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THE ADVANCE GUARD

200 YEARS OF
MORAVIAN MISSIONS

1732—1932

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FOREWORD

WHEN it was known what literary provision was being made for the Bicentenary of Moravian Missions, it seemed useless to attempt an independent history in English. Among the volumes announced was one by Bishop Baudert, D.D., bearing the title, "*Auf der Hut des Herrn*" (*On the Lord's Watch*). Bishop Baudert's book, if adapted to the requirements of the average reader, was just what was needed. When the translator asked permission to treat it freely for this purpose the request was willingly granted. The original has been shortened, and some passages have been altered where knowledge was assumed which the English reader cannot be expected to possess unless he has an intimate acquaintance with the subject treated of. The prologue and the second chapter have been inserted to help those who have no other history at hand. In spite of these changes, the character of the book remains the same, and the translator has tried to give, not only the sense, but also the tone of his friend's words. They are worthy to be heard by the whole Church, and not only by a part, when it listens to those who tell the story of the past and point the moral for to-day and to-morrow.

A. W.

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THE ADVANCE GUARD

PROLOGUE

HE who tells a tale must first make up his mind where to begin. If it is about the life of a man, the right starting-point seems to be the cradle, and it is seldom difficult to find where that stood ; but if it is about the life of a movement, the decision is not so easy. In the case of that movement which found its truest expression in Moravian Missions, writers have begun at various points ; for it drew its life from many sources. But he who seeks the one definite event which is the fountain-head of the main stream and explains the how and the why of Missions as we know them is led twice to Copenhagen, and, if he tells the story, finds his best starting-point there, when the eighteenth century had only just begun.

The bells were ringing all over Denmark, and in the crowded churches *Te Deum* had been sung ; for the disastrous war with the young King Charles XII of Sweden was over, and the enemy had spared the city and left the country. King Frederick IV came out of church in deep thought. He had a vision of his subjects and of his duty towards them—not only those at home, where every parish, from the capital to the smallest village, had its church and its pastor, but also those in his Colonies beyond the sea, where pastors for the Whites were few, and nobody cared for the souls of the heathen. He was no saint, but a sense of his

responsibility had gripped him. He sent for his chaplain and unburdened his mind to him. Missionaries must be sent to India to begin with. He would provide the money, but the chaplain must find the men.

It sounds simple enough now ; but it was not so then. There were no Protestant Missions except where some earnest Christian like John Eliot in Massachusetts, seeing heathen at his door, was constrained by the love of Christ to speak to them about Him. There were Roman Missions ; for Columbus had gone out westward from Spain to look for India, and Vasco da Gama eastward from Portugal, but the Pope had claimed the right to dispose of the lands they discovered. Neither he nor they recognized that those lands belonged to their inhabitants ; but they did realize that those inhabitants were heathen. So the Pope had drawn on a map still preserved in the Vatican a line down the Atlantic from pole to pole and had allotted to the Spaniards all to the west, and to the Portuguese all to the east of it, coupling with the gift the duty of spreading Christianity in any lands that might be discovered. The Protestant nations had come much later, and had gained a footing in these new worlds, where the heathen lived, only after long and fierce fighting. In every case " it was the open door that made the seeing eye."

The first Protestant ruler who saw that his country had duties towards his heathen subjects in the Colonies overseas was Oliver Cromwell ; but he was before his time, and his life was too short for the realization of his plans. The second was this King of Denmark who bade his chaplain find him missionaries, adding that this was no matter of the Danish State, but of the Kingdom of God.

The chaplain knew of no likely men in Denmark for

such a task. So he wrote to Spener, who had brought new life into the Lutheran Churches of Germany by organizing groups of devout followers of Christ as *ecclesiolæ in ecclesia*. The world gave to these groups the name of Pietists. "What is a Pietist?" it was asked, and the answer given was: "He who studies God's word and leads a holy life in keeping with the same." Spener knew where to find the right men; for he himself had advised one of them to go to Halle, where at that time August Hermann Francke was the foremost man in the university and in the community—professor, founder of a great orphanage, head of a school for the sons of noblemen, and a missionary enthusiast, busy with a scheme for the conversion of China. To this man Spener's young student, Ziegenbalg, had gone to prepare himself to become an apostle to the Gentiles. He was the close friend of another student like-minded with himself, named Plütschau, and these were the two whom Spener and Francke sent in October, 1705, to Copenhagen to be presented to Frederick IV as the men he needed. By the aid of the Danish King, the Pietists of Germany, and afterwards of friends in England, when the accession of the House of Hannover created contact between religious circles in the three countries, these two men founded Protestant Missions in India.

After ten years Ziegenbalg came home on furlough, bringing with him some Indian converts, one of whom was to be trained for work among his fellow-countrymen. Among those who saw and heard him in Francke's house was Count Zinzendorf, one of the boys in the school, who had already founded among his schoolfellows the Order of the Mustard-seed, the members of which pledged themselves to seek the

conversion of all men, including Jews and heathen. With his chief friend, Frederick von Wattewille, he had also made a special agreement that they should some day commence a mission among people to whom nobody else would go, using such missionaries as God should send them. The boys grew to be men, and God sent them their helpers in due time.

This is how it happened. In the land of Moravia, where the *Unitas Fratrum*, or Church of the Brethren, had been destroyed in the Thirty Years' War, there still lingered traditions of its faith and practice. Some homes which treasured these were visited from time to time by Christian David, a native of the country, who had gone into exile for conscience' sake. He had once been a fanatical Romanist, but, finding no peace of mind in the teaching and practice of his Church, had sought and found it in lands where the Gospel was free. Being converted, he risked life and liberty again and again to help those who had the Bible, though it had to be kept hidden, or those who were seeking the light, as he had once done, with nothing to guide them. This had gone on for some time when he brought news to such as had the courage to act upon it, that they could find refuge on the estate of Count Zinzendorf, who was now twenty-two years of age and was about to marry a wife as devoted as himself to the work of the Kingdom of God.

So the first party of Moravians, five adults and five children, leaving all they had, followed their guide through the forests by night to the land of promise. They came first to Hengersdorf, a village of Saxony, the home of Zinzendorf's grandmother, where he had spent his childhood. There his former tutor entered into their plans with enthusiasm. They were passed

on to the steward of Berthelsdorf, Zinzendorf's new estate. He assigned them a site on the road between Löbau and Zittau, where they were likely to find work, as two of them were blacksmiths ; for the ground was marshy and conveyances sometimes broke down there. He also showed them where they might cut wood to build their first house, and there Christian David struck his axe into a tree, crying : "The sparrow hath found an house, and the swallow a nest for herself, where she may lay her young." A monument stands on the spot to record that this took place on June 17th, 1722. The tutor already saw in this wilderness the square that should be built, with the fountain in the middle and an orphanage along one side. But December came, and there was still only one house beside the lonely road through the forest. Zinzendorf, driving past after dark with his young wife towards his old home, saw a light where he had never seen one before, and asked the coachman what it was. Hearing that it came from the cottage of the exiles, he left his carriage and went to bid them welcome. By settling on his estate they had become his subjects, but there was no thought of feudal relationships as they knelt together on the bare floor while he prayed God to bless them and their house. For he had received a letter from his steward five months before which spoke of the city that was to grow out of this house, here at the foot of the Hutberg—a city which should be always under the Lord's care (Hut), and where men should always be on the Lord's watch (Hut).

There in the next ten years Herrnhut (Lord's watch) came into being, first the square, and then the streets leading from it. The big house along one side of the square was built as a school, but in 1727 became an

orphanage. On August 13th of that year the baptism of the Spirit made of this community of pious folk a Unity of Christian Brethren and Sisters, ready for any service in the Kingdom of God. A fortnight later the Hourly Intercession commenced, which kept men and women always on the Lord's watch; for "He watching over Israel slumbers not nor sleeps," and therefore His remembrancers must watch also to "mark the first signal of His hand."

So it came to pass in 1728 that after an evening spent in conversation and prayer concerning the heathen world, twenty-six young men banded themselves together to prepare by study and discipline for the time when God should allot them their tasks. This he did by showing them samples of the heathen world and letting them hear from the lips of these people what that world was like. It came about in this way.

In 1731 Christian VI, son of Frederick IV, was to be crowned King of Denmark. Zinzendorf was invited to the coronation and took some of the men of Herrnhut with him. These got to know a West Indian slave from St. Thomas who was in the service of a Danish nobleman, and two Greenland Eskimos who told them how Egede, the chaplain of the Danish trading-station in their land, had attempted to teach them also, and how he was going to be sent home. The Count inquired into these two cases and invited the Negro to come to Herrnhut and tell his story there. He did so, and, when keen young men wanted to go at once to St. Thomas and preach to the slaves, this black man said they would have to become slaves themselves to do so. But such men are not to be frightened. They could never forget that Christ had taken upon Him the form of a slave and had humbled Himself even unto death,

and they had pledged themselves to serve Him in any way He should choose, so why not this ? But it took a year to get the general consent of the community to any such plan. Then at last it was decided that Leonard Dober, a potter, twenty-six years of age, should go to St. Thomas as a missionary, and that David Nitschmann, a carpenter, ten years older, and a married man, should go with him, see him settled, and return home after four months to report on what had been done.

PART I

THE TIME OF ZINZENDORF AND SPANGENBERG

THE SEND-OFF

THE shades of evening were falling over the little houses of Herrnhut and the surrounding forest on the evening of August 18th, 1732. There were lights in the windows of the hall on the first floor of the Orphanage, in which the congregation met for a service every evening. From all sides people were moving towards it in earnest conversation. The brethren entered by the door on the left, the sisters by the one on the right, and soon the hard, roughly-made benches were filled. Late comers had to stand in the gangways. Thus they awaited in silence the commencement of the singing-meeting, which Count Zinzendorf himself was to conduct.

The door opened once more, and he entered, followed by two brethren. The people in the gangway made room for them to pass. The Count took his seat on the bench at the table, facing the congregation, and motioned to the two others to sit beside him. Then he started, with a clear voice, a verse of a hymn, in which the people joined heartily. No books were needed, for they knew their hymns by heart.

When they had sung the verse, he began to speak. They had met, he said, to bid farewell to the Brethren David Nitschmann and Leonard Dober, who sat

beside him. They had volunteered to go as missionaries to the slaves in the West Indies. In July, 1731, when he returned from his visit to Copenhagen and told them in this hall of his meeting with the Negro servant of Count Laurwig, Leonard Dober's heart had been set on fire. He had had no rest until he and his friend, Tobias Leupold, had written on July 25th offering to go. They would all remember how he had told them about it at the time in this hall in a singing-meeting; also how the Negro, Anthony, whom his master had sent with David Nitschmann, had spoken to them in an evening meeting of the need of the slaves and of the longing of many of them for light and peace. The congregation had rejected the idea at first. It had wanted to have nothing to do with such adventures, regarding them as the ambitious dreams of a few young people who wished to make a name for themselves. But since then it had become evident that the sending of missionaries to the heathen was part of the Saviour's plan for them. The Lord Himself, when consulted by the lot on July 16th of this year, had said in answer to their question whether Dober should go: "Let the lad go, for the Lord is with him." Thereupon their Chief Elder, Linner, had dedicated the young man to this service. After refusing several younger brethren, the Saviour had designated as Dober's companion, David Nitschmann, and would Himself care for the wife and children of His messenger. Now they had met to bid farewell to the two brethren, and they would do this as they usually did when they sent out messengers on special service.

"So they sang one after another, according to their custom in those days, their hearty good wishes in verses of hymns. . . . More than a hundred verses

were sung, all of which were of a kind to encourage and to strengthen faith. Many of them were almost prophetic."

A wonderful meeting! There they sat crowded together in the dingy hall with its low ceiling, and sang more than a hundred verses, one after another starting a verse—men and women from Bohemia and Moravia and all parts of Germany; men of Lutheran, Reformed and Moravian origin; all with few exceptions simple folk and so poor that a ducat meant to them a fortune. Their horizon was limited. Of the world, into which they were about to send the Gospel, they knew little or nothing. They had no idea for what purpose God was about to use them, or what foreign mission work implied, what sacrifices and problems, what blessing and joy it brought. But in their hearts there burnt a fire which Christ Himself had lighted, and they fed the flame with obedience and readiness to follow any sign He might give of His will. Like the two brethren who sat before them, they were ready to go wherever the Lord called them. That is how they became a missionary Church.

The candles burnt down. The meeting dispersed. Cautiously they went down the broad, ill-lighted stairs, the men to the left, the women to the right, and stepped out into the square, around which the low houses of the young settlement were grouped. A meteor flashed across the sky and disappeared behind the forest and the hills. They hastened home; for at break of day, before sunrise, everybody must go to work to earn a modest living.

Dober and Nitschmann spent two more days at home. At 3 a.m. on August 21st the Count took them in his carriage and drove with them almost to Bautzen.

That was the birthday of Moravian Missions. They dismounted ; the Count prayed with them once more, "commended their undertaking to the Lord, and to His grace," and, laying his hands on Dober's head, dedicated him to his task. Then they parted, and the first missionaries of the Moravian Church went on foot to Copenhagen. From there they sailed for St. Thomas, which was then a Danish Colony ; but the ship was Dutch, and they learnt as much Dutch as they could on the voyage, because that was the language of the slaves. On Saturday, December 13th, the day before the third Sunday in Advent, they landed at Tappus, the little town on the beautiful land-locked bay of St. Thomas, where they were to begin their work. They had no instructions but this : "Let yourselves be guided in all things by the Spirit of Jesus Christ."

THE WEST INDIES

THE Text Book of the Moravian Church has played a great part in its history, for it gives two texts for every day, the first of which is called "The Watchword." But the Watchword for that morning seemed a mockery. "The Lord of Hosts mustereth the host of the battle," it said. The two men who stepped ashore at mid-day did not look like the advance guard of the host of the battle, but they were.

