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ARTICLE IV.

MEMOIR OF COUNT ZINZENDORF.

By B. B. Edwards, Professor at Andover.

THE life and labors of Zinzendorf embrace an important part of the ecclesiastical history of the eighteenth century. That century may be characterized, in general, as one of mediocrity and spiritual lethargy. Religious interest in every part of Christendom languished. On the continent the power of piety both in the Lutheran and Reformed communions, had given place to forms and ceremonials. The spirit of Luther and Calvin had not wholly disappeared, but it was nowhere in the ascendant. In England and Scotland, it was a period for the most part, of latitudinarian views and practical irreligion, notwithstanding the universal assent to orthodox articles and catechisms. In this country, if we may credit historical records, the churches were in a state of melancholy degeneracy. Formality and an indiscriminate charity were stealing into those sanctuaries where the Puritans had offered spiritual worship. Yet, in almost every part of the Christian world, there were revivals of religion, of greater or less extent. In the American colonies, in England, Scotland and Germany, there were many indications of the presence of the regenerating Spirit, and foretastes of better things to come. In Halle and its neighborhood, the flame of piety again shone out brightly in consequence of the labors of the Pietists. In Saxony, also, the Moravian church reasserted the claims of simple, living piety and of the primitive missionary zeal. Along with Franke, the Wesleys, Whitefield and others, Zinzendorf stands as one of the chief spiritual lights of the eighteenth century.

His life is also interesting from its missionary relations. One of the principal marks of the genuineness of the religious movement, of which Herrnhut was the centre, was its expansive character. It sought to benefit and save the most distant tribes. Its zeal seemed to be earnest in proportion to the remoteness and degradation of the objects of its love. In this it revealed its truly apostolical character, a descent from Him who established a religion that is to be necessarily aggressive and missionary until it is universal. It is this feature, doubtless, in the establishment of the United Brethren, which has essentially contributed to its per-

manence. Its object has not been so much to make proselytes, as to win souls to the Saviour. The extension of vital piety, not the endowment of a splendid church, was the aim, and has been the effect, of Zinzendorf's exertions.

Other points of interest in the life of the Count will be apparent in the progress of the narrative. His memoir is instructive from its developments of some of the peculiarities of German character, and also from its bearings on certain interesting questions in mental philosophy and religious experience. Distinguished men in civil life and literature, and who made no pretensions to piety, have regarded the course and character of Zinzendorf with high respect and admiration. Among these may be mentioned, Von Koen, a cabinet minister of Frederic the Great, Schiller, Göthe, Stolberg and Steffens. Göthe has given, in his "Confessions of a beautiful Soul," a portraiture of the mode of life and of the relations of the community at Herrnhut. Steffens also has introduced into his poems a worthy delineation of the personal appearance of Zinzendorf.

Our main authority in the following narrative, is the "Leben des Grafen von Zinzendorf by K. A. Varnhagen von Ense, Berlin, 1830, 507 pages." Some use has also been made of the *Life* by J. G. Müller, Winterthur, 1822. Both authors appear to have made a faithful use of the copious materials furnished by Zinzendorf's own works and by those of his disciple and biographer, Spangenberg.¹

Birth and Childhood.

NICHOLAS LEWIS, count of Zinzendorf and Pottendorf, was born at Dresden, May 26, 1700. The family of Zinzendorf, raised by the emperor Leopold I in 1662 to the honors of knighthood, had long been in possession of large estates in Austria and many honors. Some branches of the house were friends of the Reformation. The grand-father of the subject of this memoir removed, on account of his Lutheran tendencies, from Austria to Franconia and took up his abode at Oberbirg, a castle near Nuremberg. Two of his sons went to Saxony and there acquired a respecta-

¹ A serious and unaccountable deficiency both in Varnhagen von Ense and Müller is the want of an index, table of contents and of divisions of any kind. The volumes are a solid, unbroken mass, without chapter, section or heading to the pages.

ble property and high distinction. The elder became master of ordnance and commander of the fortresses, and the younger, George Lewis, was appointed one of the ministers of the court of Saxony. Lewis, by his first marriage had two children, a son and daughter. By his second wife, Charlotte Justina, baroness of Gersdorf, he had one son, whose life is described in the following pages. The father was highly esteemed for his religious character, and his ability in the discharge of his duties. The mother was a woman of piety and excellent feelings. She was acquainted with the Greek, Latin and the principal modern languages, and was also versed in theology and in the composition of German poetry. The celebrated Spener, who was the means of giving new life to the Lutheran church in the 17th century, was an intimate friend of both parents. He had removed from Dresden to Berlin, where he passed an honorable and active old age. Together with the wives of the elector of Saxony and of the Palatinate, he became sponsor to the infant count. The duties of this relation were soon increased by the death of the father. The little one, hardly six weeks old, was carried while asleep to his dying father in order to receive his blessing. "My dear son," he said, "I must bless thee, and thou art more happy now than I am, though I am almost standing before the throne of Jesus." He then, in emphatic words, gave him his benediction, charging him to live not only as a pious nobleman, but as a devoted disciple of Christ.

To the widow and her son was left only a small portion of the estate of the deceased count, which at best was not large. Accordingly they quitted Dresden and went to Upper Lusatia, where the widow's brother, Nicholas, baron of Gersdorf, possessed, among other estates, Grosshennersdorf and Bertholdsdorf, which subsequently became celebrated places. At the same time, this relative performed the duties of the principal magistrate of the district. But he, also, died in six months, and thus left his young nephew once more an orphan. Two years subsequently, his mother entered again, under favorable circumstances, into the marriage relation. She became the wife of the Prussian general, afterwards field marshal, Von Nattsmer, with whom she went to reside at Berlin. She committed her little son, not yet five years of age, to the care of her mother, the widowed baroness of Gersdorf, with the full conviction that she thus consulted the best interests of the child. This noble lady, who had already devoted herself with the tenderest assiduity to the care of her grand-child,

became his second mother. She was a pattern of piety and virtue, possessed a cultivated intellect and was not without poetic talent. Under her enlightened guidance, a direction was given to the little boy's feelings and education which determined the whole course of his life. A kindred influence was exerted upon him by his aunt Henrietta, the sister of his mother. The case of Zinzendorf adds another to the not small catalogue of those excellent women, who have performed the office of step-mother in the gentlest and most judicious manner. Spener from Berlin, and the pious Franke, Anton and the baron Von Canstein from Halle often visited Groshennersdorf. All gave to the young Zinzendorf their warmest benedictions. On one occasion, when he was in his fourth year, Spener took him in his arms, and in a most affecting manner devoted him to the service of Christ.

The health of the boy was delicate, while he possessed great warmth of emotion. His self-will almost amounting to obstinacy, sometimes broke forth in a violent manner. He had a quick apprehension, and strong powers of memory and imagination. In the use of language he early showed great aptitude. Still, his fiery temperament was modified by habits of reflection which appeared in him when he was a mere child. In learning set and formal lessons, he was slow, while his religious feelings by example and exercise were rapidly unfolded. He was very early trained to devotional habits, and in his fourth year knew the principal truths of the gospel. He was greatly delighted with the idea that Christ is our Brother and died for us; his love to the Saviour was of the most artless kind. He was filled with the thought that he then held with Jesus the most friendly fraternal intercourse, and he was not ashamed to confess to him all his faults and sins. There was thus unfolded in the childish heart a trustful intercourse with the Redeemer, which became through his whole life, a sweet and indispensable habit. For many weeks, he joyfully looked forward to those days in which the birth and the sufferings of the Redeemer were celebrated, because then beautiful little songs were sung, and he hoped to hear something very interesting about the Saviour. When he went to bed at night, if he had neglected to say the verse of a hymn which calls the Redeemer "our Brother," he would weep for grief. His satisfaction with this topic, he alludes to in the following terms: "In my grand-mother I noted two circumstances, which gave a direction to my entire future course. When I was in my sixth year, Edeling, who was my teacher for

three years, when he bade me good night as I went to my bed, used the most loving expressions about my Saviour and his merits and my relations to him. They made such a deep impression on me that I wept for a long time, and finally resolved, among other things, to live only for the man who had given his life for me. In this course of thinking I was taught in a very kind and condescending manner, by my dear aunt Henriëtta. She said I must tell her my whole heart, and then we bore our wants in common to the Saviour. I had no fear of telling her whatever was right or wrong in myself. In my eighth year, I lay all one night without sleep, while my thoughts, occasioned by an old hymn which my grand-mother sung before she went to sleep, wandered away into such deep speculations, that at last my hearing and sight seemed to vanish, while the subtlest atheistical sentiments arose spontaneously in me, and I was so possessed by them and so deeply did they penetrate my soul, that everything which I have since heard and read has appeared to me very shallow and unsatisfactory, and has not been able to make the slightest impression. But similar speculations which have since occurred have had no other effect than to deprive me of sleep or temporarily excite my feelings, because my heart was with the Saviour, and I loved him with conscious sincerity; often thinking that were there another God, I would rather be condemned with the Saviour than be happy with him. Such speculations did not have the smallest permanent effect on my heart. What I believed I willed; what occurred to me in my reasonings was odious, and I then came to the firm conclusion to use my reason in temporal things as far as it would go, and let it explain them as fully as possible and thus sharpen my understanding; while in spiritual matters I resolved that the truth received into the heart should remain so simple as to become the ground of all other truth, and what I could not deduce from it I would instantly reject. This determination I have kept to the present day." In another place, he remarks: "I hear it told of my Saviour that he became a man. This much affected me. I thought with myself, 'If my dear Lord is loved by no one else, I will still rest upon him and will live and die with him.' So, for many years, in my childlike way, I held intercourse with him; for hours I conversed with him as one friend does with another. In talking with him, I was very happy and thankful that he had consulted my good in his becoming man. But I did not at all understand the greatness and sufficiency of the merits of his wounds and alas! the martyr-death

of my Creator. The misery and weakness of my human nature were not rightly revealed to me; in order to become happy, I did my own will, up to a certain remarkable day, when I was so vividly affected on account of what my Creator had suffered for me that I shed a thousand tears and afterwards felt myself still more tenderly attached to him. I continued to talk with him when I was alone, and believed in my heart that he was very near me. I thought thus: 'He is God and can understand me; though I do not rightly make known my thoughts, he has a sympathy for what I shall say to him.' I often reflected, 'would he but once hear me that would be enough, I should be so happy all my life.' "

At that time Zinzendorf entered into a covenant with the Saviour: "If thou wilt be mine, dear Redeemer, I will be thine!" This covenant he very often renewed. He also wrote little letters to Christ. These childlike exercises exerted their influence upon him in subsequent life. The church and the sermon, the singing of hymns and prayers furnished nutriment to these infant tendencies. The feelings of his heart, however, did not end there. He often gave to the poor his whole stock of money, delighting in acts of kindness towards all, while he was heartily thankful for any favor which was shown him. He readily confessed his faults and sought to free himself from them. These qualities of the little boy early attained such strength and permanence, that they made a deep impression on others. When Charles XII. of Sweden marched into Saxony with his army in 1706, a band of his soldiers came to Grosshennersdorf to demand a military contribution. They entered the castle and advanced even to the chamber where the little boy slept. The unexpected looks and style of speaking of this remarkable child made such an impression on the warriors, that almost losing sight of their object, they at once joined with much earnestness in his devotions.

