from home, so that nearly one-fourth of our membership now lives scattered through Germany, outside of congregations of the Brethren's Church. It has been difficult to give them proper pastoral care, and hold them closely to the Unity, and there is danger of losing many. Recently a minister has been appointed for the special service of these scattered members, to visit them and establish pastoral relations.

In spite of the changing times the social life in the congregations of the Unity in Germany makes a distinct impression on the visitors, for many old customs are still observed. For example there is the division of the congregation into the so-called "choirs," widowers and widows, married people, single brethren and sisters, older boys and girls, and children. Each "choir" has, at least in part, its own leader, meetings, and Church festal days. Practically all the members of a congregation know each other personally, and mingle in brotherly fashion. Class distinctions are less regarded than outside the Unity. The difference between rich and poor is also less marked, for most of the members belong to the middle class. There are few of the laboring class in the congregations, and practically none of the very poor. In Church affairs no uniforms are worn, or titles used. Members generally call each other simply "Brother" or "Sister." So the Brethren's Church recognizes a community of interest in the social life as well as in Church matters.

IV. Church Life.—The old traditions have been preserved more fully in the Church services than in the social life of the congregations. The church, or "meeting hall" (to use the old name) is without interior decoration, painted in light colors, or white, with neither chancel nor altar, but only a reading desk behind which the minister sits or stands

during service. The ministers wear ordinary dress, except for Baptisms, Communions and Ordinations, when they wear white robes. During services the men and women sit on opposite sides of the hall, and except in Dresden and in the Swiss congregations, the women wear white caps with colored ribbons, the widows white, married women blue, single sisters pink, and older girls red.

Church services are of great variety, a sermon Sunday morning, and some other service each evening in the week,—a singing meeting, liturgical service, reading meeting, Bible study, missionary meeting or prayer meeting, etc. The Lord's Supper is celebrated every four weeks, and love-feasts are often held, especially for congregation and "choir" festal days. Especially rich in services are the Advent season and the Passion Week, while great crowds of neighbors are attracted by Christmas, New Year's Eve vigil, and the Easter sunrise service.

As in Zinzendorf's day so now special attention is given to the children of the congregation. Once or twice a week there is a "Children's Hour," and each year a Children's Festival and two children's prayer days are observed, besides the Feast of Angels, at Michaelmas. Perhaps the sweetest service comes on December 24th, the "Children's Christmas Eve Meeting," in the church, to which the very little ones, from two to six or seven years of age, are taken by their mothers, and where they rejoice over the lighted tapers, and almost every child recites a Christmas verse to the minister. Thus we see how much is done for the religious life of the congregation, which has indeed received a new impulse during the last decade.

V. Educational Work.—The Brethren's Unity does not live for itself alone, but recognizes a duty to aid in the upbuilding of God's kingdom even beyond its own bounds. The work which particularly engages the German branch of the Unity is two-fold,—education, and the Diaspora Mission. Let us first glance briefly at the educational work. The Brethren's Church from its beginning recognized the value of a careful Christian education for its children, and the German Province holds firmly to this belief. First, of course, come the children of the congregation, and for these primary and more advanced schools are provided by the congregation. In addition the German Province maintains eleven boarding schools for girls and six for boys, in which children of other denominations are received, as well as those from our own. Many students come from France and England, as these schools are widely and favorably known. Much stress is laid on the individual attention given to each child. Order, good conduct, industry, and conscientious work are required. In our day much inter-

est is shown in the industrial schools carried on in the Sisters' Houses, where girls from fourteen to seventeen years of age are instructed in the womanly arts of handiwork, music, housekeeping, etc. There are now 14 such industrial schools, with 400 pupils. Altogether, in the boarding and industrial schools there are more than 3,000 children, and about 300 teachers. For the furtherance of this educational activity the German Province established a Teachers' Seminary for men at Niesky in 1872, and one for women at Gnadau in 1875. The ministers, who usually serve as teachers for some years before receiving pastoral charges, acquire their classical education at the Pædagogium at Niesky, and then spend three and a half years in the Theological Seminary at Gnadenfeld.

VI. The Diaspora Work.—Almost equal in importance to the educational activity of the German Province is its Diaspora work, which arose from the peculiar circumstances which confronted the renewed Brethren's Church at an early date. It began in 1727, when the Brethren sought acquaintance with other Christians, with the deliberate intention of cultivating Christian fellowship, without regard to denominational lines. In this spirit the Diaspora work has continued to this day, with an increase of zeal in the last decade of the 19th century.

The German Province carries on the Diaspora work particularly among members of the German State Churches,—the Lutheran and Reformed. Unable to seek new members or found new congregations without giving offense to the State Churches the Brethren find it possible to do much to promote spiritual life among their members, gathering together groups of awakened souls, and giving them pastoral care. The Church Rules of the German Province say: "Through the Diaspora Work the Brethren's Church will serve the entire evangelical Church and help to build it up, by gathering together interested members, strengthening their faith, and through care of societies increasing their love and purity of life without taking them away from their own Church." The groups of members influenced by the Diaspora workers have in time assumed various forms; some have become organized "Societies," with regular meetings and pastors, while others are more loosely held in associations, which are frequently visited by Diaspora workers. In the course of years other features have been added to the Diaspora service, some workers give much attention to charity, while all seek to spread a knowledge of our Missions, so that each is virtually a Mission agent. But the two-fold object of this work is always kept in view: (1) to win souls for Jesus, and keep them close to Him, (2) to aid in bringing to fulfilment the words of Jesus, (John xvii, 21) "That they all may be one," etc.

The Diaspora work is widely extended, and the laborers care for 100,000 souls. The work is under the direction of the German Provincial Elders' Conference, and there are about 120 brethren and sisters engaged in the service, and some 50 stations from which, as centers, the workers go into the surrounding country. All Germany is divided into districts, but the activity extends far beyond its borders. In Switzerland there are a number of "Society" pastors and "traveling preachers" as the Diaspora workers are frequently called; and there are others in Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. Within the last twenty or thirty years the Diaspora work has prospered in Russian Poland. Formerly the most successful field comprised the Russian Provinces of Livonia and Esthonia, but in the latter half of the 19th Century all evangelical Churches there were greatly oppressed by the Russian Orthodox Church, so that only a remnant of our work remained in Livonia. Quite recently there is arising a demand for religious liberty in Russia, and this gives new hope for our work there, and already the need for more workers in that district is becoming apparent.

The Diaspora work has been from the beginning an inseparable part of the life of the Brethren's Church in Germany, and is to-day essential to its very existence. To give up the Diaspora work would mean that the German Province must cease to be, or that it must be unfaithful to its foundation principles and the chief task assigned to it by the Lord.

VII. Charitable Work and Sunday Schools.—While the educational and Diaspora activity is conducted by the German Province as a whole, and naturally includes much of a charitable nature, still, in the main, charitable work is in the hands of individual congregations and independent societies. These are endeavoring in many ways to help the needy, and remove the deep distress of the people. We can only mention a few branches of this work. In many congregations there are "Homes" for wandering, homeless workingmen. We also find "Rescue Homes" for neglected children; associations of women for aid of the poor; coffee kitchens to combat the alcohol habit; and societies for the distribution of Bibles and tracts. Through the erection of hospitals and deaconess homes, provision is made for the care of the sick.

One of the greatest works which the German Province of the Unity can show is the deaconess establishment "Emmaus" in Niesky. This is under the direction of an independent committee, but the German Provincial Elders' Conference appoints a minister as leader. It was founded in 1866 by Dr. H. Plitt, at that time President of the Theological Seminary at Gnadenfeld. In 1883 it was moved to Niesky. In 1900 a large Maternity ward was built, with which is connected a

large hospital. Here the deaconesses are trained. In 1908 there were 81 deaconesses employed, 22 at Emmaus and 59 at other points in Germany, Holland, Palestine, and Surinam. They labor in eight hospitals, among them our Leper Hospitals at Jerusalem and Bethesda (Surinam); in twenty-seven places they devote themselves to congregational work, in four they conduct schools for little children, etc. The work is growing, and their service is becoming more widely spread without as well as within the bounds of the Unity.

The Sunday Schools first became important in Germany and in the German Province of the Unity in the second half of the 19th century. They are conducted not so much for the children of the Brethren's congregations, (for whom regular services have always been held), but especially for the children of the neighborhood, who need the Gospel message. Older people do not attend here. The German Province has 12 Sunday Schools, with 1,000 to 1,100 scholars, and 60 to 70 teachers and officers.

VIII. Foreign Missions.—In conclusion we briefly glance at what the German Province has done for Foreign Missions. Interest in and love for the Foreign Mission work has never failed here, but the last decade has seen new enthusiasm and forward movement. This has been brought about by the Mission Festival, now held annually in each congregation, which, especially through the influence of the powerful preacher, Bishop Wunderling (died 1893 in Niesky), has become a favorite festival of the people. The German Province has also been able to awaken much interest in Foreign Missions in the wider Church life of Germany. This was shown at the celebration of the 150th anniversary of the Brethren's Missions, in 1882 in Herrnhut, and also by the Mission Festival of 1900, which was associated with the 200th anniversary of the birth of Zinzendorf. On both occasions many missionaries and friends of Missions from all over Germany joined with the representatives of the Brethren's Unity, and a rich blessing and increased zeal was felt both within and outside of the Brethren's Church. Then in 1901 a "Mission Week" was held in Herrnhut, and since then every two or three years a large number of friends of Missions from various parts of Germany have met in Herrnhut, to further the world-wide Mission work by timely exchange of thought and experience.

The German members of the Brethren's Church have not only labored to promote a Mission spirit in Germany, but they have taken their full share of the work among the heathen in our Mission fields, for they lead all of the other Provinces, and have put 60 or 70 per cent

of our white missionaries in the field. For the best preparation of these for their great work, the German Provincial Synod of 1868 urged the establishment of a Mission School for the training of Missionaries. This was commenced in 1869 by Br. A. von Dewitz at Niesky, and has developed finely, and sent out many well-equipped men for our Mission work.

Close.—When we consider the history of the German Province from 1857 to the present we see with joy and thankfulness that we may well have good hope for the future. The tree is old, but full of life, and sending out many new branches; and this Province of our Brethren's Church is still an instrument of God's blessed work among our members, and to many thousand souls outside the walls of the Church.

THE BRITISH PROVINCE FROM 1857-1909

By BISHOP E. R. HASSE,
President of the British Provincial Elders' Conference.

The main feature of the history of the Moravian Church in Great Britain during the past half century has been its development along distinctly *English* lines. Up till 1857 for more than 100 years the German influence of management and custom, and even of thought and expression had been predominant in every department of Church life and activity. Provincial Synods met, but they had no legislative power. The Unity's Elders' Conference administered everything from Berthelsdorf; Congregations, Schools, Diaconies, all were under its control. Our ministers were mostly trained in Niesky and Gnadenfeld; visits were frequent between the two Provinces, and intermarriages not uncommon; and whilst all this tended to maintain a very close and brotherly bond of union, it unquestionably prevented the Church from adapting itself to the genius of the English people, and rooting itself in their affections. It bore all the way through too much the stamp of a foreign organization. What suited German conditions failed to meet British requirements. The result was that at the middle of the nineteenth century things were going ecclesiastically from bad to worse; there was no attempt at advance or extension, no public spirit or enthusiasm for home work outside the established congregations.

But with 1857 a change came over the scene. It was due in part to the new responsibility thrown on the Province by the administrative alterations then made at the General Synod; it was also in part due to

the feeling strongly borne in upon many minds that the Church had a mission and an opportunity for extending the Kingdom of God at its own doors, as well as in far-off lands. The difficulties that had to be faced in the establishment of Provincial autonomy were many and formidable. A new system of Church finance had to be created; a College for the training of Teachers and Ministers to be established; Home Mission work to be organized. And because the people were "willing in the day of His power," therefore God raised up the leaders needed for these undertakings, and endowed them with wisdom and discretion; financiers of the type of Br. W. Mallalieu, evangelists like Br. John Carey, and Church Fathers such as Bishops Edwards, Seifferth and J. La Trobe.

Under their guidance an entirely new policy was inaugurated, with the result that congregational expansion, of a kind long unknown, was seen in each of the five Districts into which the Province is divided. The Yorkshire congregations have increased from five to nine; the three in Lancashire have become five; in the Eastern District three have been added to the original seven; in the West there are twelve instead of nine; whilst Ireland has advanced from six to eight. This means that during these 50 years the original 30 congregations have become 44, an increase of nearly 50 per cent; a new center established at the rate of one in about every 3 1-2 years. Some of the older congregations have sent out offshoots at their own charges. Bedford (in 1896) set the example by building a church at the Queen's Park, a new suburb of the old town. Fairfield followed (1899) with Openshaw, and London (1908) with Hornsey. The others have been, more or less, the undertakings of the Province as a whole.

On the other hand our educational work has not held its own. The boarding schools for boys at Fairfield, Gracehill and Mirfield have had to be closed, as well as the schools for girls at Wyke, Gomersal, Gracehill and Dukinfield. But this is scarcely to be wondered at, however deeply it may be regretted, under the greatly changed conditions of education in our country.

As against this, may be set the fact that our Church's opportunity for work amongst the young has been largely extended through the increase of our Sunday Schools, to which more care is being devoted year by year, and round which many excellent organizations such as the Christian Endeavor Society and the Boys' Brigade have sprung up.

The development of our Theological College demands special attention. It had its beginning in Fulneck under Br. John England. It was afterward removed to Fairfield where, under the fostering care

of the successive principals, it has grown and developed. The Church has shown the same spirit that dominated the Pilgrim Fathers when in founding Harvard they placed on record their determination that whatever else might be lacking, they would have an educated ministry. Naturally, and fitly in our case, it has been on distinctly English lines, as best calculated to enter into the life and to meet the needs of our own country and people. Our students are now mostly graduates of English Universities, our College is affiliated with Manchester University, and its Principal is a member of the Theological Faculty there.

Some notable contributions have been made to our Church's literature. In 1866 Bishop Seifferth published a translation of the "Ratio Disciplinæ" of John Amos Comenius, enriched with notes of his own, and Benham had already produced a Life of Comenius and his "School of Infancy." Hutton's History of our Church in popular language met a real need for information outside our borders and for the instruction of our own people. The story of our Missions in Labrador, the West Indies and Queensland has been ably told by the Brethren Davey, J. Hutton and A. Ward; whilst the fullest and most scholarly statement of our episcopal orders was drawn up by Br. L. G. Hassé and adopted by the Synod of 1903. Among Church Periodicals the "Moravian Messenger" will long be associated with the name and editorship of Br. C. E. Sutcliffe. "Moravian Missions" was launched in 1903, with Br. H. P. Mumford as its editor, and soon gained for itself a world-wide circle of readers, and enlisted much sympathy in the work of our Church abroad; whilst our venerable "Periodical Accounts" (the oldest Missionary journal in existence), has fully maintained its reputation for faithful accuracy and interest. An invaluable production was the "Church Book," issued in 1891, a compendium of all the Synodical enactments applicable to the Province, along with a sketch of the Church's history and development in the past, and a detailed financial appendix. This was mainly the work of Br. John Taylor, who filled the office of Advocatus Fratrum in Anglia. It was the first attempt to codify our Church's regulations and to present them in a form adapted to the wants and in the language of to-day. The same feature is noticeable in the changes made in the Hymn Book and liturgies. The collection which in 1847 had been compiled by Br. James Montgomery remained in use for 37 years, but it could scarcely be called an English Hymn Book, as the foreign element was still very noticeable in it. The revision of 1886 effected an improvement, but it was soon felt that it had not gone far

enough. The "Children's Hymn Book" published in 1896 and enlarged in 1904, may be said to have been the first distinctly English collection. It was edited by Br. E. R. Hassé and had a large circulation.

The worship and social life of the Church have in these 50 years undergone some marked changes. The so-called "choir" system has practically lapsed and taken its place among the things that "have had their day and ceased to be," its usefulness being replaced by other agencies better adapted to existing needs, and with the same end in view. The type of service known as Liturgy or Singing Meetings is rapidly disappearing, and the celebration of Moravian Memorial days is almost a thing of the past, though this does not imply a loss of interest in the Church's history. The Settlement system with its rigid rules, its local conferences and diaconies, has also died a natural death, and its disappearance has been no loss. It never really rooted itself in England; indeed in some respects it ran counter to national instincts.

The religious life of the Church (in so far as one can judge of it) has been of a quiet, unemotional kind. On the one hand there has been no schism in the body nor on the other hand has there been any striking manifestation of depth of spiritual life. The Irish congregations were beneficially affected by the great Revival of 1859; and others, here and there, have at times had special seasons of blessing. The Evangelistic Union did much good work for some years in the holding of "Missions," the effects of which in many cases were far-reaching and lasting. The Moravian Prayer Union, dating from 1872, united many earnest souls in the holy fellowship of intercession; and the Mite Association has done much good work in a quiet way. A spirit of service and of liberality has evidenced itself very generally; every appeal for help both at home and abroad has been willingly responded to. Especially does this apply to our Foreign Missions, which are as dear to the hearts of our people as ever, and which have been most consistently and generously supported all along. It was a joy to have our own provincial Mission College established in 1894 at Bristol under the direction of Br. A. Heath, and to find it soon filled with students in training both for medical and general missionary work.

A large amount of financial support for the same object has come from outside our borders, especially through the Society known as the "London Association in Aid of Moravian Missions," to whose energetic Secretary, the Rev. W. Wetton Cox, deep thanks are due, as well as to its Committee and its members and subscribers. A won-

derfully generous supporter of our Church, although not a member, was Mr. J. T. Morton, who once paid the entire Mission Deficiency, and on his death bequeathed a very large sum for the establishment of new Mission stations. In addition to this, he also founded a new sphere of usefulness at home, in the "Rural Missions," by means of which Evangelists are maintained, chiefly in country districts, for visiting the sick and those who otherwise would be spiritually neglected.

An important event in the Provincial Administration was the removal of the Directing Board to London in 1875. Up till then its home had been in Ockbrook; but in the previous year Synod, at the urgent request of the Unity's Elders' Conference, sanctioned the proposal that the Mission Agency should henceforth be under the direct supervision of the British Provincial Elders' Conference, and that the latter Board should assume responsibility for the financial conduct of the agency. This necessitated the change to London, where a Provincial Mission Board was constituted, the Provincial Treasurer being also the official Treasurer for the Missions. In this connection the services of successive Mission Secretaries must be recorded. Br. Henry Shawe filled the office for many years, and was justly regarded as an expert in the work to which his life was devoted. His mantle fell upon the shoulders of Br. B. La Trobe; who, on his election to the central Mission Board in 1896, was succeeded by Br. C. J. Klesel, formerly missionary in the West Indies.

In legislative matters, the most marked feature has been the steady rise in the influence of the Provincial Synod, culminating in the introduction of the Annual Assembly in 1890. It was at first regarded as an experiment, but the result has been gratifying; for it has meant a widening of general interest in our Church affairs and the creation of a stronger public spirit than formerly existed.

