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THE PERMANENT CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE HUSSITE
MOVEMENT TO THE RISE OF THE MORAVIAN CHURCH.

by

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OUTLINE OF THE INTRODUCTION

- 1 - The Task of the Historian.
- 2 - The Past and the Present.
- 3 - An Outline of the Present Thesis.
- 4 - Note on the spelling of Huss.

THE TASK OF THE HISTORIAN

If History, even in its broadest sense, is "all that we know about everything that man has ever done, or thought, or hoped, or felt", (1) the task of an author who attempts to sketch in any detail the history of even a very short period of time, and examine that period in some of its many aspects, is indeed tremendous. All who attempt so stupendous an undertaking must often feel the sentiment expressed so well by the brilliant Renan: "When I read over what I have written, the matter appears to me very poor, and I perceive that I have put in a multitude of things of which I am not certain." (2)

THE PAST AND THE PRESENT

Never-the-less it is probably true that it is only by a study of the past that we come to an adequate understanding of the present. Those of us who wish to know with any degree of completeness, the meaning and the significance of the institutions of our day, must open the pages of history and learn something about what man has done, and thought,

(1) Robinson, James H, Medieval and Modern Times
Revised Edition - N.Y. 1918 - page 1.

(2) quoted by Locke, Clinton, The Age of the Great
Western Schism. N.Y. 1900 - page 5.

and hoped and felt in the past. If we desire to understand the customs and practices and doctrines of the Church of the present we must be willing to apply ourselves to the task of attempting to discover the genius of the Church of the past. Thus every new fact increases the value of the Past, and the Past is made to live again because of the Present.

AN OUTLINE OF THE PRESENT THESIS

The present thesis on the Permanent Contributions of the Hussite Movement (in Bohemia) to the Rise of the Moravian Church, is an attempt to join Past and Present, in the hope that they may be mutually helpful. The Bohemian revolt, which burst into flames shortly after the death of John Huss, sending into the field armies which neither King nor Pope could quell has now been smothered under the blankets of four centuries. Soon the blanket of the fifth century will be laid upon it. The Hussite revolt is an event of the past; it is as Dickens might say, dead, to begin with! Never-the-less there exists today an international institution which traces its origin back to the days of Huss and Jerome and Ziska. How shall we understand this institution except by causing the dead past to rise from its

tomb and live again; how shall we interpret the good of the Present, without knowing something of the good which is "interred with the bones" of the Past?

It follows of necessity therefore that the first part of our thesis will be historical in its nature. In order to acquaint ourselves with the field, we shall study first of all Bohemia during the Middle Ages; its geography, its people and their manners and customs; the position of Bohemia among the nations of the world at that time, and how that position had been attained. (Chapter I of Part I) . The second chapter of the first part of our thesis will treat of The Rise and Fall of the Hussites. Beginning with the death of Huss, we shall trace the events leading to the rise of the Hussites, refer to the Hussite Wars, to Ziska and Prokop the Great, the Compactata of 1433, the internal dissensions among the Hussites, their crushing and apparent dissolution, (Chapter II of Part I), In these two chapters it will be our aim to be accurate rather than exhaustive. Those who desire to make an exhaustive study of the history of the period, will find certain great authorities referred to in this Introduction, as well as in the footnotes which are appended to the body of the thesis.

The second part of our thesis, which consists of an attempt to interpret, evaluate, and link up the definite events sketched in Part I with subsequent history opens with a chapter on The Hussite Movement in its Social Bearings. The subject is introduced by several sections on the Social teachings of Scripture and the practice of the Early Church and the Social Aspects of every religious reformation. After discussing at some length the general causes of all of the social revolts of the Hussite period, we take up the writings of Hus, in order to determine what direct connection, if any, the statements of Hus had with the revolutionary side of the movement. Our last section is devoted to a study of the social contributions of the Hussite Movement.

The second chapter of this part takes up the Doctrinal Aspects of the Hussite Movement. We see first of all that the Hussite revolt was essentially a religious movement, then enter into the question of the origin of the Hussite doctrines, and conclude the chapter with a discussion of the chief tenets of Huss and his followers.

Our final chapter is an attempt to trace the connection between the Hussite movement, and the rise of the Moravian Church. We conclude by showing that

the Moravian Church of today breathes the spirit of Huss, and may therefore be logically considered the spiritual result of the teachings and activity of the Bohemian reformer.

NOTE ON THE SPELLING OF "HUSS"

Considerable confusion has been caused among biographers and church historians by the fact that there seems to be no agreement among writers as to whether the name of the Bohemian reformer ought to be spelled "Huss" or "Hus". Moravian historians universally spell the name "Hus", others seem to prefer "Huss". At any rate, an author need choose only one of two, and not one of fifty or more, as in the case of Wycliffe!(3)

In the present thesis, we have adhered to the spelling "Huss", agreeing with Schaff that this form is "more agreeable to the English reader's eye, and more consonant with our mode of spelling."(4)

(3)Richard Newton, in Heroes of the Reformation, page 24 lists carefully fifty one different ways of spelling the name of the English reformer!

(4)See Schaff, History of the Christian Church, Vol.V, Part II, page 360.