Residence in Halle.

Zinzendorf, having acquired considerable knowledge of Latin and French and laid a good foundation in other branches of learning, joined, in his eleventh year, the royal Paedagogium at Halle. This institution then enjoyed a high reputation as a place for the moral and intellectual culture of youth belonging to the higher classes, in like manner as the Orphan House supplied excellent facilities for the education of youth of the poorer classes. Franke,

their founder, conducted both with the same great object in view—the promotion of piety. A like impulse the city and university also received from him. The last, founded in 1694, was flourishing in all its youthful vigor. The Christian zeal, which here prevailed, often imparted an austere severity to the ruling spirits. The brethren, under the name of Pietists,—derived from Spener's *Collegia Pietatis*, were opposed and decried in many ways; yet only the firmer did they hold on their chosen way. Zinzendorf, though familiar from his childhood with this mode of life, was now called to partake of some bitter draughts. His grandmother accompanied him to Halle to place him under Franke's charge. Whether worldly feelings had now become predominant in him, or whether other causes operated, he was at any rate described to Franke as a youth whose pride needed to be humbled and whose impulses must be carefully restrained. Hence many methods were taken to cross his inclinations; he was thrust down into the lower classes; he was chastised severely and shamefully; his rank and previous training were not at all taken into the account; his fellow-pupils ridiculed and even hated him. At the same time, he was not the less compelled to resist the seductive influence which they spread around him. "While I, in obedience to the command of my dear aunt," so he writes, "entirely refrained from seeking female society abroad, though at home I was in the midst of females, still, on the contrary, the scholars sought to impart to me, with all the cunning, art and plausibility with which Satan can inspire the heart of man, their vices peculiar to schools and which were daily gaining the upper hand. I had a relish for such things; and besides, being naturally bold and forward, I felt impelled to know everything good or bad. But I was under the discipline of divine grace, while the others were not, so that I was not only restrained from all these evil deeds, but it happened to me more than once to win those for my Saviour who would have seduced me." He now began to toil for the spiritual good of others with great zeal. He met with other young people, (among whom were some who had been notorious sinners,) in the contiguous villages, for the purposes of prayer and mutual exhortation. He was very desirous to unite his associates, and to promote their progress, in all the changes which they experienced in their numbers and to strengthen them against ill-will and persecution. They devoted themselves to the Saviour and to the advancement of his kingdom in a closer manner by forming a league under the name of

the "Order of mustard seed," *senfkorn*, adopting certain regulations, and wearing as a badge a golden ring, on which were engraved the words "none of us liveth unto himself." This order with the existence of which Zinzendorf's mother was made acquainted, held on its existence in quiet by means of correspondence, long after the members had returned home to Holland, France, Hungary and elsewhere. Zinzendorf formed a most intimate friendship with the baron Frederic von Watteville, a youth of a distinguished Swiss family who was likewise a pupil at the seminary. The missionary zeal, which was enkindled at the Orphan House under Franke's lead, directed the attention of the youth to the resolution of personally engaging in the work of missions,—a resolution which was followed by important consequences. So great was Zinzendorf's power of uniting together elements of the most diverse character, that his spiritual life and labors began to savor strongly of a worldly spirit. He became proud; he relied, (yet not in respect to the affairs of Christ's kingdom, but in matters of a civil and social character,) on his own natural gifts and graces. Franke named him in consequence, the *conceited count*; he loved to shine and take the lead; he had a passion for dress and mirth, and was not disinclined to wit and joking. He became a party at the card-table—an amusement which Franke had wholly disowned. Zinzendorf remarked in respect to it, that one might do a worse thing, though he did not deny but he might do a better. Yet his love to the Saviour prevented these worldly feelings from gaining an entire ascendancy over him. Emotions of joy and faith when he was in adversity, and of contentment when he was in the meanest condition filled his heart. His first participation in the Lord's Supper was the means of exciting in him unwonted emotions of love to the Saviour. Franke and his other teachers, to whom he exhibited the warmest affection, befriended him more and more as they witnessed the development of his character. On one occasion, Franke told him that he would yet become a great light to the church. A peculiar relation was formed between him and the baron von Canstein, Franke's friend, a man of elevated rank and large fortune, who devoted his estate wholly to the promotion of religion and its institutions. He was a distant relative of Zinzendorf, and exerted such an influence upon his young friend, that the demeanor of the latter seemed to be in certain characteristics an exact copy of that of the former. Zinzendorf in the mean time made a somewhat rapid advance in his studies; he

perused the Greek authors, was able to write and speak Latin, paid some attention to Hebrew, and distinguished himself in public speaking. He also possessed great facility in composing German poetry. In this manner he passed six years in Halle. His health still remained feeble, so that on one occasion he left his studies and passed some time in the house of his grandmother. He finally quitted Halle in April 1716, his valedictory performance being a Latin exercise on the "Dogmatism of the Learned." He now spent about three months at home, partly in attending to the instructions of a domestic tutor, Erisenius, and partly in private reading, especially of the works of Luther, together with delightful social intercourse.

Zinzendorf as a member of the University of Wittenberg.

Before commencing his university life, Zinzendorf paid a visit to his uncle and guardian at Gavernitz. This relative did not at all relish the young man's pietistic feelings, and determined to send him (not as Zinzendorf wished, to the university at Halle) but to that at Wittenberg, partly on the ground that the latter was a Saxon institution, but particularly because a spirit reigned there very different from the one predominant at Halle. The two universities were indeed in open conflict, Wittenberg maintaining the old Lutheran orthodoxy and contending that the Halle Pietism was a dangerous innovation, while the younger university looked upon Wittenberg as the patron of a cold, dead, unfruitful orthodoxy. Zinzendorf's guardian drew up an extended series of counsels for his nephew's guidance at the university, which, though operating as a great restraint upon his inclinations, he determined to follow. But being aware that an effort would be made to detach him from that course which was ridiculed as pietistic, he resolved to guard the more carefully those treasures which were so dear to his soul. Still he devoted himself zealously to the study of law amid other branches of profane learning, as he had been advised. Even the physical exercises, which were appropriate to his condition, he did not neglect. In the performance of these too, in his accustomed way, he sought the aid of his Redeemer. "People will turn it, I suppose, into ridicule," he writes, "yet without any occasion. A youth, addicted to pietism, who has any degree of understanding, knows that when his guardians and tutors direct him to attend on fencing, dancing and riding masters, he can find no adequate excuse to

decline these gymnastic sports. He consequently devotes himself to them without much gainsaying; yet he takes counsel with his heart's friend, the all-worthy Saviour Jesus Christ, in order that he would give him skill in these things, that he might soon leave with honor all such matters and have liberty to dedicate some hours of the day to more solid pursuits and those more befitting his feelings and future circumstances. My only and true Confidant has not let me on this subject pray in vain." Zinzendorf's main concern was to adopt a course of life by which he might secure the salvation of his soul, and thus consecrate all his thoughts to religion. Hence theology became his favorite study. Public and private devotions were his delight; he read the Bible, sung pious hymns, sometimes spent whole nights in meditation, observed the festivals of the church and was more earnest in attending on the means of grace than at any earlier or later period. Still, while his conduct was more circumspect, his heart enjoyed less freedom and peace. The theological controversies, in the midst of which he was placed, occasioned an unpleasant confinement to his mind and sorrow to his heart. There were many unneccessary, harsh and long-protracted disputes, as he describes them, which, during twelve years, afflicted his soul. His peculiar religious experience was thus exposed to repeated censure, and the more so as he remained firm to the religious convictions which he had embraced at Halle, and which he was not at all backward to avow. He defended, against many assaults, the labors of Franke and the whole course of life and instruction which was concentrated at the Orphan House. The departed Spener, as whose disciple he had come to Wittenberg, he eulogised in a public and extended discourse. The Wittenberg theologians, the most prominent of whom was Wernsdorf, allowed this out-flow of well-meant zeal to pass without censure, and Zinzendorf himself soon regretted that he had cherished those unfounded prejudices, by which he was led to regard the Wittenberg theologians as pertinacious wranglers. When he knew them more intimately, he began to esteem and love them. But while it might appear as if he would be won over to the views prevailing at Wittenberg, the reverse actually took place. In confidential conversations with the Wittenberg professors, he ventured, both seasonably and unseasonably, to remind them of their errors in respect to the Halle school, and to tell them truths which it was hardly decorous for a young student to advance. Indeed he did not refrain from pub-

lic exhibitions of his zeal. At the same time, his uncle, as Zinzendorf himself relates, made it his object to implant in his nephew, as far as possible, different principles. He had laid it down in his instructions, that he should never defend a theme, hoping thereby that the young scholar would be drawn off from his pietism and be the more influenced to take the opposite course. But Zinzendorf found two ways of evading his uncle's wishes. "In the first place," he writes, "I was not commanded not to oppose others, and secondly, it had not occurred to my uncle, (for he cherished a hope, altogether excessive that I should abandon my Pietism at Wittenberg,) that I might, on the contrary, cherish the good design of making Pietists of the theological Faculty at Wittenberg." This result did not indeed altogether take place, yet considerable approximation was made towards it by his zealous labors. The stripling of eighteen years was esteemed by both parties as a welcome umpire, and he had already formed the design of travelling to Halle, in company with Wernsdorf, to see Franke, so as to complete his favorite scheme of reconciling the two schools; but he desisted from the project in compliance with the wishes of his mother and for other reasons. In the meantime he carried on an active correspondence with his friends, partly in Latin and partly in French. He also wrote much in addition both in prose and verse, and, among other things, a dissertation on "Self-Love as the primary Source of the Affections." He made great advance, likewise in the study of eloquence, poetry, history, languages, law and theology. His social intercourse was pleasant and edifying, there being something in his personal appearance very striking, while an acquaintance with him was much sought after.