A survey of these fifty years serves to emphasize the fact mentioned at the beginning, that it has been a period of transition, in which the peculiarly German features of Church life have been gradually displaced by those that are distinctly English. But this does not imply any conflict, nor the existence of any disparaging feeling. The worth of the past has been, and is, fully recognized, and the bonds of union that link us to our German and American Brethren are strong and true; nor is there any desire on our part to sever or to weaken them. It is along the line of National development that our hope for the future lies in every part of our world-wide Unity, each Province contributing its best to the beauty and strength and usefulness of the whole. If the first half century of Provincial Home Rule, in an ad-

ministrative sense, has not been marked by any very striking events, it yet can tell of advance made and of good work done in the service of God, and for humanity. If it has produced no outstanding personalities in Church life, it has been blessed with able administrators and a godly succession of men and women whose desire has been to further the cause and Kingdom of Christ and to enrich the world with the knowledge of His salvation.

The Provincial Elders since 1857 have been the Brethren Seifferth, W. Edwards, W. Mallalieu, J. La Trobe, T. L. Badham, J. England, W. Robbins, W. Taylor, G. Clemens, H. Blandford, T. H. Hines, J. H. Edwards, R. Elliott, J. M. Wilson, H. O. Essex, E. R. Hassé and H. England.

The Episcopal Succession has been transmitted in the Province through the following Bishops: Seifferth, W. Edwards, J. La Trobe, J. England, W. Taylor, A. C. Hassé, C. E. Sutcliffe, H. E. Blandford, F. Ellis, J. H. Edwards, E. R. Hassé and P. Asmussen.

THE AMERICAN PROVINCE, NORTH, 1857-1909

By REV. W. N. SCHWARZE,
Professor of Church History in the Moravian College and Theological Seminary.

The constitutional changes perfected by the General Synod of 1857 were of far-reaching importance. They represented practically an adoption of the suggestions made by the American Provincial Synod of 1856. They conceded independence to the home provinces in all purely provincial matters. They opened to the Moravian Church in this country a career of many-sided usefulness.

The time in which these changes were being gradually worked out was of unusual interest to all American Christianity. Several events and movements contributed to make it such. Successive decades, beginning with the second quarter of the century, had witnessed, with brief intervals, periods of intellectual and religious quickening in our country. The Christian ministry as well as the laity had been engaged in conflicts with public wrongs, such as intemperance. This together with the rebuke and warning that had been served by the pulpit on the American people and government for political misdeeds had been the means of arousing the conscience and awakening the mind of the nation and, at the same time, helping the American Churches to a vigorous maturity. Furthermore, immigration of people from various

European lands to America had greatly increased. Under pressure of its flood-tide, extraordinary religious and educational activity developed. If the growth and movement of population at this time represent "the most important migration of modern history," the increase in efficiency of Christian agencies and influences and the installation of educational forces to meet the problems raised by the unparalleled invasion are no less significant. As the incoming people together with many already in America moved westward, the Christian culture of the land followed them and planted the new soil with church and school. In its own way, the political agitation, preceeding the Civil War, strengthened the national spirit, which in turn charged all national institutions with greater vigor. In the wake of feverish industrial activity and political unrest followed business prostration. Hard times led men to think and to pray. They made way for the Fulton Street Prayer Meeting in New York and similar means of blessing in all the cities and villages of the land. Gracious pentecostal experiences swept from the more populous communities over vast tracts of the country. The revival stimulated the progress of the Evangelical Alliance of Protestant denominations, aided the widespread establishment of the Young Men's Christian Association, as well as many other beneficent enterprises and proved a timely training of American Christianity for service on an extensive scale.

No Christian communion could remain unaffected by these movements and influences. The Moravian Church was peculiarly susceptible to them. During the time of agitation for constitutional changes of this body, some of its members had engaged in lively discussions on mode of government, forms of ritual and methods of work with respect to their bearing on the probable future of Moravianism in America. Some doubtful spirits questioned whether the Church had any future in this country. When, by the synodal enactments of 1857, the American Provinces emerged into practical independence, without destroying organic unity with the European Provinces, the discussions were given a very practical turn. The several parties to them found themselves before the important problems of an expanding field of labor full of promise, for there was a marked revival of home missionary activity, prosecuted during these years with fresh vigor. At this critical juncture the Church was open and responsive to the gracious influences of the reviving spiritual life of the nation. In all parts of the country this was rousing Christians to the noblest enterprises of evangelization. Everywhere the chief topics of practical religion, faith and duty were engaging attention. All Christian

Churches and ministers were full of hope and activity. The "Moravian," * a weekly publication established in 1856 as the official organ of the Northern American Province and since that time closely identified with every forward movement of the Church in America, testifies abundantly that the Moravian Church shared in the stimulus and inspiration of that period. Her latent powers thus quickened, and alive to the conviction that she had a mission in this country, she was started on her way into the modern era of a vigorous policy of Church extension.

In order to carry the provisions of the new constitution into effect, and under conditions that were at once inspiring and the cause of not a little anxious thought, the Provincial Synod of the American Moravian Church, North, convened at Bethlehem, in 1858. A provincial constitution was adopted, fundamental to which were triennial synods, constituted of ministers and lay delegates, and a Provincial Elders' Conference of three members, with a six years' term of office, and authorized to make all appointments to ministerial positions, administer the provincial funds and serve as general executive. Three particular acts of this synod deserve to be noted. The publication office of "The Moravian" was ordered removed to Bethlehem, where the "Brüder Blatt," begun in 1854, was also issued. The Theological Seminary was transferred to the same place and there, in accordance with the need of the Church for a larger number of thoroughly educated ministers, reorganized on an elaborate plan as "The Moravian College and Theological Seminary." With this title the institution was incorporated in 1863, by act of the Pennsylvania Legislature, and its Board of Trustees invested with the legal rights belonging to such bodies. The sum of twenty thousand dollars, (the greater part of the share of the Northern Province in the division of the Unity's funds), was set aside by Synod to form, with a like sum made available by the will of Godfrey Haga in 1825, the beginning of an endowment fund for this institution. By request of the same synod "The Moravian Manual," giving a concise statement of the constitution, statutes and ritual of the Moravian Church, was prepared by the Rev. Edmund de Schweinitz and published in 1859. This useful booklet made it possible for members and friends of the Church to form an intelligent estimate of the Moravian Church and its distinctive features.

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*Predecessors of "The Moravian" were "The Missionary Intelligencer," a quarterly issued from 1822-49, and "The Moravian Church Miscellany," a monthly, issued from 1850-55.

In connection with the gradual working out of constitutional independence, the capitalization of the Sustentation Fund of the Province is of special importance. In the years 1770-75 the settlement congregations had acquired title to their real estate by purchase from the Unity. It had then been stipulated that these congregations should pay annually certain sums toward provincial needs, into what was known as the Sustentation Diacony and the Educational Diacony. The former provided salaries for some of the provincial officers, partial support of pastors of poor charges, and pensions; the latter made provision for the educational work of the Church. With the instituting of the new order of things, Bethlehem, Nazareth and Lititz abolished the settlement congregation system and proposed a final arrangement with the Province to redeem the pledges assumed at the time they had acquired title to their property. By the resulting transactions Bethlehem made over to the Province $104,000, Nazareth $59,700 and Lititz $20,000. These sums, constituting what was now termed the Sustentation Fund, were to be administered in trust by the Provincial Elders' Conference in behalf of the causes with which the Sustentation Diacony and Educational Diacony had formerly been charged and, in addition, the needs of the Theological Seminary and the Church publications not otherwise provided for.

Hardly had the Churches adjusted themselves to the newly-created conditions when the Civil War brought heavy burdens and laid upon certain congregations particular distress. The time of trial was not without its blessing. In many places there was more marked appreciation of the means of grace.

Despite all that was discouraging and distressing in the times, however, the home missions received energetic support. Within the decade beginning with 1857 work was commenced or organization of congregations effected in Chaska, with filials that later developed into Laketown and Zoar, in Bethany and Hebron, Minnesota; in Egg Harbor, Palmyra, Riverside and Elizabeth in New Jersey; in Coveville, South Bethlehem, besides the inauguration of three new enterprises in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; in Mamre, Watertown and Freedom, Wisconsin; and Gracehill and Harmony, Iowa. Similar work, which however, did not achieve any degree of permanence, was also begun in New Haven, Conn., and Milwaukee, Wis., and elsewhere.

In 1867 Synod urged closer uniformity in ritual throughout the various congregations, and at the same time, reintroduced the "Brotherly Agreement" in a revised and modernized form as a bond of union between all the congregations and the home missions.

The success which attended home missionary activity suggested the

mapping out of districts for the purpose of more effectively prosecuting the work from local centers. The Provincial Synod of 1870 brought about the division of the Province into four districts, this body having been empowered to do so by a modification of the Church's constitution obtained at the General Synod of 1869. In connection with the more aggressive policy thus inaugurated, a distinct Board of Church Extension, consisting of clerical and lay members, was created in 1876 and charged with the establishment of a permanent Church Extension Fund. This fund of $50,000 was completed within two decades. Interest arising from it, the capital ever to remain intact, was to be loaned or donated to assist home mission charges in the erection of churches or parsonages. Auxiliary Boards were appointed to supervise district work. In 1888 a step further in the direction of logical development was taken in the establishment of District Synods for local and subordinate legislation. As finally constituted, the First District comprises the congregations in New York; Elizabeth, New Jersey; Bethlehem, South Bethlehem, Nazareth, Emmaus, Hopedale, Coveville, Coopersburg and Schoeneck, Pennsylvania. The Second District the remaining congregations in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, as well as those in Maryland; the Third District the congregations in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa and Missouri; the Fourth District the congregations in Michigan, Minnesota, North Dakota and Wisconsin.

It was but natural that the growth of the Church and the new needs arising should bring about changes in the publications. The "Brüder Blatt" for want of proper support ceased to be issued in 1861. Five years later the "Brüder Botschafter," first a bi-weekly, later a weekly, was founded at Bethlehem. It has since made its way as the German official organ of the Province. About the same time a printing and publication establishment was opened in Bethlehem. From this have been issued various editions of hymnals and other works characteristic of a denominational printing office, as, also, two illustrated children's and young people's monthlies, the "Little Missionary" and "Der Missions-Freund."

The prosperity of the educational institutions has fluctuated. For a time the sphere of influence of the schools long since established widened out. New enterprises were established at Chaska, Minnesota, and Hope, Indiana, in the former place a boys' academy and in the latter a young ladies' seminary. For a time both flourished, but, eventually, neither attained permanence. The older Church schools in the East were all severely affected by the panic of 1873. Only

gradually and as the result of unwearying and self-sacrificing effort have they recovered lost ground.

In the later decades of this period the work of the Church in this Province has met with encouragements and discouragements similar to those that have attended the experiences of other American Churches. Many efforts have been crowned with success, others have met with disappointment.

Church extension has continued to receive paramount attention. In 1870 a congregation at Unionville, Michigan, was organized. In the same year Mamre, a filial of Lake Mills, became an independent charge. Two years later a church was dedicated at Castleton Corners, Staten Island, N. Y., for a portion of the New Dorp congregation; some time after, another portion of this parent congregation secured a church building at Giffords. At a fourth center on Staten Island a separate congregation was organized, known as Stapleton. In 1873 Sturgeon Bay, Wisconsin, became a separate charge and developed into one of the largest congregations of the Northwest. Next year a new organization was effected at Urichsville, Ohio. In 1877 the Fifth Moravian congregation of Philadelphia came into existence. In the following year work previously begun in Iowa resulted in the formation of a congregation at Blairstown, and Goshen, in North Dakota, was organized. The last named was the beginning of a promising work which subsequently blossomed into the establishment of Canaan, Bethel, Casselton, Tabor and Alice in the same state. In Coopersburg, Pennsylvania, a congregation was formed in 1883. About the same time a work begun at Oakland, Missouri, by the Southern Province, passed into the control of the Northern Board. Four filials have since been added to this congregation. In 1888 the Church undertook to supply a pastor for the interdenominational city missions of York, Pennsylvania. Eventually, the Second Moravian congregation of that city grew out of the arrangement. In the same year congregations came into being at Hector, Minnesota; Grand Rapids, Wisconsin; and Easton, Pennsylvania. Several years later Berea, Wisconsin, and Riverside, New Jersey, developed into separate charges. In 1895 the congregation in Indianapolis, Indiana, was organized. For the considerable number of colored people coming to New York from various of our churches in the West Indies a mission was started and soon led to the forming of the Third Moravian Church in that city. In addition filial charges have been connected with various of the congregations named or with the older establishments. Work begun in a dozen and more localities to which attention of the

Church was attracted in the several states where her activity was represented did not lead to permanent results.

An advance of peculiar interest was the new work undertaken in the last years of the nineteenth century in Alberta, a province of western Canada. Thither some German people were emigrating from Russia. They had, quite some time before, entered Volhynia, a province of the latter country, in reliance upon promises of religious liberty. These promises failing of fulfilment, they sought a new home in the well-wooded and fertile Canadian territory, of which they had heard. They had become acquainted with the Moravian Church through the Diaspora activity amongst the Germans of Poland. On their arrival in Canada they opened correspondence with the authorities of the Northern Province. The latter responded to their appeal to be supplied with ministers. Before the first two could be appointed, the congregations of Bruderheim and Bruderfeld were organized in 1895. Soon after the arrival of the first of the ministers, a third congregation, Heimthal, was formed. The work has been greatly prospered. At present there are seven congregations, with several preaching stations, served by five ministers. These congregations now constitute the Fifth District.

In the nature of things, the phenomenal growth of the Province brought before successive synods, latterly held at intervals of five years, a variety of problems. The Sustentation Fund, which had only slowly and not very considerably increased, was severely taxed by the very materially increased needs it was supposed to meet. By decision of the Synod of 1881, therefore, its use in future was restricted to employment as a pension fund only. To provide for administrative expenses what was called "Provincial Revenue," embodying the principle of annual congregational assessment, was instituted. Even for the purpose of providing pensions the Sustentation Fund proved eventually to be inadequate. Hence, an annual collection in aid of retired Ministers was introduced. Other annual collections ordered by Synod are those for the Bohemian Mission, for Foreign Missions, for the Alaska Mission, which was started by the American Province, North, for Home Missions, and for the Theological Seminary, the last two causes having previously, to some extent, benefited by the Sustentation Fund. It should be added that after the Synod of 1903 a systematic effort was made to increase the Sustentation Fund. As a result more than $47,000 was added to the capital, $10,000 having during the previous years slowly accumulated for the same purpose.

In process of time the Theological Seminary, owing to increased importance and requirements in consequence of the growth of the

Church, outgrew the building and equipments with which it had been provided by the Synod of 1858. Slowly and steadily, the institution had forged its way to a larger and richer influence in spite of discouraging conditions, especially since 1881 when its interests had been separated from the Sustentation Fund. The appeal of the building committee, appointed by the Synod of 1888, met with generous response throughout the Province. Liberal contributions toward the building fund came, also, from the Southern Province. From the beginning that Province has had an interest in the institution, receiving many of the graduates to supply the ranks of its ministry and contributing annually to the support of the enterprise. The Bethlehem congregation donated a very eligible site and through the liberality of the membership of all the congregations admirable new buildings were erected in 1892. In the following year the Helen Stadiger Borhek Memorial Chapel (the gift of Mr. and Mrs. A. C. Borhek, of Bethlehem, in memory of their deceased daughter) could be consecrated. In 1905 liberal members of the Lehigh Valley Branch of the Alumni Association provided an athletic field of generous dimensions, and the centennial year of the institution, 1907, was signalized by the erection of the Harvey Memorial Library, a gift devised on acceptable terms by Messrs. Cennick and Charles Harvey, members of the Brooklyn congregation. These grounds and buildings in their finish and furnishing supply the external equipment of an institution that takes high rank among denominational foundations for classical and theological learning. In the half century the endowment fund of the institution, exclusive of buildings and appointments, has risen from $40,000 to more than $120,000.

Among the various books and treatises that have been published by professors or alumni of the Theological Seminary, special mention may be made of the following valuable historical works: "Life and Times of David Zeisberger," a classic account of the period and labors of one of the most famous missionaries to the Indians, by Edmund de Schweinitz, S.T.D.; "History of the Church Known as the Unitas Fratrum," a monumental work, enabling the reader to understand correctly the rise, position and life of the Moravian Church before 1722, by the same author; "History of the Moravian Church During the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," a companion volume of the last named, invaluable for appreciation of the progress of the Moravian Church, by J. Taylor Hamilton, D.D.; "Die Missions Felder der Erneuerten Brüder Kirche," giving a comprehensive view of the Foreign Missions of the Moravian Church, by Augustus Schultze, D.D.; and "A History of Bethlehem," an exhaustive and thorough

statement of the beginnings of Moravianism in America, by J. Mortimer Levering, D.D.

The remaining educational institutions of the Church in this Province, Young Ladies Seminary, Bethlehem, Pa., Linden Hall Seminary for Girls, Lititz, Pa., and Nazareth Hall Academy for Boys, Nazareth, Pa., are now in prosperous condition. They, as well as the Theological Seminary, were by the Synod of 1893 placed under control of separate Boards of Trustees, in which the Provincial Elders' Conference, which had hitherto administered the affairs of them all, is represented. Equipped and constituted as these institutions are at present, in accordance with modern requirements, they are in position to perpetuate the fair fame of Moravian educational activity.

Even so brief a résumé of fifty years of history of the Northern Province of the American Moravian Church shows that the growth of Moravianism in this country, since the adoption of the modern constitution, has been steady and consistent. At the close of 1858 the communicant membership of both American Provinces numbered but 5,300 and the total membership 8,275; at the close of 1907, the communicant membership of the Northern Province alone had risen to 13,986 and the total membership to 20,606. Commensurate with the growth in numbers has been the deepening and intensifying of zeal for evangelization. Never has the life of the American Moravian congregations been more full of hope and vigor than at the present time.

THE SOUTHERN PROVINCE, 1857-1909

By Rev. J. Kenneth Pfohl,
Pastor of Salem Home Church.

The Southern Province of the Moravian Church in America, at the close of the year 1908, comprised 28 congregations, with a communicant membership of 4,019, and a total membership of 6,241 souls, under the active care of 13 ministers. Fifty years ago, there were but 8 ministers, serving 10 congregations, with about 1,200 communicants, and a total membership of 1,900 souls.

This numerical increase of almost 250 per cent does not, however, indicate all that has been accomplished. Under normal conditions, with the same expenditure of money and effort, the growth would undoubtedly have been far greater. But the conditions under which the work has been carried on have been very different from those existing in other Provinces of the Unity. To properly understand the history and the present status of the work those conditions must be

taken into account. They were due to the fact that in the first decade of the period under review our congregations passed through the trials and hardships of four years of terrible civil war. In those years it was not possible for the Church to so much as hold its own, and in 1867 the membership was less than in 1857. And what was even worse, the work had to be prosecuted under conditions much less favorable than ten years previous. In many homes fathers and older sons were missing, having been killed in the war; the savings of former years had disappeared, and heavy mortgages rested on the property; what currency there was had no purchasing value; and buildings and farms had suffered greatly from disuse and lack of repair.