They had no plan of campaign, but the first step to be taken was clear. They had a letter from the Negro, Anthony, to his brother and sister, and these two must be found. As the slaves could not read, the letter had to be read to them, and then the missionaries

delivered their own message of the love of God. It had little effect just then. These people were not longing for light and peace, and the "pidgin Dutch" of the slaves and the sailors' Dutch of the missionaries cannot have made mutual understanding easy. The second step was also clear; they must get work of some kind to earn their living. That was easy for the carpenter; but the potter could find no clay on the island that was of any use for his business. He tried fishing, but that did not provide him with daily bread. After four months Nitschmann, who had supported himself and his comrade, went home in accordance with his orders, and Dober became the Governor's house-steward and overseer of his slaves, and in this position and by using the evenings, when other slaves were not in the fields, preached the gospel as St. Paul had done, when he made tents by day and taught by night.

Meanwhile Herrnhut and the movements which centred there had become known far and wide, so that men like Oglethorpe, interested in colonization and religion, turned to it for colonists. In this way a colonial development set in which led to the emigration of a considerable number of Moravians to America, and to an agreement with the Count of Pless, Lord Chamberlain of the King of Denmark, according to which a party of them should settle on his estates in St. Croix, bring them under cultivation, and act as missionaries to his slaves. There was no lack of volunteers, and of these eighteen sailed for the West Indies in 1734. They landed in St. Thomas with a letter for Dober, informing him that he had been elected Chief Elder and must come home at once. Then they crossed over to the island of St. Croix, forty

miles south, which had been purchased from France by Denmark the year before. It was hard to decide where to land ; for the jungle grew down to the water's edge. With the help of twelve slaves they had taken with them they began to clear enough space to pitch their tents ; but the first night had to be spent under the open sky. The rainy season came on, and in a fortnight the first case of dysentery appeared, and malaria almost put an end to work. Ten died, or, as one of the survivors wrote, "went home to the Lamb with exceeding joy." As soon as the news reached Herrnhut, eleven recruits were ready to take their places. When nine more had died—nineteen out of twenty-nine in two years—the survivors were withdrawn.

That same year, 1736, the Mission in St. Thomas, which had been derelict since Dober left, was recommenced. The man chosen for it was Frederick Martin, who had been in prison for the sake of the gospel, but had escaped and found his way to Herrnhut a few weeks before. A tailor was sent with him, whose needle, it was hoped, would help them to live, and a young doctor went with them to save life, but lost his own in a few days. The tailor was struck by lightning, and Freundlich joined Martin. Though they were busy all the day and could reach the slaves only when the day's work was over, yet they organized the growing Negro Church in such a way that in a few years orderly congregations came into being. But first they themselves suffered persecution, and for months Herrnhut heard nothing of them.

GENS AETERNA

It was on January 29th, 1739, that a ship sailed into the harbour of St. Thomas with a passenger of another sort on board. He stood at the bow with four fellow-passengers gazing at the town that stretched along the shore and crept up the sides of three green hills. The two towers, "Bluebeard," and "Blackbeard," stood out clearly on the eastern and on the western hill. There were no buildings of importance to be seen except the fort at the water's edge, over which the Danish flag floated, and towards which the ship steered. The leader of the group at the bow was Count Zinzendorf; his companions were two married couples coming out as reinforcements. The six years that had passed since the first two missionaries landed here had been crammed with new experiences. He who had sheltered exiles had himself become an exile. While the captain and sailors were busy bringing the ship to land, he was plying his companions with questions, especially George Weber, who was one of the survivors of that first Mission to St. Croix, and so could give information about all the points of interest in the view before them, and about all that had happened then, from the time when they found Dober and gave him the letter, to the day when the remnant of those who had gone out so full of hope had been recalled from their fever-stricken island. The remembrance of all that his brethren had suffered here became more and more vivid. "And yet," he said, half thinking aloud, "if that experiment had not failed so miserably, I should not be here now." For, though Zinzendorf had not been in favour of the expedition to St. Croix,

his enemies had taunted him with sending his brethren into that death-trap, the West Indies, while he himself took care to keep out of it, and this had decided him to make the journey. And now he was eager to see Martin and Freundlich at their work and the mulatto woman whom Freundlich had married.

But with a sudden movement he turned to his companions and said: "What if they are dead and there is nobody left?"

"The Saviour cannot have done that," came the quick retort from one of them.

"Then we are here," said Weber, who had been through the worst that could have to be faced.

The Count's eyes sparkled, and it was as though a ray of sunshine passed over his face, which had been so full of anxious thought, and stretching out his hand to Weber he exclaimed: "Gens aeterna,* these men of Moravia!"

The anchor rattled down. They went on shore to look for their friends.

Scarcely had they landed when they heard that they were alive, but in prison. It was Carstens, the planter, who had befriended Nitschmann and Dober, and now offered the new-comers his hospitality, who told them how the present situation had arisen. Martin had had an astonishing reception. Four hundred candidates for baptism had come forward in a very short time, whom he had handed over as he accepted them to previous converts for instruction. As the movement spread among the slaves, the ridicule which had greeted the efforts of the first missionaries had turned to bitter enmity. When Freundlich married the mulatress, Rebecca, and this legally celebrated Christian

* Imperishable race!

wedding had become a reproach to the relations existing between many of the White men and Negro women, their rage had found vent in deeds. The Pastor of the Reformed Church had led the attack, and all sorts of accusations had been brought against the missionaries, until the Governor, who really wished them well, had been compelled to take action. So they had been in prison since October.

The news of the Count's arrival ran through the town like wildfire. The next day Zinzendorf sent a message to the Governor, requesting that the prisoners be allowed to come to him for a short consultation. They came accompanied by an officer. Overcome by their piteous appearance, the Count embraced Martin and Freundlich, and kissed in knightly fashion the hand of the mulatress, Rebecca. In his eyes they were ennobled by their sufferings on behalf of Christ.

Nothing was said about their returning to prison. On the contrary, the Governor came soon after the prisoners to call on the Count, apologized for his treatment of them and promised that there should be no more persecution. The Count was permitted to visit the Negroes, as he liked. "I struck the fort like a thunderbolt," he wrote to his wife, "but the Lord has taught me to forget the Count of Zinzendorf, and I have behaved quite modestly."

He did forget that he was the Count of Zinzendorf. In the following weeks he was missionary and visitator, and as such helped his brethren and advised them as to their future work. When he left St. Thomas on the evening of February 19th, he left behind him a small but united band of workers, full of faith, joy, and confidence as the result of the experiences of those three weeks.

How the work spread from island to island and won the respect of all good men, can be only briefly sketched here. Till 1750 Frederick Martin was the leader, who laid a firm foundation for the Mission in St. Thomas, St. Jan, and St. Croix. Zinzendorf gave him the honourable title of "the faithful witness." His clear vision, his indefatigable energy, the soberness of his thinking, his warm-heartedness, his freedom from extravagance and effeminacy, his sincere humility, and his burning love to his Saviour, made him an ideal missionary. He did not take the hearts of the slaves by storm, like the lame little tailor, George Israel, who joined him in 1740 after suffering shipwreck off the island of Tortola, and whose burning sermons on the power of the blood of Jesus created a revival among the Negroes. Martin was earnest, but calm. The slaves regarded him with loving respect. They called him Baas Martinus (Massa Martin), and he belongs to those choice White men who have written their names on the heart of the black man for ever. His grave in St. Croix is piously kept in order to this day, though all the land round about it has become overgrown by dense bush. When he died in 1750, and "his soul flew home," he was buried by his own wish on the plantation "Princess," which belonged to the Danish Company, and which had been the last post held by the Brethren in their first sacrificial attempt to found a mission in St. Croix. Several White men had offered their burial-places, but the Negroes claimed the right to lay him to rest among themselves. He must sleep among his people, whom he had served to the end.

From the first the Brethren made the native Christians their fellow-workers. They had learnt at home that a Christian congregation is a fellowship, which

not only feels itself responsible for the welfare of all, but is ready to render service to all. In founding and developing each new settlement, Zinzendorf had taken care that this principle should become part of the very blood and marrow of all its members. We are astonished when we read in the old records how many offices, great and small, there were, so that everybody had something to do ; but we can understand what an influence this mobilization of all forces had on the development of the Brethren's Church.

In the peculiar circumstances of the West Indies the Mission could not have succeeded without the use of native helpers. The Negroes, being slaves, were divided up among the various industries of a sugar-estate and bound by the rules of the plantations. It was only as an exception that they were allowed to leave their quarters. In most cases it was out of the question for them to attend a service on Sunday, since it would have entailed a walk of several hours. The congregation which a missionary served was scattered over a few square miles and could not meet in one place. It was impossible for him in the circumstances to get into intimate touch with his people. Real pastoral work, apart from occasional visits to each plantation, was possible only through native helpers of both sexes, and the proclamation of the word of God consisted mainly of the homely witness of these simple folk. The Helper David, in Antigua, addressing his black brethren who had applied for instruction for baptism, said : " I thank the Saviour for bringing me from Guinea, where I was free, over the sea to this place, where I am a slave ; for here I can listen to the sweet Gospel, which I had not over there. Though I am a slave and have to work hard, I don't care about

that, because the Saviour has rescued me by His death from the wretched slavery of sin. . . . Give Him your hearts. I shall rejoice when all you of my colour have received grace from Him." And Abraham, of Dohegy's plantation, cut the names of all those committed to his care in his stick, lest he should forget any of them.

The little groups of converted slaves did not make congregations of model Christians, and yet the success of the Mission, which was visible in the lives of individuals and of groups, prepared the way for its extension. Again and again planters—sometimes such as had been hostile—invited the Brethren to come and preach the Gospel to their slaves, and the authorities also took up a friendly attitude. The Governors were often friendly and granted them such privileges as free postage—a considerable item in those days—besides protecting them from injustice and encouraging them to extend their work. So the field grew larger. Missionaries went to Jamaica in 1754, to Antigua in 1756, Barbados 1765, St. Kitts 1777, and Tobago 1790. A glance at the map shows that therewith they had followed the line of the Antilles round the Caribbean Sea. Though the work was carried on under similar conditions everywhere, yet every island developed along its own lines and had its own history; but it would take too long to enter into details.

The experiences of Peter Brown in Antigua, however, call for special mention. He took over the management of the work in 1769 and retained it twenty-two years till his death in 1791. When he arrived from North America, the number of baptized Christians was only fourteen, although the missionaries had been on the island for thirteen years. When he closed his eyes the number had risen to 7,400. In spite of his success and

the praise showered upon him, he remained to the end a simple-hearted man, more at home with the slaves than with their masters. "He was always with the slaves in their free time and often ate out of their calabashes." Speaking of the Christmas festival in 1782, he said he had never known anything like it. "It is quite extraordinary how the people crowd to us. We have our hands full, and often have scarcely time to eat a bit of bread." After one of his Easter sermons 500 candidates for baptism asked for instruction.

GREENLAND AND LABRADOR

LESS than half a year after the first missionaries had set out from Herrnhut, a second party was despatched, consisting of three brethren. They left home on January 19th, 1733, for Greenland. Their leader was Christian David. After overcoming all manner of hindrances they sailed from Copenhagen on April 10th, landed in Greenland at the end of May, and built their first house of stone and sods. Matthew Stach wrote home : "We have found what we sought, namely heathen, who know nothing of God and care for nothing but catching seals, fish, and reindeer. To these people we want to bring the news that there is a God, a Jesus, a Holy Ghost—and we don't know their language. We want to visit them, and don't know where they live." The simple and unlearned man who wrote this letter put his finger at once upon the difficulties which were to cause him and his companions untold sorrow. He continues : "So it just comes to this : we may lose the way, but must not lose faith. Everybody thinks

us fools, especially those who have lived a long time in this land and know its people; but we think that where the Pioneer is, there also the Way and the Light must be, though things look ever so mad." They willingly endured sickness and privation, but were sometimes terribly depressed, when half-starved in the long, dark nights. At last a ray of light shone into their darkness, when the first heathen asked to be baptized, and the sun shone upon them brightly when Kayarnak, hearing the story of Christ in Gethsemane, cried: "What was that? Tell me that again; for I also would be saved." But that is an old story.

The year 1747 saw the close of the initial stage—the dedication of the first church. Friends in Holland provided it. It was constructed by carpenters at home under the supervision of John Beck who was on furlough. A ship was chartered to take it to its destination. Christian David, who had returned to Europe according to his instructions, after building a small house on the coast for the missionaries, went with it as master-builder. It reached Greenland in June and was dedicated on October 16th. "With two trumpets the signal was given for the commencement of the services. About three hundred Greenlanders assembled. The native helpers showed them their places. They sat on benches according to age and sex. They sang a hymn, which John Beck had written in their language for the day, and he delivered the dedication address. In the afternoon at four o'clock a love-feast was held, with boiled pease as the symbol, and the singing of the hymns was accompanied by three violins and a flute. The Greenlanders were carried away by intense joy and could with difficulty be induced to go home. They had never seen or heard

anything like this. Their amazement increased when they gathered for the singing-meeting at 7 p.m. The great building was lit up. It was decorated with garlands, scrolls, transparencies showing scenes from our Lord's sufferings, and many lamps made of shells. After the service they looked at all these things, and many an one laid his hand on his mouth in wonder and amazement."