Travels.

Zinzendorf completed his studies at Wittenberg in the spring of 1719. His uncle had in the meantime died, and his mother and grandmother resumed their oversight of him. Though they were highly gratified with the proofs which he exhibited of pious feeling, yet they hardly thought of any other course of life than one befitting his name and noble rank. His own mind, however, was busily engaged with other thoughts and purposes. Still, he did not choose to act in opposition to the proposal of his friends in regard to foreign travel. He first went to Holland, accompanied by his elder brother, and his tutor, whose name was Roederer.

The peculiar direction of his mind was seen in many little incidents. Frankfurt on the Maine, was particularly attractive to him on account of Spenser who had there lived and labored. Among the paintings which he saw in the gallery at Düsseldorf, one representing the suffering Saviour made the deepest impression, which was increased by the words underneath, "Every thing have I done for thee, what hast thou done for me?" He felt a sense of shame that he could answer this question no better, while he devoted himself to the Saviour with a stronger determination. At the close of May, 1719, he came to Utrecht, whence he journeyed to Rotterdam, the Hague, Leyden and Amsterdam. He then went back to Utrecht, where, with his tutor, he attended the university exercises. He busied himself industriously with law, history, medicine, to which he had a special attachment, the English language, but most of all with religion, in comparison with which other things were of little account. "In my nineteenth year," he subsequently wrote, "I went to Holland and studied under various foreign teachers, who excited my mind, but did not touch my heart. The whole tour was the means of leading off my feelings in a sensible manner from all earthly things. The constant sighing of my heart was everywhere for Jesus and his blessing upon others." He now read the Bible with new zeal, and also other writings which were fitted to edify and instruct. Meditation, also, was a favorite duty. An intercessory prayer, which he composed, for his own daily use, was drawn out into more than a hundred particulars, embracing the emperor, all Christian kings, the government under whose protection he then lived, his teachers, friends, enemies, all the sick and dying, his Roman catholic relatives, all studying theology, the universities of Halle, Wittenberg and Leipsic, the Jansenists in France, the conversion of the Jews, etc. He now began to feel that attachment to litanies which he ever afterwards cherished. At the same time his general character and learning commanded much respect. He contracted an intimate friendship with several young noblemen from different parts of the continent. He became acquainted with the princess of Orange, who invited him to the birth-day festival of her son, which occasion he celebrated by a poem. He lived on intimate terms with the great lawyer, Vitriarius, and with the celebrated theologian James Basnage, of whom he used to say, "that Basnage would receive the truth even from an adversary." He here came in contact with men entertaining all kinds of religious be-

lief. The effects of the warm discussions into which he entered were not without salutary effects on his own character. The determination, to which he came, to let his opponents have the last word, conciliated their esteem and increased his reputation for fairness. He met four of his friends every day in a religious exercise, when he expounded a portion of the Scriptures. The meeting was opened and concluded by prayer. With the count von Reuss, who went before him to Paris, he formed a special covenant that they would live only for the Saviour and heartily serve him. At Utrecht he heard of the death of the baron von Canstein at Berlin, that man of elevated piety, of whom it may be said that he maintained in the midst of the world the character of a child of God, though he exhibited nothing of austerity in his demeanor. He left his estate to the Halle Orphan-house. In commemoration of his death, Zinzendorf wrote a poem, which breathes nothing of lamentation, but on the contrary, the most joyful confidence in respect to death. His fearlessness on this subject was at that time remarkable. He thought that a true Christian could be afraid of death only from ignorance. He made it his increasing aim to be ready for that event. He had already adopted for his motto, *aeternitati*.

In September, he went to Paris by the way of Antwerp, Brussels and Cambrai. He remained in the French capital through the autumn and winter. Among the individuals with whom he formed an acquaintance were the duchess of Orleans, Lord Stairs the English ambassador, Marshall Villars, the baron Nicolas von Watteville from Germany, the Abbe La Tour, the cardinal Noailles, etc. On one occasion, he heard a Dominican monk preach, who appeared to him to be a second Tauler. The monk spoke with the utmost earnestness, insisted on the conversion of the heart, from which a change of life would of necessity follow, maintained that there should be no peace with the world, and showed the necessity of a reformation, not only among the poor, but especially among the great. Zinzendorf sought the acquaintance of the preacher, whose name was d' Albizi, and who introduced him to the acquaintance of the bishops of Boulogne and Montpellier, who were then with others contending for the necessity of an appeal from the pope's famous bull, called *unigenitus*, to a general council. By his intercourse with this class of men, by his zealous maintenance of the cause of the Jansenists, by the boldness with which he defended the great principles of Protestantism, Zinzendorf in-

carred not a little danger of losing his liberty and perhaps, his life. It was reported that an attempt was actually made to poison him. He was also exposed to dangers of another kind. The French monarchy was then in the height of its splendor, while in no country in Europe did the Roman Catholic religion hold such dominant sway as in France. Paris was the centre of fashion and taste, where vice was clothed in its most attractive forms, and where everything was found which could seduce a young man like Zinzendorf, of noble birth, of warm feelings and of winning manners. Efforts were not wanting to induce him to swerve from the path which he had chosen and even to renounce his Protestant and religious principles. Yet he remained true to his convictions. His affectionate trust in the Saviour seems not to have been chilled in the frigid atmosphere around him. At the same time his feelings were liberalized, and he learned to estimate others, especially Roman Catholics, with more candor and forbearance. On the whole, his travels proved of essential benefit to him. They were the means of enlarging his views, extending his knowledge in various departments of science and literature, and of introducing him to many estimable persons, with a few of whom he formed an endearing friendship. But the great practical lesson which he learned was the unsatisfactory nature of earthly good, and the blessedness of living in communion with the Redeemer. Every step of his wanderings convinced him that like Mary, he had chosen the better lot. To sit at the feet of Jesus was worth more than all which Europe could bestow. From Paris Zinzendorf returned home by way of Strasburg, Bâle and Zurich.

Residence at Dresden and Marriage.

In October, 1721, Zinzendorf became a court-counsellor and judge at Dresden, in compliance with the earnest wishes, or rather what amounted to the commands of his friends, though in direct opposition to his own inclinations. He wished to become a preacher of the gospel and to employ all his talents directly in the service of the church. For the business and pleasures of courts he had no relish. Among the various motives urged upon him by his zealous relatives, was the example of some eminent civilians who had spent a life of simple devotedness to the Saviour in the midst of worldly avocations. Though he was now twenty-one years of age and authorized to determine his own

course of life, yet his mother, grandmother and aunts seemed unwilling to relax their authority or to look upon him in any other light than as a darling and dependent child. He at length yielded to their wishes with many tears and took up his abode in the court. Still, as might have been expected, he did not find himself at home in his new employment, and during the five years he passed at Dresden, he scarcely put his hand to any civil employment. The only exceptions were cases in which his advice and aid could be of service to the poor and friendless. His delight was in religious conversation, in social prayer-meetings, (in which he found a coadjutor in Dr. Löscher, church superintendent at Dresden,) and in efforts to promote the spiritual good of all, both high and low, with whom he came in contact. Noblemen and courtiers shared in his friendly counsels and warnings, as well as the poorest artisan and peasant. "In Dresden I held every Sunday," he writes, "without any opposition from my civil or ecclesiastical superiors, a public religious service with open doors for every one who wished to attend. The wonder was only this, that I was a preacher, who in obedience to his parents, wore a sword and became a member of the government, but whose whole heart, at the same time, was on the preaching of the gospel."