These conditions reduced a poor people to great poverty, and for many years there was a hard struggle for the bare necessaries of life. Then, too, it is impossible to measure the great disadvantages occasioned by the closing of the schools, and the lack of educational advantages on the part of almost an entire generation. Add to these hardships the misrule of the reconstruction period, when thievery and evil practices of all kinds were suffered at the hands of those placed in authority, and when a patient and helpless people had no redress from the wrongs heaped upon them, and it will be evident that the cup of our people's trials was full indeed. The baneful result of the great loss of wealth, lack of education, and general demoralization of life during these trying years, is still felt to an appreciable extent in some of our congregations, and it is not difficult to see what hindrances and drawbacks the leaders of the Church had to face in the years immediately following the war.

Owing to the depreciation of real estate and other values, and the unprofitableness of all business enterprises, the financial interests of the Southern Church became a source of much anxiety, not only to those in charge of local affairs but also to the Administration of the entire Unity. As a result of these financial difficulties, on Dec. 1, 1877, after negotiations with the Unity's Board, arrangements were perfected whereby all property of the Unitas Fratrum held under the name of "Wachovia Administration" passed by purchase into the hands of the Southern Province. This property, under the direct supervision of the "Financial Board," has been most carefully husbanded, and the "Sustentation Fund" has often proved its right to be so called, and has lent great aid to struggling congregations. But for the help received from this source disaster would most certainly have overtaken many of our weaker congregations. In the handling of

these financial problems the Brethren H. W. Fries, J. D. Siewers, J. F. Shaffner, Sr., J. W. Fries and C. T. Pfohl rendered most efficient service.

The Province has also had able leaders for the management of its general affairs. Under the wise direction of such men as Bishop Bahnson, Bishop Emil de Schweinitz, Rev. Lewis Rights and Bishop Rondthaler, who have served as presidents of the Provincial Elders' Conference, the work, under God's blessing, has made progress in spite of hard and trying conditions. It has not been a work, however, in which ministers have wrought single-handed, but in which a loyal laity has rendered most valuable service. This is one of the distinguishing features of our Southern Province, and one which gives it great strength. It may very aptly be called a "Lay-province." This fact was most evident in the Triennial Synod of 1908, when out of a total representation of eighty there were but thirteen ministers. The laymen, while often employed in the regularly appointed services of the Church, and not infrequently in evangelistic labors, have been most prominent in the Sunday School field. From the larger congregations, as Salem, Bethania, Friedburg and Kernersville, laymen have gone out, often accompanied by some of the sisters, into neglected country districts, and there have organized Sunday Schools which have later grown into congregations served by the nearest resident Moravian ministers. During the decades 1880 to 1900, under the leadership of Brother Jas. T. Lineback, the veteran Sunday School worker, this movement was vigorously pushed and the results were most encouraging. In our Province, though many other lines of work have been undertaken from time to time, none has accomplished so much as the Sunday School. It is peculiarly adapted to our needs, especially in the smaller congregations where but one regular preaching service is held each month. Through the Sunday School an opportunity is afforded for a weekly gathering of the membership, and for their general enlistment in active service.

Again the work has received great impulse from evangelistic efforts put forth in all the congregations. These have had much to do with the quickening of spiritual life in our membership, and have at the same time added very materially to our numerical growth. In no portion of our American field has so much stress been placed upon evangelistic effort. The work has been conducted in most instances by the regular ministry of the Province, who gladly serve wherever opportunity offers. Not the least of the good results derived from these services is the more intimate fellowship and coöperation of the

ministry, and the better acquaintance brought about between ministers and people.

Perhaps the most notable gain of the years, from the standpoint of the Province and the Unity, has been the increase in the number of congregations in Winston-Salem. In the development of this work, great credit is due to the unselfish and far-seeing labors of Bishop Edward Rondthaler, since 1877 pastor of the Salem congregation. Where there was one congregation fifty years ago, there are now six, with splendid houses of worship, with flourishing Sunday Schools, and with a loyal membership. In addition there are three Sunday School chapels. This congregation, united under the name of "Salem Congregation," is the largest Moravian congregation in America, having 1,828 communicants, a total membership of 2,601, and a Sunday School enrollment of 2,178. The oversight of the organization is in the hands of a general pastor, and central Boards of Elders and Trustees. At the same time, each separate Church is given a pastor in full charge of its local work, and has its own Boards of Elders and Trustees, who control all local affairs, under the supervision of the central Boards. It is this policy of self-government, safeguarded by wise, fostering oversight, which has resulted, under the blessing of God, in the great growth of the congregation and its establishment in every portion of this rapidly growing community.

These city congregations are fast becoming thoroughly Moravian, though their membership, outside the old Home Congregation, is made up largely of those who were not brought up under Moravian training and influence. One by one the beautiful customs which center around the Christmas and Easter celebrations, and the leading memorial days, are being introduced, chiefly because they are found to be productive of spiritual good. In the older country congregations, too, many of these customs are still in vogue; and in some of them, as in the Salem Congregation, the "choir" system is still maintained. With the newer country congregations, however, where the number of services is very limited, few, if any, of the festal days are observed;—the chief events of the Church year for them are the Christmas celebration, the special evangelistic services, and the observance of the congregation's anniversary.

Work for the children is everywhere made a special feature, and celebrations of various kinds are held for them each year. So prominent is the work for children among us, that it is often remarked by those of other Churches, "The Moravians take care of their children."

From the beginning of its activity in Wachovia, the Moravian

Church, true to its ideals, has shown deep interest in education, and has built up an institution, "Salem Academy and College," devoted to the education of young women, of which the entire Unity may be justly proud. Founded in 1802, from a very modest beginning it has grown in numbers and influence, until its more than 400 pupils come not only from all portions of the Southland, but from every section of the United States. It has a valuable plant, worth considerably more than $200,000. In recent years the Brethren Rondthaler and Clewell and an exceedingly active Board of Trustees have been instrumental in placing it upon a strong foundation, and its future prosperity and usefulness seem assured.

During the years under review, the Salem Boys' School, started originally as a provincial work, has been transferred to the Salem Congregation, and now enjoys the advantages of a new and modern building. This work, under the management of Brother J. F. Brower, is growing, year by year, and is more largely attended now than at any time in its long history. Many of its alumni, at home and in other communities, are acceptably filling positions of great responsibility.

Clemmons School, Clemmons, N. C., is the newest of our educational institutions. It was founded through the generosity of Brother E. T. Clemmons, whose desire was to give ample educational opportunities to the young people of his native village. The beautiful buildings, five in number, are thoroughly modern in all their appointments. This work was started in the fall of 1900 by Brother J. K. Pfohl, and since 1903 has been under the principalship of Brother Jas. E. Hall. Special attention is given to the care of small boys and girls, and the school is gaining a good reputation for this class of work.

The years, too, have been fruitful in literary endeavor. "Forsyth County," by Miss Fries, and Clewell's "History of Wachovia" have had wide distribution, and have served to call attention to the important part played by the Moravians in the development of the State, and have brought to public notice many facts of historical importance not generally known. The "Moravians in Georgia, 1735-1740," also by Miss Fries, presents the earliest chapter in Moravian activity in America, and opens up a section of our history hitherto but little known. In addition to these volumes, many articles on Moravian life and customs have been written and presented before the Wachovia Historical Society by its members, prominent among whom are the Brethren J. A. Lineback and W. S. Pfohl. These articles and others which have appeared from time to time in the "Wachovia Moravian" have proved of great interest, and have served to bring about a much

wider recognition of the work of our Church. A recent outcome of these literary efforts was the publication by the Educational Department of North Carolina, for use in all the public schools of the State, a program for "North Carolina Day," devoted to the German Settlements. In this pamphlet special prominence was given to the life in Wachovia; illustrations were taken from relics in the possession of the Wachovia Historical Society, and both music and words to some of our distinctly Moravian chorals were given. The Wachovia Historical Society has also succeeded in bringing together one of the best collections of relics to be found anywhere in the State, and the industrial development of our section is shown in most interesting fashion. Its rooms are frequently visited by those in search of information relative to early times, and its splendid exhibit in the Historical Building of the Jamestown Exposition in 1907, elicited much favorable comment.

Information concerning the Moravian Church is evidently to prove a most valuable asset in the new era of expansion upon which we have entered. Chief among the agencies for its dissemination is Salem Academy and College, (already mentioned), which each year is sending out nearly one hundred graduates and special students into all sections of the State and country, carrying with them a loyal friendship, and in many instances a deep and abiding love for our Church. The "Wachovia Moravian," the official organ of the Southern Province, is aiding materially in extending knowledge of our Church's life, and the special services incident to the Christmas and Easter celebrations, particularly the latter, are not without their value from this standpoint. Visitors from far and near are coming in increasing numbers each year to attend these services, and carry away with them information concerning our doctrine and practice. Then, too, the industrial development now going on, is drawing many of our members from the country congregations to other towns in the state, and is thus giving a nucleus for beginning work in other communities, where there is already a spirit of friendliness toward us. Such conditions in the future are to be taken advantage of wherever possible. The organization of the new congregation in Greensboro, N. C., in 1908, under most favorable circumstances, was in line with this policy of extension, and the creation of a Church Aid and Extension Board by the Synod of 1908 is significant of the direction our work is taking.

In this extension movement we are breaking away from the policy of the past. The strict plan of the fathers was to have an isolated colony, living for the Lord and doing good wherever it was possible,

yet staying well within the 100,000 acres of the original Wachovia tract. They contemplated a rural work centering about the one leading settlement of the district from which affairs were to be administered. And in the early days any effort which promised an enlargement of our bounds and extension into new fields was promptly checked. Under such a system, there is no cause for surprise that our sphere of operation has been so largely confined to the territory of the original purchase. Strange as it may seem to us, this was the plan of those who projected the work. They did not want extension. But a new day has dawned. We are living in an entirely new era. Already we have passed the parting of the ways; our faces are firmly set in a new direction; a new chapter in our Church life has been begun. Through opening doors we have seen our great Leader calling us to advance, and with strong faith in Him we have dared to go forward. Under His continued guidance and aid, a large development awaits our Southern Church. May it all redound to His honor and glory!

MORAVIAN MISSIONS *

Independent as are the four Provinces of the Unitas Fratrum, and diverse as their development has been, they are firmly united in the world-wide Mission work which they carry on. Each General Synod elects a Mission Board of five men,—one representing the Moravian Church in Germany, one from England, one from America, and two from the Church at large,—and to these men is entrusted the management of the entire Mission field, through their hands pass the funds for its support, by them missionaries are called, and to them are referred all the problems concerning every phase of activity and advancement. They are picked men, selected for their ability as well as their devotion to the Mission cause, and from quiet Berthelsdorf, not far from Herrnhut, Germany, they superintend the collection and expenditure of more than $500,000 annually, content with salaries so small that there is probably no other large missionary or philanthropic organization which can show so small a percentage of expense in its executive department. Indeed this is one reason why Moravian Missions have always received so much support from outside their own denomi-

*Special thanks are due to Bishop J. Taylor Hamilton, of the Mission Board, for revision of the statements regarding work in the various Mission fields. The statistics are taken from the annual report published in September, 1908.—ADELAIDE L. FRIES.

nation, for people have felt that through this channel, to an unusual degree, every dollar given went straight to the Mission field.

The sources of revenue for the Moravian Mission work are: (1) contributions and legacies from members and friends of the Moravian Church in the home Provinces, including the Diaspora members; (2) the interest on funded legacies; (3) annual contributions from various auxiliary organizations; (4) income from the Mission fields themselves. Of the auxiliary organizations the "London Association in Aid of Moravian Missions" deserves special mention. Although its members do not belong to the Moravian Church its large annual contributions to Moravian Missions, and the many legacies received through its influence, have made it a most important factor in the work from 1817 to the present day. The income from the Missions is of particular interest, for converts from heathendom are early taught the duty of giving for the support of their own congregation and for the further spread of the Gospel. In seven fields certain business enterprises are carried on under Mission control. The proceeds of these go for the support of the Mission,—though their original object was to establish a base of supplies for the missionaries, cut off as they were from civilization,—and they also supply the natives with the necessaries of life by furnishing a market for their wares, and aid in the material elevation of the race by teaching them trades.

The separate Mission fields are carefully organized. Details can not here be given for lack of space, but it may be said that the rule is to give each field just as much self-government as its advancement will warrant. In this respect the West Indies are in the lead, being now semi-independent, though not yet able to stand without assistance from the Mission treasury.

There are 502 missionaries now in active service in foreign fields, 95 of them being natives; the other 407 are men and women from the four home Provinces, called to foreign service by the Mission Board. To this should be added those engaged in the Leper Hospital at Jerusalem (6), and in the Bohemian Mission (12), making a total of 520. In the Bohemian Mission the wives of ministers occupy the same position that they do in the home Provinces generally, and their number does not appear in the table of missionary statistics, even though they give active assistance in the work; but for foreign fields the wives receive a formal "call" together with their husbands, and are therefore counted in the list. In addition there are unmarried deaconesses, who serve in the leper hospitals, and in the zenana mission.

The missionaries are distributed as follows:

	European and American.			Native Ministers and Assistant Missionaries.
	Ordained Men.	Unordained Men.	Women.	
West Indies	27	.....	23	38
Central America	15	1	16	11
South America	31	18	49	20
California	3	.....	3	.....
Alaska	7	2	8	8
Labrador	12	5	15	.....
South Africa	36	8	45	18
German East Africa	22	7	26	.....
Himalaya Mountains	8	1	12	.....
Australia	3	.....	4	.....
Leper Home at Jerusalem	1	.....	5	.....
Bohemian Mission	9	3	.....	.....
	174	45	206	95

In addition to these missionaries there are 1,934 natives serving as "Helpers" and "Evangelists." These are appointed by the missionaries in charge of the stations, the former to do individual work among the people, the latter to hold cottage prayer meetings, etc. The "Assistant Missionaries" and "Native Ministers" are usually educated in the training schools and theological seminaries existing in nearly all the Mission provinces, and there is a tendency now to develop a class of catechists or licensed preachers, with licenses for a limited time, to be renewed if it seem wise. These catechists rank between the "Helpers," and the native "Assistant Missionaries." It is the policy of the Church to foster the growth of a native ministry wherever possible.

There are about 100,000 converts under the care of the Moravian Missionaries.

West Indies.—The early history of the West Indian Mission has been given in another chapter. Begun in 1732 the work has spread from island to island, until there are two organized provinces, with 45 stations; 38 out-stations and preaching places; 111 day schools, and 83 Sunday Schools. Jamaica (begun in 1754) constitutes the western province; the eastern consists of St. Thomas, (1732), St. Jan (1754), St. Croix (1740), St. Kitts (1777), Antigua (1756), Barbados (1765), Tobago (1790), Trinidad (1890), and St. Domingo (1907). There is a teacher-training school for women at Bethlehem, Jamaica, and another at St. Johns, Antigua; also a theological seminary at the latter place.

It will be noted that the second foreign Mission undertaken by the Moravians—*Greenland*—does not appear in the list given above. The Brethren continued to labor there with unflagging faithfulness, but the

General Synod of 1899 decided to accept the proposals of the Danish Church, and transfer their Greenland Eskimos to its oversight, believing that the superior facilities of the Danish Church in that country would enable it to give the Moravian Eskimos satisfactory spiritual care. The natives were all at least nominally Christian, and the aim of foreign missions being the establishment of a native Christian Church, there was no good reason why two Protestant native Churches should exist side by side. The Lutherans outnumbered the Moravians perhaps ten to one, so, as has been said, the Moravian Church followed the suggestion of the Danish Lutherans, and withdrew from the field, regretfully, and yet convinced that it was best.

The Nicaragua field (established 1849) in *Central America* has had much to contend with in recent years. The political changes of 1894 were productive of great unrest, and the Moravian Mission suffered in the closing of its schools, and the uncertainty as to its future standing with the new government. Moreover Bluefields has suffered from three fires in the last ten years, while two tornadoes have wrought havoc on the east coast. In spite of this several new stations have been begun, and as they are in the interior, with numerous Indian villages in the neighborhood, it is the opening of new work, with particularly good results from the medical mission. In all there are 16 stations, 17 outstations and preaching places, 1 day school, and 21 Sunday Schools. There is a business undertaking at Bluefields, with filials at three stations.

South America.—The Mission in *Demerara,* or British Guiana, is comparatively new, having been begun in 1878 at the invitation of Mr. Quintin Hogg, proprietor of the Bel Air estate. The emigration of West Indians to Demerara had already attracted the notice of the missionaries in the West Indies, and it was hoped that it might be possible to follow them with pastoral care by this movement. There is also a good opening for work among the East Indians, who are pressing in. Three stations have so far been established, with an equal number of day and Sunday Schools.

In *Surinam* (1738), or Dutch Guiana, there are 22 stations, 57 outstations and preaching places, 31 day schools, and 11 Sunday Schools. There are seven Moravian churches in the city of Paramaribo and its suburbs, a theological seminary, and an asylum for the poor; also a successful series of business establishments, house-building, a hardware store, and one for general merchandise, a grocery, bookstore, bakery, furniture factory, and farm. The workmen trained under the eye of the Brethren in charge of these various industries are in much

demand throughout the country. In Paramaribo the needs of the newly arrived East Indians are receiving much attention, while the Mission to the Bush Negroes in the interior is progressing well, and work among the Javanese is being planned. One married couple and four deaconesses are in charge of "Bethesda," the Leper Hospital at Groot Chatillon, a joint enterprise of the Lutheran, Reformed, and Moravian Churches of Paramaribo. The Moravian missionary is also Chaplain of the Protestant lepers in the Government hospital. The Zeist Missionary Society (Holland) gives large contributions annually to the Surinam work.

The work in *California* may be termed the sequel to the Indian Missions so earnestly carried on in the early days of Moravian settlements in America. The successes and subsequent overthrow of the Mission to the Iroquois and Delawares has been narrated in an earlier chapter. The Mission to the Cherokees was finally given up in 1899, but meanwhile work had been begun among the "Mission Indians" of California, once cared for by the Roman Catholics, but now deserted by them for sixty years. The appeal came to the Moravians from the "Women's National Indian Association," and a station was commenced in 1890, two others having since been added.

In 1885, with approval of the Mission Board, the American Province, North, undertook a new movement in behalf of the aborigines of America, and a Mission for Eskimos was established on the Kuskokwim River in western *Alaska.* This was done at the invitation of Rev. Sheldon Jackson, D.D., then Secretary of the Board of Missions of the Presbyterian Church. The missionaries were of course unfamiliar with the Eskimo language, and there were no books to help them, so they were obliged to pick it up as best they could, while building their house and beginning work among the natives. In September, 1888, the first converts were baptized. There are now three stations, Bethel, especially, being the center of a large district which is served by ten missionaries. There are also 23 preaching places, and 4 day schools in the Alaskan field.