"The word 'Bohemian' has passed into newspaper slang; and it has been so oft quoted in its slang sense by people who ought to be more careful in their language that it has really hindered the study of the real country which it represents".

Maurice, C.E., Bohemia.

"Once a Czech sets his teeth into a matter that is clear to him, nobody will ever tear him away from it."

Herben, Jan, Huss and His Followers, page 65.

OUTLINE OF CHAPTER ONE

BOHEMIA - THE LAND AND ITS PEOPLE

- 1 - The Golden Age of Bohemia.
- 2 - The Physical Characteristics of Bohemia.
- 3 - Bohemia prior to 1415 A.D.
- 4 - Bohemia during the Middle Ages.

Part I - Chapter I.

BOHEMIA*THE LAND AND ITS PEOPLE

There is a sense in which the entire history of Bohemia up to the days of Huss and Jerome and Ziska was but preparatory to that glorious period, and in which all of the subsequent history of that unhappy land has been but the record of a falling away from the heights attained during those years of splendor. When he thinks of the great days of his fatherland, even a Czech himself is so willing that the thousand years which have gone before should be swallowed up in the contemplation of the Kingdom in the days of its glory, that he cries: "Until the fourteenth century the Czechs had no history of their own"; (1) while so enraptured is a traveller of our generation when he thinks of the same by gone age, that he interprets the plaintive melodies of a street band in the city of Prague, as the voice of the nation "mourning for the glorious days of Huss and Ziska." (2)

(1) Herben, Jan, Huss and His Followers, page 16.
(2) Field, Henry M; Summer Travels page 202.

In truth, one needs but little imagination to project himself into the Bohemia of the Middle Ages, for we are probably better acquainted with the events of those days than we are with the more recent history of the country. Every name attached to that period of the nation's history calls up some vision, or invites some ancient guest to live again,

"I have read in some old marvellous tale,
Some legend strange and vague,
That a midnight host of spectres pale
Beleagured the walls of Prague.

Beside the Moldau's rushing stream,
With the wan moon overhead
There stood, as in an awful dream
The army of the dead."(3)

Thus writes Longfellow of "the beleagured city" of mediaeval fame. Even now, it requires little will power to call up from the past, more than one "army of the dead"- Ziska's or Wallenstein's, or the hosts of Frederick the Great. These and other armies fought to the death "beside the Moldau's rushing stream"; fought until those rushing waters were dyed with human blood. Over these hills echoed and re-echoed the drums of Ziska, calling the Hussites to arms, and in the valleys below nestled the white tents of both the peasant soldiers and the royal

(3) Longfellow, Henry W. The Beleagured City.

troops. Often in those days the dark waters of the Moldau were lighted up by the glare of burning palaces and humble homes - often the famous bridge trembled beneath the feet of marching armies - often the carved statues of the saints mounted upon the piers of the bridge feared lest they be shaken from their appointed places.

THE PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF BOHEMIA

In the heart of Europe, and like Zion of old, "with hills surrounded" lies one of the smallest of the famous countries of the world. Four mountain ranges join hands in a circle round about Bohemia. "The Erzgebirge and Riesengebirge defend its northern sides; the Böhmerwald and Saazer ranges form its bulwarks on the South!"(4) Numerous rivers and streams, the most famous of which is the Moldau, flowing down from the mountain ranges, and watering the valleys below, unite to swell the volume of the Elbe, that mighty river which long ago cut its way through the rocks of Saxony, and poured its waters into the German ocean. Sheltered as Bohemia is by mountain walls, its climate is pleasant, and its

(4) De Schweinitz, E. History of the Unitas Fratrum, page 28.

many plants, flowers and vegetables make it one of the garden spots of Europe. Mineral springs abound; here are to be found the famous Carlsbad, and the well known Marienbad. Its mountain slopes are covered with trees; this is the land of the Hyrcanian forest. With an area of but twenty thousand square miles, it has shared in spirit at least, the territory of all of the Protestant nations of the world.

THE HISTORY OF BOHEMIA PRIOR TO 1415 A.D.

To sketch in any detail the entire history of Bohemia, interesting though such a recital might be, would be foreign to our subject. Never-the-less to ignore entirely the thousand years of Bohemian history which had preceeded and in many ways led up to the days to which we propose to devote special attention, would be equivalent to the exposition of a passage of Scripture without reference of any kind to its context.

Accurate historical data relative to the history of Bohemia may be said to begin with the

year 860A.D., when the two missionaries, Cyrill and Methodius, appeared within the confines of what later became the Kingdom of Bohemia.(5) At least two very definite events had occurred before that time, although their exact dates seem to be swallowed up in the past, which as Prof. Pastrnek says, is "securely hidden"(6).