In the meantime, the situation of the two religious parties in Germany had somewhat changed. The old orthodox or Lutheran party had acquired more zeal and warmth in their religious services, while the Halle pietists were nearly stationary. This circumstance, among other facts, induced Zinzendorf to refrain from giving his allegiance to either party. At the same time he determined to assemble from men of all shades of opinion the genuine friends of the Redeemer, the true children of God, and in this higher communion to overlook all outward distinctions. This plan took entire possession of his soul and spread over the future an indescribable interest. His grandmother, in pursuance of his design, purchased for him the estate of Bertholdsdorf, adjoining Grosshennersdorf. The building of a house had been before commenced. Here he now contemplated founding a community composed of his numerous dependents, and in accordance with his own ideas. As an assistant he selected Andrew Rothe, a preacher whose piety and intellectual gifts were held in high esteem. After providing for the spiritual necessities of the community, Zinzendorf sought for a companion of like mind with himself who would give her attention to the secular affairs. His

choice, after much deliberation, fell upon the countess Erdmuth Dorothea von Reuss, sister of his friend at Ebersdorf. He had fully ascertained, before the connection was formed, that she was prepared, like himself, to leave home and country, at the command of the Lord, and with staff in hand, to go to the heathen. In order to free himself from worldly care, he put into her hands, at the same time, all his estate. In 1732, he gave her complete possession of it. In one of his works he describes her as, "a virtuous, well-educated countess, who had already given up those vanities, which both in respect to words and actions present so formidable an obstacle to the progress of the gospel. She still exhibited in herself the happy traces of that beautiful communion which Spener had held with her grandmother, Benigna. That her husband might not be troubled, she assumed alone, from the first day of her marriage, the entire administration of household matters, and though the property which she had to manage was only moderate, still the simple foundation for our undertakings required more than a million of *thalers*; this trust, for twenty-six years, she so executed, that neither in the house nor on the estates nor in the community, was there any complaint. For those who know her and her labors, it is not necessary to say that she devoted herself as a nursing mother to the Lord and his church." In another place he writes: "I have found from twenty-five years' experience, that the help-meet whom I had, was the only one who could have fitted in to all the ends and corners of my vocation. Who had so perfect an acquaintance in my household? Who lived so unblamably before the world? Who stood by me so intelligently in renouncing a dry morality? Who comprehended so fundamentally the Phariseeism which had forced its way down through all these years? Who had so perfect an insight into those erring spirits who from time to time had mixed themselves with us? Who could have provided so prudently and abundantly for my household needs for so many years? Who could live so economically and still so generously? Who at the fitting times could be so lowly and yet so lofty? Who could so represent the character now of a servant, now of a mistress, without affecting, either any peculiar spirituality or worldly-mindedness? Who could undertake and endure such astonishing journeys by land and sea? Who knew how so well both to honor and despise the world?" "With a weak body," says Müller, "she had a well-balanced and cultivated mind, a manly courage, and the softest, sweetest and kindest heart." "She was not

made," remarks Spangenberg, "to be a copy; she was an original, and though she cordially loved and honored her husband, yet she reflected on all subjects with so much judgment that she might be regarded in a degree rather as a sister and friend." After the death of her darling son, Christian Renatus, in 1752, which deeply afflicted her, she lost more and more her inclination for business. Weary of life and of its many hard labors and heavy cares, this noble woman at length entered into the joy of her Lord, June 19, 1756, after a sickness which was attended with little pain. She was greatly bewailed by all the members of the community, who had familiarly called and known her as "the mother." She had six sons and six daughters, most of whom died early. Three daughters only survived their father: Benigna, who was married to John von Watteville; Maria Agnes, married to the count Maurice von Dohna, likewise a member of the brotherhood at Herrnhut; and Elizabeth, whose husband was the baron Frederic von Watteville. These daughters followed in the steps of their parents with great zeal and fidelity, remained in the community and are now remembered with much honor.

Settlement at Herrnhut.

Christianity was first planted in Bohemia and Moravia by missionaries of the Greek church. When the Latin church obtained the ascendancy in those countries, a great part of the people continued true to their earlier faith, esteeming it as the most pure. With these the Waldenses were connected; John Huss and his followers contended for them with the Bible and with the sword, and the subject of religion became with them the great national question. But the exertions of the Moravians and Bohemians proved abortive; their church, persecuted and oppressed by the Roman Catholic, and cut off from the Greek communion, was compelled to seek in obscurity the means for its further existence and advancement. Deprived of outward resources, its adherents were compelled to cultivate inward affection, and thus became more like the primitive Christians, than any religious community of modern times. They were in fact and in name UNITED BRETHREN. Luther's Reformation awakened them to new life; their belief essentially coincided with his. The same fate which befel all the evangelical communions in those regions, during and after the Thirty Years' War, abolished all remaining differences. Many, in consequence of cruel per-

secutions, had wandered to other lands, for example to Poland, Prussia and Saxony, where they founded churches. In Bohemia and Moravia, being wholly deprived of freedom, they were compelled to conceal their faith, as they were their books, and retain it only in the deepest silence. In the beginning of the eighteenth century, the terms which the terrible approach of Charles XII. of Sweden extorted from the emperor Joseph I., in favor of the Protestants in Silesia, awakened considerable hope; but it expired with the retreat and fall of that warrior. Among the Protestants in some districts of Moravia and Bohemia, persecuted anew about the year 1720, there was a revival of religious zeal. Many now satisfied the desire which they had long cherished of freedom in religious worship, and joined their brethren in foreign lands. A carpenter, Christian David by name, was particularly helpful in this emergency. He had before left his abode, Senftleben in Moravia, reached Berlin, and was there living in communion with the evangelical church. Eight years earlier, he had earnestly sought the Saviour. In Görlitz, where he practised his trade and constantly attended upon the awakening sermons of Schäfer and Schwedler, he first attained true peace of mind. He here became acquainted with the candidate Rothe, and through him with Zinzendorf, who had just before returned from his travels. To the latter he made known the melancholy condition of some of his brethren in Moravia. Zinzendorf immediately engaged to receive the oppressed families and to provide a place of refuge for them. He at first thought of Ebersdorf; but as obstacles thwarted him in this direction, he determined to find an asylum at Bertholdsdorf, which about this time came into his possession. Meanwhile, three Moravian families, accompanied by the zealous Christian David, came, in the spring of 1822, to Upper Lusatia, first visiting Schwedler in Niederwiese, then Schäfer in Górlitz, by whom they were recommended to Grosshennersdorf. Thence they repaired to Bertholdsdorf. The poor exiles were not able, as they greatly desired, to take up their abode in the village. A place was selected in a forest, protected by a hill, on the Zittau road. The spot seems not to have had anything inviting, for the company counted less on external advantages than the aid of the Almighty. In the meantime, they depended on what was given or lent to them. The countess of Gersdorf sent them a cow which supplied milk for the small children. She also assigned them the necessary timber for building. Christian David struck his axe into a tree, with the words,

"Here has the swallow found his house and the sparrow her nest, even thine altars, O Lord of hosts!" On the 17th of June, 1722, they felled the first tree for the first house built in what was afterwards HERRNHUT. They prosecuted the work with so much zeal, that the house was ready to be occupied in the beginning of October. Heitz, the pious domestic tutor, made a speech at its dedication. He gave occasion to the name by which the place was afterwards known, in a letter then written to Zinzendorf, in which he expressed the wish that the dwelling might always remain under the protection of the Lord (*unter des Herrn Hut*), and its inmates always rely on the protection of the Lord. Hitherto, Marche (domestic tutor at Grosshennersdorf) and Heitz had prosecuted the undertaking with the aid of the countess of Gersdorf, and with the cognizance and from the means of Zinzendorf, but without his particular knowledge or coöperation. On the 22d of December, when he was on the road, with his bride, to Grosshennersdorf, he was surprised to perceive a house newly built in a forest. Still, he heartily rejoiced when he learned that it was the dwelling of the poor Moravian exiles. He at once went to them, welcomed them to the spot, knelt down and gave thanks to the Saviour, whose blessing on the undertaking he earnestly implored. He exhorted the people to have good courage, to keep up their trust in God; and then went on his way.

It was important above all things, in the view of Zinzendorf, to lead all his people at Bertholdsdorf in the path of true piety. Yet, in accordance with Spener's suggestion, he intended to found only small churches to be in communion with the established Lutheran communion. He had not yet conceived of more extensive plans. The office, which he held as landlord, led him to administer the secular affairs of the establishment. These he did not mix with his spiritual duties, for he believed that the civil arm had no authority over the conscience; in like manner he believed that a true pastor would not call in the aid of the secular power in order to extend the faith; either would occasion only detestable hypocrisy and utter ruin. His preacher, Rothe, whose discourses were very impressive, lent him the most necessary assistance. Schäfer of Gorlitz also took an active part in the enterprise. These three together with Frederic von Watteville, (Zinzendorf's friend from the time of his abode at Halle,) regarded themselves as brothers closely united, whose whole life was set apart to promote the kingdom of God. Watteville was a man of fervent piety and of a noble heart. His gentle nature and

condescending manners could not, indeed, prevent the disputes and misunderstandings which sometimes occurred in their religious conferences. On account of these contentions, Zinzendorf sometimes kneeling alone before the Saviour, poured out bitter tears. The conferences, in which, from time to time, other persons participated, were at a later period, greatly extended, and were not without a living influence on the community. Still, Zinzendorf's zeal did not content itself with such manifestations, but multiplied channels for active exertion. As occasion offered he composed extempore spiritual hymns and odes in the freest measure, often adorned with the boldest and most startling figures. These effusions were indeed more remarkable for emotion than for judgment or taste. Still, they greatly promoted his own spiritual edification and that of many others. He possessed, also, a popular style of speaking, sometimes diversifying the religious meetings with dialogues and animated conversations. He thus became a kind of deacon or catechist to the pastor Rothe. In the afternoon of the Sabbath, he held a meeting in a hall in his own house, and went over the morning discourse which had been preached in the church, interspersing free remarks and sometimes correcting the opinions that Rothe had advanced. In consequence of these repeated services of the four individuals alluded to, in addition to the zealous coöperation of Heitz and Christian David, many persons were awakened to a deeper sense of the importance of religion and became zealous adherents of their spiritual guides. Pious people from the vicinity also resorted to Herrnhut, to share in its religious privileges, while new exiles from Moravia here found a quiet home.

Organization of the Community at Herrnhut.