The hard times found an end with this festival day, and years of peaceful development followed. Two new stations were founded, which brought the Mission into contact with the heathen Eskimos of the south. An influential sorcerer was converted, and all the rest of his tribe joined the Christian Church with him. To make pastoral care easier, the converts were divided into classes called "choirs" according to the home model, and so a new social order was created among a race which had possessed scarcely any. Even "choir-houses" were built, as at home, for single brethren, single sisters, and widows. Rich provision was made for worship. There were services in the church every morning and evening. On Sunday there were meetings for the "choirs," public service with sermon and liturgy. The Greenlanders vied with one another to provide beautiful music at these services, proving themselves apt pupils, so that both in singing and in instrumental music they produced astonishing results. With all the experience of mission-work which we have to-day we look back upon the methods of the Brethren in Greenland with some doubt as to whether they handled the Eskimo rightly. They gathered a race of fishermen and hunters in villages, where European clothes and luxuries such as coffee and tobacco soon began to change native habits. But they knew

no better way of achieving their purpose, and nobody does his work without faults. But, however one may criticize them, the Greenland congregations were something extraordinary. In a few decades there came into existence on a lonely coast, far from the bustle of the great world, a small community, knit together by love to the crucified Saviour and developing a rich Church life, drawn from a race believed to be incapable of culture, and against whom the first missionaries had been warned on the ground that these creatures were wild and unteachable. There will always be people who admire this wonder of the grace of God rather than criticize, however justifiably, their imperfect fellow-workers. We would rather belong to those who give thanks for what God wrought.

It was a Greenland missionary, Jens Haven, who founded the first Moravian mission-stations on the peninsula of Labrador. He was one of those original characters in whose life one sees the guidance of a higher hand. His boyhood was spent on his father's farm in North Jutland. He was a wild untamable lad, but clever. Once, when a religious revival swept through the village, he hardened his heart against it and thought of shooting the pastor. Then he was overtaken in the fields by a thunderstorm and struck down by lightning. Saul became Paul. In Copenhagen he got to know the Brethren and so went to Herrnhut. Here he heard that Ehrhardt, the steersman, had been murdered by the savages of Labrador, when he attempted to land and preach the Gospel to them. It became clear to him at once that he was called to serve in Labrador. But in 1758 he was sent to Greenland, not to Labrador, for the plan of founding a mission there had been dropped on Ehrhardt's death. He

threw himself into the work with enthusiasm, learnt the difficult language in a surprisingly short time, and made up his mind to spend his life there. But three times he heard a voice in the night say to him : " This is not thy destiny. Thou shalt proclaim My name to a people that has not heard of Me." He did nothing about it, but waited. In 1762 he went to Herrnhut on furlough and it was taken for granted that he would return to Greenland ; but, when it was put to the lot, the answer was : " No." Thereupon he spoke about his voices, and it was clear to everybody that he was to take up the mission to Labrador. Two voyages of discovery which he made in 1764 and 1765 showed that the Eskimos were willing to receive him and other messengers of God ; for when, in spite of the captain's warning, he went ashore in his Greenland dress and spoke to them in their language, the Eskimos cried : " Our friend has come. You are our fellow-countryman ! " They invited him to go with them to their home, and he did so in spite of the risk of being killed. He was treated kindly. His new friends introduced their wives and children to him, and asked him to stay. Some years were to pass before he could do so ; but at last in 1771 he founded a station, which he called Nain. In 1776 he built Okak, further north, and in 1782 Hopedale, to the south. Two years later " our little Jens," as the Eskimos called him, had to leave them, worn out with work, to end his days in Herrnhut.

At the end of the century only 110 converts had been baptized ; but the work he founded in " Terra Labrador," the cultivable land, as it had been named by a strange irony, has brought forth fruit, over which both he that sowed and he that reapeth can rejoice.

THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS

No mission has suffered such vicissitudes as that among the North American Indians. From the time when Christian Rauch made his first contact with the ferocious chieftain Tchoop* in 1740 Iroquois, Delawares, and Mohicans received with joy the message he brought them. The first converts were baptized in 1742 in the presence of Zinzendorf. The Count said that day that the conversion of whole nations was not yet to be expected, and that for the present one must aim at reaping firstfruits and among them men well grounded in the faith; but he hoped to see these carry the Gospel through the whole continent.

That this hope was not realized was not due to the hostility of the heathen Indians. That was indeed a factor with which one had to reckon. They plotted to murder the Count when he went further into the interior to visit the Shawanese; but what hindered and finally destroyed the work was the attitude of the Whites. The first storm that burst over it was the war between the English and French in 1755, in which Indians fought on both sides. Gnadenhütten, which was the centre of the mission, went up in flames, and ten Brethren and Sisters were either shot or burnt to death. The eleventh, who fell into the hands of the savage Indians, was tomahawked and scalped. Three escaped and enabled the Christian Indians to flee in time. After the Seven Years War the remnants of them were gathered together in 1765. It was David Zeisberger who was entrusted with this task. He had entered

* Said to have been the original of Fenimore Cooper's *Last of the Mohicans*.

the service of the Mission as a young man, had acquired an extraordinary knowledge of Indian languages and customs, and had been received by the Redskins as one of themselves. He had escaped death at Gnadenhütten, because he arrived just after the massacre, and returned to Bethlehem to Spangenberg, who had sent him, bringing news of what had happened. From now on his biography is the story of the Indian Mission. He lived so entirely for them that he did not marry till he was sixty. After every catastrophe he started again with fresh courage. Driven from place to place, building new villages only to see them destroyed again, he remained faithful—the father, the Apostle of the Indians.

At the end of the seventies after many disappointments and labours he had gathered the Christian Delawares in four villages on the Muskingum River about 500 miles from the coast, between the Ohio and Lake Erie, far from all settlements of the Whites. The order and neatness of the villages with their well-kept gardens and fields excited the admiration of all who saw them. Hundreds of acres were cultivated. Large herds of cattle grazed in the meadows. The rearing of poultry played a great part. Few farmyards in the White settlements could show a finer choice of birds. Traders, when they called, had first to hand over all intoxicating drinks to the Indian inspector before they were allowed to do any business, and these articles of barter were not restored until they left the station. By the laws which the villagers had made for themselves it was forbidden to incur debts, or to take goods to be sold on commission, unless the Native Helpers expressly gave permission. So completely had the missionaries succeeded in educating the people,

whose Church authority was at the same time their communal authority, to self-government, that the decision of the native community was final. Freedom, which the Indians valued above all things, was brought into the right relation to order, without which no communal life can exist.

Among this happy and industrious people, himself happy and industrious, lived David Zeisberger. When he went through the streets, dressed simply but with scrupulous neatness, short but well proportioned, everybody greeted him respectfully. The children would run to shake hands with him, and then a smile passed over his deeply furrowed face. The silent man, who had accustomed himself to the taciturnity of the Indian, found something playful to say to his pets. In the morning he often went hunting—not for sport, but to get food. Among the many things in which he had become like his Indians was this, that he could hunt the stag and the bear like one of them. He never accepted a salary. He would not be a hireling, he said. He spent the afternoons looking after the plantations, the mill, the houses, or in teaching, or visiting the sick. Toward evening he led the congregation in divine service. When darkness came on he withdrew to his hut for serious intellectual work, busying himself with linguistic and literary studies, and gathering valuable materials such as nobody else in America had at that time. Some of these were printed, the greater part exists in manuscript. American libraries count themselves fortunate to possess one of his manuscripts.

In those happy years it seemed as if his dream was to be realized—the whole Nation of the Delawares, Iroquois, Mohicans, and Hurons gathered round the

Word of God and gaining from it strength for new life. Two influential chiefs had joined the Christian Church. Netawatwes, the head of the whole tribe, was drawing nearer. Under his guidance and in his presence the great council decided, not only to make all Delawares free to accept the Christian religion, but to recommend them to do so. Netawatwes himself brought the news to Zeisberger. To a neighbouring chief he sent this message: "You and I are growing old. Let us do one good deed before we die. Let us accept the Word of God and leave it to our children as our last will and testament."

Then the storm broke again and destroyed the prosperous work. The American War of Independence began, and because the Christian Delawares were neither on the side of the Colonists, nor on that of the English, they were compelled to leave their lovely villages and remove to Canada. After eleven years of wandering they settled at Fairfield, north of Lake Erie. In 1813 this place also was destroyed, but was rebuilt in 1815 as New Fairfield. Its inhabitants were placed under the care of the Methodist Church of Canada in 1903.

When Zeisberger had settled the fugitives in Fairfield, he left them there and returned, accompanied by a small number of faithful followers, to the Muskingum, where he had spent the happiest years of his life. The ruins of the old homes were overgrown with bush and had become the abode of rattlesnakes, while under the ruins they found in heaps the bones of their murdered brethren. Here Zeisberger built his thirteenth mission-station, to which the Indians gave the name of Goshen. Fifteen years after his death it also was given up. He grew blind and deaf. Of the compan-

ions of his joys and sorrows scarcely any were left when he died. "Lord Jesus," he prayed, "come and receive my spirit. Thou hast never forsaken me in all the trials of my life. Thou wilt not forsake me now."

His grave is still shown. It lies on the way from Goshen Hill to New Philadelphia. If one turns off the road into the graveyard, one can easily find the stone which covers the last resting-place of the "Apostle of the Indians." The inscription reads: "David Zeisberger, born April 11th, 1721, in Moravia, departed November 17th, 1808, aged 87 years, 7 months, and 6 days. This faithful servant of the Lord laboured as a missionary among the Indians for the last 60 years of his life."

SURINAM

ALTHOUGH more than 500 Moravian missionaries have been sent to Surinam, and more than 200 of these have laid down their lives there, yet this field is little known. Surinam is the Dutch part of Guiana, but its boundaries have varied. It lies in South America between 2° and 6° north latitude. To the east of it is French Guiana, to the west British Guiana, to the north the Atlantic and to the south Brazil, where the boundary lies somewhere in the virgin forests which cover the mountains. Great rivers on their way down to the sea have deposited a coastland of mud, which now forms about one third of the whole colony. Its rich fertility led Dutch planters to settle there, and, as the attempt to compel the aboriginal Indians to work failed, they introduced African slaves. The Indians receded into the interior, while the black slaves tilled the alluvial

land for their white masters. Although in the course of years about 350,000 slaves were brought over from Africa, there were only 33,000 in Surinam in 1853. At the risk of their lives many fled into the interior and formed in the forests a new race, the Bush Negroes, divided into tribes. The Whites of the coastland were their deadly enemies, and regarded every Bush Negro as lawful game to be shot at sight. The Bush Negroes continually waged war and made raids on the Colony in search of revenge, food, firearms, ammunition, bush-knives, and, above all, wives. In 1765 a wise Governor succeeded in making peace with the men of the forest. He recognized their freedom, allotted to them certain territory along the rivers, allowed them to enter the Colony to sell their produce and buy what they required, and gave them the right to develop under their own chiefs a social order of their own copied from the tribal life of Africa.

All these three groups of heathen have been served by Moravian missionaries from 1735 on—Indians, plantation slaves, and Bush Negroes. The Mission began with the Indians in Berbice, which in those days was part of the Dutch colony, and by 1740 there was a flourishing work among the Arawacks, which centred in Pilgerhut. The roving hunters and fishermen had settled down and had learnt to build neat houses and cultivate gardens. There is an old picture of the station, which shows the simple houses of the missionaries on one side, and the dwellings of the Indians on the other, the whole surrounded by a fence. Whites and Indians form one community. All were there to serve, and in this service the learned and cultured theologian, Solomon Schumann, who was placed at the head of the Mission in 1748, took the lead. In Europe he had

been a professor at the Moravian College, and had introduced future ministers into the mysteries of theology, first at Lindheim and then at Marienborn. The same faithfulness and zeal which he had devoted to the problems of theological science there, he now showed in the task of educating the uncivilized and despised Redskins. He soon gained their confidence and mastered their language. Whereas till now only a few had asked for baptism, or, as one Indian woman put it, "to be washed from head to foot in the blood of the Lamb," people began to find their way down all the rivers to Pilgerhut, so that other stations had to be founded.

A curious tragedy seems to overshadow all Moravian missions to the Indians. In South America the feud between Whites and Bush Negroes, epidemics, and other causes led to the evacuation of one station after another. The last was Hope, on the Corentyn, the boundary to-day between British and Dutch Guiana, which had to be abandoned in 1808, the same year in which Zeisberger died, and the only year before the Great War in which no new Moravian missionary could be sent out, the Napoleonic Wars making it impossible.

We turn to the second group of the heathen inhabitants of Surinam—the Negro slaves, who worked in Paramaribo, the capital, and on the plantations of the lowlands. The hope of taking to them the glad tidings of Jesus Christ had been the reason for sending in 1735 the first missionaries to Dutch Guiana. These were to work as colonists in Surinam, received free passage, were absolved from taking oaths and from military service, and were allowed to preach the Gospel to the Negroes. The first attempt was a failure.

A second was made in 1738, which cost the life of one man, as the first had done, and was unsuccessful. Two years later a third followed, but it also failed. The only open way led to the Indians and to the founding of Pilgerhut.

It is strange that the Brethren, after taking this only way and pursuing it, came back after twenty years to the Negroes, who alone had been in their minds at first. There is a divine plan that overrules human plans, and He who makes it now thwarts the human plans, and now works them into His own in such a way that we marvel and give thanks. In order to have a support in the town of Paramaribo for the flourishing work among the Indians out in the country an agency was opened there in 1754. Two brethren were sent, who were to earn their own living by opening a tailor's business. Whatever they earned more than they required to live on was to be used to help the Indian Mission, and they themselves were to help their brethren in the interior by acting as their agents and advisers. Nobody in the capital had wanted them as missionaries; but as tailors they were welcome. Their reliable and punctual work was their recommendation. They received more orders than they could carry out. They had to employ assistants to satisfy their customers, some of whom belonged to the highest circles. For this purpose they hired slaves, the only people they could get, for whose services they paid the owners a fee, but who worked with them in the business.