In *Labrador* (1771) six stations have been established at intervals along four hundred miles of the coast. At all of these stations there are schools, and stores are conducted, which give the natives a market for their furs, etc., and enable the missionaries to help them through the times of scarcity that often come. This trade is conducted under the auspices of the London "Society for Propagating the Gospel," which from the beginning has been deeply interested in this Mission. Until quite recently this Society has borne all the current costs on that

field, and it still owns the "Harmony" the mission ship which carries supplies to the stations. At Okak a hospital has been maintained for the last five years; it is now in charge of an American physician, his wife, and a trained nurse. Not only are the natives served by the doctor and missionaries, but many seamen stop at the various stations in summer, and some white settlers are joining the congregations, especially at Maggovik.

The South African field is divided into two districts. *South Africa, West,* (1736, renewed in 1792) has 12 stations in the southwestern portion of Cape Colony, with 22 out-stations and preaching places, 21 day schools, and 6 Sunday Schools. Gnadenthal is the most important station, and has a large force of missionaries, a Mission store, and a training school for teachers and native ministers. Several other stations have Mission stores, one source of revenue being the exportation of immortelles. From 1822 to 1867 Moravian ministers were stationed in the leper hospital conducted by the Government, first in the desolate valley called "Hemel en Aarde," and later on Robben Island in Table Bay, but in 1867 their duties in the hospital were assumed by a chaplain of the Church of England.

South Africa, East, was begun in 1828, and became a separate district in 1869. It covers the region ordinarily known as Kaffraria, and the Kaffir race gives promise of progress. There are 11 stations, 117 out-stations and preaching places, 44 day schools, and 12 Sunday Schools; also two Mission stores, a flouring mill, and at Mvenyane a training school for teachers and native assistants.

German East Africa also has two districts. The natives are of Bantu stock, somewhat superior in ability to the other African races, but still in absolute heathenism when the Moravian missionaries came. The tale of the first journey through the fever-laden jungles of the low coast country, toward the mountains where the first station was begun, is a thrilling one. As in the West Indies the early years saw many missionary graves beside the stations, and the fearful tropical fever has always to be reckoned with. Still willing hearts have never been wanting for the field. *Nyasa* district (1890) has eight stations, 495 out-stations and preaching places, 52 day schools, and 2 Sunday Schools. The business center is at Kyimbila, near Rutenganio, where there is a wood-working establishment and a store, with filials at practically all the stations. Experiments have been made with the planting of useful tropical trees, and in time the rubber, etc., may prove valuable for the Mission. Certain parts of Nyasa are densely populated, and some stations have 10,000 or more natives in the immediate neighbor-

hood. *Unyamwesi* district, (1897) has 6 stations, with 36 preaching places, and 10 day schools. Both the Nyasa and Unyamwesi districts have training schools also.

Probably no Mission field of the Moravian Church has called for more faith and patience than that in the *Himalaya Mountains* (1853) on the western border of Tibet. Forbidden to enter that closely guarded land, the missionaries have established five stations in northern India, with 3 out-stations, 6 day and 2 Sunday Schools, and the Tibetans as well as closer neighbors are made welcome. Portions of the Bible have been translated, and through converts and by the printed page the gospel message is sent into Tibet and some progress is being made. Three deaconesses are engaged in work among the women, whose restricted lives in the zenanas greatly need their ministrations.

The first attempt of the Moravian missionaries in *Australia* (1850) was discouraging, but a second beginning, two years later led at length to much improvement in the spiritual and temporal condition of the degraded "blackfellows." There are now three stations and one preaching place in north Queensland, where work was commenced in 1890. There are also two day and two Sunday Schools. The current costs of the work are met by the Presbyterian Assembly of Australia, which offered to furnish the means if the Moravians would furnish the missionaries. The Presbyterians also contribute to the pension fund, though the expense of training missionaries, and the larger part of the pension expense, rests with the Moravians.

The *Leper Home at Jerusalem* is dear to the Moravian heart. Open alike to Christian and Moslem sufferers, the poor lepers are tenderly cared for and made as comfortable and happy as their loathsome disease will permit. In 1865 Baroness von Keffenbrinck Ascheraden built a small leper asylum outside the Jaffa gate, and the Moravian Church was asked to furnish nurses. Two missionaries were found willing to undertake the task, and contributions were sent in by Christians of all denominations. In 1880, at the urgent request of the Baroness, the Moravian Church assumed charge of the Home. By 1885 a new and larger house had become imperative and "Jesus Hilfe" ("Jesus Help") was erected. Six missionaries (one man and five women) minister to the spiritual and physical needs of the patients, about 50 in number. Christian influences surround them, but great tact must be used, lest the Moslem inmates be driven out. "We want in this institution to imitate the Good Samaritan of the Gospel, and when the Moslem asks himself, as unavoidably he will, 'Who has

proved himself to be my neighbor,' we want him to answer: 'The Christian, and behind the Christian stands—the Christ.'"

The Leper Home is under the care of the entire Moravian Church. General Synod elects a Committee of three to direct its affairs; one of the three must belong to the Mission Board. Through legacies and gifts a small endowment fund has been established, but its support practically depends on annual contributions from Moravians and other friends who feel an interest in this attempt to mitigate the misery of the most hopelessly miserable of mankind.

As the Unity conducts the Foreign Missions, and the Leper Hospital at Jerusalem, so also it carries on a Home Mission work in *Bohemia and Moravia,* the seats of the Unitas Fratrum in its ancient greatness. As already stated, the first steps were taken by the German Province in 1862, along Diaspora lines. In 1869 General Synod decided to try to establish congregations there and the membership is now more than one thousand. There have been many obstacles in the way, for the Roman Catholic is still the State Church, and concessions of any rights or privileges for the Unitas Fratrum have only been obtained by much and long-continued effort. A number of stations, which would elsewhere be ranked as separate congregations, must remain as filials of the five congregations which have received official recognition. But a day of greater religious freedom seems to be dawning, and it is hoped that in time the Church of the Brethren may be firmly reëstablished in the old home lands. The Mission is under the control of the general Directing Board of the Unity, but its actual management is entrusted to a Committee, consisting of three members of the Unity's Directing Board, three Brethren living in or near Herrnhut, and two pastors of congregations in Bohemia or Moravia. There are also a number of advisory members appointed by the various Provincial Elders' Conferences. In addition to its spiritual efforts among the people the Bohemian-Moravian Mission maintains three orphanages in Bohemia,—for girls at Pottenstein and at Dauba, and for boys at Rothwasser. These are open to Catholic as well as Protestant children, the former usually joining the Brethren's Church as soon as they reach the age of fourteen. Before that the law requires them to remain in their inherited faith, and attend instruction under the parish priest.

MORAVIAN FESTAL DAYS

By MISS ADELAIDE L. FRIES.

Since its reorganization at Herrnhut in 1727, the Unitas Fratrum, especially in its older and larger congregations, has annually recognized a series of "Festal Days," believing that they afford valuable opportunities for reviewing important incidents in the history of the Church, and for emphasizing vital spiritual truths. Custom is by no means uniform in the congregations, for local conditions govern the choice of those anniversaries which shall be celebrated, and there is entire liberty as to whether one or another shall be observed. Possibly for this reason the subject has been rather neglected by Church historians, and the object of this sketch is to bring together, in concise form, the detached bits of information which are available, concerning the more important dates in the calendar.

The Festal Days may be divided into three classes. (1) Those which belong to the Church Universal,—Advent, Christmas, Easter, Whitsuntide. (2) The anniversaries of pivotal days in the history of the Moravian Church,—August 13th, November 13th, etc. (3) "Covenant Days," established for the strengthening of spiritual life in the congregations.

The First Sunday in *Advent* (fourth Sunday before Christmas) is recognized as the beginning of the Church Year, and emphasizes the coming of Christ to the world as the Saviour of mankind. The Second Sunday in Advent appropriately points to His Second Coming, at the Judgment Day. The third and fourth Sundays lead into the Christmas season.

Of *Christmas* only two points need here be noted as characteristic, the love-feast, and the lighted wax tapers distributed during the love-feast on Christmas Eve. In the early days of the Christian Church the Apostles were accustomed to eat a meal together, passing from it into the Lord's Supper, in remembrance of the Passover meal and the accompanying institution of the Holy Communion. On August 13th, 1727, certain friends who had been greatly stirred by the Communion blessing lingered in conversation and prayer and finally partook together of their evening meal. So reminded of the Apostolic custom, other "love-feasts" were held from time to time on occasions of religious or semi-religions character, until the love-feast became a well-established Church service. To-day it consists of a short discourse, and a simple service of song, during which the congregation partakes together of buns and coffee (or tea) in token of the bond of love which

unites Christ's followers. As in Apostolic days it often precedes the Lord's Supper, though itself not limited to communicants. The lighted tapers are used only in the Christmas love-feast, and are distributed through the congregation as a visible reminder of the light which came into the world with the birth of Christ, suggesting that each individual life should shine for Him.

New Year is made a time for the review of the preceding twelve months, and to this the older Moravian congregations owe the series of "Memorabilia,"—carefully prepared histories of the years,—which are of such inestimable value to the student, and of such unquestioned authority among historians. A New Year's Eve midnight "Watch-meeting" has been customary since 1733.

Lent is a season of doctrinal instruction, when candidates are carefully prepared for Church membership, many being received into fellowship on Palm Sunday.

Easter is marked by a week devoted to the reading of a Harmony of the Gospel, giving the story of the Passion Week, with its culmination in the Crucifixion, Burial and Resurrection of Christ. In the "Early Service" at sunrise on Easter Sunday (first held in 1732 at Herrnhut), the Confession of Faith is read in "God's Acre" where those who have "fallen asleep" lie waiting the summons of Him who is the "Resurrection and the Life." The final reading from the Passion Week Manual is on *Ascension Day,* forty days after Easter.

Pentecost, ten days after the Ascension of Christ, was always remembered by the Apostles as the day on which the Holy Spirit was poured out upon them. In later years it was often called *Whitsuntide* (White Sunday), because candidates, wearing white robes, were admitted to baptism or confirmation on that day. In the Moravian Church, Whitsuntide is often celebrated with a love-feast and Communion.

March 1st is the traditional date of the founding of the Unitas Fratrum in 1457.

April 30th is the *Widows' Covenant Day,* the first of the "Choir Festivals" of the year. In 1727 a number of "Bands" were established in Herrnhut,—small groups of people associating themselves together for mutual help in the spiritual life. Naturally the members of a Band would be drawn from those of the same sex, age, and condition in life, and this suggested the division of the entire congregation along similar lines. These divisions of the congregation were called "choirs" and the word, with its special meaning, has been retained to the present in those congregations which have adopted the "choir" system. In the

German congregations, in the eighteenth century, the "choirs" were fully organized, each having its leader, its rules, its special services, including a "quarter-hour" devotional meeting every Sunday. The various "choirs" were begun at different times, and in earlier years there were occasional changes as to date, and a lack of uniformity in different congregations. After 1760, the system of "choir" festivals became more stable, and it remains in use in most of the Brethren's congregations in the German Province, and in a few of the older congregations elsewhere, though with less elaborate organization. Newer congregations have, as a rule, not adopted it, but where they are observed the annual "Covenant Days" are a source of strength and comfort to many a soul. The celebration of a Covenant Day usually includes a preparatory meeting of the "choir" on Saturday evening, a Festal Service on Sunday morning, and love-feast and Communion for the "choir" in the afternoon. If the established date falls on a week-day the nearest Sunday is sometimes chosen for the celebration. In 1744, the second of February was set apart for the covenant day of the Widows and Widowers, that being the date of the presentation of the child Jesus in the Temple, the reference being to Anna and Simeon (Luke 2:22-39) as types of Christian widows and widowers. That month being very cold in Germany the date was changed, by "lot," to August 31st, in 1773. The Synod of 1789 decided to separate the Covenant Days of these two "choirs," and thereafter the Widows' Covenant Day was observed on April 30th, while that of the Widowers remained on August 31st.

The *Covenant Day of the "Single Sisters"* falls on May 4th. This "choir" includes the unmarried women of the congregation from eighteen years of age on. On May 4th, 1730, Anna Nitschmann and seventeen other young women formed an association, pledging themselves to have their entire life and all its relationships, even thoughts of marriage, subordinated to the service of Christ. This association was endorsed by the leaders of the congregation, and the anniversary became their Covenant Day when the Sisters' Choir was fully established in 1745.

On May 12th, 1727, the first *"Brotherly Agreement"* was signed at Herrnhut. For several weeks prior to this, Count Zinzendorf and other leaders had been laboring earnestly to adjust the difficulties, civil and religious, which were disturbing the men and women who had recently emigrated from Bohemia and Moravia, bringing with them traditions of the pure Gospel life of the ancient Unitas Fratrum, the problem being complicated by the presence of other settlers holding

diverse views. Matters having been satisfactorily settled the "Brotherly Agreement" was signed on May 12th, and in a modified form it is still in use.

The Covenant Day of the *Older Girls* was celebrated for the first time in 1746, on March 25th, "Lady Day," tradition saying that the Virgin Mary was fourteen years of age at the Annunciation. The Synod of 1789 moved the Covenant Day into the summer, and June 4th was selected by the "lot." The Older Girls are from fourteen to eighteen years of age, though a girl who joins the Church at an earlier age is admitted to this "choir" as the Children's Choir naturally has no Communion service. In some congregations the Older Girls unite with the Single Sisters on May 4th, instead of observing a separate day.

On *June 17th*, 1722, the first tree was felled for the first house in Herrnhut. As Christian David struck the first blow with his ax he uttered the third verse of the 84th Psalm, and the words are inscribed on the memorial stone which marks the spot.

July 6th is the anniversary of the death of John Huss, who was burned at the stake in Constance, Switzerland, July 6th, 1415. Huss was the greatest of the Bohemian Reformers, and his teachings and burning appeals for "Salvation through faith in Christ, and real Christian living according to the dictates of the Bible," were the foundation of the reform movement in Bohemia, which culminated in the organization of the Unitas Fratrum in 1457. With the martyrdom of John Huss is linked the memory of all those who have given up their lives for the cause of Christ.

The date of the *Covenant Day of the "Older Boys,"* July 9th, comes from the organization of a special "Band" among the boys, by Christian Renatus von Zinzendorf, July 9th, 1744. The original festal date was April 27th, probably so set in 1746 because Luke 2:40, was the "daily text" for that day. In 1753 it was changed to July 9th. Later it was moved to the first Sunday after Epiphany, but the Synod of 1789 again placed it on July 9th. The "Older Boys" are from fourteen to eighteen years old (including younger communicants), and in some congregations their Covenant Day is joined with that of the "Single Brethren," August 29th.

August 13th is a special memorial day for all the communicant congregation, commemorating the experiences of the Moravian settlers in Herrnhut, at a Communion held in Berthelsdorf, August 13th, 1727. The signal blessing there received had so great an effect upon them, that it is considered the spiritual birthday of the renewed Unitas Fratrum,—the Moravian Church.

In the general interest before and after August 13th, 1727, the children were not overlooked, and there resulted a great awakening among the boys and girls. The *"Children's Covenant Day"* is placed on August 17th, the anniversary of the day on which eleven-year-old Susanne Kühnel experienced a special blessing, which confirmed her in her determination to be a true child of God, and made her a leader in spreading the deeper spiritual interest among her companions. At first (1746) the Children's Day was celebrated on December 28th, "Innocents' Day" in memory of the first child martyrs for Jesus. Later the little girls were given August 17th, and the little boys June 24th, "Day of St. John the Baptist," but in 1818 Synod again combined them on August 17th.

August 21st marks the beginning of Moravian Missions. On that date, in 1732, Leonard Dober and David Nitschmann started on foot for Copenhagen, where they took ship for the West Indies, there to commence their self-sacrificing and successful labors.

August 27th is the anniversary of the establishment of the "Hourly Intercession." On August 27th, 1727, the time from midnight to midnight was divided amongst twenty-four men and the same number of women in such a manner that each of them should consecutively spend an hour in intercession, so that there was unintermitted prayer in behalf of Herrnhut. The custom has long since passed away, but the memory is of interest as showing the spirit of the men and women through whom the Unitas Fratrum was reëstablished.

The *Covenant Day of the Single Brethren* (eighteen years of age, and over), comes on August 29th, on which date, in 1741, the unmarried men of Herrnhut, under the leadership of John von Watteville, mutually pledged themselves to preparation for active service of the Saviour. From 1746 to 1750 it was observed on May 2d, the "daily text" in the former year on that date being Luke 2:52, but in 1751, it was fixed on August 29th for the reason above given.

August 31st, as already stated, is designated as the *Widowers' Covenant Day,* though in some congregations they join with the Married People on September 7th.

In 1744, the *Covenant Day of the Married People* was set on September 7th, because September 7th, 1722, was the wedding day of Count Zinzendorf and Erdmuth Dorothea, Countess Reuss, who in their several spheres did so much for the Brethren's Church. This date has remained unchanged.

September 16th is the *Covenant Day of the Ministers* of the Moravian Church. In 1741, a conference was held in London in order to elect a "Chief Elder" in place of Leonard Dober, resigned. On Sep-

tember 16th the members present came to feel that Jesus Christ should be recognized as the only "Chief Elder," and thereafter the management of affairs was placed in the hands of a Board of Elders, as brethren working together under Christ.

The Unitas Fratrum, the oldest Protestant Church, extended a hearty welcome to later Reformers, and October 31st is therefore noted in the Moravian Calendar. On that day, in 1517, Martin Luther nailed his ninety-five theses on the church door at Wittenberg, so beginning the *German Reformation,* a Reformation which prepared the land in which, many years later, the Unitas Fratrum found a new birth and a new home.

November 13th is a memorial of the day, in 1741, when there was "a powerful experience, in the Unity of Brethren, that Jesus is the Chief Shepherd and Head of His Church." On this day the conclusions of September 16th were made known throughout the Unity, meeting with instant approval, and the event was of far-reaching importance, both in its spiritual and its governmental aspect.

November 13th is also the *Congregation Festival* of Salem, N. C., being the anniversary of the consecration of the meeting hall in the Gemein Haus, which accompanied the organization of Salem as an independent congregation in 1771. Other congregations celebrate their Congregation Festivals on their own anniversary days.

The *Workers' Love-feast* is usually held in the week following the First Sunday in Advent. In it are gathered all who take active part in the service of the Church,—Ministers, and members of Boards, ushers, musicians, Sunday School teachers, etc., all who in any sphere are officially connected with the service. This love-feast, therefore, may be considered as closing the various activities of the year, and as a pledge of further endeavor in the twelvemonth which is beginning.

As a prism reflects the sunbeam not in one but in the seven colors which compose it, so the Moravian festal calendar reflects the history of the past,—the purple shadows of persecution, the golden glow of divine refreshing, the crimson tide of Redeeming Love, the pure azure of faith and a covenant constantly renewed. An heir of all the ages since the Babe of Bethlehem came, the Unitas Fratrum still sings Count Zinzendorf's hymn:

Jesus! still lead on
Till our rest be won;
Heavenly leader, still direct us,
Still support, console, protect us,
Till we safely stand
In our fatherland.

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5.

1,

3,

FUNERAL CHORALS

OF THE

UNITAS FRATRUM

OR

MORAVIAN CHURCH

THE TROMBONE CHOIR.