(5)To be sure, historians who desire to give the nation a more ancient and dignified history, assert that medieaval Bohemia must be identified with the ancient provinces of Illyricum and Dalmatia. The history of Bohemia ought logically then, to begin with the missionary journeys Paul and Titus made to these countries. (See Romans 15:19 and II Timothy 4:10) In partial proof of the theory that Christianity was firmly established in these lands long before the coming of Cyrill and Methodius, they assert that as early as the year 680 A.D. "Illyrian" bishops(that is, according to their theory, Bohemian bishops) were invited to attend a Church Council held at Constantinople. Interestingly enough they did not come, but only, we are assured, because they could not countenance the worship of images. This, in brief, is the theory advanced by a number of the older historians of the Moravian Church (as Crantz, History of the Bohemian Brethren, page 13, A.Bost History of the Moravians, page 1 of the English Edition; as well as the unknown author of Erzählungen aus der alten und neuen Geschichte der Brüderkirche, a publication authorized by the (Moravian) Synod of Barby, in 1803.

(6)"What do we know of Slovak history? Very little. Beginning with the Hussite Wars, our knowledge is somewhat more accurate. Before the days of the Hussites, that is, before the fifteenth century, the past seems securely hidden." quoted by Capek, The Slovaks of Hungary, page 54.

In the first place, at some early date, numerous groups of Slavonians, led by an individual whose name, tradition tells us, was Czech, had settled in Bohemia. They came, it is asserted by most historians from the regions of the Carpathian mountains, and had been driven from their homeland by the bloody raids of Attila the Hun. If this is true, the arrival of the Slavonians, must have taken place about the middle of the fifth century.

In the second place these Slavonian tribes had apparently, at some early date, acknowledged the supremacy of the Frankish Kings. Whether this subjection, certainly more nominal than real, was the result of one of the sporadic raids of Charlemagne (perhaps, as some assert, the raids of 789 A.D.) or of the raids of one of his famous generals, must remain a matter of conjecture.

These general observations bring us to the year 863 A.D., about which time occurred the well authenticated visit of the missionaries Cyrill and Methodius. Both were men of experience, Cyrill (sometimes referred to as Constantin) having previously preached the Gospel among the pagan Chazars, of the Crimea, and Methodius having previously undertaken a similar work among the Bulgarians. Tradition tells us that the two men were

brothers, sons of a certain Leo, and natives of the city of Thessalonica, at that time a city of mixed Greek and Slavonian inhabitants. Cyrill's first work is said to have been the invention of an alphabet of forty-six letters, later known as the Cyrilitza, for the Slavonian language, which at that time had not yet been reduced to writing. Having invented this alphabet, he proceeded at once to translate the New Testament and the Psalter into the vernacular. His version of the Scriptures formed the basis for many subsequent versions, and especially for the version known as "the national Scriptures", which was universally adopted at the time of the conversion of Vladimir, in 988. To these two pioneers, unless one accepts the Illyricum and Dalmatian theory (and even if this theory were accepted it would be difficult to prove that there were any Slavonians in Bohemia during the Apostolic days) belongs the glory and the credit for having first preached to the people whose descendants were later to accept with such eagerness the pure message

of salvation.(7)

Under Adelbert, Bishop of Prague, the Bohemian Church was organized in the Latin form, in the year 983 A.D. The native independence of the Bohemians however led them to resist the imposition of the forms and usages of the Roman Church, and the Roman domination which was almost complete by the time of Charles IV, had not been willingly accepted. The action of Hildebrand(in 1080) forbidding the use of the vulgar tongue in the services of the Church was especially resented. The vernacular had been in use ever since the days when Methodius, after convincing Pope John VIII that God had made other languages besides the Hebrew, Greek and Latin, had obtained permission to repeat the Gospel and the Epistle in the native tongue after reading it in the Latin. Even this compromise left a bad taste in the mouths of the Bohemians, and to have the vernacular entirely barred was endured only because it apparently had to be. In fact, only "the power and artifice of Charles IV"(8)

(7)For an interesting discussion of the work of Cyrill, see Workman, The Foundations of Modern Religion,page 87. Authorities for the story of Cyrill and Methodius:- Palacky's collection of original MSS is of course, the supreme authority for this period. From the letters and documents he collected in the Erster Band of his "Geschichte von Böhmen, we gather practically all of what is reasonably certain about this period. Bily, in his volume Cyrill and Methodius(page lff) gives a number of popular legends concerning the early years of these two men.

(8)Jones, History of the Christian Church, Vol.II,p.190.

as a modern historian puts it, succeeded at last, in making the Bohemians loyal sons of the true faith! This fact in itself explains in part, the eagerness with which they responded when the opportunity for throwing off the hateful domination seemed to present itself.

Their native love of independence was manifested also in the political history of the Kingdom. During the despotic domination of Otto the Great (963-73) the Bohemians rebelled and succeeded in maintaining their independence for at least twelve years. In the eleventh century, Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia and Poland united under Bretislav I, King of Bohemia, to form an independent kingdom. Had not the Germans intervened to prevent the formation of a powerful state on their borders what Count Luetzow, the Bohemian historian, calls, "the idea of a West Slav Empire" might have been realized in those early days.

Such were the hopes, and such had been the checkered career of Bohemia, up to the days of Charles IV, during whose reign the Kingdom may be said to have entered upon what might be called the Golden Age

of its history.(9)

BOHEMIA DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

On the 11th day of June, in the year 1346 there ascended the throne of the King of the Romans, one who was to prove himself one of the greatest rulers of his times. Charles IV was in every respect a practical business man, was progressive in spirit, and preferred diplomacy to force. His inherent legal sense and his firm determination to have things done properly or not at all, distinguished him from contemporary monarchs. For this ^{Bohemia had} cause to be profoundly thankful.