When one sits stitching on a tailor's bench, it is easy to carry on a conversation. This fact was the opening to the Mission among the Negro slaves. Working daily with them in the workshop and conversing with them, the missionaries gradually gained an influence

over them, and through them got into touch with other slaves in the town. Out of the workshop they had rented grew a plot of freehold land. To the tailor's shop was added a bakery, and then a watchmaker's business. They came into touch with more and more Negroes, and the influence of the employers over their employees, to whom they gave not only work, but something really great, grew visibly. The White population, seeing that this influence was good, changed their attitude towards the Mission. When the first Negro, a freedman, was baptized in 1776, and in 1778 several slaves followed his example, and the Brethren in the same year built a little chapel for their converts, one saw not only black faces at the services, but every now and then white ones also. Even the Governor, who had become persuaded that a blessing rested upon these Moravian tailors, bakers, and watchmakers, showed them much kindness and supported their work. It was confined in the main to the town of Paramaribo till the end of the eighteenth century. On the plantations which lay round about the town, and which employed by far the greater part of the slave population, the Mission could not get a footing, although by that time there were many and large congregations of slaves.

We turn to the third group—the Bush Negroes. When they had asserted their freedom and had made peace with the Government of the Colony in 1765, the Governor saw the necessity of keeping in touch with them and, if possible, exercising some lasting influence over them. Who could serve the purpose better than the Moravian missionaries? If they could take the Gospel of peace to these savages, one might hope that the peace just concluded would be lasting. The

proposal was made. The Brethren accepted it, and the chieftain Abini, whose "residence" was in the virgin forests on the upper reaches of the Surinam River, was willing to receive the White men. So began the Mission to the Bush Negroes.

When Abini fell in a fight with a neighbouring tribe, he was succeeded in the office of Granman by his son Arabi. The father had been friendly to the Brethren; the son was still more so. In 1771 he was baptized as the firstfruits of his people and throughout his long life was faithful to his Lord, whose service he thus entered. For fifty years he, the chieftain, fulfilled the duties of an evangelist, and was fond of telling how he became convinced of the truth of the Gospel, when he saw his magic wand, to which he had ascribed divine powers, burn to ashes in the fire. He had seen then that the things in which he had trusted were nothing. He had destroyed them, had asked for baptismal instruction, had felt the power of the blood of Christ, and now was determined to serve Him. There were times when the Spirit moved mightily among the Bush Negroes. Then they would come paddling in their corials from their little villages to the mission-station of New Bambej to hear the sweet message of Him who became a man and gave His life for love of His brethren, and when they got into their canoes after a visit of some days and had to paddle home again, their last word to the missionaries was: "Come to us also. If you cannot come yourself, send one of your helpers, a man of our own race—John Arabi, or Andrew, or Christian, or David, or some other. Promise us!" And the white man nodded and waved his hand to them again in farewell, and a flash of joy passed over his pale yellow face, on which death had set its mark.

The work that had consumed his strength was at least not in vain.

It certainly was not in vain, but it consumed so many lives that one saw at last in 1813 that it could not go on like that. Nine brethren and six sisters had laid down their lives in "Dedde Kondre" (dead country), as the Bush Negroes called it. Others had returned to Paramaribo, or to the homeland, with shattered health. The survivors were withdrawn; for there was now a small native Christian community under the guidance of its chief and evangelist, Arabi, of which one could hope that it would maintain itself as a life-giving power in "Dedde Kondre."

When one considers what was done in Dutch Guiana from the beginning of the Mission in 1735 to the end of the eighteenth century, one can only say that it took a long time for the tree to gain root in that fever-stricken Colony. Perhaps it took the deeper root for that very reason. A missionfield in which 200 of its sons and daughters have found their graves becomes, to a Missionary Church, part of its very self.

MISSIONARY VENTURES

THE missionary zeal of the community was by no means exhausted by the undertakings we have mentioned. One could write a whole book about attempts which led to nothing, and such a book would be full of the most amazing adventures, which would be interesting reading even for a man who cared nothing about Missions. A few examples must suffice.

In 1742 three Brethren went to Russia. One of them

wanted to reach China. The other two intended to go to the Kalmucks. When they got to Petrograd and asked for passports, they were put into prison. Nobody would believe that these "unlearned and ignorant men" really wanted to teach the heathen, but supposed that their alleged purpose was only a cover for something else. Instead of deciding their case, the authorities kept them in prison for five years, although their trial proved them to be innocent, and the judge was convinced that "their behaviour and manner would convert the heathen, even if their learning failed to do so." Finally they were sent home.

When the people of Herrnhut read the story of the wise men from the east, they asked themselves whether there might not be descendants of these first gentile worshippers of Christ, and whether one could not carry the Gospel to them. For this purpose a doctor and a surgeon were chosen, who travelled in 1747 by way of Italy and Syria to the east. They had no sooner crossed the border of Persia than they were attacked by the Kurds, plundered, wounded, and left almost naked. They reached Ispahan only to learn that the Gebirs, the people they sought, had been destroyed and that therefore a Mission among them was impossible. The wars of Nadir Shah made a Mission of any kind out of the question in Persia just then.

The surgeon died in Egypt, and the doctor was there in 1752, having been sent with another comrade to get into touch with Abyssinia. He learnt Arabic, became a friend of the Coptic Patriarch, Mark CVI, to whom he handed a letter from Zinzendorf. The Patriarch called it "a piece of his love to all Christians" and assured the messengers of his friendship. With his help the Abyssinian plan was pursued. But when,

after much trouble, the missionaries obtained a Turkish passport, which was necessary for the journey down the Red Sea, they were told that it was not valid, as the Grand Vizier, who had signed it, was dead. A second attempt in 1756 led to no better result; for the ship on which they travelled was wrecked. They escaped with difficulty from the waves, and then from the Arabs, who expected to obtain a large sum of money from them. Having lost all their medicines, they returned from Yiddah, since without them they could not carry on in Abyssinia the medical Mission which had been planned.

Years passed, and a third attempt was made in 1768, but the way to Abyssinia was blocked, and so they took up in Egypt work which lay read to hand, viz., the task of stirring up new life in the Coptic Church. Although their circumstances were better than before, there was no lack of trials of faith. One of them fell into the hands of robbers, who dragged him into a room lighted with torches, where they bastinadoed him to extort money. Though he escaped with his life, he suffered from the effect of the bastinado for years.

In 1736 missionaries were sent to the Samoyedes, and these fared no better. They went by way of Moscow to Archangel. There they met some Samoyedes with whom they hoped to go north. But, when they were just about to start, they were arrested and taken to Petrograd. Somebody had said they were Swedish spies. When their case was inquired into, their innocence was made clear; but, as their passports were not quite in order, they were expelled from the country.

We must pass over Lapland, the Kalmucks and

Tartars on the lower Volga, the loss of life on the Gold Coast and at Tranquebar, the disappointments in Ceylon and South Africa, the unavailing efforts among the slaves in the southern states of North America ; but we must speak briefly of one hard-fought deadly field—the Nicobar Islands, at that time a Danish possession.

The first missionaries landed there in 1768, meaning to combine a mission to the degraded natives with earning their living as colonists under the Danish trading-station. They had scarcely arrived, when the Danes withdrew their employees, and handed the care of the trade over to the missionaries. As it did not pay, it was given up. So the regular connection with Tranquebar ceased, and the Brethren were left to their fate. Unable to learn the language, a prey to tropical diseases, without news from home for years at a stretch, they had a miserable existence. Even when recruits came from home, their numbers remained small, for fever carried off one after the other. They failed to reach the natives, and the few who seemed to take an interest in their message withdrew when they saw that these Whites were left in the lurch. They tried to build themselves a stone house, in order to have a healthier dwelling, and then the natives grew threatening because they thought it was to be a castle to bring them into subjection.

In 1784, when they had been cut off from the outside world for more than three years, the missionaries managed to send a message to Herrnhut by way of Malacca and Holland. They wrote that they were like walking skeletons with yellow faces. Their medicine was long since exhausted. They had no shoes, so went barefoot. Their houses were so poor and damp, that

their beds had rotted. They had a little coarse linen, but no thread to sew with. They had neither soap nor oil. As they had nothing to burn in their lamps, they were in the dark from 6 p.m. to 6 a.m. They were plagued with fever, ague, and boils. To appease their hunger they had been driven to eat rotten rice full of worms.

Bishop Reichel, who visited them the following year, encouraged them to hold out, and negotiated with the Danish Government about the need of energetic support of the Colonists whom it wanted to retain; but, as the promises made were not kept, the survivors were withdrawn in 1788. In the course of twenty years twenty-three Brethren had been sent to these islands; thirteen had died there, and ten returned to Tranquebar. Most of these died there of the diseases they had contracted in the Nicobar Islands; one or two returned home broken in health. In view of all these losses, it is the more painful to record that they were in vain. Not one native had been baptized in the twenty years, and the only trace the Brethren left of their work was the graves in which their comrades had been buried.

It is not to be wondered at that men shook their heads. On the other hand the cost in money was small. It would scarcely be possible to set up an account of income and expenditure for the first period of Moravian Missions. The Church expected its missionaries to support themselves when they reached their fields, as St. Paul had done, and sent financial help only in exceptional circumstances. There were no public subscriptions, but the congregations gave what they could out of their poverty and received private contributions from a few rich friends. Many of the above attempts were in the nature of journeys of

exploration. If a new Mission is planned nowadays, the Board obtains as much information as is needed from people who know the country in question, consults existing literature about it, and works out careful plans on the strength of all this information. In the days when Herrnhut began its Missions the only thing that could be done in most cases was to send out a pioneer, and to make the continuation of the effort depend on what happened to the pioneer. At the back of a number of these exploratory journeys was a far-reaching plan of Zinzendorf's. His eyes were fixed on the East. He wanted to find a way into the heart of Asia. Therefore he kept sending messengers to Russia, Persia, Egypt, and Wallachia. Therefore he tried to get into touch with the Orthodox Church and made plans which, in these days of œcumenical movements, in which Western Christendom stretches out its hand to the Eastern Church, seem quite modern. It is terrible to see the warriors—so they liked to call themselves, and Zinzendorf has a whole series of "warrior hymns"—fall a rank at a time, and amazing to see others step forward at once to take their places. Spangenberg, Zinzendorf's faithful fellow-labourer, was in charge of the Brethren's work in North America at the time when Death reaped his harvest in the West Indies. He writes: "When the congregation heard the news that the witnesses in St. Thomas had fallen asleep, all were full of the desire to venture their lives also, and, if I had asked for volunteers to go to that pestilential hole, twenty or thirty Brethren and Sisters would have gone at once." Such men and women send us back to Hebrews xi, and, having read it, we go on to the first two verses of the next chapter: "Wherefore, seeing we are compassed about with

such a cloud of witnesses; let us lay aside every weight and the sin that doth so easily beset us, and let us run with patience the race that is set before us, looking unto Jesus, the Author and Finisher of faith."

THE LEADERS

COUNT ZINZENDORF was the undisputed leader from the beginning of Foreign Missions till his death on May 26th, 1760. He was not elected to this office. No committee or deputation invited him to take it. He was not the founder of a Missionary Society, entrusted with the lead because he had called into being. His position in the Church, which was and remained the author of all missionary undertakings, made it a matter of course that his influence was decisive, even when Synods took their place beside him, and that his authority did not rest upon paragraphs and agreements. He was the leader, and, what was more, enjoyed the confidence of all who shared the work with him. He might be inconvenient to some; he might face his fellow-workers with difficult questions and awkward situations through his incalculable decisions; he might in some cases, in consequence of his impetuosity and hot temper, pass hard judgments, to which men submitted reluctantly; but for all that the confidence in him was never shaken. Again and again, in the course of the years and in the storms through which they had to pass, the grace of God enabled the Count to set all hearts aflame, and then the chain that bound him and his brethren together was welded more firmly, so that it never broke.

June 3rd, 1739, was such a day. Zinzendorf had returned from St. Thomas on the 2nd, and now the Herrnhut congregation met to hear his report. He spoke with deep emotion. "St. Thomas is an even greater wonder than Herrnhut," he cried. His biographer, Schrautenbach, who was present, describes his appearance, as he stood there telling of the doings of God among the heathen. He was sick, "with the Caribbean poison (malaria) in his limbs, full of disease," his body covered with boils, his shoulders bent with the weight of the books and papers in his pockets, a picture of misery and joy. Those who saw him asked: "What led this man, who could live at his ease and without worries, to accept such a life of toil and trouble?" Because everybody knew the answer to that question he enjoyed unbounded confidence, the admiration and childlike love of all. They called him "Father" (Papa). When missionaries came home, they were deeply touched to find how he bore them on his heart, how his thoughts were busy with them and their conflicts and with the problems that rushed in upon them in their calling. He himself has stated that he estimated his expenditure on postage at £23 in one year, a very large sum for those days. Often as many as 150 letters lay on his desk, needing immediate replies. Then he sat down to write and his hands flew over the paper. His letters are not easy to read, and those who received them, if they were not accustomed to his writing must have found great difficulty in deciphering them; but they easily read out of them how warmly the heart of the writer beat for them, and each understood that a firm, though invisible, tie bound him and the Count together.

Correspondence was backed up by frequent visita-

tions. Besides his own visits to the West Indies and America, he would send one of his assistants to any hard tried post at the shortest notice. This intimate connection with the work made him able to give his brethren useful advice. As the work grew, and experiences accumulated, he wrote his thoughts on method and aim more and more frequently to the missionaries in long or short letters, or expounded them in addresses to the congregations. Many of these are out of date to-day; but, when they were hammered out, the Word of God serving now as anvil now as hammer, God made him a mighty armourer, and gave him a prophetic insight into the deepest and most important needs of all Mission work.

Here is one example of his views with regard to the missionary's message, and he insists on it again and again. Writing to George Schmidt, he says: "I am very well satisfied with you; but you aim too much at the Hottentot's skin, and too little at his heart. Tell them about the Lamb of God till you can tell no more." That is the constant refrain. To deal in Christ is the business of the missionary. "The Gospel of love can break the rocks in pieces." It was the Count's passion, and his brethren's calling to proclaim this love in the world and to the whole world. *Orbem urbem habemus; cives universi sumus.* "The world is our city; we are at home everywhere."