Among the beautiful customs which the modern Moravian Church has inherited from the fervent days in Herrnhut in the Zinzendorf era, there is none more distinctive or more beautiful than the use of trombones and other wind instruments to announce the death of a member of the Moravian Church, and to accompany the burial services.

Probably the custom was a gradual growth, keeping pace with the development of the Moravian congregations, and their division into "Choirs," a term which was not only used to signify a company of singers, but also certain other groups of persons who were closely banded together by mutual interests for a common purpose. Thus the association of trombonists was known as the Trombone Choir, while the Congregation itself was divided into choirs of married people, widows, and widowers, the choir of "single brethren" or unmarried men over eighteen years of age, the choir of "older boys" between fourteen and eighteen years old, the similar choirs of "single sisters" and "older girls," and the choir of children.

Just when trombones were introduced into Herrnhut does not appear. The first Easter service on the graveyard, at four o'clock in the morning of April 13, 1732, consisted of songs, and there is no record of instrumental music, but the Moravian emigrants to Georgia in 1735 took trombones and French horns. The diary of the Moravian Congregation in Savannah does not say how the trombones were used, but does state that when the Indian Chief Tomochichi died, the Moravians refused a request from General Oglethorpe to furnish trombone music at his funeral,—an idea which would scarcely have occurred to the General had the Moravians not so accompanied the interment of their own dead.

The origin of the announcement of a member's death by the trombones is also obscure. It was practiced in many of the German State churches where it corresponded to the tolling of bells elsewhere, and since there were so many distinct "Choirs" in the Moravian Congregation, it was natural that a special tune should come to be assigned to

each. Rev. C. A. Haehnle, of Nazareth, Pa., suggests that the schedule of tunes may have been arranged by Christian Gregor, a hymn-writer and skilled musician, who joined the Unitas Fratrum in 1742, served various congregations as organist until 1764, and filled important offices until his death in 1801. At least it seems safe to say that the use of trombones at funerals was established prior to 1736, and that the system of announcement hymns was elaborated before Zinzendorf's death in 1760. The full set of tunes and stanzas was printed in the German Moravian Liturgy Book of 1791, and subsequent editions, but they may well have been used long before that time.

The use of trombones is not universal throughout the modern Moravian Church. There are no Trombone Choirs in the English and many of the American congregations, nor on the mission fields, but wherever there is such a choir the music is highly prized, not only in connection with funerals but for the Easter services and other special occasions. The Moravian churches in Germany, and certain in America, cherish their Trombone Choirs, and with one exception all are still using the tunes selected in Herrnhut in the eighteenth century to announce the death of a member of the Congregation. In the stanzas associated with those tunes there have been some changes from time to time, but practically none in the thoughts expressed. The German stanzas have been published in Liturgy Books of various dates, while translations by Rev. C. A. Haehnle were printed in *The Moravian* about 1882. Other translations by Mr. F. W. Detterer, revised by Rt. Rev. J. Mortimer Levering, appear in *The Hand-book of the Moravian Congregation of Bethlehem,* 1891; and the stanzas used at Lititz are given on a card issued in 1902. On the following pages appear the stanzas now accepted in Herrnhut, Bethlehem, and Salem, as representing the German and the American Moravian Churches.

The announcement of a death has three distinct features. The Trombone Choir, stationed in the belfry or before the Church, plays a tune, the associated stanza referring to the departure of a member of the Congregation. This is followed by a tune which indicates to which "Choir" of the Congregation the deceased belonged, the married brethren, married sisters, widowers, widows, single brethren, single sisters, older boys, older girls, little boys, and little girls each having a special tune and stanza. After this the first tune is repeated, but with reference to another stanza, one which reminds the hearer that the Death Angel will some day come to him.

From the first there was much latitude allowed as to the hymns used during the burial services, various chorals being rendered when the congregation assembled in front of the church after the funeral discourse, as the procession passed to the graveyard, and during the interment. The chorals which follow are used in Salem, North Carolina, at the present time, and they are given to complete the series, and to show the faith and hope in which departing members are laid to rest in the quiet squares of the Moravian "God's Acre."

ADELAIDE L. FRIES.

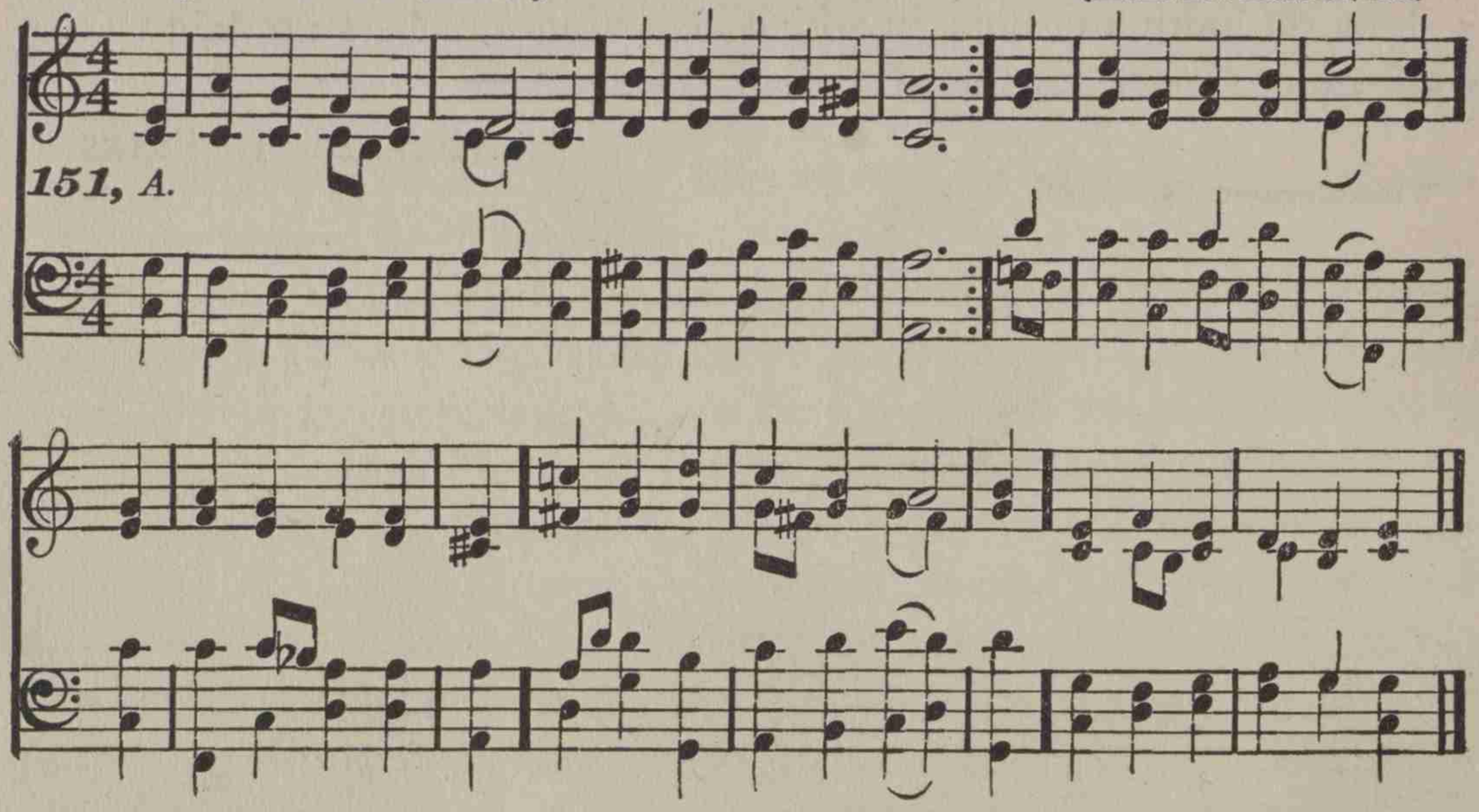
Winston-Salem, N. C., 1905.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF DEATH.

The first choral is the same for all Choirs. It has special reference to the departed.

Tune 151 A.

PASSION CHORALE.
O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden. } **(7, 6, 7, 6, 7, 6, 7, 6, Iambic.)** { **Popular Melody; Hans Leo Hassler, 1601.**



Valet will ich dir geben,
Du arge, falsche Welt,
Dein sündlich böses Leben
Durchaus mir nicht gefällt.
Im Himmel ist gut wohnen,
Hinauf steht mein Begier;
Da wird Gott ewig lohnen
Dem, der Ihm dient allhier.

German Moravian Hymn Book
No. 1167, 1.

V. HERBERGER.

A pilgrim, us preceding,
Departs unto his home,
The final summons heeding
Which soon to all must come.
O joy! the chains to sever
Which burden pilgrims here,
To dwell with Christ forever,
Who to our souls is dear.

Translated from the Liturgy Book of 1823.

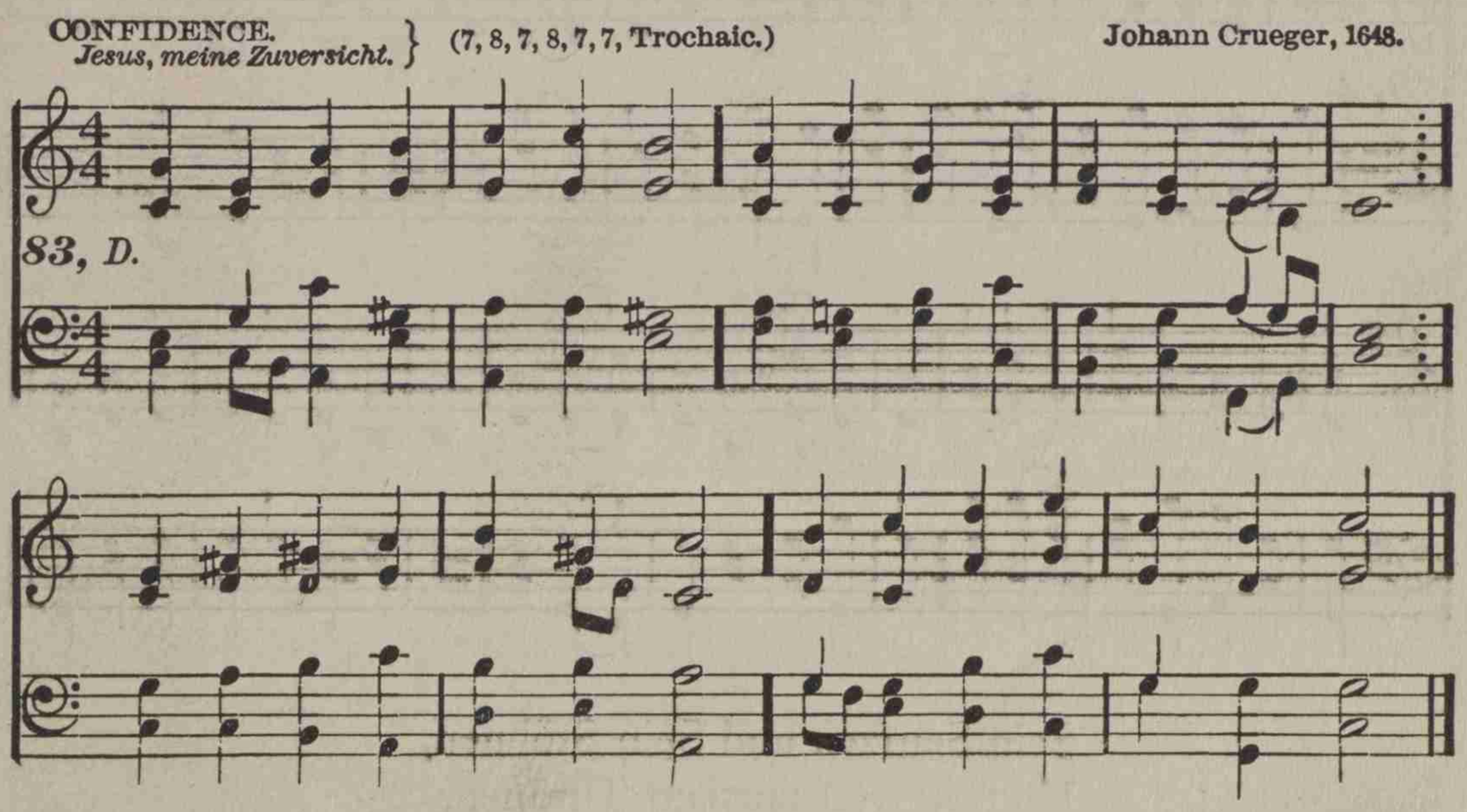
F. W. DETTERER.

CHOIR CHORALS.

The second choral indicates the Choir to which the departed belonged.

MARRIED BRETHREN.

Tune 83 D.



Jesus Christus lässt mich nicht!
  Dessen freut sich meine Seele
Mit lebend'ger Zuversicht;
  Und auch meine Leibeshöhle
Nimmt den Trost ins Grab hinein,
  Dass sie Ihm wird ähnlich sein.

Liturgy Book of 1791. CHRISTIAN GREGOR.
German Moravian Hymn Book, No. 1164, 3.

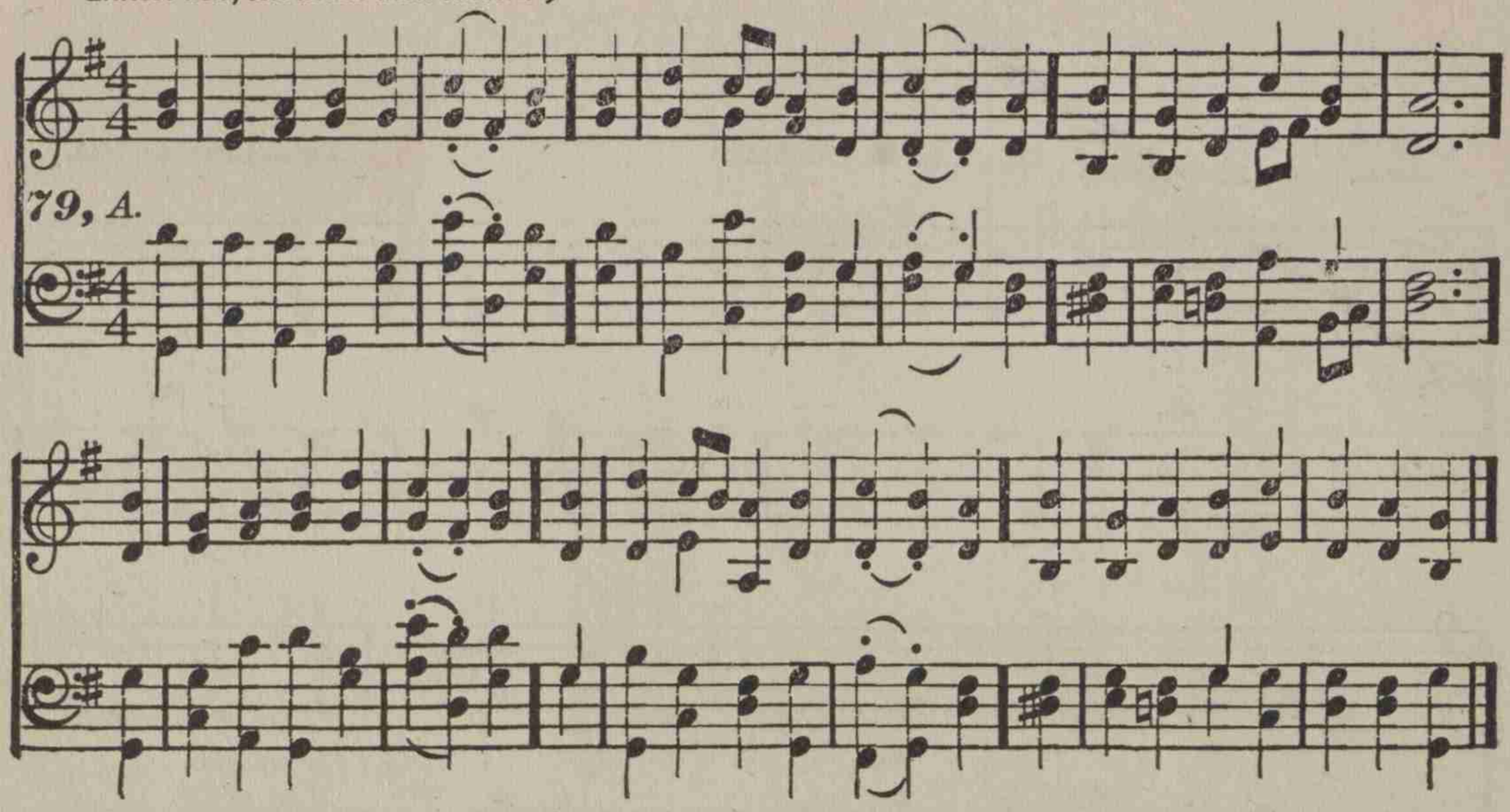
Jesus ne'er forsaketh me:
  This my spirit greatly cheereth,
And my constant trust shall be.
  Yea, though death at length appeareth,
Herein precious comfort lies,
  I shall in His image rise.

Translated from above. F. W. DETTERER.

MARRIED SISTERS.

Tune 79 A.

INNSBRUCK.
Innsbruck, ich musz dich lassen. } **(7, 7, 6, 7, 7, 8, or 8, 8, 6, 8, 8, 8, Iambic.) Heinrich Isaak, c. 1490.**



Sein Seufzen und Sein Stöhnen,
Und die viel tausend Thränen,
  Die Ihm geflossen zu,
Die sollen mich am Ende
In Seinem Schoss und Hände
  Begleiten zu der ew'gen Ruh.

Liturgy Book of 1791. PAUL GERHARDT.
German Moravian Hymn Book, No. 91, 16.