For more than two hundred years, the use of the Bohemian language in official circles had been frowned upon by the ruling monarchs; Charles IV, made Bohemian the language of the court, and showed the sincerity of his orders by learning Bohemian himself.

(9) For the early history of Bohemia we are again indebted to Palacky's *Geschichte Von Böhmen*. Franz Palacky, himself a Czech was Bohemia's most distinguished authority. His monumental work based almost entirely upon original MSS, and reproducing many of the most valuable, embraces the history of Bohemia from 388 B.C. to 1526 A.D. Modern Czechs, as Capek, Pergler, Herben and Luetzow refer almost constantly to Palacky, while DeSchweinitz, in his *History of the Unitas Fratrum* praises Palacky as "the highest authority".

The preaching of parish priests in the vernacular had hitherto been done more or less secretly; Charles encouraged priests to preach in the language of the people. Bohemia had hitherto been dependent upon the Archbishop of Mainz for spiritual leadership; Charles induced his old friend Pope Clement VI, to issue a Papal bull making Prague a metropolitan see.(10) In order to provide educational facilities for his subjects, he laid in 1348, the foundations of the University of Prague, modelling his constitution after that of his own Alma Mater, the University of Paris and making it a University in which theology rather than law was the dominant subject. To the energetic genius of Charles. Bohemia owes its famous bridge over the Moldau, at Prague, and many of that city's notable buildings. Small wonder that while Lodge calls attention to the fact that the merits of Charles IV "have met with singularly little appreciation", he notes one exception; "except from Bohemian writers."(11)

(10)Actually, this event, although due to the influence of Charles, took place in April 1344, before the death of King John, the father of Charles IV.

(11)Lodge, The Close of the Middle Ages, page 112.

Thus Bohemia, after a thousand years of history, began to take her rightful place as one of the important Kingdoms of Europe. Two months after the beginning of the Papal Schism, which he had earnestly attempted to avoid, and bitterly chagrined by what he regarded as the dectetfulness of the French Cardinals, Charles the fourth died, on November 29th, 1378. During his reign there had been born in a obscure village in his kingdom a man whose fame was to eclipse even his own well earned reputation, for as the Bohemian Căpek reminds us: "Contrary to what Ranke asserts the Czechs believe that not emperor Charles but John Hus was the greatest man born in Bohemia."(12)

(12)Căpek, Thomas- The Czechs in America.

OUTLINE OF CHAPTER TWO.

THE RISE AND FALL OF THE HUSSITES.

- 1 - John Huss, the Martyr of Bohemia.
- 2 - The Rise of the Hussites.
- 3 - The Hussite Wars.

Part I - Chapter II.

THE RISE AND FALL OF THE HUSSITES.

JOHN HUSS, THE MARTYR OF BOHEMIA

To attempt to sketch in any detail the life of John Huss would require a volume in itself. Neither space, nor the purposes of the present thesis require more than a brief recital of the main events in the life of him in whose memory so many thousands of his countrymen called themselves "Hussites"(1) Of the doctrines of Huss and his followers we shall speak in a subsequent chapter(2). We address ourselves now to the task of reviewing what historical detail it will be necessary to have in mind for a proper appreciation of the various aspects of the Hussite movement.

On July 6, 1369, while Wycliffe was engaged in

(1) The celebration in 1915, of the 500th anniversary of the Martyrdom of John Huss gave rise to a wealth of literature on the life and teachings of this Bohemian reformer before the Reformation. The chief sources for the life of Huss are listed in the bibliography at the end of this thesis. A few of the most important recent works are listed there also. See also Fisher, The Reformation footnote to page 61, also De Schweinitz, History of the Unitas Fratrum, pages x to xii.

(2) Part II, Chapter II.

waging his battle for ecclesiastical purity in England, John Huss was born in the little village of Hussinetz, in Bohemia. Having exhausted what learning the neighboring monastery could supply, and alarmed the monks by asking to be taught the dead languages, of which it later appeared, the monks themselves knew nothing, Huss entered the University of Praschalitz. Here he remained for but a short time. Having obtained the necessary financial assistance, the young man entered the famous University of Prague, and there, in that great city, saw for the first time, the evils and scandals in the established church.

In 1396 he took his Master's degree, and two years later became a lecturer at the University, and a public teacher. In 1401 he was made Dean of the Philosophical faculty of the University, and in the following year, became Rector of the University. The same year witnessed his selection as preacher at the Bethlehem Chapel, an edifice seating three thousand persons, which had been erected by two citizens of Prague, and which was in a sense, a cradle of national patriotism in as much as only the Czech

language was permitted to be used in it. Here Huss preached from week to week, (3) in the tongue of the people, and, says an anonymous writer, whom Dr. Mears quotes in his popular volume on the Heroes of Bohemia "so long as he attacked only the sins of the laity, archbishop and priest cast no stone against him" (4). Concerning the character of his pastoral work, an ancient chronicler tells us "He was untiring in the confessional, unwearied in his efforts to convert sinners, assiduous in bringing comfort to the afflicted. He sacrificed everything, he sacrificed himself, in order to save souls." (5)

These pleasant days however were not destined to be permanent. The marriage of Richard II of England, to Anne, sister of Wenzel, King of Bohemia, had led to frequent communication between these two countries.