His successor, August Gottlieb Spangenberg, was connected with Moravian Missions from the start. Like Zinzendorf he wanted to be a missionary even as a boy. When he was a young Master of Arts at the University of Jena, he was persuaded to stay there and continue his scientific and theological study only "so long as it pleases God to prepare me here for His

service among the heathen." His first commission was to accompany some of those who were going to the West Indies as far as Copenhagen, to conduct the negotiations for them there, and to help them with his knowledge and practical gifts. His distinguished services then and on other occasions led the Count to entrust him with important business in spite of his youth, and it soon became evident that Spangenberg had been given to Zinzendorf by God to be his right hand. For a long time he was at the head of the settlement at Bethlehem, in Pennsylvania, which became the base for the work among the Indians, and for the West Indies and Surinam. The work among the Indians was the result of a letter he wrote from Georgia. He chose the missionaries, arranged for their training, and gave them their instructions. He carried on negotiations with Governments and ecclesiastical authorities. The finance of the whole Mission and of Bethlehem lay upon his shoulders, while some of the Brethren served by going wherever they were needed, and others by supporting, by their work at home, those who went out to the Field. He had an open eye for all practical work, mastered legal questions, and managed human beings wisely without force. His calm and even mind kept him from excesses and the side-tracks on which young movements so easily lose their way through vague enthusiasm and excessive emotion, and made Bethlehem for twenty years one of the most interesting social experiments ever attempted in the spread of the Kingdom of God.

He was in America when Zinzendorf died. He was at once recalled to Herrnhut, where he had not been for thirteen years. His first duty was to work out a constitution for the Church, which had been so much

under the influence of Zinzendorf's strong autocratic personality, and to put the finances in order. It was he who completed Zinzendorf's work and secured its future. Therefore he deserves to stand side by side with the Count, whom he supplemented, though he had not his genius. He collected from scattered letters Zinzendorf's instructions to missionaries and ideas on Missions, for it was characteristic of him to put everything in order and in its proper connection. He wanted a systematic statement of the experiences of the Brethren in their Mission work, which should be at the same time an account of the way in which the Church had used the talent which God had entrusted to it. With this purpose in view he wrote a little book in 1780 entitled: *Of the Work of the Brethren among the Heathen*, which he followed up in 1784 with a second: *Information for the Brethren and Sisters who serve the Heathen with the Gospel*. These two books, small as they are, are important as representing the first Evangelical Theory of Missions.

In the Board Room at Herrnhut hangs a beautiful painting by Anton Graff. It represents Spangenberg in his old age. The reddish brown coat is carefully buttoned up. The white cravat shows above it. The character of the man, careful and orderly, breathes in the face, with its bright eyes and red cheeks and snowy locks, that looks so kindly and benevolently at all who approach him. He seems about to open his lips and speak, perhaps to say, as he says in his book of 1784 to all who want to engage in Foreign Missions: "The death and blood of Jesus is the diamond set in the golden ring of the Gospel. Remember this, and keep it in your heart."

THE MISSIONARIES

It is significant that, when Jesus looked out upon the harvest field, he bade his disciples pray for harvesters. God sent Zinzendorf the labourers he had confidently expected when he was a boy in Francke's school, and when he died in 1760 this Church had sent out 226 missionaries in twenty-eight years. It was not so that every member of the Church was bound to become a missionary. It is true that Herrnhut was so much like a military camp of soldiers of Jesus Christ, that Schrautenbach compares it with Sparta ; but nobody was sent who did not volunteer. Not even every volunteer was sent. Even when the leader of the group to which he belonged recommended him, and there was need of somebody, the will of the Lord was sought through the lot. Often a candidate was led in this way into a very different path from that which he had planned for himself, or which the leaders had had in mind for him. In many such cases the divine guidance was recognized later ; but there was a danger of making the lot a method of administration, a piece of mechanism. When this was realized, the use of it was given up—not because of any revolt against " the rule of the Saviour," but because of the conviction that if the Church is willing to do His will, He can rule and make His will known in other ways.

It was a matter of course that he who wished to become a missionary must be a member of the Church. In looking through the lists, one is astonished to find where they all came from. That was not only so in Zinzendorf's time, when the Brethren's Church was being gathered, and those who founded Herrnhut, or

other congregations came from Bohemia, Moravia, Switzerland, Alsace, Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, the Baltic Provinces, and various parts of Germany, or from the British Isles and America. It remained so later, owing to the scattered positions of the congregations.

The education of the missionaries was as varied as their origin. Most of them had little schooling. Christian David was grown up, when he learnt to read and write from the Bible, and all his life he wrote everything in printer's script. Lack of education made itself felt when it came to the learning of foreign languages. But, taking all things into consideration, it is amazing what these people accomplished. Sometimes under the guidance of a well-educated colleague, sometimes without help of any kind, they studied climates, natural phenomena, languages, and folklore. Thanks to their preparatory investigations, David Cranz was able to write in 1765 his valuable *History of Greenland* after a stay of only fourteen months in the country, and Oldendorp his book on the West Indies, Quandt his on Surinam, and Loskiel his mine of information on the North American Indians. A museum of curiosities collected by missionaries was opened at Barby, near Magdeburg, a collection so unique at that time that even Goethe went to see it.

These achievements are the more remarkable, as the missionaries in most fields had to earn their living by agriculture or industry. At first they used to receive from the Church only enough money to take them to the harbour from which they were to sail. They went there on foot, and their needs were few. Sometimes friends helped them to cross the sea, sometimes they worked their passage as sailors. When they reached

their destination they had to do the best they could, mindful of the exhortation: "Having food and clothing, therewith let us be content." The work as a whole bore a heroic character. Some of the sayings and doings of the pioneers have been chronicled as samples of heroism; but, if we are to form a true estimate we must not think so much of shipwrecks and adventures, of the attacks of Indians and Kurds, of fever and hunger, as of what men and women, whose names are never mentioned, actually did in the wear and tear of daily life, holding out for years in lonely places without news of wife and child, unable in times of war to get food or medicines from home, "and therefore making up their minds to it that they would have to stop eating bread," worn with hard bodily work under a tropical sun. Zinzendorf said once: "They must wear blinkers like the horses in London. The Saviour makes His messengers unobservant or blind, that they may not see the full import of this or that, not merely in order that they may not be afraid, but especially in order that they may not grow conceited."

And what has been said of the heroism of the men is still more true of the women. Women worked in the Church both at home and abroad to a degree that has scarcely been reached in any Church; but circumstances mostly forbade an independent form of women's work abroad. The sisters went out as wives and worked as such, bearing danger and fatigue with the men, and helping to win the victory at the risk of their lives. When Rosalie Nitschmann was asked whether she was not anxious about her husband who was in America, she answered: "No! He is the Saviour's servant. But we are very fond of one another." In Christ's service they became as heroic as the men, and

the best and finest thing of all was His work in the men and women themselves, through whom He did His work in the world.

THE HOME CHURCH

WITHOUT the Church which God created through the baptism of the Spirit on August 13th, 1727, there would have been no missionaries, no Zinzendorf, no Spangenberg. Nobody would have ever spoken of them. Zinzendorf once said : " They are like a quiver full of arrows. Blessed is he that has his quiver full of men. Blessed is he who has his machine full of such rockets, which he can let off, and which, when they have reached the height, spread out over all the world and sow the earth with their sparks." The marvel was that a Church came into being at the foot of the Hutberg, which carried on Missions as a Church, just as the Church in Antioch which sent out Barnabas and Paul. The wonderful thing about Herrnhut was not that it began Evangelical Missions. Neither was its conception of the missionary task its chief merit, nor was its message more earnest than that of Eliot and Egede and the missionaries whom Francke sent out. The main fact was that God had created a Church that was on fire, and that the individuals who were sent out were sparks of this fire, arrows from this quiver, members of this body who acted for it. The new thing was that there was a Church behind the missionary undertakings. The Church became a power, because God had given her power. To find anything like it one must go back to apostolic times. Zinzendorf has been

called "a missionary genius," but the chief mark of his genius was that he did not make himself but the Church the chief actor, and based all his missionary activity upon the power that worked in her. Though this was what he had dreamt of as a boy, and God had given him the workers he had prayed for, he did not move, even when the first volunteers had offered themselves, until he had the whole Church behind him, and it took action. The Church took a year to think the matter over and make sure this was the will of God, and then it made the Mission so completely its own affair, that it was not so much a work it took in hand as the expression of its very life. There was no literary propaganda to make the public acquainted with what was going on, as there is to-day in order to get friends to support the work ; but, as far as possible, the Church was kept informed of what its sons and daughters were doing. The *Diarium des Gemeinhauses, der Hütten, des Jüngerhauses*, which was to a certain extent a diary of the life of the Church, gives the most reliable information about all its enterprises. It was multiplied in manuscript—an amazing amount of trouble was taken in doing it—and sent to the Brethren's settlements all over the world, but only to these. Outside of the Church it could be read only in closed sessions of the "Societies." It was the privilege of members alone to hear these communications, though they contained nothing that needed hiding ; for the Church regarded the Missions and every other form of witness as the expression of its own life, with which strangers had nothing to do. But days on which the Reports of missionaries were read, or Brethren and Sisters at home on furlough told about their experiences, were red-letter days in the life of the Church. Zinzen-

dorf valued these "Church Days" highly and made them as beautiful as possible. He wrote hymns for them, or fascinated his audience by the way in which he read letters that had come to hand, throwing in his own explanations. He would interrupt the reading to let the congregation sing hymns, some of which he composed on the spot to fit the circumstances. Sometimes he himself sang. To give expression to their fellowship a lovefeast would be held, at which often only bread and water were served. The news from abroad was made the subject of prayer. Meetings would last from 8 to 11 a.m., or from 2 to 6 p.m., and often from 8 p.m. till far into the night. All non-resident members who could do so attended these great "Church Days," which were mostly held every fourth Saturday, and so steeped themselves afresh in the life of the Brotherhood.

Sometimes members of the Mission congregations, who had been brought to Europe, were to be seen at these meetings. It is astonishing how many of these visitors found their way into the congregations even from Greenland. A few are buried on the Hutberg and elsewhere on the Continent and in England. One can imagine the emotion when heathen, brought to Christ by the preaching of the Brethren, sang in their own tongues the praises of the Crucified. Many of these festal days are mentioned in the memoirs of those who were present at them, as for instance "the lovefeast held on September 24th, 1734, at which forty brethren met in Herrnhut who were ready to go to the heathen," or another held at Bethlehem in Pennsylvania, at which Greenlanders, Arawacks, and Mohicans took part with their missionaries. These were not only red-letter days, but days of preparation,

when the congregation gathered strength for service and asked for new weapons from the armoury of God.

A business man who had travelled far and wide, Jonas Paulus Weiss, of Nürnberg, wrote after a visit to Herrnhut : " Only two things and one person have ever exceeded my expectations—the open sea, the congregation at Herrnhut, and Zinzendorf." And Spangenberg once wrote of the little congregation he presided over at Bethlehem : " Our badge is well known. Whoever comes near this congregation either takes fire, or runs away." For the missionaries it meant more than can be expressed to have such a Church behind them. When the forces opposed to them seemed overwhelming, they comforted themselves with the thought that those at home were thinking of them ; for the institution of the Hourly Intercession made that certain. The first missionaries to the Hottentots wrote : " We know only three things : the Saviour, through whose strength we do all things ; the heathen, for whom we work ; the Church, which sent us."

THE MISSIONARY HYMN

HERRNHUT took leave of her first missionaries in a singing-meeting. The singing-meeting, which is still held in Moravian congregations, is unlike anything else we know of in the Christian Church. The Liturgus, the brother who conducts it, chooses verses out of different hymns, and pieces them together so as to produce a sequence of thought, or the treatment of a theme which may be introduced by a passage from the Bible. " There is a special spirit about community

singing," said Zinzendorf once. "I have often said I would rather sleep through half a 'Church Day' than miss a singing-meeting." It has a wonderful effect, when great and small, young and old, are as one voice, singing and praising God, or remembering their dying Lord. As soon as Herrnhut began Foreign Missions, it created the missionary hymn. In the very first editions of the Moravian Hymnbook (1735, 1741, 1753) there are missionary hymns by various Moravian writers. The Hymnbook which Gregor edited in 1773, and which marks the close of a period in this respect, contains a Missionary section consisting of eighty hymns. These were far from being all that had been written and sung, but were just a selection from those which had come from the heart, and spoken to the heart of the Church in those stirring times. They were composed by thirty-six different authors. They are not all of high poetic value. The metre is sometimes uneven, the rhyme forced, the imagery clumsy; yet we should not like to lose them, because they were not intended to satisfy the æsthetic sense, but to speak to the heart. They have this power still; nay, one might say that they have regained it in our day. When representatives of Missionary Societies, not only from all parts of Germany, but also from Switzerland, Holland, Denmark, and Sweden meet in Herrnhut for the Mission Week and sing these hymns, which God inspired the pioneers of Missions to create 200 to 150 years ago, and so share their conflict, joys, distress, hopes, disappointments, defeats, and victories, one can feel how the singers are moved. Many a one has gone straight away after such a meeting, and has bought a Hymnbook to take home with him.

Remembering how the Moravian Missionary Hymns

came into being, it is not surprising to find that they cover almost the whole of the ground without a gap. They treat of the call to work which proceeds from the Saviour's cross, of the promise that goes with it, of that which prophets foresaw with unclouded vision ; but they also speak of the losses and sacrifices which the fight demands because it is a real fight, of holding fast by prayer, even in the very depths, to the promises of God. The witnesses of Jesus, with His conflict and victory before them, ask of Him new strength, self-denial, faithfulness, humility. Their experience of His constant help breaks forth in such a song of praise as this :

“ How good to serve without a care
The Monarch of the ages,
Walk through the fire with Him, and share
His ark when ocean rages ! ”

They know there will be fresh toil and difficulty, but go to meet them with the cry :

“ Nothing is finer than dust-covered fighters.”