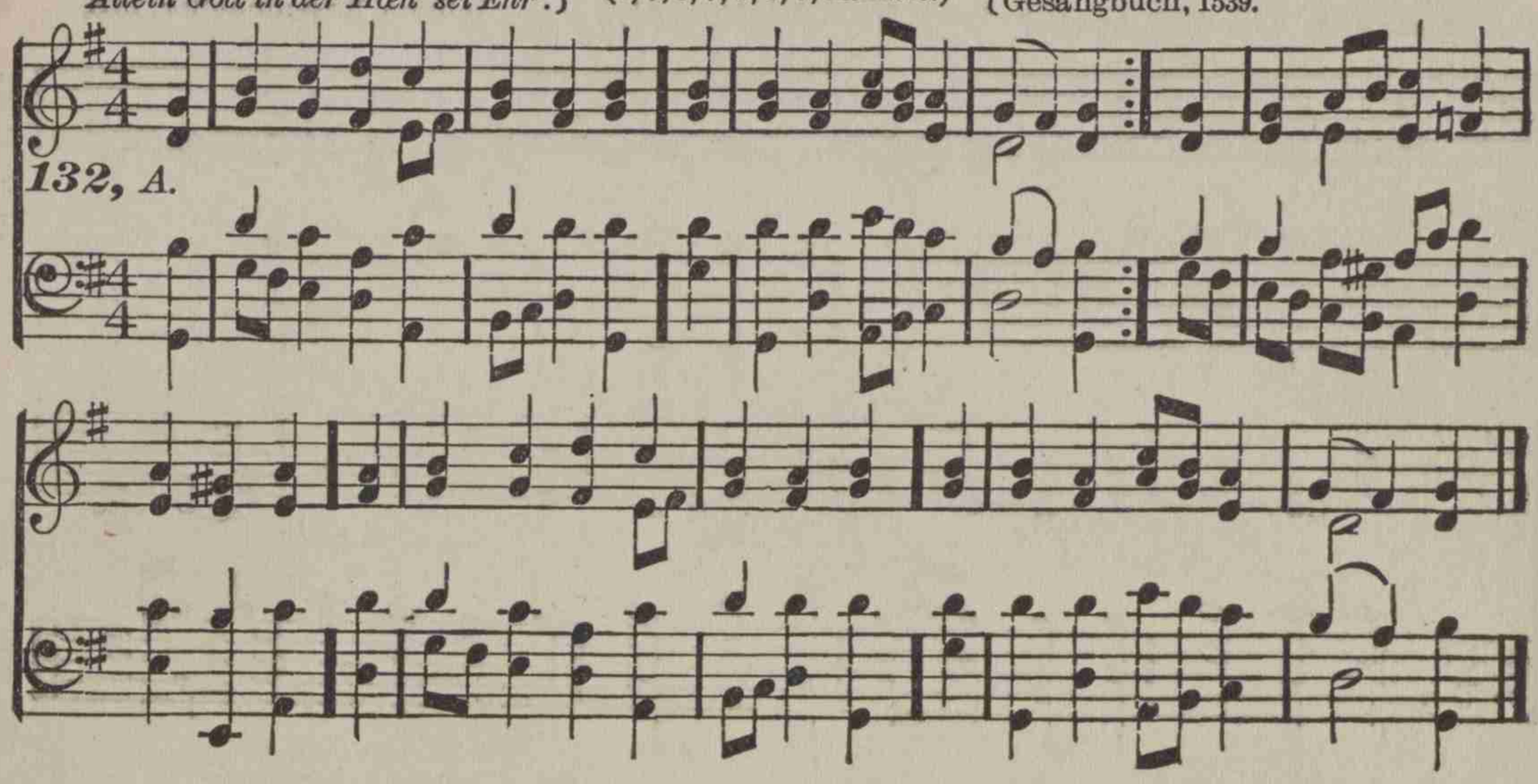
His plea amid deep sighing,
'Mid bitter tears and crying,
  My soul with peace hath blest.
Be this my consolation
When, thanks to His salvation,
  I enter into lasting rest.

Translated from the Liturgy Book of 1823. F. W. DETTERER.

WIDOWERS.

Tune 132 A.

DECIUS. [ELBERFELD.]
Allein Gott in der Hœh' sei Ehr'. } (8, 7, 8, 7, 8, 8, 7, Iambic.) {Valentin Schumann's Leipziger Gesangbuch, 1539.



Gutes und die Barmherzigkeit
Machen mir's hier erträglich,
Dass ich kann haben meine Freud',
Am Haus des Herren täglich,
Auf Erd' in christlichen Gemein';
Und wenn ich heim darf, werd ich sein
Bei Christo, meinem Herren.

Liturgy Book of 1791. C. BECKER.

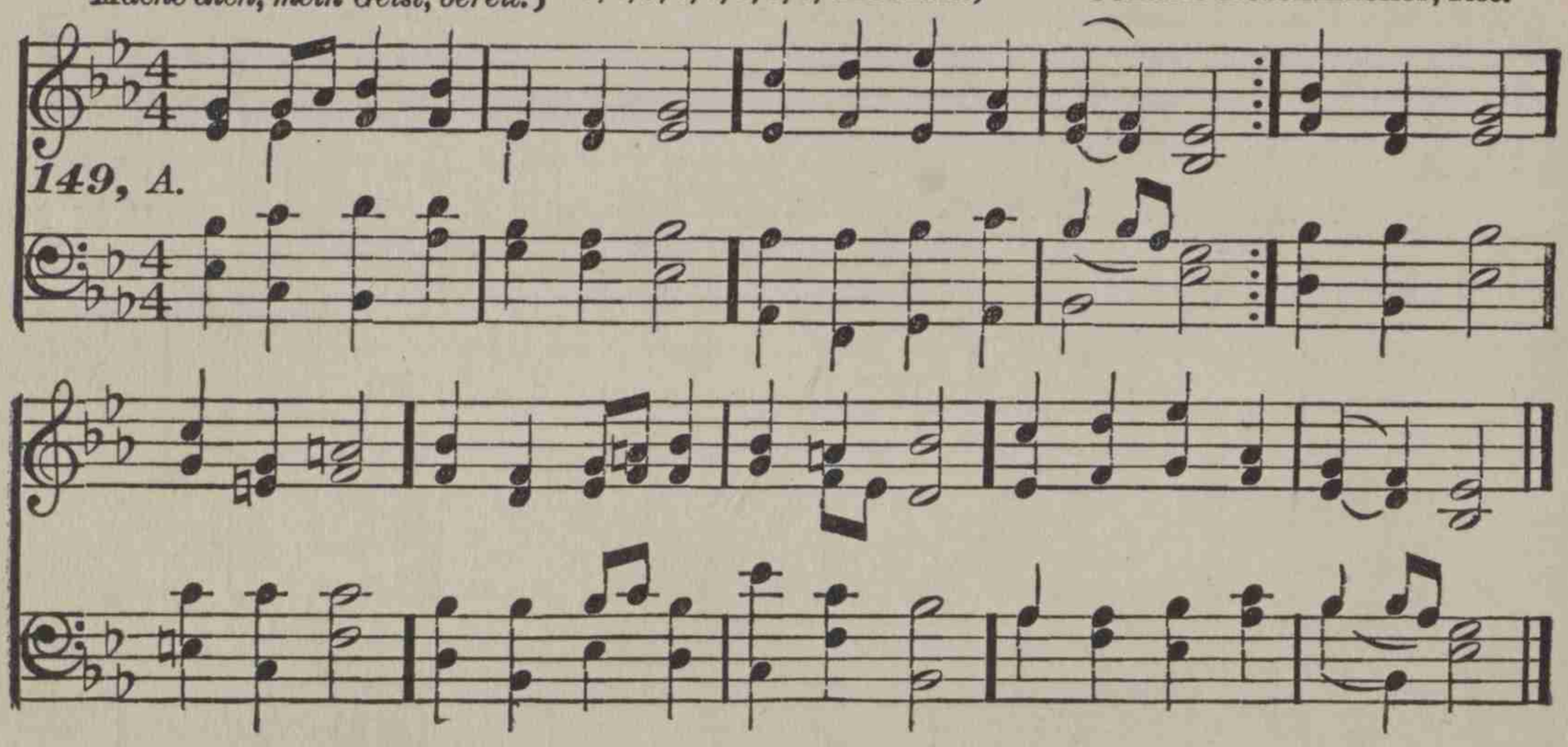
His goodness and His mercies all
Will follow me for ever;
And I'll pursue my heavenly call
To cleave to my dear Saviour,
And to the Church, His body here;
And when called home, I shall live there
With Christ, my soul's Redeemer.

American Moravian Hymn Book,
Edition of 1864, No. 375, 4.

WIDOWS.

Tune 149, A.

NASSAU.
Mache dich, mein Geist, bereit. **7, 6, 7, 6, 3, 3, 6, 6, Trochaic.)** **Johann Rosenmueller, 1655.**



Schickt das Herze da hinein
Alle Seine Kranken,
Wo ihr ewig wünscht zu sein!
Sinnen und Gedanken,
Weichet nicht von dem Licht,
Das dort droben scheinet,
Wo man nicht mehr weinet.

Liturgy Book of 1791. LUISE VON HAYN.
German Moravian Hymn Book, No. 1165, 1.
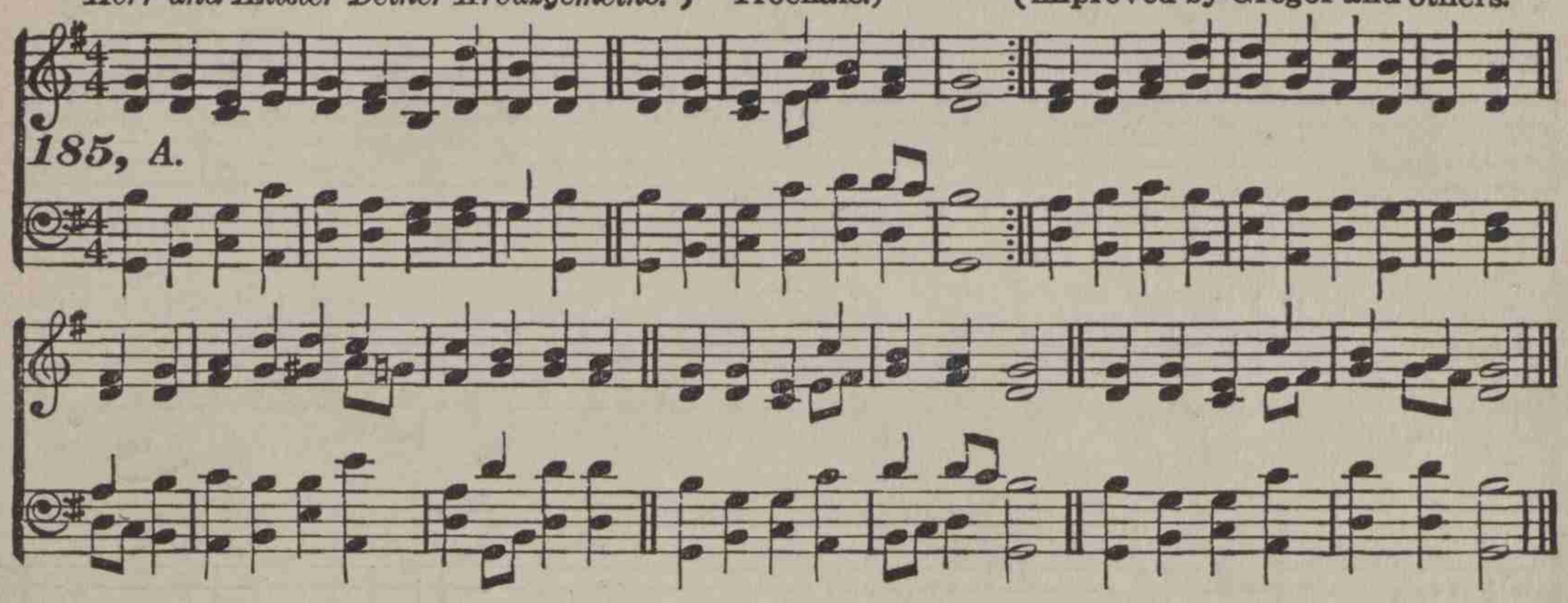
Lift thy heart, oh weary soul,
To the heavenly mansion,
On yon height, thy chosen goal,
Fix thy whole attention.
Ne'er lose sight of the light
Which from heaven He sendeth,
Where all sorrow endeth.

Translated from above. F. W. DETTERER.

SINGLE BRETHREN.

Tune 185 A.

GREGOR'S 185TH METRE. (A.) } (10, 7, 10, 7, 10, 10, 7, 7, Trochaic.) { Popular Melody, c. 1740; improved by Gregor and others.
Herr und Ältster Deiner Kreuzgemeine.



Einig Herze, das soll meine Weide
Und schon hier mein Himmel sein,
Dir zu leben, dir allein zur Freude,
Leib und Seele dir zu weih'n.
Bin ich gleich kein Held, viel auszustehen,
Mag mir's darum gleichwohl immer gehen,
Blutges Herze, wie du willst,
Bis ich meinen Lauf erfüllt.

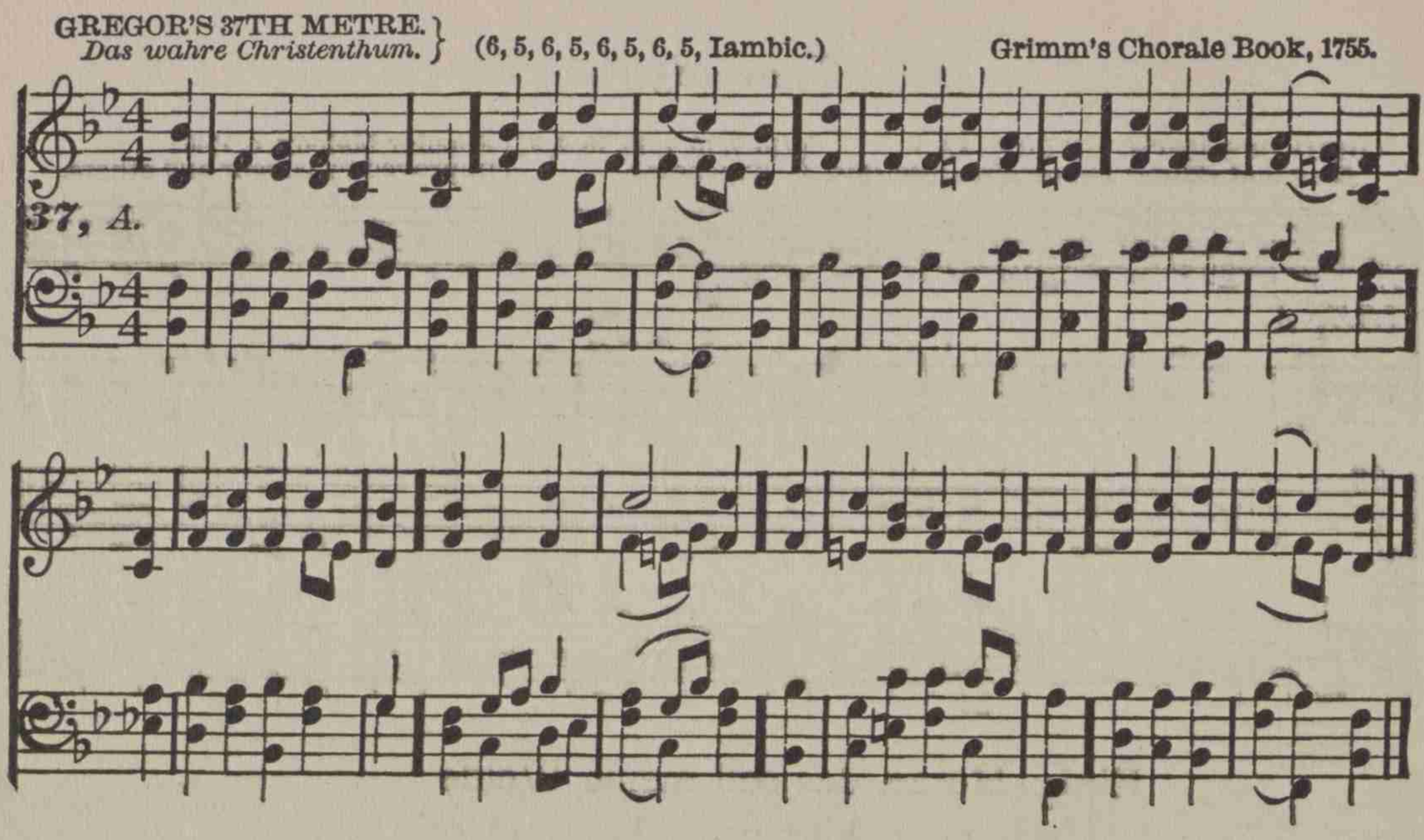
German Moravian Hymn Book, No. 917, 1. — ZINZENDORF.

Faithful Lord, my only joy and pleasure
Shall remain, while here I stay,
Thee, my matchless Friend and highest Treasure,
To adore, serve and obey;
Though I in myself am weak and feeble,
Yet I trust Thy grace will me enable
By obedience to Thy will
All Thy purpose to fulfill.

American Moravian Hymn Book, Edition of 1864, No. 724, 2.

SINGLE SISTERS.

Tune 37 A.



Hier bleibt indes mein Los,
Ihn nachzuwallen,
Und meine Sorge bloss
Ihm zu gefallen.
Und dabei wart ich Sein
Mit Herzverlangen,
Bis Er in obern Reihn
Mich wird empfangen.

German Moravian Hymn Book,
No. 1150.

CHRISTIAN GREGOR.
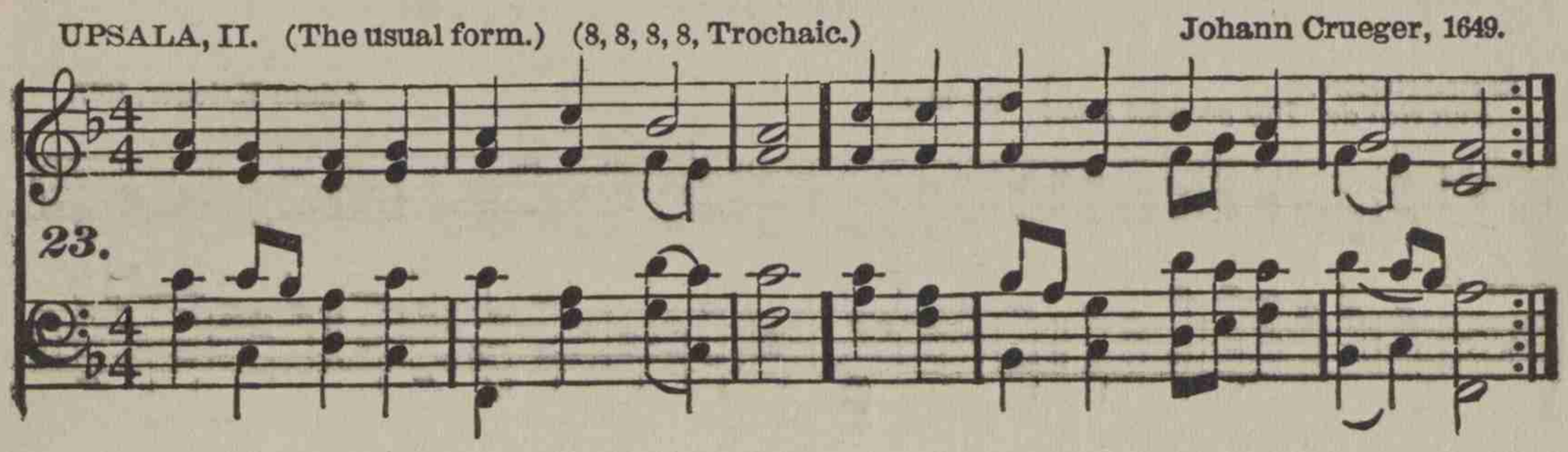
My happy lot is here
The Lamb to follow;
Be this my only care
Each step to hallow,
And thus await the time
When Christ my Saviour
Will call me hence, with Him
To live forever.

American Moravian Hymn Book,
Edition of 1864, No. 943.

OLDER BOYS.

Tune 23

UPSALA, II. (The usual form.) (8, 8, 8, 8, Trochaic.) **Johann Crueger, 1649.**



Christi Tod erfüll hienieden
Mich schon früh mit Seinen Frieden,
Dass ich einst darauf mit Freuden
Könne von der Welt abscheiden.