(3) For the sermons of John Huss, see Joh. Hus Predigten 3 - volumes translated from the Bohemian into the German by J. Nowotny, published at Görlitz, 1855.

(4) This is probably a paraphrase of a statement Gieseler quotes from the Contin Benessii et Horzowitz Chronicle - See Gieseler, Compendium of Ecclesiastical History, Vol. V, page 108, note 6.

(5) From a sermon preached in the Bethlehm Chapel in memory of the Martyrs Huss and Jerome. To be found in Latin in Historia et Monumenta J. Hus atque Hieronymi Pragensis, Nuremberg, 1715 (originally 1558) Vol. II, pge 537. The above translation is DeSchweinitz's.

Students of Prague visited Oxford, and, with the delight which so often accompanies the doing of the forbidden thing, brought back with them to Bohemia, the books of Wycliffe the heretic. Upon reading these books, Huss and others were immediately impressed with the fervor and evident sincerity with which Wycliffe had denounced the evils of the Church. So enraptured was Huss with the works of Wycliffe, that when his friend Jerome of Prague reproved him for spending so many hours poring over the works of a heretic, he is said to have replied, "I only wish that my soul may reach the place where his now dwells"

(6)

A year after his installation at Bethlehem Chapel, Huss was appointed by the Archbishop of Prague, synodical preacher with a commission which required him to report any abuses which might come to his notice. So earnestly did he labor to correct the abuses he saw, and so stinging were the invectives he used, that after his sermon on the 18th of October, 1407, he was deposed from the office of synodical preacher.

(6) This is a story one frequently comes across in popular lives of Huss. I have been unable thus far to trace it to its source. It expresses the spirit of Huss, but whether authentic or not, is a matter of conjecture.

(7) This sermon, the text of which was Ephesians 6: 14-15 is found in the famous collection to which we have already referred. Note 3.

Opposition to Huss now began to take definite form. Even the Archbishop who had only a few short years before looked upon him with favor, now denounced him as a disobedient son of the Church, and in order to make the sting of his disapproval felt ^{as} much as possible, laid the city of Prague under an interdict. Appeals and counter appeals to the Pope filled the air. The supposed Vicar of Christ however was too busy harling anathemas at the anti-pope to be alarmed over the fact that in far off Bohemia, a preacher had failed to hold his tongue. In Bohemia, the controversy, magnified by the notable exodus of the Germans at the University of Prague, waxed exceedingly hot, and then cooled. In July 1411 the Archbishop of Prague annulled the ban and the interdict, and ordered all suits to be dropped, all appeals to the Pope to be with-drawn and all arguments to be forgotten.

In the spring of 1412 a new controversy broke out. Two Papal commissioners, Wenzel Tiem, and Pace de Bononia had lately arrived in Prague, with an ample supply of Papal indulgences. These were sold in the church and streets of Prague; wholesale quantities were even sold to agents who travelled

throughout the country sections disposing of the magical papers at great profit to themselves.

These things were too scandalous to be quietly endured. "Let who will proclaim the contrary", cried Huss in a sermon; "let the Pope, or a bishop, or a priest say: 'I forgive thee thy sins, I absolve thee from their penalty, I free from the pains of hell', it is all vain and helps thee nothing. God alone, I repeat, can forgive sins through Christ, and He pardons the penitent only". (8)

Roused by such words as these, three young mechanics, on the morning of July 10, 1412 rose in their respective places of worship (it is assumed by previous agreement) and, interrupting the priests who were encouraging their listeners to purchase indulgences, made a bold attempt to defeat the plans of the priests by creating a disturbance.

Their words fanned the smouldering fires of dissatisfaction into open rebellion. Confusion reigned throughout the city. The offenders were seized, dragged before the magistrates (but not until they had first been tortured upon the racks conveniently kept in the Council House) and condemned to death. Huss and two thousand students

(8) Sermon preached by John Huss see Joh. Hus Predigten. (Note 3, page 23) Part III, pages 25 and 39..

immediately rushed to the Council House. Here Huss begged for the lives of the prisoners, asserting that while he did not approve of their action, he knew it had been the result of his teaching, and that such being the case, he alone ought to be blamed. In the presence of the angry crowd the magistrates spoke kindly, promising Huss that if he induced the people to disperse, their joint request would be granted. Scarcely had the crowd withdrawn however when the three prisoners were ordered led to the place of execution. Discovering the deceit, the crowds again gathered, and attempted to block the streets leading to the execution spot without the city walls. Nothing daunted, the magistrates had the three men beheaded in the streets. Students seized their bodies, and bore them to Bethlehem Chapel. There, on the following morning Huss buried them with all the rites of the Church.

The inevitable excommunication, bristling with anathemas, and prohibiting any mortal from so much as associating with this "son of iniquity", arrived in Prague, as soon as the Papal messengers could cover

the distance between Rome and the capital of Bohemia(9) At the request of King Wenzel, Huss spent a year and seven months in exile, preaching in villages and forests, and devoting his spare time to literary labors.