The earliest known English missionary hymn was written by James Hutton and sung by the Fetter Lane congregation. It begins with prayer for the brethren who preach the gospel in scorching heat and piercing cold, then identifies the singers with them.

“ And then before us go ;
To every sinner show
What need he has of thee.”

But all they can do is so little ! Still they take courage
and sing on :

“ Yet, Workman great and wise,
Who shall thy work despise ?
A tool that's used by thee
Can wonders do.”

They look forward to the goal of all Mission work, the Kingdom of God, and that is the grandest chord in their harmony. In this, as in all else, Zinzendorf was their leader. His “ warrior hymns ” are not the best known, but they are the most original and the noblest. He comforts and admonishes, he weeps and laughs, he exults and sings, he praises and beseeches, and, whatever he does, he carries his hearers away with him. Herder called him “ the great conqueror ” ; but his conquests were made under the banner of One Who “ took upon Him the form of a servant.”

PART II

FROM SPANGENBERG'S DEATH TILL NOW

1. THE NEW MOVEMENT

THE death of Spangenberg on September 18th, 1792, closes the epoch-making period of Moravian Missions. Consolidation and extension went on steadily, and the work in South Africa was resumed that same year ; but new forces were needed if the world was to be won for Christ, and God provided them. The Methodist movement had prepared the way for the formation of the great English Missionary Societies. John Wesley had travelled to Georgia with a party of Moravians, had got to know Spangenberg there, and returned to England overwhelmed by the conviction that he could not convert Indians until he himself was converted. In London he renewed his touch with the Brethren and on the evening of May 24th, 1738, in one of their meetings in Aldersgate Street he found the peace he had long sought. He then became the greatest evangelist England has ever known. When he died in 1791 the intellectual and spiritual outlook of his country had been changed. The Evangelical Revival had shed a new light on social and religious problems, and the events of the following years helped to pave the way for the great century of Foreign Missions. In the wars of the French Revolution England had won the undisputed mastery of the sea, and new lands came

into its horizon—Africa and India, the isles of the Pacific, the wonders of the southern seas and of Australia. Together with the extension of geographical knowledge came the ideas of the French Revolution. Whereas the Indian population of America had been treated with relentless cruelty, and the Negroes of Africa had been carried off and sold as slaves without a qualm, the claims of humanity now found a hearing, and it was realized that one owed humane and kind treatment even to the uneducated human brother. If now a man were to come and proclaim to the English people with the power of a prophet the duty of taking the Gospel to the heathen, he was sure to find people to listen to him.

The year after Wesley died, the year in which Spangenberg died, this man appeared in the person of William Carey, shoemaker and Baptist preacher. He had read the English Moravian Missionary magazine, *Periodical Accounts*, and had learnt from it that Mission work was not only right, but possible, and that Moravians had been carrying it on for sixty years. At a Conference on May 31st, 1792 he delivered a great sermon on Isaiah liv, 2 and 3, with the theme: "Expect great things from God; attempt great things for God." The sermon has become famous. It is one of the few sermons—and one may ponder this—which can be proved to have produced great results. On October 2nd, 1792, the Baptist Missionary Society was founded in Kettering.

That was the signal for a mighty movement. "A spring tide of missionary enthusiasm" swept over England, and passed to the Continent by way of Holland and Germany. We have not space to pursue the movement, thrilling as it is, but can only notice

two things ; firstly, how in almost all beginnings of this new life the connection with the Moravians is noticeable ; secondly, how it came just at the right time, when the last of those who had gone through the experiences of August 21st, 1732, were closing their eyes, and the little band of workers at the front needed strengthening.

2. *A FRESH START IN SOUTH AFRICA*

ABOUT 120 miles east of Capetown at the foot of the Zondereinde (Endless) Mountains, which divide the south of Cape Colony from the north, forming a mighty wall of rock with innumerable bastions, points, and towers, there lies the oldest mission-station in South Africa, Genadendal, between the mountains and the river of the same name. To reach it one crosses the river by a long bridge, the oldest in South Africa, built by the missionaries and their converts more than a hundred years ago. In Baviaanskloof (Baboons' Clough), as the place was called then, the Moravian, George Schmidt, who had left Herrnhut in July, 1737, began his Mission to the Hottentots on April 23rd, 1738. He built himself a hut and planted a garden, which he tended with great care. He planted fruit-trees, hoping some day to eat of their fruit. Above all he gathered a small group of homeless "schepsels" (creatures), as the Boers called the natives. His garden flourished ; but the human soil was poor, and he often lost courage over the lack of results or the opposition of colonists and soldiers to whom a Mission

to the Hottentots seemed an insult to human dignity. But letters from home showed that he did not stand alone. At last day dawned, and he was able to baptize his first convert in the river, as he rode with him to Capetown for letters. A few days later five others were baptized in Baviaanskloof. That seemed the beginning of success, but it proved to be the end. George Schmidt was driven out of the country in 1744 because he, a man without theological education, had baptized Hottentots. His house fell to ruin, and in a few years the ruins were overgrown with thorns. His garden ran wild. The handful of people he had ministered to were scattered, and the attempts made to keep touch with them failed.

Nearly fifty years went by, and on January 4th, 1793, under a pear-tree George Schmidt had planted in Baviaanskloof, the Gospel was preached once more by three Moravian missionaries, and that was the beginning of a new epoch in South Africa. To their surprise, when they got to know the neighbouring Hottentots, they found one of Schmidt's converts. Old Lena, who visited them in their cottage, brought them a treasure she had kept since those days when the light had dawned for her—a New Testament. George Schmidt had given it to her when she was baptized. She had read it as long as her eyesight held; then her grand-daughter, who had been taught to read by one of Schmidt's pupils, had read to her, and to prove that she could do it read to the missionaries the story of the wise men from the east. Lena had kept the book wrapped up in a doubled calf-skin, in order that it should not be harmed. Now she handed it over to the teachers whom God had sent to carry on Schmidt's work. It is still preserved in the archives of the

Genadendal congregation, where it is kept in a small box made of the wood of the old pear-tree.

The news that White men had come to care for the Hottentots spread near and far, and in time a village arose at the entrance to Baviaanskloof. Hottentots were taught to form a social community and to live as citizens in fellowship with brethren and sisters of their race, free from outside control. Every inhabitant of the village received a piece of garden-land in the valley along the river, and was taught how to till it. A system of irrigation was introduced. The fame of Genadendal spread through the Colony, and visitors came to see what the "schepsels" had done. One of these gave this as his verdict: "Nobody can imagine what it is like. One must see it for oneself, and then the mind cannot grasp it."

Soon there was a cutler's forge. A corn-mill was built, and a crushing-mill for the tanyard. A butcher's business was opened. A wood was planted on the slopes of the mountain, which led the way in the afforestation of South Africa, where trees are scarce.

The reason why the missionaries were able to do their work unhindered this time was that in 1795 the Cape had changed hands, and the English flag waved there. Whereas before they had met with distrust in official quarters they now found a ready hearing and support. They received money for irrigation, wood for the building of a church, and land for new stations, because the people who applied for admission to Baviaanskloof could not all be accommodated there. So Mamre was founded in 1808 north of Capetown, and Enon far away in the east, with the purpose of reaching the warlike Kaffir tribes, and Elim in 1824 not far from Cape Agulhas, in the extreme south. But by this

time Moravian missionaries did not stand alone in South Africa. The tide of the new movement had reached it.

3. *THE CENTENARY*

WHEN August 21st, 1832, approached, the Church prepared to celebrate the centenary of its Missions. Naturally the Danish West Indies played a prominent part. The Governor had decreed, at the request of the missionaries, that the slaves should have August 21st free for the purpose, and had even commanded that they should have the afternoon of the 20th to prepare themselves. Many planters and officials celebrated the day with the slaves. In St. Thomas they provided mules to convey old people and cripples to New Herrnhut and Nisky. Some sick folk and invalids were even carried there in sedan-chairs. The most impressive celebration was the one at Friedensfeld (Midland) on the island of St. Croix. The Governor himself had announced his intention of taking part and inspected the preparations. It was his wish that the members of the three congregations should all meet there. The first members from the other two places arrived on the evening of the 20th. By sunrise the next morning the place "was full of Negro brethren and sisters." But still crowds streamed to it. Not only the Christians came, but also the heathen. Finally ten thousand were there awaiting the arrival of the Governor. At 10 a.m. he appeared, riding in a coach drawn by six horses. Beside him sat the Lieutenant Governor. Before them rode a body of cavalry and

artillery with two field-pieces ; behind them forty-three carriages, in which " the chief authorities of the island and other gentlemen " were seated. They alighted before the mission-house and moved in procession to the place where the service was to be held. The Governor himself had arranged that the wives of the missionaries should go first, then the missionaries, then " their Excellencies and their retinue, while the band played festal Church music and nineteen salvoes were fired by the field-pieces." The Report, which was read by one of the missionaries, stated that in the past hundred years 31,310 Negroes had been baptized, and that the seven congregations in the Danish Islands counted at that moment 9,822 souls. The service concluded with the baptism of twenty-one candidates, and the procession returned to the mission-house in the same order, where salvoes were fired again.

While the missionfields were celebrating the centenary with a special sense of its significance for them, the home congregations, and especially Herrnhut, held review at crowded lovefeasts of what the hundred years had meant for them. They had sent out 1,199 of their members, 740 Brethren and 459 Sisters. Many of these had died at their posts—in the West Indies alone 190. Only ten had perished by shipwreck in spite of the many and dangerous journeys. Ten had died at sea. The number of baptisms in the missionfields was 44,757, viz., 39,003 Negroes, 349 Indians, 2,604 Eskimos, 2,801 Hottentots and Kaffirs. The cost of carrying on the work had grown steadily and had reached the sum of about £10,500. To help the Church to raise this Societies had been formed : in America "The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel" (S.P.G., 1745 ; incorporated 1788) ; in Holland

“The Zeist Missionary Society,” 1793; in England “The Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel” (S.F.G., 1741) and “The London Association in Aid of Moravian Missions,” 1817. But one main theme amidst all rejoicings was, that other communities had become fellow-labourers in the great Harvest-field, so that the outlook was good.

4. *THE FREEDMAN*

IN the first half of the nineteenth century Moravian Missions were carried on chiefly among slaves; the fight for the emancipation of the slaves was therefore of the utmost importance for them. The first victory was won in 1807, when the English Parliament abolished the Slave Trade; the second in 1833 when it abolished slavery itself in all English dominions. The Act of Emancipation came into force on August 1st, 1834. The slaves met in the churches to conclude the old life with a Watch Night service; at midnight they sprang to their feet, free men and women, and sang “Now praise we all our God.” In some places full freedom was granted at once; in others a period of apprenticeship was observed till August 1st, 1838, when complete freedom was given. The French and Danish Colonies followed the example of England in 1848. Holland set her slaves free on July 1st, 1863. The slaves in Surinam asked that the big church in Paramaribo, the capital, should be decorated and brilliantly lighted at their expense. On June 29th and 30th they brought flowers and greenery, wove garlands and provided vases. On the evening of the

30th a Watch Night service was held, which was intended for slaves, but was attended by freemen also, so that the church, big as it was, could not hold all who came. At 8 a.m. on July 1st the Negroes flocked to the church once more to hear a sermon on the text : " If the Son shall make you free ye shall be free indeed." In the evening the crowd was so great that the church was full long before the time for the service. There were 270 candles lighted, so that the illumination was brilliant for those days. The Governor and his wife were there with their retinue. When the service was over, the Negroes went quietly to their homes, and 37,000 slaves had become free without disturbance, because so many of them passed from slavery into freedom in the house of God.

And now it was hoped that a great time would begin for Missions, since slavery, which had seemed the great enemy, was abolished. The last three decades before emancipation in Surinam had seen great progress. One plantation after another had been opened to the missionaries, until only fifteen out of the 209 remained closed to them. The planters had discovered that the Christians were their most faithful workers. In many cases they not only admitted the missionaries, but even provided the means for erecting stations. But after the emancipation the wrong which had been done by white to black avenged itself. One lesson the black had learnt, when he was driven to work with a whip, was that work was unworthy of the freeman. The estates deteriorated, and many went out of cultivation. Some of the Negroes emigrated ; in Surinam many moved into the town, where there was not employment for so many ; some withdrew into the interior out of reach of the Whites, and therefore also out of range

of the influence of Missions. The number of Church members fell in all the former slave countries, and it took time to accommodate the machinery to the new conditions.

Kulis from India, and later Javans, had to be imported to take the places of the blacks on the estates in Surinam, and so a new form of heathenism and Mohammedanism had to be dealt with just when most of the former heathen had become Christians in name at least. But difficult as the problems of race and of religion became, the problem of morals was the most difficult of all. Under the system of slavery, family life had been at the best precarious, and in general almost out of the question. In many cases marriage was impossible, because it would have impeded the freedom of sale. The consequences lasted for years after slavery was ended. In 1880 and 1881 a crisis was produced in Surinam, which for a time imperilled the existence of the Mission. The ordering of marriage went hand in hand with the ordering of education. Slave children had had little or no training till they were old enough to work, and then had only the training of compulsory obedience. There was no home training. Now they had to learn the discipline of school, and the teachers themselves had to be created and taught the discipline of the free, that they might teach it to others. The results achieved with the aid of the Governments are remarkable, considering the enormous difficulties that had to be faced.