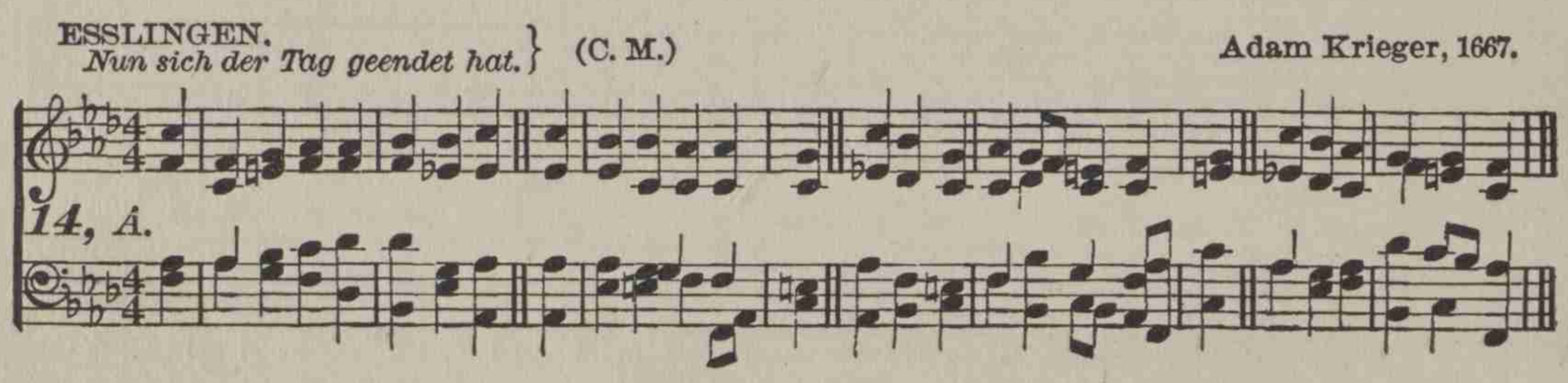
Slightly altered from the
Liturgy Book of 1791.

Jesus' grace me here possessing,
Early with His peace me blessing,
My soul knows nor fear nor sadness,
Seeks its final home with gladness.

Translation of above. F. W. DETTERER.

OLDER GIRLS.

Tune 14, A.



Herr Jesu, Deine Gnadenwahl
Befördre meinen Lauf.
Nimm meinen Namen in die Zahl
Der Kinder Gottes auf.

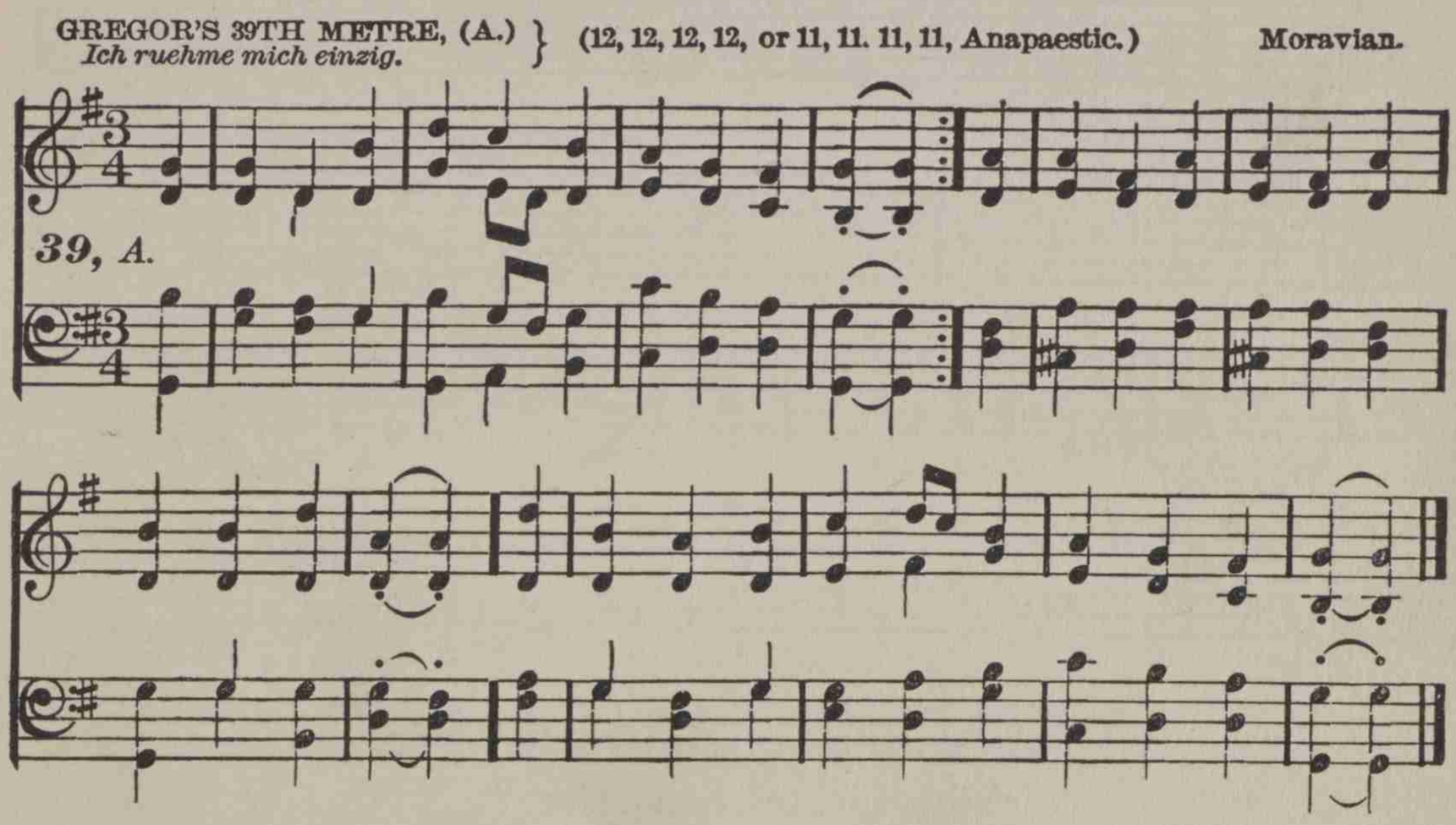
German Moravian Hymn Book, No. 604, 7. — ZINZENDORF.

Lord Jesus, let Thy grace abound,
Me onward still direct;
Oh, Saviour, may my name be found
Among Thine own elect.

Translated from above. — F. W. DETTERER.

LITTLE BOYS.

Tune 39, A.



Was ist denn für Kinder das Beste auf Erden?
Früh Schäflein des ewigen Hirten zu werden;
Die weidet Er hier schon auf seliger Weide
Und droben bei Sich in unendlicher Freude.
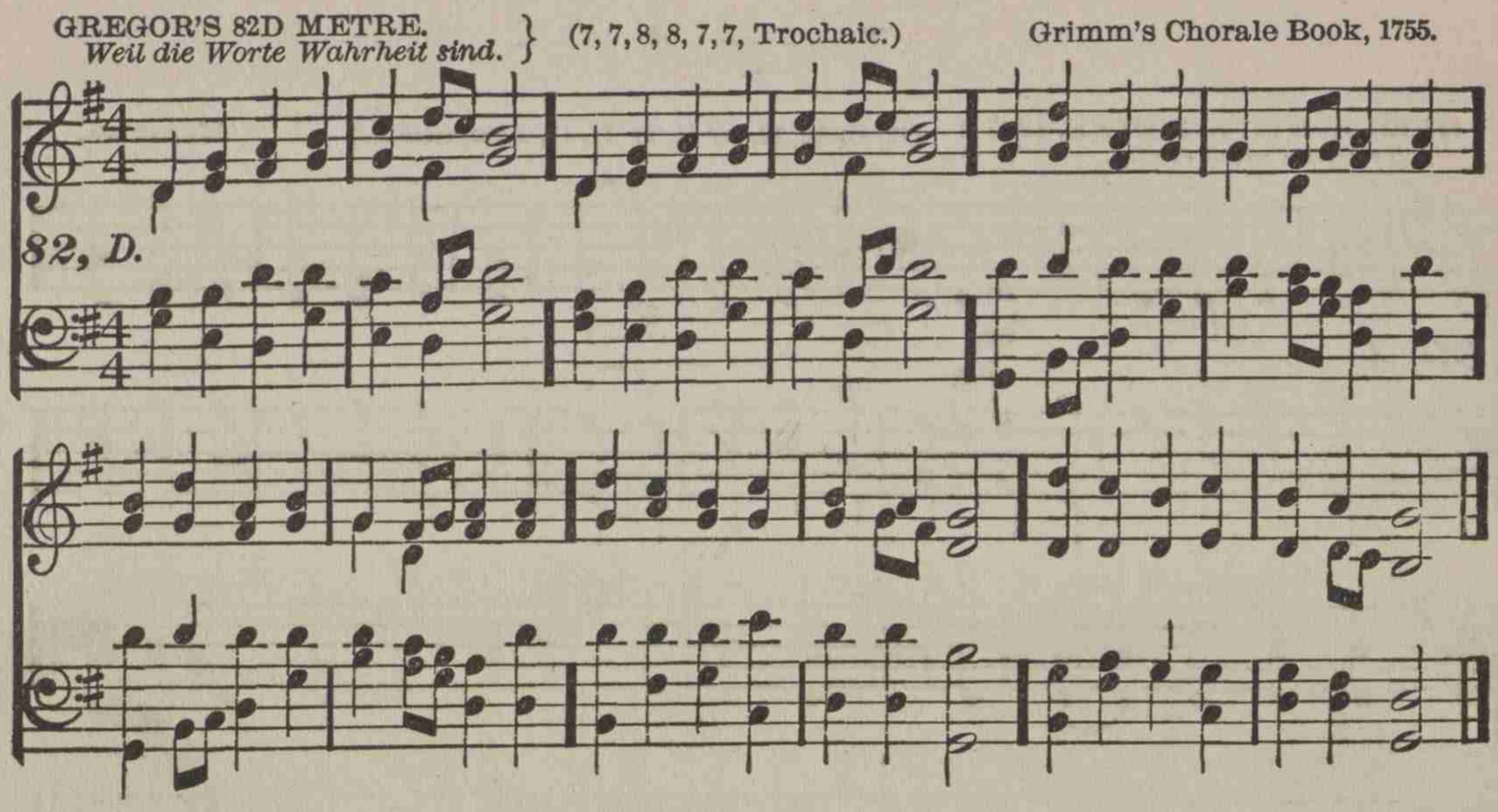
Liturgy Book of 1823.

The Lord to His fold little children inviteth,
His bounty the lambs of His pasture delighteth;
E'en here the Good Shepherd provides ample pleasures,
Above, in His presence, are unfading treasures.

Translation of above. F. W. DETTERER.

LITTLE GIRLS.

Tune 82, D.



Sollt ich nun nicht fröhlich sein,
Ich beglücktes Schäfelein?
Denn nach diesen schönen Tagen
Werd ich endlich heimgetragen
In des Hirten Arm und Schoss,
Amen! ja, mein Glück ist gross!

Liturgy Book of 1791. LUISE VON HAYN.
German Moravian Hymn Book, No. 844, 3.

Should not I for gladness leap,
Led by Jesus, as His sheep?
For when these blest days are over,
To the arms of my dear Saviour
I shall be conveyed to rest;
Amen, yea, my lot is blest.

American Moravian Hymn Book,
No. 366, 3.

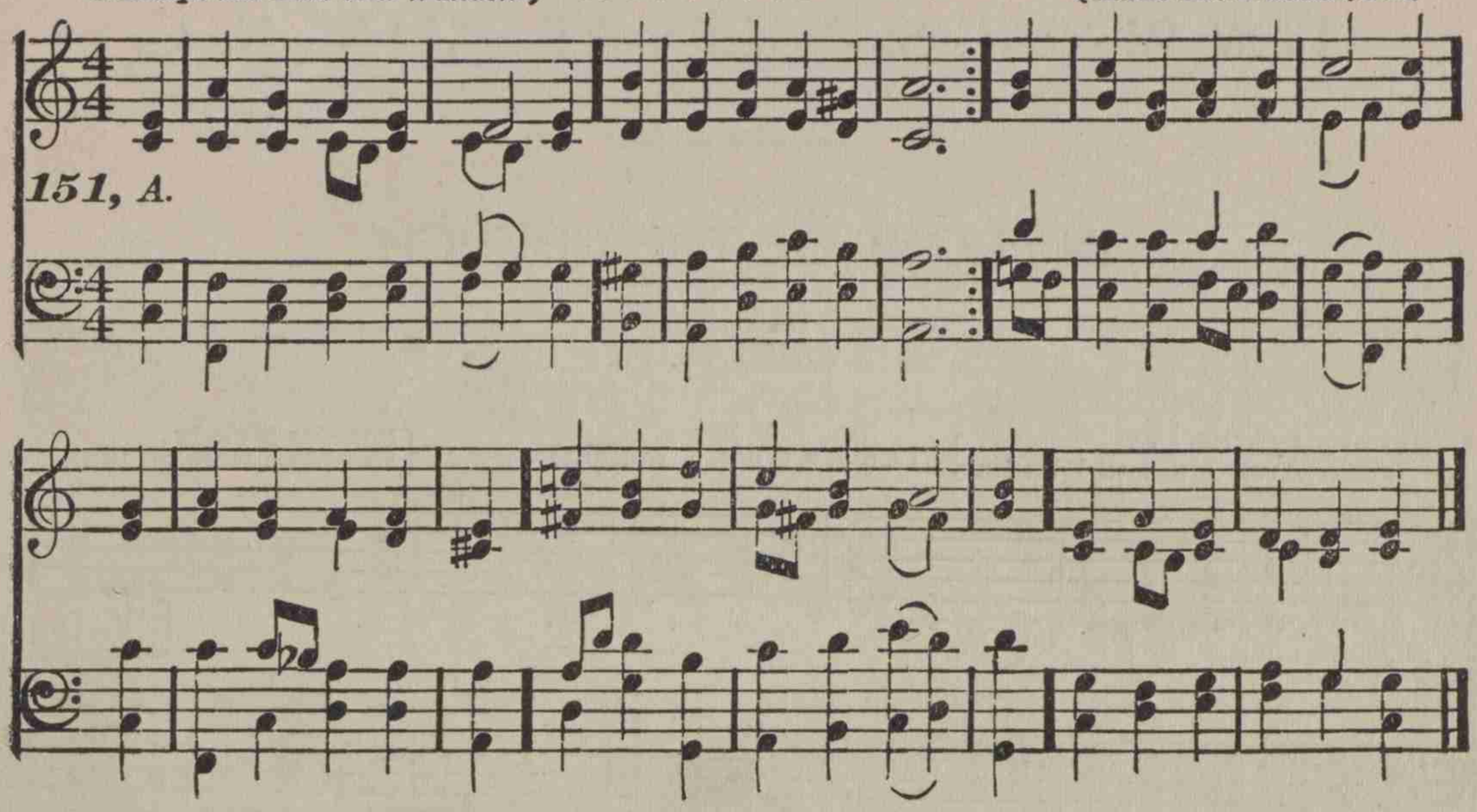
CLOSING ANNOUNCEMENT CHORAL.

The third choral is the same for all Choirs. It has special reference to the living.

Tune 151, A.

PASSION CHORALE.
O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden. **(7, 6, 7, 6, 7, 6, 7, 6, Iambic.)**

Popular Melody;
Hans Leo Hassler, 1601.



Wenn ich einmal soll scheiden,
So scheide nicht von mir;
Wenn ich den Tod soll leiden,
So tritt Du dann herfür;
Wenn mir am allerbängsten
Wird um das Herze sein,
So reiss mich aus den Aengsten
Kraft Deiner Angst und Pein.

PAUL GERHARDT.

German Moravian Hymn Book, No. 108, 9.

Translated from the Latin of Bernard of Clairvaux.

Lord, when I am departing,
Oh! part Thou not from me!
When mortal pangs are darting,
Then call me home to Thee!
Thy death's atoning merit
From death hath set me free;
Thus saved, I shall inherit
Eternal life in Thee.
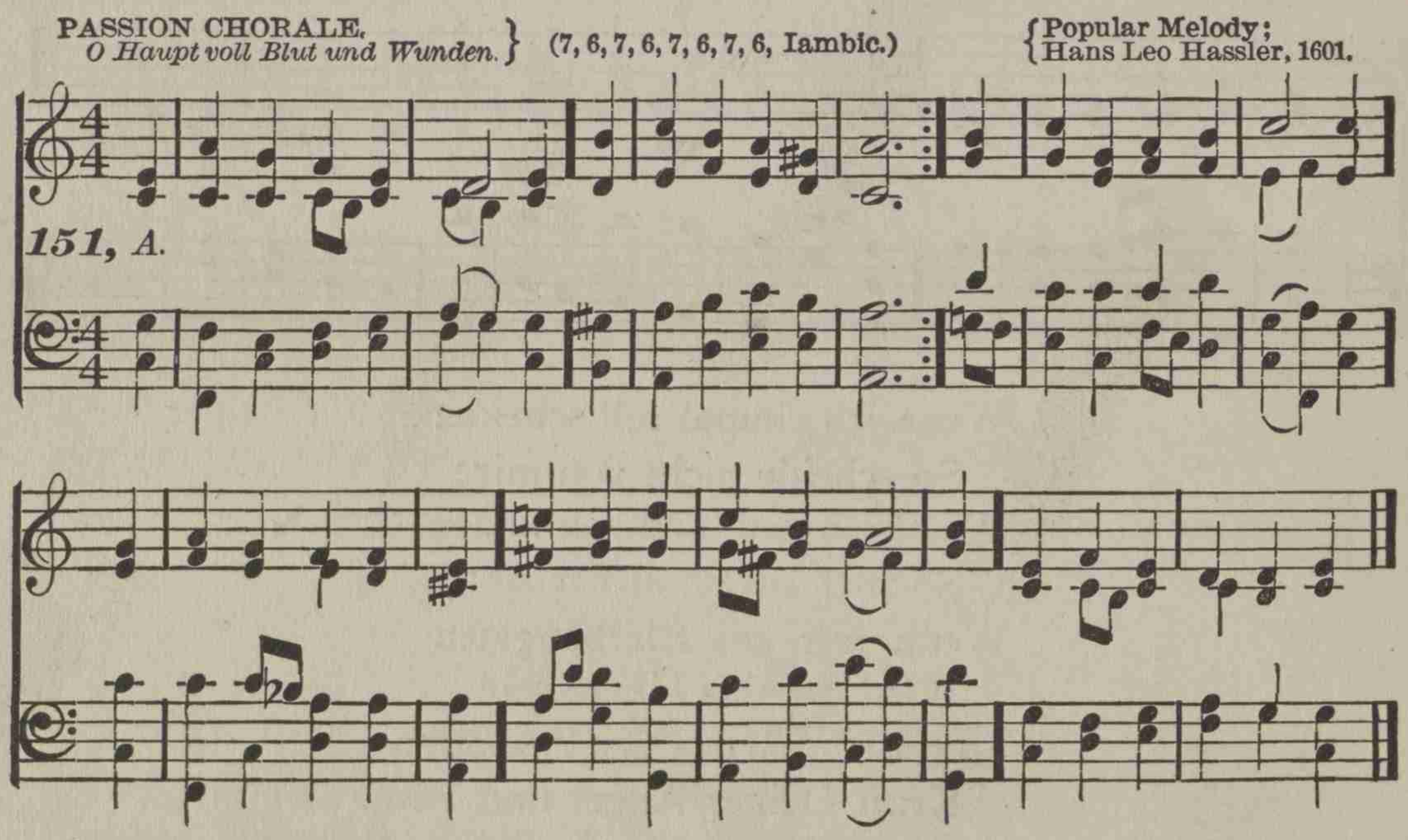
J. W. ALEXANDER, *and*
F. W. DETTERER.