The pleading of the reform elements in the Church led at last to the desired end. On the 30th of October, 1413, Pope ^{John} XXIII, called a General Council of Christendom, to be convened at Constance in November, 1414. Before this Council Sigismund, King of the Romans, invited John Huss to appear. Safe conduct, a fair hearing, and safe return to Bohemia in case he did not submit to the decision of the Council, were promised him by the Emperor.

THE RISE OF THE HUSSITES

The "holy synod of Constance , constituting a general council for the extirpation of the present schism and the union and reformation of the Church of God in head and members, legitimately assembled in the Holy Ghost, to the praise of Omnipotent God"

(9) See Palacky's Documenta Mag. Joannis Hus, Prague 1869---pages 461-466

had done its utmost in attempting to cultivate "the field of the Lord", and effect "the destruction of briars, thorns and thistles, to wit, heresies, errors and schism"(10). It had ordered that the bones of Wycliffe should be dug up and burned; it had condemned to death John Huss; "imbutus jam ipse Wiclevitarum veneno et ad nocendum paratus, tum quod erat familiae suae cognomen, putridum piscem i.e. foetidum virus in cives suos evomuit"(11) On the morning of July 6, 1415, in a meadow called the Brühl, outside the walls of Prague, the flames had silenced voice of Bohemia's fearless son; tyranny, oppression and cruelty had won the day; "John Hus was burned", as Erasmus remarked a century later, "but not convicted".

The Council followed its work with a threatening letter to the Bohemian nation, dated July 26, 1417(12). By this unhappy act however, they succeeded only in adding fuel to the already fiercely burning

(10)The first quotation is from the decree Sacrosancta, passed by the Council April 6, 1415, the second from the decree Frequens, passed by the Council in October 1417. See Von der Hardt, Magnum Constantiense concilium Tom IV, page 98.

(11)So wrote Aeneas Sylvius, the famous chronicler. See his De Bohemorum origine ac gestis historia, chapter 35.

(12) The anonymous author of the "Erzählungen (see Note 5, Chapter I) calls it "ein drohendes Schreiben". For a copy see Palacky, Documenta J. Hus, page 568

fires of hatred and opposition.

The letters of Huss written during the period of his exile, "to the believers in Prague", "to the Church of Prague", and again "to the hearers of the Word of God at Prague", had not been forgotten by his fellow countrymen. They recalled his letter, written before setting out for Constance, in which he had asked: "Therefore, my beloved brethren, ^{pray} to Him incessantly to bestow His spirit upon me, that I may dwell in the truth, and be delivered from all evil, and if my death should contribute to His glory, pray that it may come quickly, and that He may give me strength to support my afflictions with constancy. But if it be better, in the interest of my salvation, that I should return amongst you, we will ask of God, that I leave the Council without a blemish; that is to say that I may keep back nothing of the truth of the gospel of Christ, in order that we may distinguish its light more purely and leave to our brethren, a fine example".(13) They treasured his briefer messages from Constance and from the foul prison, ending at last "written in prison and in chains", and nothing

(13) This letter is No. II, Second series, pages 71-72. See Letters of John Huss-with Martin Luther's Preface, Emile de Bonnechese - English translation by Mackenzie, Edinburgh 1846.

could have made them deaf to his plea: "Keep me in remembrance, and pray God that he may bestow constancy on me and Jerome, my brother in Christ, for I believe, as I understood from the deputies, that he will suffer death with me." (14) His countrymen were indeed willing "to keep him in remembrance", and to pledge with heart and hand and life, to defend the faith for which he had died.

Expelled from Prague for offering the cup to the laity in the celebration of the Lord's Supper, Hussite priests sought refuge in the southern part of Bohemia: Here they preached and celebrated Mass in the open air. One of their favorite meeting places was "a hill near the small town of Utsi on the Luznice, to which they gave the Biblical name of Tabor." (15) Later this name was transferred to a neighboring hill, where the still existing town of Tabor was founded.

Here enormous crowds from every part of Bohemia

(14) This letter is No. XXVII in *Historia et Monumenta*, and No. XLV of the Second Series in *Bonnechose*. Incidentally, perhaps it was this letter that led Guignebert (*Christianity, Past and Present*, New York 1927, to say "both of them (that is Huss and Jerome) burnt alive at Constance in 1415" page 354). We know of course, that Jerome was not burned with Huss - as Huss expected he would be. The martyrdom of Jerome did not occur during 1415 (as Guignebert says) at all - not until May 30 1416.

(15) Luetzow, Count, *The Hussite Wars*, page 7.

gathered at stated intervals to celebrate the Lord's Supper in both kinds. "On the day of St. Mary Magdalene (July 22nd) 1419, says Brezova, the ancient Chronicler, "more than forty thousand people very reverently communicated in both kinds according to the tradition of Christ and the custom and observance of the primitive Church"(16).