But to complete the picture, a third difficulty must be envisaged. The black population had no social ties, and did not know that man becomes human by his relations to other human beings, so that he forms with them a community, or fellowship. In Africa the

natives possess this sense in a high degree. Each member of the tribe is accustomed from childhood to submit to the discipline which emanates from the chief, and knows that it will not do to live without obedience and order. The Negroes of the West Indies and Surinam had no chiefs when their chains fell. There was no tie to hold them together in ordered fellowship except the Church. Apart from that there was no common interest to make them undertake a common task. Therefore in Surinam the plantations were ruined; the canals were choked with mud and weeds; business became stagnant. Such were the people whom the Church now had to teach to rule themselves, to form organizations, and to administer them. The West Indians were a generation ahead both in liberty and in development, had better industrial conditions and the support of the English Government in training teachers, and so were able to make better progress in producing a native ministry than was possible in Surinam. In recent years, however, Surinam has advanced rapidly. In 1931 it had nine ordained native ministers, while the West Indies had twenty-one. Both fields have a constitution which places a great deal of the administration in their own hands. Both have shown zeal in evangelization. From the West Indies missionaries have gone to the Mosquito Coast, and to British Guiana, where the Church, after working fifty years in Demerara, is once more at work in Berbice also, the scene of the first Mission to the South American Indians. In Surinam the native Christians have undertaken the Mission to the Bush Negroes and recommenced work in the "Dead Country," which shows promise of a healthy development.

5. *PROGRESS IN SOUTH AFRICA*

THE Hottentots, even if they were not slaves, were serfs. Some, like the villein in the Feudal System, held land which was paid for by labour on the lord's estate, and many of them were so dependent on their masters, that they could scarcely be distinguished from slaves. In 1828 this state of things was ended. The Government issued a decree that those Hottentots, who were not slaves, should no longer be compelled by the Boers to work for them, and gave them practically the same rights as were possessed by all other citizens. As there was no parliament, the question of the franchise did not arise. This change was due principally to the untiring and fearless efforts of Dr. Philip, of the London Missionary Society. As elsewhere, so in South Africa, those who received their freedom did not know at first what to do with it. They left, as soon as they could, the farms on which they had done their compulsory work, and settled where they could be sure of better treatment, or in the towns, or on Mission lands, which the Government granted freely for some years. This created new tasks for the Missionary Societies, some of which were already at work, whilst others began work after the emancipation. In the Moravian Mission in Cape Colony the new circumstances led to a large influx of people to the mission-stations—not to hear the Word of God, but for other reasons. The result was a great deal of disappointment both for them and for the missionaries, and trouble with the Boers; for these, being dependent on the labour of the coloured people, could not view with indifference the exodus of hundreds of their labourers to the mission-stations. Some tried

to regain their influence by supplying them with brandy.

It was fortunate that at this time of unrest there was a man at the head of the Mission who combined energy and wisdom, learning and practical gifts, with the ability to get on with high and low and to unite the quiet pursuit of a fixed plan with cheerful and strong confidence in God. Hans Peter Hallbeck, a cultured Swedish theologian, whose children and children's children have been in the service of Moravian Missions, belongs to the group of figures in Moravian history upon whom the eye rests with special pleasure. In him God gave to the growing work in South Africa the right man at the right moment. There are endless anecdotes about him. Once, when Kaffir robbers had taken from him everything he had of value, and the last of them had lifted his assegai to kill him, because there was nothing left to take, Hallbeck made the man proud and happy by giving him his cravat. When he was working in the garden one day, a puff-adder suddenly alighted on his arm. There seemed to be no hope of escape; but he nipped its tail with the hand that was free, and, when it turned to bite him, he shook it off and killed it with his spade. Others have had similar adventures, but they are forgotten. The stories about Hallbeck live on. Hottentots trusted him; Kaffirs respected him; Governors asked his advice; everybody talked about him. The history of Missions cannot ignore him; for he left his mark upon Moravian work in Cape Colony for years. He opened an institute in Genadendal for training teachers and native assistants, and thanks to this Coloured ministers were ordained for the work of Moravian Missions a generation before most other South African Missions were ready for such a step.

He began the Mission among the Kaffirs at the request of the Governor, Lord Charles Somerset, who regarded mission-stations as a better protection for the land than military posts. He himself travelled to the frontier and made a treaty with the Kaffir chief Bawana, which allowed the Brethren to select a place in his land to live in. So Shiloh was founded in 1828 as the base of the Kaffir Mission. It is still called by Christians living further east "The Mother." The work done there in the first fifty years was disturbed by one war after another. Six stations, founded with great difficulty, went up in flames; but though the Kaffir Wars went on till well into the eighties, the work spread through Tembuland eastward to the Drakensberg, and the centre shifted from Shiloh to the territory of the Hlubis in East Griqualand, where the largest congregations were formed.

As the personality and activity of Hallbeck were decisive for the work among the Coloureds, so Heinrich Meyer, as pioneer, gave a new impulse to the Kaffir Mission. Like Hallbeck he died early. Always pushing forward, relentless towards himself, toiling day and night, in frequent peril, he soon used up his strength. "He kept his guardian angel busy through his boldness," said a Hottentot woman. From his cave, which he called Adullam after David's, and in which he took refuge from rough weather in those early days in savage Hlubiland, a stream of blessing went forth. Stations were founded later, many long after his death in 1876, but one finds his mark on all of them. In his whole adventurous life he had a far-reaching plan in mind, and his thoughts were directed to the whole Kaffir race, among whom his memory still lives. Even the heathen, who still go about in red blankets with assegais

in their hands, as if the new times, which have changed everything, had nothing to do with them, speak about him. "Yes, that was a man," they say. "One had to mind and listen to him. We understood him. Nobody spoke our language as he did." Once, when he was lecturing in England during a furlough, he forgot himself in his enthusiasm and began to speak the language of his Kaffirs, and on his death-bed he asked for his stick, for he must go and preach to the Chieftain Ludidi.

Both the Missions in South Africa have made great progress in self-help. They both have a constitution which prepares them for independence.

6. *THE ESKIMO*

At the end of the 18th century there was considerable dissatisfaction and disappointment about the Mission in Labrador. There were only 110 Christians at the three stations, and the influence of White fishermen and traders destroyed a great deal of the good done. But at the turn of the century an awakening began in Hopedale. An old woman, whom the missionaries had tried in vain to turn from her evil ways, was seized at a service by the message of the Saviour, who came to seek and to save that which was lost. "Me too?" she asked, and, when all the rest went out, she remained with her head bowed upon the back of the bench before her. The church-officer thought she was asleep, and went to wake her and send her home. She looked at him with wide-open frightened eyes, ran out of the church and up the hill behind the station, fell on her

knees among the rocks and began to pray. She came back to her hut a new creature.

The movement laid hold of the whole village. As in so many revivals, it was hard to control the tendency to regard physical appearances, such as quaking and swoons, as the most important marks of the influence of the Spirit; but its fruits remained, and were seen in the renewal of spiritual life as well as in conversions. With the news, the thing itself also reached the other stations, and the number of Christians increased rapidly. Therewith heathenism on the Coast received its death-blow, though some decades were to elapse before all the inhabitants had been received into the Christian Church. The last were gathered in when the station of Killinek was established in 1904. Many faithful elders have helped in reaching this result. They play a great part in all the stories of the Mission, and there is something very winning in their wrinkled brown faces; but they are a long way from being native ministers, and there is no prospect of creating a native Church, served by Eskimo pastors.

Considerations of this kind played a part in deciding the Moravian Church to hand over its Mission in Greenland to the Danish Church in 1900. There were no more heathen on that part of the coast where its missionaries worked, and there was no prospect of making native ministers out of any of the full-blooded Eskimos who formed their congregations. The attempt that had been made by opening training schools had failed. On the other hand the half-breeds who formed the Danish congregations were capable of such service. So, when the Moravian missionaries were withdrawn, the whole population could be organized as one Church, served in part by a native

staff. The purpose of helping Egede, which had taken the pioneers to Greenland, was fulfilled. The Danish Church had become alive to its responsibility to take up Egede's work and the Moravian missionaries were needed elsewhere.

Some found new work among Eskimos in Alaska, where a Mission had been commenced in 1885. At the request of Dr. Sheldon Jackson, the American Inspector of Schools for Alaska, Moravian missionaries had been sent to the Eskimos on the Kuskokwim River. In spite of disaster, progress was encouraging. The policy pursued in Labrador and Greenland was reversed. There the Eskimo Christians had been gathered together in villages, in order that they might be educated and kept under supervision, though this race of hunters and fishermen ran the risk of a poorer living. In Alaska they were left in their little scattered groups and visited where they lived, though they ran the risk of learning more slowly and less thoroughly. It was fortunate that native helpers were soon found, who were qualified by intelligence and character to help in the spread of the Gospel. One of them invented a kind of shorthand with the help of the primitive picture-writing of his people, in order to take down the words of the missionary, and used to write to dictation and read to others what he had taken down. These men carried the Gospel from village to village, taught their people, and prepared them for baptism, so that the missionaries on their journeys sometimes found in villages they had never visited before groups of people who were already prepared for reception into the Church, and whose inward change showed itself in a cleanliness hitherto unknown, in a new family life, and in the building of neat cottages fit for such a life.

In 1909, when gold was found on the Kuskokwim, gold-diggers began to stream towards this hitherto unknown land. Bethel, the head-quarters of the Mission, became a centre for immigrants of all kinds. The effect of this change upon the life of the people gave rise to anxiety ; but the American Government is as much alive as the Mission to the needs of the situation, and by its support of schools and of the Mission orphanage renders great assistance, while the real influence of religion gives a firm foundation for hope for the future.

7. *NEW BRANCHES ON THE OLD TREE*

IN the middle of the nineteenth century a revival of missionary interest and effort began, which led to constant expansion of the missionfield for half-a-century. In 1849 missionaries were sent to the Mosquito Coast, in Central America, and to the South Australian blacks ; in 1853 to Tibet ; in 1866 to the interior of Australia ; in 1878 to Demerara. We have already mentioned the commencement of the Mission to Alaska in 1885. In 1889 the Indian Mission in California took up again the work of Zeisberger. In 1890 Trinidad was added to the other West Indian Islands, and in 1907 San Domingo. In 1891 North Queensland succeeded the other Missions in southern Australia, where the natives were dying out, and the first pioneers went to the north of Lake Nyasa in East Africa at the call of Mackay of Uganda, and in 1897 the station of Urambo was taken over from the London Missionary Society to become the nucleus of a Mission

in Unyamwezi, which, it was hoped, would one day join up with the one in Nyasa. This sudden new spirit of adventure in a Church which had already enough to do in proportion to her strength needs explanation.

We have already pointed out that the missionary movement which began in England at the end of the eighteenth century and spread to the Continent was of great importance for the Moravian Church as the arrival of the whole army is of importance to the advance guard. A revival, which began in the college at Niesky in 1841, where future servants of the Church were trained, and spread through them to the Church at large, also played a part; for the men who went through that experience were in the ministry at home, in the missionfield, and in leading positions in the Church, when the new power showed itself in action. When the Church celebrated the 150th anniversary of its Missions in 1882, there were three men who stood out as the embodiment of the spirit of those fifty years—Alexander von Dewitz, Eugen Reichel, and Charles Buchner—all men of exceptional ability and of intense religious experience, the last of whom carried the torch into this century, and was one of the best-known missionary leaders in Germany. But, when all this is said, it does not suffice to explain the new growth, and we are driven back to the explanation of all great spiritual phenomena: "The Spirit bloweth where it listeth."

a. Nicaragua. There was a small Indian state known as the Mosquito Coast, which was under British protection. The capital was Bluefields, a small town on the Caribbean, once a haunt of the buccaneers. The Mission found ample scope at first among the black

population, whose language was English, and who had connections with Jamaica; so its base at first was Jamaica. But its aim was to reach the Indians, and so it spread, first to the island of Rama Key, and then northward up the coast, and finally up the rivers. The time of greatest progress was in 1881, when an awakening went through the land, as spring goes through the woods and meadows as soon as its time has come. The Lord Himself did the work, and the missionaries followed in His train.

Then Nicaragua annexed the country and drove out its chief. The Mission reaped one advantage from this: as the frontier ceased to exist, it was free to go further north and inland. But the disadvantages were so great that it seemed at one time as if the work were doomed. Taxes and tariffs threatened to ruin business. The use of the Spanish language in the schools was demanded at once, so that most of them had to be closed. Romish priests appeared on the scenes, supported by the Romish Government. Missionaries who went home on furlough were not allowed to return. But this time of testing aroused in the Indians new powers of endurance; their spiritual life was quickened, rather than weakened. Then the dictator Zelaya fell, and things took a turn for the better. Even during the War the land was comparatively peaceful, and the Mission which passed under the care of the American branch of the Church was undisturbed. In recent years civil wars and revolutions have proved a handicap and yet could not hinder progress, so that numerous out-stations were founded even in the interior, and it was possible to advance into Honduras. The number of Christians increased from 6,584 in 1914 to 12,865 at the end of 1930.

In view of such success the Church at home almost forgot that there are volcanoes in Nicaragua, and that the missionary might have to risk his life. The news of the murder of Carl Bregenzer at Musawas, a new station in the interior, was a reminder that there are risks to be faced. He was killed at Easter 1931 by a band of guerrillas, and for a time all the other missionaries had to be withdrawn from the danger zone, leaving the native assistants and evangelists to care for the flock. God, who has begun the good work among the Miskito Indians, the Ramas, and the Sumus, will perfect it.

b. California. A book that was published by an American authoress under the title of *Ramona* drew attention to the degradation of the remnants of the Indian tribes in California, and put to the Christians of America the question whether they would not try to atone for the wrong done by their fathers to the aborigines of their country. Influenced by this book a Women's Association, which sought to improve the condition of the Indians, approached the Moravian Church with the request that it should do for these Indians of the west what had once been done for those of the east, and promised financial support.