Among other wants, Zinzendorf discovered a great lack of practical works on religion. With the aid of the countess of Gersdorf, he established a printing office in order to supply the poor people in the vicinity with cheap religious works, as well as with the Bible. On account of some serious obstacles, this press was removed from Lusatia to Ebersdorf, where it was usefully employed for several years. Not less zeal was manifested in favor of a project for establishing a school for poor children. A noble lady, Zetzschwitsch by name, who was subsequently married to one of the Watterilles, removed to Bertholdsdorf, and took charge of poor girls, and thus laid the foundation of the girls'

school afterwards set up at Herrnhut. A school for children of higher rank was also contemplated. The resemblance of these establishments to those at Halle is obvious. The people at Herrnhut soon received a new accession of pilgrims from Moravia, some of whom had been a long time imprisoned and otherwise grievously persecuted. Christian David visited Moravia and sought out the villages where the descendants of the Brethren of ancient times lived. By his exhortations and those of two intrepid men, David and Melchior Nitschmann, the people were much excited, and came together at night by hundreds, in secret places, to sing and pray. These movements could not be long concealed. The civil authorities interfered, some were cast into prison and were menaced with the loss of life. In these extremities, five young men, threatened with a new imprisonment, fled in the silence of the night, fell down on their knees, on a spot in front of their native place, implored for themselves and their brethren the protection of the Almighty, and then went on their way through the wildest mountains, singing :

“O happy day when I must leave,” etc.,

which had been sung in like circumstances, centuries before. They came to the house of Schwedler at Niederwiese, who commended them in a letter to Zinzendorf at Herrnhut. There they arrived on the 12th of May, 1724, at the moment that Watteville was laying the foundation stone of a building for a hall or chapel. Here they listened to a fervent dedicatory discourse from Zinzendorf, who prayed that God would suffer the building to stand no longer than it should be an abode of love and peace to the glory of the Saviour. Still, the circumstances of the new community were not those of unmingled prosperity. Men of various mental peculiarities and religious sentiments had here found an asylum. The conflicting opinions of the Lutherans and the Reformed in respect to the Lord's Supper, occasioned not a little difficulty. Hetz, a zealous member of the Reformed communion, left the service of the count; still the Lutheran view was far from being predominant. Enthusiastic or fanatical opinions also crept in. Some of the poor mechanics and day-laborers, inflamed with sectarian zeal, came out in direct opposition to their learned pastors and noble patron. The first settlers at Herrnhut were men of a fervent spirit, but scarcely instructed in the doctrines of salvation. On the other hand the five brethren, who had just come from Moravia, were genuine descendants of the ancient Moravi-

an Brethren, and held fast to the church-organization of their ancestors. The commingling of men of various opinions at Herrnhut, seemed to them to preclude all hope of reviving the usages to which they were so much attached. When they zealously spoke of the necessity of reestablishing the discipline and order of the Moravian Brethren, no one seemed to understand or approve their design. The consequences, as might be expected, were irritating remarks, strifes and danger of an open rupture. These events were a source of the deepest grief to the count, who began to doubt of the expediency of admitting any more exiles from Moravia. Still, he did not withdraw his protection from those who were already there. His compassion triumphed over his displeasure, and in spite of indignant feelings which would sometimes break forth, he manifested, on the whole, towards his numerous dependants such forbearance, that his moderation became itself an occasion of finding fault with him. In reference to this unhappy state of things, Zinzendorf wrote: "My best apology in respect to this matter is, that many persons of the description that we have here, the Saviour has already taken home as the trophy of his long-suffering. In the garden of the Lord there are trees which one must let stand this year and the next, in hope that in the following year some little fruit will appear." He sought not to disgrace them, or embitter their feelings; on the contrary, he watched for every trace of a better mind, and when anything faulty had disappeared, he thought nothing further of it. In this way alone, by the power of a friendly heart and by his genuine piety, he held his little community together in a manner truly wonderful. His Sabbath exercises in Bertholdsdorf often lasted from six o'clock, A. M. till midnight. The people of Herrnhut often brought a piece of bread in their pockets, and on no account were the religious services omitted for the sake of eating. With much pains, Zinzendorf succeeded in uniting those to the church communion who had withdrawn; and, finally, May 12, 1726, after three days' conference which extended into the night, a plan of agreement in respect to religious doctrine was happily adopted.

Zinzendorf's civil duties did not interfere in the least with these pious labors. Often when he went to Dresden, it was chiefly or wholly to promote the enterprise on which his heart was set. At that fashionable capital, he experienced much opposition, not only from the enemies and revilers of the gospel, but from well meaning friends who misunderstood his motives.

Still he went on his course unterrified. "I belong to the number of those," he writes, "whom the Lord has called from darkness into light. Therefore I must testify of the light. I am called one of the nobles of this world; I must enjoy the privileges of one. I am consequently bound, more than others, to bear witness of the light." The opposition of the people of rank to his views led him to mingle more and more with the middling and lower classes, among which he found not a few of the excellent of the earth. He continued the religious service at his own house, where many assembled, some of whom made no pretensions to piety. The count was also actively employed in preparing and circulating religious books and tracts. He translated Arndt's four books on "True Christianity" into French, dedicated the book to the Cardinal Noailles, and sent it by Watteville to Paris. About this time the establishment at Herrnhut received a fresh accession of strength from Silesia. These persons were devout in feeling yet but little instructed in doctrine. Zinzendorf sought rather to lead them to the Saviour than proselyte them to the Lutheran creed. At the same time, his missionary zeal led him to undertake the evangelization of some of the Wendish tribes who dwelt in the vicinity. In these toils his venerable grand-mother coöperated, bearing her part with him in the expense of an edition of the Bible in the Wendish dialect. This excellent lady died in 1726. For twelve years, on account of age and weakness, she rarely left her house. But when she saw her end drawing near, she went to Herrnhut, there to bestow her last blessing. In the meanwhile, the count labored with great diligence in favor of the persecuted brethren in Moravia. David Nitschmann who had gone home to visit his father, was seized and cast into prison. In order to liberate him Zinzendorf journeyed to Moravia, but without success. On his return he held interesting religious services with his friends in Silesia, in Eberadorf, Leipsic, Halle, in Lusatia and in Dresden. At Halle he had much interesting conversation with the well-known Christian Thomasius, who entertained some doubts in respect to the utility of Zinzendorf's labors at Herrnhut. On his return the count devoted special attention to an edition of the Bible to which he prefixed a preface, and which was accompanied with notes by Rothe and others. Meanwhile, a lawyer of Voigtland, who had become disaffected with his clergy at home, went to Herrnhut, and though kindly received by the count, employed his whole time to sow dissensions in the community. His zeal at length terminated in insanity. He left

Herrnhut and after some time died. But his works of evil followed him. The Moravian brethren, with few exceptions, left the church and communion at Bertholdsdorf. Some of them were mean enough to spread the most infamous reports in relation to the count. They called him the beast who had given his power to Rothe, the false prophet. The affair excited no little commotion and made in all quarters a bad impression. Herrnhut had become a nest of sectaries. Zinzendorf, though not wanting in confidence and courage, seemed to be somewhat deficient in the means of forming a sound judgment in the emergency. He had not that acquaintance with the doctrines of religion and the history of the church which would have enabled him to extricate himself from these embarrassments. Something more was wanted than kind feelings and warm-hearted piety. At the same juncture a violent outcry was raised against him at Dresden. His religious meetings were broken up, and there were not a few other indications of his unpopularity, even with the court and the clergy. In these circumstances, he concluded, with the assent of his mother and other friends, to resign his office at Dresden and take up his permanent abode at Herrnhut. His first endeavor was to effect such an arrangement of duties as would promise harmony to the community. He formed a fraternal agreement with the pastor Rothe, by which the rights and duties of the church patron and of the pastor were respectively determined. Rothe was to assume the entire pastoral care at Bertholdsdorf, while the count, as the unordained catechist of Rothe, was to proceed, according to his own discretion at Herrnhut. The members of the community were made fully acquainted with the plan and offered no objection. The count, so as to be free from secular cares, now fully committed to his wife and to Frederic von Watteville all the domestic and financial arrangements of the establishment. Watteville also took part in the spiritual duties, and devoted himself to his work zealously and with an excellent spirit. Zinzendorf, also, now felt that he could gratify the single desire of his heart and labor only for his Saviour, undisturbed by court intrigues and the scorn of an ungodly generation. Still, he found the Moravians quite refractory. They pertinaciously clung to the ancient usages of their church, and declared that they would seek a new asylum rather than adopt any other church organization. In this exigency, the count, after he had thoroughly examined the ground of their religious feelings and opinions, and found them evangelical, and after he had laid

the matter before some distinguished theologians and received their concurrence, determined to protect for the glory of his Redeemer, these souls purchased with a precious price. He accordingly proceeded to draft and arrange some ordinances by which the Brethren were organized into a free Christian society. The zeal of the count, sustained by love and patience, surmounted every obstacle. On the 12th of May, 1727, articles of agreement founded on old and established principles, were voluntarily subscribed as binding statutes by all the brethren and sisters. These proceedings were hallowed by fervent prayer and by that influence which descends in answer. Twelve elders were chosen, not on account of age, but from weight of character, to perform the office of watchmen. Zinzendorf was elected general overseer and Frederic von Watteville, his assistant. The elders chose by lot four of their number who constituted a kind of common council in connection with Zinzendorf, bearing the name of the "Elders' Conference." In case of no decisive preponderance of opinion in any direction, resort was had to the lot, which was viewed as indicating the will of the Saviour. A general school for boys was established, and another for girls, both being under the direction of females. One of the most important arrangements was that of choruses, into which the whole community was divided according to sex and age. Each chorus had its own leaders and assistants, religious exercises, songs and festivals. The female choruses in particular had strongly marked characteristics. A simple mode of dress was universally adopted; all display was discarded; parasols and fans were dispensed with. A small protection for the head was made—commonly a hood of white linen without lace. The color of the string or band, by which it was tied on, distinguished the members of the chorus. The widows had one of white; the married women one of blue; the virgins, a rose-colored one; and the female children, one of a dark red color. The Brethren had no such mark of distinction. Still, they all wore garments of great simplicity, commonly those of a brown or gray color. Neither sex put on mourning garments, since death, or rather the going out of life, as it was called in Herrnhut, was regarded in relation to the pious as no cause for sorrow. Unions for prayer were formed, which continued throughout the night. Sometimes bands of twenty-four persons continued in prayer—one person for an hour—from one midnight to another, following literally the command of the prophet to keep not silence and give the Lord no rest till he should build up Jerusalem. Of all these arrangements and exercises, Zinzendorf