THE HUSSITE WARS

Less than two weeks after this memorable occasion, the Hussite Wars may be said to have begun in earnest. Having entered the city of Prague, Ziska and his army (17), joined by many sympathizers within the walls, forced their way into the Church of St. Stephen and having celebrated the Lord's Supper in their own fashion, marched to the Council house. Here they made a demand for the instant release of those of their number who had been siezed by the authorities. While they waited without, and the councillors debated within, someone - whether councillor or servant no one can tell- threw a stone from one of the windows of the building, striking John of Selan, the Hussite

(16) This is Luetzow's translation of Prof. Goll's Edition of Brezova's "Chronicle". See Luetzow's The Hussite Wars, page 7.

(17) John Ziska had for some months been gathering troops at Tabor.

priest who was leading the procession.

"That stone" says a popular writer, "began the Hussite War"(18). Crowds rushed into the Council House. Eleven of the eighteen councillors escaped, seven were dropped from an upper window, upon the spears of the soldiers in the street, below. For a time riot and confusion reigned. Wenzell the King hearing of the event, gave way to so terrible a fit of anger that apoplexy ensued. In this unhappy condition he lingered for but a few weeks; a second attack on the sixteenth of August led to his death within a few hours.

On the first day of March, 1420, Martin V, "servus servorum dei", sent to Sigismund, "carissimus in Christo filius noster", the Papal bull authorizing and urging the King to cleanse Bohemia of heresy.(19) Great discouragement and dismay siezed the inhabitants of Prague. An appeal for assistance was dispatched forthwith to Ziska, Leaving Mount Tabor, Ziska and nine thousand men arrived

(18)Mears, John W. Heroes of Bohemia, page 290.

(19)A copy of this bull will be found in Palacky's Urkundliche Beiträge zur Geschichte des Hussiten Kriegeres, I Band, No.12(pages 17-20 in the Prague Edition of 1873.)

in Prague on May 20, 1420.

On July 14, 1420 occurred the first great clash between the opposing hosts. Within the city of Prague church bells rang, and men, women, and children, armed with flails with nail points protruding on every side, pitch-forks, and long hooks to be used for dragging soldiers from their saddles, rushed upon the trained armies of King and Pope. Once more a Gideon's band outnumbered the Midianites. The armies of Sigismund fled in confusion; the Hussites retired within the city walls, giving vent to their joy in the majestic strains of the Te Deum Landamus.

Having laid before the authorities of the Roman Church their confession of faith, embodied in the famous four Articles of Prague (20) the Hussites withdrew from Prague, returned to Tabor, and awaited developments. Within a year occurred the second "Crusade" against the Hussites (August 1421), and a year later the imperial armies made a third vain attempt to crush the heretics. On October 11, 1424,

(20) Of these Articles we shall treat in detail, in Chapter II, of Part II. The answer of Papal Legate Ferdinand, to these articles will be found in Palacky's Urkundliche Beiträge I Band No. 34.

while besieging a town on the Moravian border, Ziska "one of those extraordinary men whose genius, created by nature, and called into action by fortuitous events, appears to borrow no reflected light from that of others"(21) Ziska, the blind self taught general, inventor of field artillery,(22) terror of the Emperor and the Pope, inspirer of the Hussites, laid down his arms in obedience to the command of the great King of the Universe. Into his place stepped Prokop the priest, called by his countrymen, "Weliky", that is, "the great". In 1427 were begun the offensive campaigns of the Hussites, which spread terror throughout the heart of Europe, as far north as Saxony. On August 14, 1431 occurred the victory of Taus, when the Hussites, under the leadership of their soldier priest, scattered the crusading armies of the Emperor - one hundred and thirty thousand men, led by the Margrave of Brandenburg, and Cardinal Legate Julian. The spirit of the royal army

(21)This is the tribute of Hallam, View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages, Vol.II, page 102.

(22)"The invention of field artillery may be attributed to John Ziska".Captain C.F.Atkinson in Article on Artillery - National Encyclopedia.

was broken. In vain did Sigismund continue to urge the Margrave to continue to terrify the heretics, lest they lift up their heads in evil pride.(23) The Pope had apparently despaired of conquering the Hussites, no more crusades were being proclaimed, even Sigismund himself, if the truth had been known was weary.

At the suggestion of Cardinal Julian, the Council of Basle invited the Hussites to send representatives, in order that the possibilities of declaring peace might be discussed. The invitation was accepted by the Hussites, and early in January, 1433 a delegation representing the Utraquists, Taborites and Orphans(24) was politely received at Basle. For nearly two months the Hussites were permitted to set forth their complaints and grievances.

(23)"den ketzern zu erschrecken daz si sich nicht so gar in irer posheit erheben." - Sigismund to the Margrave of Brandenburg, August 26, 1431. Palacky, *Bertrage*, Band II, No.766, page 243. Prague edition of 1873.

(24)We have purposely omitted an account of the various parties into which the Hussites unfortunately split. To speak of each of these branches, even briefly, would lead us far afield. The doctrinal beliefs of each of the groups will be referred to in a chapter on "The Doctrinal Aspects of the Hussite Movement", while the Taborites will be referred to in the last chapter of the thesis.