The proposal was accepted at once, and American brethren, acquainted with the circumstances, were appointed, who found willing hearers and good results. The first baptisms soon followed, and outward progress became visible on the little Indian Reserves. Everything would have gone smoothly, if the Romanists had not awaked to the fact that these people belonged to the so-called "Mission Indians," whom they regarded as theirs. William Weinland, the founder of this

Mission, who remained in charge of it till his death in 1930, often suffered more from their intrigues than from the heat and drought. Since his death there has been only one missionary, who cares for two small congregations.

c. Australia. In this section we have to deal briefly with three separate undertakings, whose chief value was that they showed how even the lowest races of mankind, not far above the beasts, can be redeemed by the love of Jesus Christ. In 1849 the first Moravian missionaries went to Victoria. Because their difficulties seemed insuperable, they returned to Europe in 1856. The Home Board considered that not everything had been done which might have been done, and made another attempt, which was successful. Two congregations of Australian blacks were formed, Ebenezer and Ramahyuk (Ramah, our Home), which excited the admiration of all who knew them. Encouraged by these results, the Brethren tried ten years later to reach the scattered tribes of the interior. After wandering through the desert 104 days, they reached Lake Kopperamana. The conditions were so difficult, and the cost of provisions so prohibitive, that they had to be withdrawn.

So there remained only the work in Victoria, which was conducted by August Hagenauer. At first ridiculed for trying to convert Australian blacks, he remained at his post fifty years, and was finally made Protector of the Aborigines of Victoria, who were rapidly dying out. When he retired in 1908, the remnant of his flock at Ramahyuk was removed to an Anglican station. But before that he had helped to launch a fresh undertaking in North Queensland.

The Presbyterian Church of Australia, which already had Missions in other lands, recognized the duty of doing something for the savages of their own land, and, knowing Ramahyuk, decided to apply for Moravian missionaries to go as their messengers to the natives of North Queensland. They asked for a preacher, who should be able to conduct the Mission and the school and advocate the cause in the Churches, and a farmer, who could teach the people to till the soil and make the wandering tribes into agriculturists. The brethren James Ward and Nicholas Hey were sent. They landed in Melbourne and were introduced by Hagenauer to the scene of the old work and to the people who were the chief movers in founding the new. They moved northwards, preaching and stirring up interest, sometimes laughed at, sometimes warned—sometimes encouraged. They reached Thursday Island, where John Douglas, the Governor of North Queensland, lived, who became their constant friend and helper. So they came at last to Mapoon, the place selected for their first station, a sand-spit between Port Musgrave and the open Gulf of Carpentaria. Its recommendations were, that natives often camped there, and that it would be possible to escape by boat, if the savages tried to kill and eat them, as they had killed and eaten two Europeans a little time before. The reasons for beginning a Mission there at all were that, if these people could be converted, the coast would become safe for shipwrecked sailors and others, and that it would be easier to prevent the kidnapping of men and women by the *bêche-de-mer* fishers. These three objects have been attained. Most of the people around the three stations now existing are Christians. Travellers are safe. Agriculture has given

the people a means of secure livelihood ; schools have given them training for other things ; and neat-built villages have taken the place of the wind-shelters of the aboriginal wanderers. In 1919 the last Moravian missionaries retired, and Mapoon and its daughters became quite logically a Home Mission of the Presbyterian Church of Australia.

d. Tibet. In 1853 Dr. Gützlaff, a missionary on furlough, lectured in Germany on the problem of Christian Missions in China. If Christians could move from the west to meet those advancing from the east, the task of winning China for Christ would be accomplished in a much shorter time. The call for help reached Herrnhut, and so was passed on to the Church, and Heyde and Pagel, names to be well known in India, were told to make their way to Mongolia. As they were refused passports through Russia, they went to India, hoping to cross the Himalayas. Turned back at all points, they settled at Kyelang among a Tibetan population and from there made evangelistic tours through the valleys as far as the borders of the "great closed land."

The difficulties of this new field, to which they had been brought against their will, were manifold. The villages lie from 9,000 to 12,000 feet above sea-level, and life at such an altitude is a great strain for Europeans. Yet Heyde spent fifty years there without once visiting Europe. In the autumn the passes become blocked with snow, and communication with the outside world ceases in some cases till spring and is difficult even along the Indus valley. Agriculture is impossible in the greater part of the country, and therefore the population is sparse. The only town is Leh, on the Indus, with a population of about 3,000

and a considerable trade in the summer, when the routes north, south, east, and west are open. As there are few roads wider than a goat-track, and none which are not interrupted at times by avalanches, landslides, and unbridged rivers, an evangelistic tour is never free from risk. The land is full of monasteries, in which live thousands of monks (lamas)—some lazy and stupid, some cultured and highly educated, all inheritors of the traditions of a history which stretches back thousands of years. They have a considerable literature, and this suggested a form of missionary activity which had had only a secondary part to play in other lands where European languages were spoken—the writing of books and tracts. It seemed indeed the only way of reaching the greater part of the population. After many years the missionaries gained a footing in Leh and were able to add to their other activities in the Church, the school, and the villages, medical work with a small hospital as its centre.

They soon found themselves face to face with the problem which has confronted the translators of the Bible in all the chief countries of the world. Classical Tibetan is the language of literature and of the monasteries, but is imperfectly understood by the common people. The conversational language, which is understood by all, does not supply a vocabulary fit to reproduce the deep thoughts of the Word of God. The isolation of the numerous valleys from one another and from the outside world for months at a time has produced a great number of dialects, none of which can be used as a means of reaching the whole race. The missionaries had to translate the Bible, and, when translated, it must rank with the best literature. They chose the classical language; but there was a

great deal of preparatory study to be done before they could begin the main task. No European had yet mastered this ancient language and its rules and the secret of its spirit ; but God had provided the man for this purpose, Heinrich August Jaeschke, a linguistic genius of the first rank, and he accepted the call. This learned man, modest in character and wants, lived awhile entirely with the Tibetans. With infinite pains he compiled a dictionary of the language, a sketch of the grammar which he did not live to complete, and translated the New Testament with the exception of the Epistle to the Hebrews. With his literary work he laid the foundation upon which all his colleagues and successors have built. One of the latter, August Hermann Francke, while carrying on the translation, opened up a new means of understanding the mind and traditions of the people by his archaeological and literary discoveries. He also used the printing-press to carry on the tract mission, which has played such a part in this field, since tracts are not only distributed in the bazaar and in lonely valleys, but also find their way over the border into the "great closed land." Now the translation of the Bible nears its completion. Besides the missionaries who have helped to produce this "classic," as Francke called it, three members of a Tibetan family have given invaluable aid—Nathanael, once a lama in Lhasa, and then the first convert to Christianity in Kyelang ; Gergan, his brother, also a lama, and then a school-master in the Mission school at Leh ; and Yoseb Gergan, son of the latter, and the first ordained minister of the Tibetan Church.

For well-nigh eighty years Moravian missionaries have worked and waited for Tibet, and the results they

have achieved are in some ways wonderful. But, if one seeks for the results in the membership of the Christian Church, they are most disappointing. There are only about 160 souls in the Church to-day. Many a one has asked whether it is worth while, and whether one is justified in sending men and women to face such dangers and discomforts for such a harvest. Those who have spent their lives there are the most emphatic in saying that it is well worth while. Of all the missionfields in which Moravians have lived and died, there is none that offers so great a prize, when God's hour strikes; for Tibet is the Holy Land of Northern Buddhism, and the disciples of Buddha are counted by hundreds of millions. "I have laboured in vain, I have spent my strength for nought," says "the servant of the Lord" in Isaiah xlix. But God says: "I will give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be My salvation unto the end of the earth." We can leave it at that.

e. East Africa. The Brethren began their work at the north end of Lake Nyasa in 1891, in Unyamwezi in 1897. Urambo, the most northerly of the stations in Unyamwezi, is as far from Lake Nyasa as London is from Edinburgh. The inhabitants of Unyamwezi, the Wanyamwezi, are the porters of East Africa, and were so even in the days when the Arabs made their raids into the interior to fetch white and black ivory. When the White man came, he was satisfied if he could engage 100 or 200 of these tall and powerful men as carriers. Since railroad and motor have replaced the caravan to a great extent, the Wanyamwezi have become more settled; but they still have something of the roaming tendency of their forefathers. The Konde, Safwa, Nyika

Wandali, and the rest of the tribes around the north of Lake Nyasa are very different. In 1891, when our missionaries first reached them, they were real backwoodsmen, who had seen little of the world. The only movement that had touched them came from the incessant wars they waged with one another, of which their children and grandchildren still speak.

When the Moravian Church took over from the London Missionary Society the station of Urambo, it did so with considerable hesitation. The new field of Nyasa had already called for sacrifices, both of life and of resources. Each of the tribes required at least one station as base, and the study of the languages and dialects made great claims upon time and thought. The chief reason in favour of the step was that it opened up the prospect of securing the future of the East African Mission by building a chain of stations right through the centre of the country, southward from Urambo and northward from Nyasa. The decision was made easier by financial help from a friend in Germany and increased support from England. The purpose of linking up the two districts was hindered partly by the Romanists who pushed in between, and partly by geographical difficulties. But the field was promising; for the Konde tribe supplied a number of gifted teachers and helpers, and fifteen stations at strategic points had been built by 1914, besides a network of out-stations and preaching-places with 193 schools, in which 9,000 scholars assembled daily.

The schools were mostly built, like the native huts, of bamboo thatched with straw. In many cases the people themselves built the school and then sent to say: "We want to learn. A house is ready. Give us a teacher." When the teacher came, he found eager

pupils, who, sitting on the floor as they did at home, tried hard to learn the letters and to make of them syllables and words. Sometimes school was held in the shade of a big tree. By degrees a new world opened up for these tribes in a land at peace where the slave-raider came no more, and in the printed page. Before the war the New Testament had been printed in the languages of Konde, Nyika, and Kinyamwezi, besides Old Testament stories, the catechism, and small hymnbooks. The teachers were also evangelists, and some of their pupils likewise; for they told at home the stories they had heard and sung the hymns they had learnt at school.

Progress was making great strides in East Africa; but the Board at home had serious financial difficulties in consequence, as it went beyond the resources of the Church. Annual deficiencies caused them at last to welcome the chance of handing over Unyamwezi to a German Society which was looking out for an opening in East Africa, and to ask the consent of the General Synod which met in May, 1914. The Synod would have sanctioned the proposal, had not an Unyamwezi League been formed, which collected £3,500 in a very short time, promising to continue to support this field, and requesting that it be retained by the Church. Synod agreed, little knowing what a storm was about to strike its world-wide Missions (and especially these two fields in East Africa). Before all its members reached home, the Great War had begun.

8. *THE WAR*

WHEN war broke out, everybody concerned had to meet the situation as best he could. The Mission Board in Herrnhut could only ask the Boards of the Home Provinces to give what help they could and await the issue, and so the British Mission Board took over all Missions in British territory and became an administrative Board. The S.P.G. in America, which already cared for Alaska and California, which were scarcely affected, took Nicaragua under its administration. Surinam, being a Dutch colony, was able to carry on with such security as neutrality in a world-war could ensure, but went through anxious times nevertheless. In the West Indies and Demerara there was very little friction, as the missionaries and native ministers were almost all British or American, and the war did not reach them, because America bought the Danish islands as a precaution. They suffered severely, however, by hurricanes. Nicaragua was remarkably quiet, and a visitation was carried out by the American member of the Mission Board, which resulted in special provision for the training of native assistants. In Labrador, German missionaries were permitted to continue their work undisturbed, only the Superintendent himself requested that one of the English brethren should be put in his place in order to secure the smooth conduct of business with the Government. South Africa was cared for by London and financed largely by its trade, and suffered only slightly, though it had some serious difficulties to overcome, because almost all the missionaries were German. Tibet lost the greater part of its staff, because the authorities

decided that all German citizens must be repatriated ; yet the ordinary routine went on without diminution. The Leper Home in Jerusalem was not disturbed when Palestine passed from Turkish to English Government. Only in East Africa did the war make a decided difference, and that was because it became the scene of actual fighting. Nyasa lost all its White staff in 1916, and they were interned. In Unyamwezi two were allowed to remain at Tabora, but with restricted activity. In a short time the stations began to go to ruin, and the plantations to run wild, while the congregations and schools were left to look after themselves and to show what they had learnt of God. When in 1921 the Scottish missionaries took temporary charge of the Nyasa Mission, they found a Church in being, and the first statistics that were drawn up showed that the 1,900 Christians had increased to 5,000. In Unyamwezi, which was more backward, self-help was not so evident.

9. *REBUILDING AND ALTERATIONS*

IN August, 1919, a few months after the conclusion of peace, representatives of the Church in America, England, and on the Continent met at Zeist, in Holland. It was the first meeting after the war at which members of the nations which had fought one another so desperately sat down together to discuss common religious and social undertakings for the welfare of mankind. All had been faithful to their respective countries. There were some among them whose sons had been wounded or had fallen at the front. When

one remembers the atmosphere in which they met, one will realize that it was not easy to carry on negotiations even in a congregation in a neutral country. But they did not meet to talk politics, but to speak of the future of the Unity, to which they all belonged, and to give constitutional sanction to that which had had to be done of necessity. First of all, reports had to be given on the actual state of the missionfields; for the German branch of the Church had been cut off so long from direct communication with them, that it did not know how they fared. It was plain that the administration must remain for the present in the same hands into which it had passed during the war.

A similar meeting was held at Herrnhut in 1922 to review the changed situation. It approved the transfer of South Africa to the care of Herrnhut, and the resumption of work in Unyamwezi, which was shortly afterwards supplied with a small staff from Denmark, two of whom were nurses, and then with an English doctor and his wife; but it was found impossible to set up a General Mission Board. In 1926 the generosity of the German Missionary Societies and the kindness of the United Free Church of Scotland, chivalrous as ever, enabled Herrnhut to recommence work in Nyasa. So the missionfield was once more the same as before 1914, except that it had lost Australia.

One more change followed in 1928. During the war and the period of financial chaos that followed, it had been necessary to appeal to the Christian public of Holland for help to carry on the Mission in Dutch Guiana. By degrees the Dutch language had spread among the Negro population, which, as it advanced in education, became ashamed of Negro-English, which

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