was the soul. The shorter and longer addresses, which his zeal prompted him to make in connection with Rothe's discourses, or when there were baptisms, funerals, etc. were poured out from an overflowing heart. His talent for extemporaneous verse-making, and for changing and adapting verses to special occasions, was great. He was also accustomed to read a letter or a chapter in the Bible with a happy emphasis and striking effect. In order that the impression of these religious services might not be dissipated by worldly business or indulgence in eating and drinking, a usage, like the *agapæ* or love-feasts of the primitive Christians was adopted. For the sake of preserving the utmost purity of morals, the two sexes were carefully separated. The sisters, in their various labors and exercises, were superintended by persons of their own sex. With true love and zeal Zinzendorf applied himself to the religious teaching of the young. Under his impressive instructions, a general awakening took place. The little children, like the adults, were deeply convinced of sin and earnestly entreated the Saviour for mercy. They often retired into solitary places in the woods, and on their knees, cried to Heaven for the pardon of their sins. The Count stood at a distance, carefully watching these little penitents. On their return home, he sometimes accompanied them, singing as he went. In the childrens' meetings, the Saviour was described as a child; his childhood was commended and praised in songs, and communion with him, as a child who innocently played, was earnestly sought. In such exercises, the count had a rich store of experience in his own childhood from which to draw. "One day," he writes, "a small child of three years came to the count in a chamber, fell down on its knees and prayed, 'Oh my Jesus, take away what hurts my mind and heart, so that I might see thee all the time as thou art,' together with many similar heart-breaking words, to the great edification of the count." A hymn-book for children was collected and frequently printed.

In the midst of all his other labors, Zinzendorf undertook short journeys to Silesia and Dresden, and visited by invitation, the crown-prince at Saalfeld, by way of Jena and Rudolstadt. At the different courts he met with a favorable reception, fearlessly proclaimed his sentiments before men of all classes, endeavoring to do good to all as he had opportunity. In this manner originated the custom among the Brethren of sending out domestic missionaries, two or more in company, to spread the principles of the community and to lead souls to the Saviour. Such messengers

were despatched to Voigtland, Silesia, Bohemia, Moravia, Hungary and Denmark. To the last named country, John and David Nitschmann were sent, carrying a short history of the Brethren, prepared by Zinzendorf, together with other notices respecting Herrnhut, for the use of prince Charles, brother of king Frederic IV. Three brethren went over to England to see those who held the like faith there. A deputation visited professor Buddeus at Jena with the request that he would cause to be printed in German an edition of "Amos Comenius's History of the Bohemian Brethren," which had before been published in Latin. Subsequently, in consequence of urgent invitations, Zinzendorf himself visited Jena and stayed there some time with his wife and children. He here found a hundred undergraduates, several persons who had taken degrees and even professors, who sympathized in his views and frequented the meetings which he held in a summer-house which had been hired for the purpose. Among this number was Spangenberg, afterwards a most valuable co-worker with the count and also the writer of a copious biography of him. By Zinzendorf's influence, a kind of theological seminary of the most practical character was devised, of which Buddeus was appointed principal. But the project met with opposition and failed. The count was received with the same distinguished consideration at Weimar by the duke, who consulted him in relation to important matters of government. At Gera he had an interview with the crown-prince of Denmark and his princess. At Hirschberg and Coburg, many sought his acquaintance and attended his meetings. He remained sometime in Lange's house in Halle and "spoke the things concerning the kingdom of God" to multitudes. More than a hundred students adopted, more or less, his views. From Halle he returned to Herrnhut by way of Merseburg and Dresden.

During his absence, difficulties had occurred among the Brethren which occasioned some modifications in the arrangements of the establishment. The main cause of the trouble seems to have been a difference of views on church government. Some zealous Lutherans were not willing to deviate at all from the views of the great founder of their church. The pastor, Rothe, and Christian David had become deeply involved in the controversy. While at Jena, the count, in connection with the Brethren there had sent a spirited protest against these movements. But the matter remained unadjusted till his return. On the 6th of November, 1728, the statutes of the community were reduced to a

new form, and the relations of the different classes were once more exactly defined. Christian David vacated his office as elder. Soon after, the remaining elders resigned and others were substituted. The first article of the new statutes was in the following words: "It is never to be forgotten in Herrnhut that the place was built for the living God and is a work of his Almighty hand; that it is properly no new place, but an institution intended only for the Brethren and for their benefit. In everything which is undertaken among us, love and simplicity are to be sought." These statutes also asserted that Herrnhut was and should forever remain free from all slavery and vassalage. The settlement of difficulties was entrusted to a common tribunal; rules for the acquisition of means of living were established; the liturgy of Bertholdsdorf was adopted, still with the recognition of entire freedom of conscience and of that internal species of union peculiar to the Moravian Brethren; a more entire separation was effected between the sisters and the brethren, not so much from any fear of actual evil consequences to morals, as to remove occasion of reproach. Since these statutes related to civil duties rather than ecclesiastical, they might be named civil ordinances and prohibitions. After protracted discussions, interspersed with religious exercises, they were unanimously adopted. Those who had occasioned the disturbance penitently returned to the bosom of the community. Thus, without any commotion, without any harsh measures, or the exercise of authority, a complete Christian reconciliation was effected. The mildness, the love, the unaffected spirit of charity and the wisdom of the count shone out conspicuously in all these proceedings. He now devoted himself more zealously than ever to the spiritual good of the people. Prayers, exposition of the Scriptures, singing, vigils, catechetical instructions, etc. attested the fervent piety which prevailed. The custom of washing each others' feet, after the apostolic model, was now first introduced. The subject of lots was more exactly defined and a new method of discipline for incorrigible offenders was devised. In 1730, the count laid down his office as principal or civil overseer. His example was followed by the elders. Martin Linner, a young baker and an eloquent speaker, was elected to the eldership. Anna Nitschmann, a modest, quiet young woman, who had supported herself by spinning wool, was made an *eldress* of the sisterhood. A number of active and approved brethren and sisters were chosen as helpers or syndics, whose aid Zinzendorf found to be very important.

Still, the life of Zinzendorf was by no means one of unalloyed prosperity. By adopting some of the devotional writings of the Catholics, especially certain beautiful hymns of John Scheffler, and in general by his liberal sentiments, he was accused of a tendency to papacy and of indifference to Protestantism, in addition to the old charges of fanaticism and enthusiasm. Color was given to these reproaches by his intercourse with some Roman Catholic divines and by the efforts which were made to induce him to return to the papal communion. In the midst of these attacks from Protestants, a Jesuit, father Regent, whose endeavors to convert to popery the Schwenkfelders in Silesia had been rendered nugatory by Zinzendorf's influence, came out against him with a book entitled, "Notices of a new sect which has broken out in Upper Lusatia and Silesia." This book was answered by Rothe, Schwedler and Schäfer who were also assailed in it. The count found, at this time, a powerful friend and defender in Jablonski, upper court preacher at Berlin, uncle of Comenius the Moravian bishop, and who himself sustained the office of bishop of the Brethren in Poland. With him Zinzendorf carried on an active correspondence, and his warm sympathy and coöperation greatly encouraged the heart of the pious nobleman.

Various Events, Labors, Journeys, etc.

Our limits will not allow us to follow in detail or in exact chronological order the subsequent life and experience of Zinzendorf. We have chosen to present at some length his early history as well as an account of the establishment at Herrnhut. We must now select a few of the more interesting incidents of his life from the mass of materials which lie before us.

In 1731, Zinzendorf, in company with several Brethren, made a visit to Copenhagen, and was very kindly received by the queen's mother and by other persons high in rank and in office. The king, against the count's earnest remonstrances, conferred on him the order of knighthood called *Dæbrog*. Instead of seeking these earthly distinctions, it was his earnest desire to renounce them all. Though he found opportunities to promote the cause which was so near his heart, yet on the whole his visit seems to have been unsatisfactory. Among his pleasant recollections was the news which he had heard in the Danish capital of the conversion of the heathen in the West Indies and Greenland. The exertions of Paul Egede in the latter country, he determined actively to support.

On the 8th of March, 1732, Zinzendorf formally resigned his office in the government at Dresden, taking occasion at the time, before the assembled court, to explain at length his religious views and the nature of the institution at Herrnhut. At this period a new and glorious field of activity was opened for the Brethren, in sending the gospel to the heathen. Four young men of active habits and fervent piety determined to devote their lives to the instruction of the slaves in the West Indies and Greenland. The count's narratives, after his return from Denmark, of the unhappy state of those degraded communities and the visit of a Moravian at Herrnhut, who had been baptised at Copenhagen, were the means of calling into life this new and interesting enterprise. The matter was canvassed with great deliberation, and all the difficulties which the missionary would be called to meet were fully adduced. Still, the zeal of the young brethren remained unshaken. After a sufficient examination, Leonard Dober and David Nitschmann departed for St. Thomas in the West Indies, in August, 1732. In the following year the two brothers, Stach, proceeded to Greenland. This was the beginning of the missions of the United Brethren, so extensive and rich in its results. When nearly all the rest of Christendom was slumbering over its obligations to the perishing, pagan world, a small and despised company in a remote part of Germany began a course of heroic toil and of disinterested love, which will ever give it a most honorable place in the annals of the church.