Translated from above.

FOR BURIAL SERVICES AT SALEM, N. C.

IN FRONT OF THE CHURCH.

Tune 151, A.
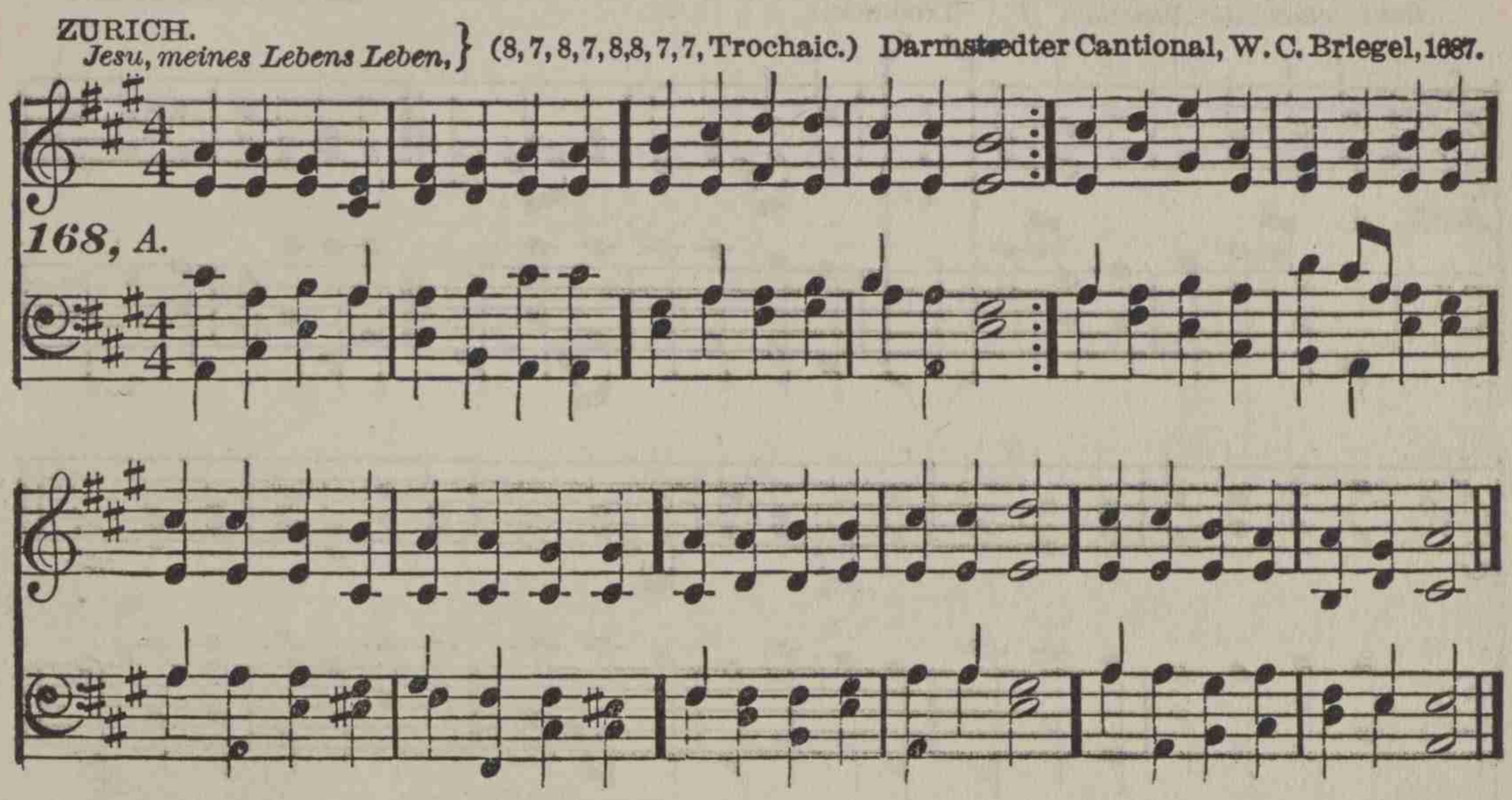


Grant me to lean unshaken
Upon Thy faithfulness,
Until I hence am taken,
To see Thee face to face.

American Moravian Hymn Book,
No. 120, 2, second half.

Bernard of Clairvaux.

ENTERING CEDAR AVENUE.

Tune 168, A.



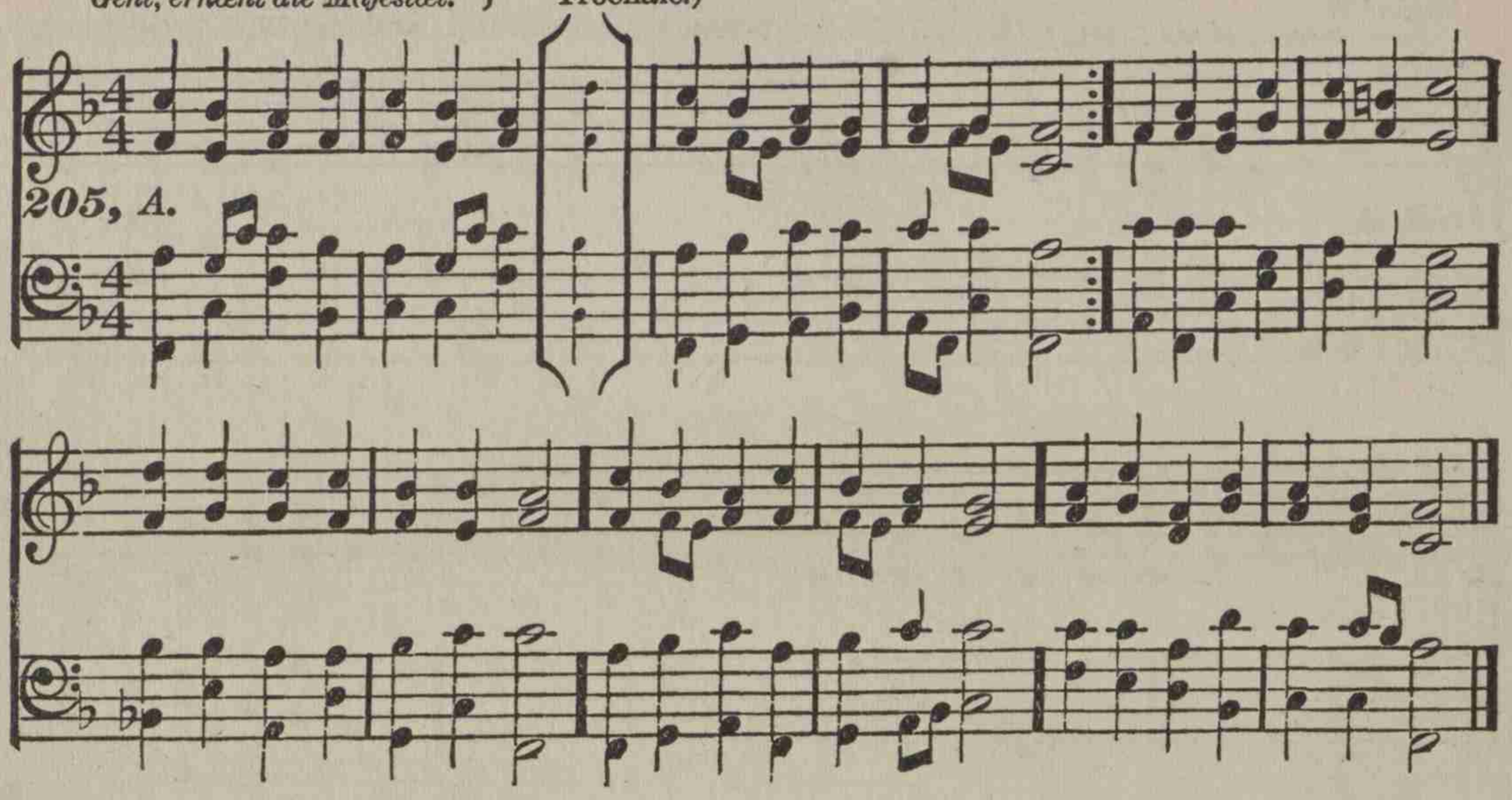
Jesus, Source of my salvation,
Conqueror both of death and hell,
Thou Who didst as my Oblation,
Feel what I deserve to feel,
Through Thy sufferings, death and merit,
I eternal life inherit;
Thousand, thousand thanks to Thee,
Dearest Lord, for ever be.

American Moravian Hymn Book, No. 131, 1. E. C. Homburg.

ENTERING THE GRAVEYARD.

Tune 205, A.

GREGOR'S 205TH METRE. } (7, 7, 7, 7, 7, 7, 7, 7, or 3, 4, 8, 3, 4, 8, 7, 7, 7, 7, Claude Goudimel, 1562.
Geht, erhœht die Majestœt. } Trochaic.)
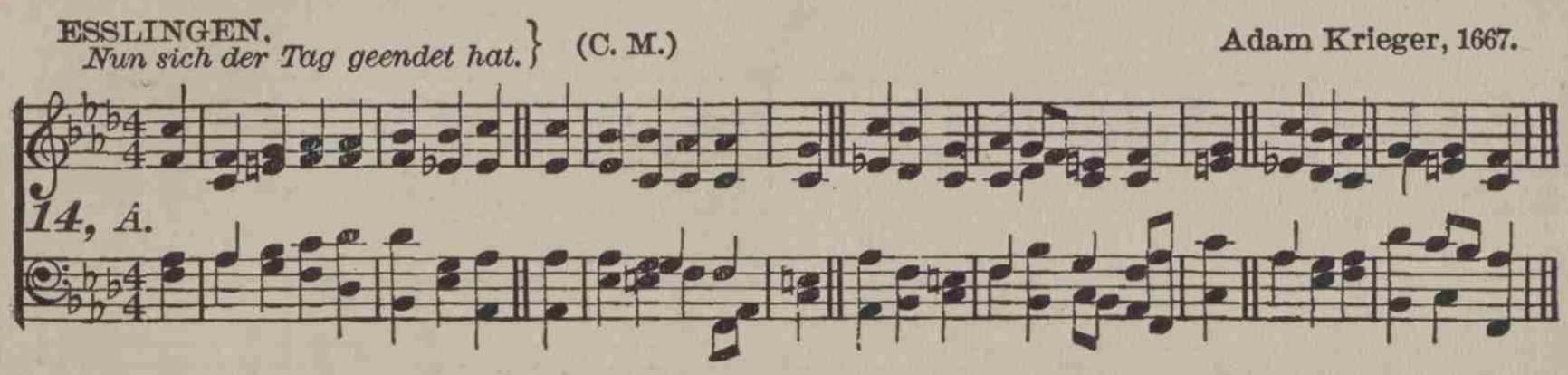


Jesus, lover of my soul,
  Let me to Thy bosom fly,
While the raging billows roll,
  While the tempest still is high;
Hide me, O my Saviour, hide,
  Till the storm of life is past;
Safe into the haven guide:
  O receive my soul at last.

American Moravian Hymn Book, No. 364, 1. CHARLES WESLEY.

DURING THE INTERMENT.

Tune 14, A.



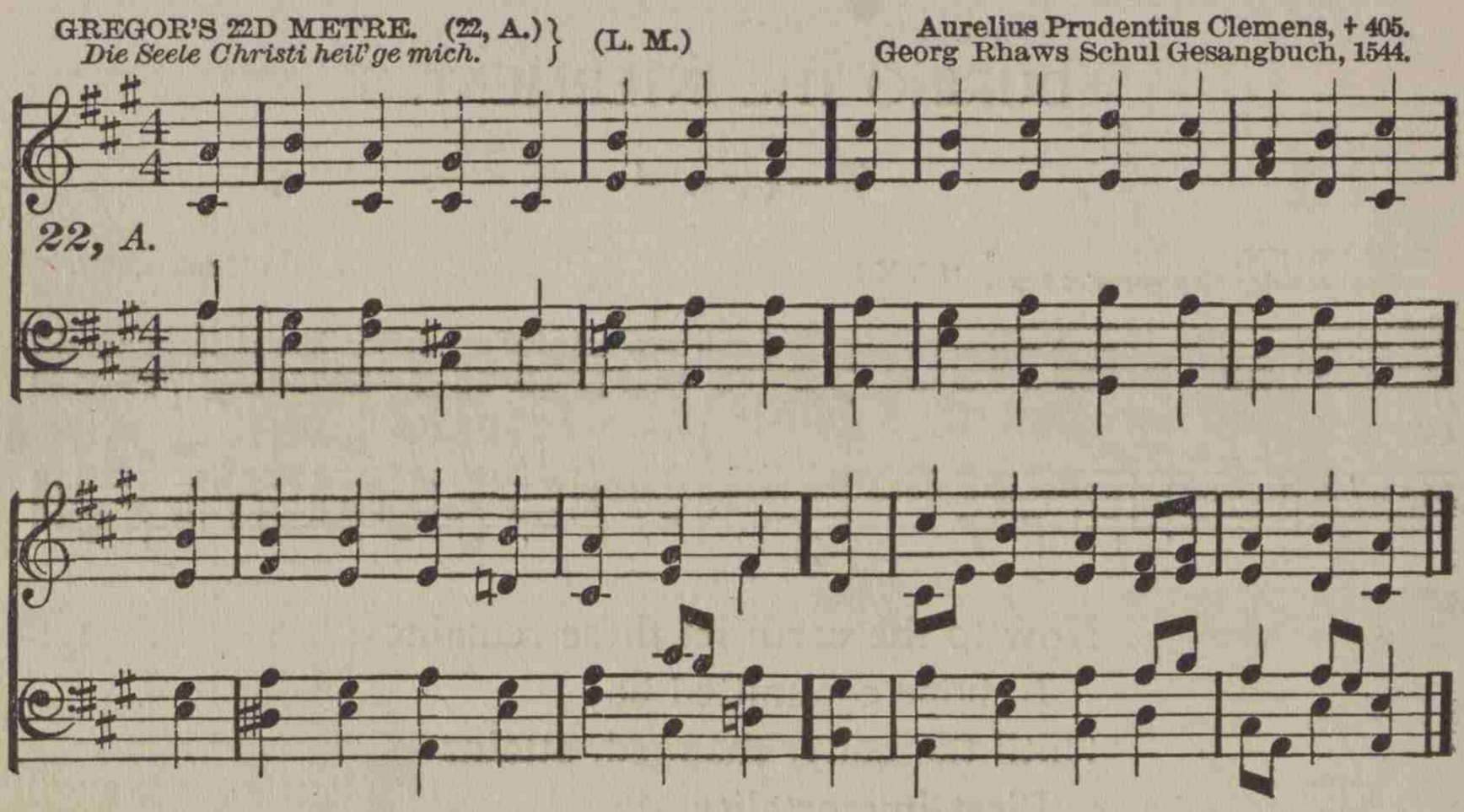
Now to the earth let these remains
In hope committed be;
Until the body, changed, attains
Blest immortality.

American Moravian Hymn Book,
No. 878, 3.

GOTTFRIED NEUMANN.

AT CLOSE OF SERVICE.

Tune 22, A.



The Saviour's blood and righteousness
My beauty is, my glorious dress,
Thus well arrayed, I need not fear,
When in His presence I appear.

American Moravian Hymn Book,
No. 302, 1.

PAUL EBER.
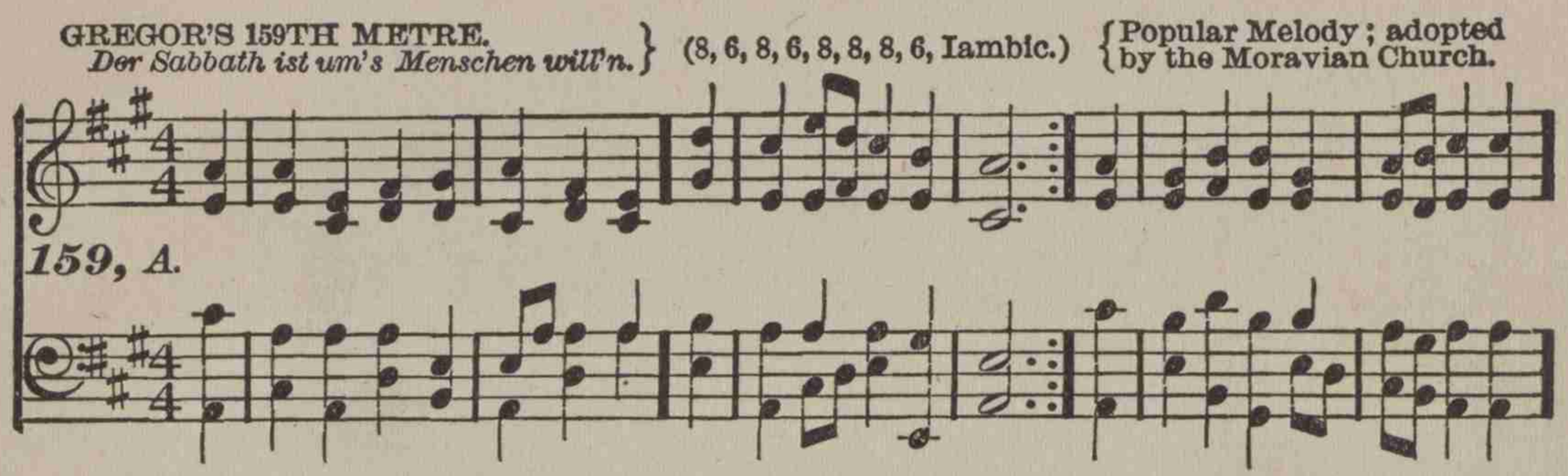
LEAVING THE GRAVEYARD.

The tune indicating the Choir of the departed is used.

(See pages 7 to 16.)

CLOSING.

Tune 159, A.



'Tis the most blest and needful part
To have in Christ a share,
And to commit our way and heart
Unto His faithful care;
This done, our steps are safe and sure,
Our hearts' desires are rendered pure,
And naught can pluck us from His hand,
Which leads us to the end.

CHRISTIAN RENATUS VON ZINZENDORF.

American Moravian Hymn Book,
No. 402, 1.

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8th July 1921.