In 1734, Zinzendorf attained a long and much desired object—authority to preach the gospel. He delivered his first sermons in Tübingen on the 19th of December. In the following year David Nitschmann was consecrated as a bishop by Jablonski. This step was taken mainly in order that the missionaries whom the community at Herrnhut should send to the heathen might be ordained before their departure. In 1735, the count undertook a journey to Constance and Zurich. While in the former place, he visited those spots where John Huss and Jerome of Prague encountered the flames with such heroic courage. Zinzendorf composed and sung an ode in honor of the martyrs. In 1736, repeated and pressing invitations from Holland induced him to undertake a journey into that country. He set out on the 15th of February, accompanied by more than sixty persons, among whom were his wife and eldest daughter. In Hof, between Meissen and Leipsic, he visited his elder brother, a respectable and pious man, but unlike the count in zeal and peculiar religious

tendencies. He tarried at Jena three days and addressed the pious people whom he found there, individually and in hymns and discourses. He reached Amsterdam on the 4th of March, and was welcomed by multitudes, both of the high and the low, including some pious strangers from Holstein and England. A large dwelling was entirely filled by him and his friends. The countess took her station at the head of the household, and directed the labors of the friends and helpers who voluntarily assumed the position of servants. The count made the same daily disposition of his time as in Herrnhut. At 8 o'clock, A. M., he delivered a discourse on the lot of the day; at evening twilight there was a singing exercise; at 11 o'clock P. M. a short exhortation was given as a concluding exercise to the day. Besides these regular exercises, special meetings were held, in accordance with the customs at Herrnhut. The number of visitors constantly increased, partly from religious impulses, partly from curiosity to hear the count preach, till it was necessary to make a new arrangement for want of space to hold the throng. The men assembled for religious service at one hour, the females at another. At length, the count was compelled to deliver his discourses before the door to the multitudes standing without and within the house. The effect of his sermons and exhortations was extraordinary. In addition to members of the Reformed Church who were on intimate terms with him and whose genuine piety and mild manners were particularly pleasing, members of various sects and some who were attached to heterodox communions thronged around him and were deeply impressed by his fervent discourses. He came in contact also with Socinians and Mennonites, some of whom were deeply impressed by his sermons and conversations. A learned Socinian, Samuel Crellius, was so affected that he concluded to proceed to Herrnhut with the count. Though he did not carry this resolution into effect, yet ten years afterwards he returned, as he expressed it, to the dear Lamb of God, and died expressing his confidence that he should find salvation in the blood of the Lamb. Still, the zealous nobleman did not escape persecution. Opinions were ascribed to him which he adduced only to controvert. He was reported to be influenced by political motives in favor of the house of Orange. A justification of his character and proceedings, which he caused to be printed, was the means of removing these scandals and prejudices only in part. In the mean time, he used the most zealous efforts, to promote the interests of the

Brethren. The obstacles, which prevented the introduction of missions into the Dutch colonies, were much diminished, though not wholly removed, by his earnest representations to the directors of the East India and of the Surinam Companies, and to some of the most influential officers of government. The princess of Orange proposed that there should be some place in Holland devoted to the Brethren, and which might serve as an intermediate resting spot for missionaries going from or returning to Herrnhut. Such a refuge was set apart at a place on the princess's estates called Heerendyk. A part of the count's retinue remained in Holland to complete the arrangement. Zinzendorf set out on his return home on the 15th of April.

At Cassel, the count received intelligence that the government of Saxony had forbidden him to reside any longer in their dominions. This unexpected stroke he bore with exemplary patience, and proceeded on his journey to Ebersdorf, employed in the most confiding intercourse with his Saviour. David Nitschmann met him on the way, handed to him the royal rescript and informed him that a Second Commission was expected at Herrnhut, whose object, as it was feared, was the entire destruction of the community. The alleged reasons of these proceedings were the old complaints that Herrnhut was the rendezvous of the subjects of foreign governments, and that it was becoming the seat of various irregularities dangerous to church and State;—allegations which Zinzendorf's enemies at Court were not unwilling to make use of. In the mean time the countess, who had returned to Herrnhut, received very graciously the members of the royal commission, among whom was the superintendent Löscher. They investigated all the details of the establishment and were fully and candidly informed in respect to its history and objects. They at length returned very favorably disposed towards the Brethren.

Zinzendorf, now in exile from home and country, was free to indulge his increasing love for travel and missionary labors. In the summer of 1836, he journeyed through a large part of Germany. At Berlin, he visited his mother and her husband, field-marshal von Natzmer, with whom he found the most cordial reception. From Königsberg to Riga he travelled, mostly on foot, enjoying, as he termed it, the most endeared communion with the Redeemer. At Riga and Neval he found many adherents, both among the clergy and laity; he preached to great crowds, zealously promoted the translations of the Bible into the

Esthonian and Lettish dialects, which were then commenced, and contributed his counsels and pecuniary aid to other benevolent objects. At Memel, he wrote to the king of Prussia, strongly commending to his notice the condition of the poor, persecuted Saltzburgers. On the 25th of October, he arrived at Berlin. He here received a note from the king, Frederic William I, inviting him to visit his majesty. At the interview the count had hardly uttered a word, before the king saw that he was a very different man from what he had been represented; that, instead of being a weak enthusiast or a headstrong fanatic, he possessed a clear and vigorous understanding and a thorough acquaintance with the ways of the world. Accordingly he engaged in a protracted and familiar conversation with him, which, three days subsequently, was repeated, the king feeling for him increasing respect and love. On the last occasion, Frederic William declared before the whole court, that Zinzendorf was neither a heretic nor a political disturber, but that his whole fault was that as a nobleman and one respected in the world, he had devoted himself entirely to the service of the gospel. The king subsequently affirmed in public, "that the devil from hell could not lie more cunningly than Zinzendorf's opponents had done." The result of this friendly intercourse was that, May 20, 1737, the count was ordained a bishop by order of the king. The service was performed privately in Jablonski's house by that prelate and bishop Nitschmann, with the written concurrence of bishop Sitkovius of Poland. This royal and ecclesiastical patronage, while it increased the reputation of Zinzendorf with many who had overlooked or undervalued him, furnished occasion for jealousy and fear lest he should make an undue use of his spiritual power. In consequence of a letter of von Natzmer to the king of Poland, Zinzendorf obtained permission to return to Herrnhut. An order from the court of Saxony soon followed, allowing the community to remain undisturbed, so long as they adhered to the doctrines of the Augsburg confession.

In 1737, Zinzendorf undertook a voyage to the West Indies, to promote the Brethrens' missions in those islands. He sailed from Holland on the 26th of December and arrived in St. Eustatia on the 28th of Jan. 1739. He at once passed over to the Danish island of St. Thomas. The affairs of the mission were in a melancholy state. The brethren had been three months in prison on account of their refusal to take an oath which had been required of them in a court of justice, the Moravians properly so-

called desiring to confirm their declaration by an oath. At the instance of Zinzendorf, the Danish governor released the missionaries. At the same time the count began to labor zealously for the conversion of the negroes; his meetings were thronged, and many of the poor slaves appeared to come out from their spiritual bondage into the freedom of the gospel. The planters, as might be expected, took the alarm and complained to the governor that Zinzendorf taught the negroes to become better Christians than their masters. As the governor had not the power or the desire to afford the needed protection to the slaves and the missionaries, Zinzendorf concluded to return immediately and lay the case before the court at Copenhagen, taking with him the complaints which the converted negroes had themselves written to the Danish king. He embarked on the 26th of February, and in seven weeks reached England, and on the 1st of June rejoined his wife and children at Marienborn.¹

On his return, he devoted himself with unremitting zeal to the concerns of his community which were now enlarging themselves in every direction. Müller, who had been a professor at Leipsic, was chosen bishop. Bishop and Anna Nitschmann were despatched on a missionary journey to North America. New missionaries were sent to Greenland and Surinam. In 1741, Zinzendorf journeyed with a large retinue to Geneva where his son Christian Renatus was about to resume his studies. The order of march was a little amusing. The countess, her daughter and two female companions led the van; some days afterwards the young count with a number of others took up the line of march; after a like interval, a third detachment proceeded; then, Zinzendorf followed with several brethren and two female elders; a sixth division brought up the rear. A copious letter in French, explanatory of the nature, history and objects of the United Brethren was addressed by Zinzendorf to the "venerable company of professors and pastors of the church at Geneva." His representations were courteously received, but seemed to make but little impression on the degenerate descendants of Calvin and Beza.

On his homeward journey, the count conceived the plan of undertaking a voyage to North America. On the 7th of August, he set out, having caused the election of a new bishop, John Nitschmann, and a board of advisers under the name of the General Conference. Having been detained several weeks in Hol-

¹ Whether he actually made representations on the subject to the government at Copenhagen, we are not informed.

land on urgent business of the brethren, he reached London in safety. At a synod held in that city, a deacon was chosen to manage, in connection with the countess the pecuniary affairs of the community which had now become somewhat involved. The count sailed for New York on the 17th of Sept., accompanied by his eldest daughter, Benigna, now seventeen years old; his wife returned to Germany. At the end of November the ship arrived at New York. He was hospitably received, and held a number of meetings with some friends. At Philadelphia he addressed a letter to the governor of Pennsylvania, announcing that the only object of his visit was to promote the spiritual good of his countrymen, of whom there were more than 100,000 in the province. On the banks of the Delaware, he found an establishment of the Brethren, from which, at a later period, proceeded the flourishing colonies of Nazareth and Bethlehem. On the 28th of May, he delivered an address in Latin, in the governor's house, before many distinguished men, among whom was Dr. Franklin, in which he unfolded the principal grounds of his undertaking. This address was printed. The labors of the count were incessant both among the Reformed and the Lutherans. The good fruits which at first appeared were in a measure neutralized by some unhappy collisions, both with their visitor and with each other. Of his reception and labors, Anna Nitschmann thus wrote to the community in Europe: "How beautifully and lovely it looks in Bethlehem, I cannot write to you. Never in my life have I seen any thing equal to it. We were all together a month while the affairs of the community were set in order. We loved each other like children. This was accomplished by the dear Lamb of God, who has made out of sinners such happy children of grace. Our very dear brother Lewis is now completing his travels in these wilds, and will then set in order various things in Pennsylvania and in the churches. Pennsylvania has treated him very unkindly; there are notorious enemies of the cross of Jesus and of his blessed little church of sinners; still, they have effected nothing. The Lord is with us." This letter alludes to the common accusations and shameful reports which the good count was called to meet here as well as in Europe. The novelty of the circumstances in which he appeared was enough in the view of many persons to condemn him. He appeared, somewhat like Whitefield, commissioned to break up the spiritual lethargy in which the mass of the population of this country were then involved. Some preachers, finding him not a

partisans of their particular communion, denounced him as the false prophet or the beast of the apocalypse. At the outset, Zinzendorf took pains to refute these calumnious charges, and for this purpose procured the insertion of two communications in Dr. Franklin's newspaper. Subsequently, he was disposed to trust to time, or rather the good Providence of God for his vindication.

Among his other labors, the count visited the Indians on the Delaware and Susquehannah rivers. His exhortations were attentively listened to by many of the Indians, though some of the more evil-disposed appear to have entertained designs of murdering him. The general effects of his labors on the German population and the establishments of the Brethren were happy. He sailed for Europe with his daughter and Anna Nitschmann, on the 9th of Jan. 1743, and arrived at Dover, England, Feb. 17th, where he was joyfully received by his numerous friends. While in London he preached daily in the Brethren's church in German; on the following day, the sermon was repeated in English. On one occasion he preached in French.

The remainder of Zinzendorf's life was passed in the most indefatigable activity. He made repeated journeys to Silesia, Holland, England and various parts of Germany, and attempted to enter Russia, but was forbidden by the empress. His toils at Herrnhut were unremitted. By sermons, addresses, conversations in public and in private, in season and out of season, he endeavored to win souls to the Saviour, and to build them up in the faith. At a synod in 1747, John von Watteville and Leonard Dober were chosen bishops, more than thirty persons were named as deacons and deaconesses, and two hundred were appointed *acolytes*. His daughter Benigna, married to von Watteville, departed with her husband, in 1747, on a visit to the missions in North America and the West Indies. Among the principal labors of the count was the preparation of books for the press, especially those which he felt compelled to write in defence of the Brethren. Of the distinguished individuals who assailed his system were Bengel, Walch and Baumgarten. The most important of these publications amounted to about twenty. Some errors and indefensible things in the movements of the Brethren, and even in those of the count, furnished plausible ground for these assaults. Most of them were, however, characterized by great injustice and prejudice; some were filled with abuse and scurrility. In 1745, the count published a vindication, with the title: "The present Condition of the kingdom of Jesus'

Gross in its Innocence; or various obvious facts in answer to innumerable falsehoods put forth against a well-known evangelical community." This volume, without naming any opponent or publication, was written with earnestness and ability and had a favorable effect on the unprejudiced. Zinzendorf then published a series of works, in the form of autobiography or personal reminiscences. It is the most peculiar and characteristic of his writings, and is rich in notices of his childhood and youth. In 1746, a collection of his addresses to the community at Herrnhut appeared. This was followed in 1747 by *Thirty-one Discourses on the Augsburg Confession*, which he had delivered to the theological seminary at Herrnhut. In 1751, the work of Spangenberg was published, in which the count took part, and which was entitled, "Exhibition of the true answers to more than three hundred accusations."

In 1751, Christian David died, the first of the Moravians who settled at Herrnhut, and the leader of the Greenland mission. In May 1752, Zinzendorf's son Christian Renuus, a young man of gentle feelings, of childlike piety, and of great promise, departed to his everlasting rest. His parents were filled with inexpressible sorrow, and the count seems never to have recovered from the shock. In 1753, he procured the publication in London of a hymn book, containing more than 2000 hymns, "old, new and translated." A second part was published in 1754, of more than 1000 hymns, containing many of Zinzendorf's own compositions. He subsequently published a collection of hymns which had been written by his son. On the 19th of July, 1756, the countess sweetly and without pain slept in Jesus. Her numerous cares and frequent journeys had impaired her constitution. Her health was also much affected by the death of her son. She was so universally and deeply bewailed, that Zinzendorf himself was compelled to assume the office of consoling others. In the following year, Zinzendorf was united in marriage with Anna Nitschmann, in accordance with the unanimous advice of his friends, who perceived that his excessive labors and the breaking up of his domestic habits, were fast bringing him to the grave. His missionary spirit continued unabated to the last. Fresh missionaries were sent to Egypt and Abyssinia, and the establishments in North America were carefully provided for. At the same time, several of the stations in Europe suffered the horrors of the war which then raged in so many parts of the continent. Saxony and especially Silesia were the theatre of the bloodiest

battles and of campaigns most destructive to the lives and property of the people. Some places where the Brethren dwelt, were utterly destroyed. In most of them troops were quartered and various hard exactions levied. Still, amid all these troubles, general prosperity attended the labors of Zinzendorf and his coadjutors.

The last days of this venerable man now drew near. On the 5th of May 1760, he was seized with an illness which proved to be a catarrhal fever and which ended fatally on the 9th of that month. He enjoyed, throughout his illness, great peace of mind and assured hope of eternal life. He passed a part of one sleepless night in reading recent news from the missionary stations. On the day of his death, he called his three daughters to his bedside, kissed them and bade them an affectionate farewell. About a hundred of the brethren and sisters took a tearful adieu of him. He then reclined his head, closed his eyes, and while his son-in-law, John von Watteville, repeated the words, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace," he breathed out his last breath with the word "peace."

His death was made known to the community, as is usual with Brethren, by the sound of a trumpet. The people assembled in the afternoon, and after John von Watteville had made a short address, fell on their knees and gave thanks to the Saviour, who through the departed saint, had so magnified his mercy. On the 16th of May, the interment took place. More than two thousand strangers from the surrounding country came together, among whom were distinguished Austrian officers, and a troop of imperial grenadiers who were stationed at Zittau. Besides these strangers, twenty-one hundred persons belonging to the Brethrens' establishments, followed the body to the grave, among whom were thirty-two ministers and deacons, some of them from Holland, England, North America and Greenland. A monument, with a simple inscription, was erected over his remains. In the same month, his wife died with the same joyful resignation to the Saviour's will.

Zinzendorf's bodily presence was imposing, indicating great vigor and firm health. His strength was impaired only after the most indefatigable labors. His countenance revealed some of the finest features,—a beautiful mouth, a high forehead, and blue eyes full of fire and, at the same time, of benevolence.¹ His

¹ "The count has a fine form. His eyes are neither too dull nor too fiery. He has a fresh color and all the marks of a sanguine temperament."—*Von Koen.*

manner was open, frank, affectionate and very winning. He was ever ready to converse with men of all ranks, and in a way remarkably adapted to their position and circumstances.

Zinzendorf's most remarkable characteristic was a confiding simplicity and a harmless gaiety, passing, when occasion offered, into sprightly humor and wit. His feelings were extremely excitable, sometimes exhibiting the most passionate warmth. They, however, soon subsided and left no trace of ill-will. His powers of imagination and fancy were originally strong, but were not properly cultivated or regulated. Some of his poems exhibit great vigor of conception, clothed in the boldest and most striking imagery; but he was deficient in rhetorical taste and judgment. In some respects, his compositions strikingly resembled those of Charles Wesley, though they lack the genius, the exquisite feeling, the felicitous expression which distinguish some of the hymns of the English Methodist. Zinzendorf's faculties fitted him peculiarly to act on the living world. Here he would not suffer in comparison with the first men of any age. He had the power to seize upon a great and worthy object, and in all his troubles and controversies, never to lose sight of it; he had a true insight into the ways of the world in general, and a remarkable tact in applying his knowledge to particular cases; great acuteness and versatility in shaping his course as circumstances varied; adaptedness to his position as a leader and founder of a community; uncommon powers of invention in discovering the needful resources; strength of purpose when laboring alone or in public; courage, presence of mind and perseverance; an inextinguishable zeal and great powers of eloquence, both with his pen and voice. He lacked scarcely one quality necessary to form a great statesman. A statesman he unquestionably was, one of a noble rank, connected with a kingdom that shall stand forever. He shunned the honors of earthly courts only from love to those which alone would satisfy him. Yet his simple and fervent piety was his crowning grace. A holy and childlike trust in God illuminated the path of his life and imparted serenity to his last hours. The cross was the centre of all his joys and labors. On the Lamb of God his hopes of salvation rested. Love to Him was the impelling motive of his labors, beginning in the country of the Reformation and reaching to the ends of the earth. His

¹ "Zinzendorf has not only much wit but vigorous powers of imagination. One need only read his hymns to be convinced of this. There are passages which could have flowed only from the original fountains of Parnassus."—*Von Keen*."

highest eulogy is, that his field was the world. Messengers of grace went forth from the little village of Herrnhut to the snows of Greenland, the burning deserts of Africa and the pestilential swamps of South America. While kings and princes were listening to the impassioned appeals of the pious nobleman in Amsterdam and Berlin, his disciples were proclaiming, in persuasive accents, the love of Jesus to barbarous fishermen near the northern pole and to naked savages under the line. The silent industry and peaceful joy which reigned in the modest dwellings at Herrnhut, were copied in the commercial capital of the world and in the forests of Pennsylvania. Of few individuals among our race can it be affirmed with more truth than of Zinzendorf, "Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord from henceforth, yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labors, and their works do follow them;" or that other sentence, engraved on his monument, "He was ordained to go and bring forth fruit, and that his fruit should remain."

ARTICLE V.

HISTORICAL STUDIES.

By Rev. B. Sears, D. D. President of Theol. Institution, Newton.

1. *Grundzüge der Historik von G. G. Gervinus, Leipzig, 1837.*
2. *Lectures on Modern History, by Thomas Arnold, D. D. with an Introduction and Notes by Prof. Henry Reed, New York, 1846.*

WE have placed these two works at the head of the present article, not for the purpose of making them the subject of a critical examination and review, but rather as indicating the general topic on which we propose to remark. The study of history and the historical art itself are beginning to receive from our countrymen a larger and more just share of attention, while in Europe men of the profoundest erudition, and of the most exalted genius and talents, are consecrating themselves to the cultivation of this department of knowledge. Examples are numerous, but it is unnecessary to cite them. The most careless observer of the literature of the age, must have noticed that, among the more substan-