In May the Hussites, accompanied by deputies from the Council, returned to Bohemia where negotiations were resumed at Prague. The final result of these protracted discussions was the signing of The Compactata of Basle, an agreement which practically conceded to the Bohemians the right of holding to the Four Articles of Prague. Outwardly at least, peace had been attained. The Utraquist majority among the Hussites rejoiced; the Taborites and Orphans insisted on further concessions. Weary with years of war and determined to have peace at anycost, many of the Czechish nobility joined with the Utraquists to enforce the peace attained by the Compactata. Thus, within a few months after the signing of the Basle agreement Bohemia enjoyed peace, but not until Prokop the Great, and thirteen thousand of his warriors lay dead on the field of Lipan, mercilessly crushed by the the Utraquists, who had once been allies.

PART TWO.

OUTLINE OF CHAPTER ONE

THE HUSSITE MOVEMENT IN ITS SOCIAL BEARINGS.

- 1 - The Social Teachings of Scripture and the Practice of the Early Church.
- 2 - The Social Aspects of a Religious Reformation.
- 3 - The Hussite Revolts are Links in a Chain of similar Revolts, extending from about 1350A.D. to 1530 A.D.
- 4 - The General Causes of the Social Revolts of the Hussite Period.

A-The Rise of the Trade Guilds and Fraternities.

B-The Establishment of the Inquisition and the Black Death.

C-The Social Writings of the Period.

D-The New Appreciation of the Social Teachings of Scripture.

- 5- Causes Peculiar to the Social Revolts in Bohemia.

A*The Rise of the Spirit of Nationalism in Bohemia.

B-The Death of John Huss.

- 6- The Social Teachings of John Huss.

Part II - Chapter I.

THE HUSSITE MOVEMENT IN ITS SOCIAL BEARINGS

1. THE SOCIAL TEACHINGS OF SCRIPTURE AND THE PRACTICE
OF THE EARLY CHURCH.

It can hardly be denied that the teachings of Scripture have, in addition to their doctrinal content, a more or less clearly defined social element. Certainly the early Christian Church was not only a religious organization, but also a social group.

In proof of the first assertion we need merely to call attention to certain words of Scripture which were certainly meant to govern the daily life of Christians, and by which they were expected to regulate their conduct, both within their own circle, and in "the world".

Christians were not to be conformed to "the world" round about them; they were told that progress and Christian growth would come not through conformation but through transformation(1); yet, so vitally concerned about this world round about them were they to be, that they were to "give to him that asketh", (2)

(1) Romans 12:2.

(2) Matthew 5:42.

yes, even he willing to sell all that they had, and give alms.(3) The converted thief was to steal no more, but to work diligently in order that he might be able "to give him that needeth."(4)"Now"as Fisher puts it, "instead of taking the property of others, they were to give away their own."(5)

Christians were to love not merely those who returned their love - even publicans did that - but to love even their enemies, to do good to those who hated them, to pray for those who persecuted them. In this way only could they hope to be the children of their Father in heaven, Who made His sun rise on the evil and on the good, and sent rain upon the lands of both the just and the unjust.(6) Love, kindness, forgiveness, charity towards all men - by this would the world know that they were Christians, and recognize them as disciples of the Master.

Whatever may have been their faults, the early Christians at least attempted to put into practice the social precepts of Jesus. "All that believed were

(3)Luke 12:33.

(4)Ephesians 4:28.

(5)Fisher, The Beginnings of Christianity, page 578.

(6)Matthew 5: 44 - 48.

to-gether," Luke tells us, "and had all things common."

(7) "We who valued above all things the acquisition of wealth and possessions", wrote Justin Martyr, "now bring what we have into a common stock, and communicate to every one in need."(8) This arrangement was decided upon, Tertullian tells us, not in order that Christians might have more money to spend on feasts and drinking, as their enemies asserted, but that they might be able "to support and bury poor people, to supply the wants of boys and girls; destitute of means and parents, and of old persons, confined now to the house."(9) Thus lived the early Christians, and as long as they "continued steadfastly in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers", their Master Himself"added to the church daily those that were saved."(10)

(7) Acts 2:44.

(8) Justin Martyr - First Apology, Chapter 14.

(9) Tertullian, Apologia I, Chapter 39.

(10) Acts 2: 42 - 47.

THE SOCIAL ASPECTS OF A RELIGIOUS REFORMATION.

Perhaps it is but natural that those prophets of reformation who raise the cry: "Back to Christ, and the early church", whenever the institution of which they are a part, and to which they belong has fallen into decay, should almost without exception have succeeded in rousing a desire not merely for the doctrinal reforms they advocate, but also for social reforms which in some instances they have not so much as mentioned. The two types seem to go hand in hand. Before there can be doctrinal reform of any kind, there must be a devoted study of the principles of Jesus, and of the theology of the New Testament. Obviously no one can make such a study without coming into contact with social and economic principles of so revolutionary a character as to make him question seriously many practices and customs which are approved or at least allowed by the existing social codes. The sincere student of the New Testament cannot help but admit the truth of assertions like that of Dean Church of St. Paul's: "We live one kind of life, an innocent, it maybe a useful, improving religious life;

but it is not the life we read of in the New Testament".(11)

In view of this apparent conflict, what are we to do? At least two answers naturally arise. In the first place we may admit the many differences between our life and that of the early Christians, but may insist that the present state of affairs is the result not of a breaking away from the standards of the early church, but of the systematic progress which has been made since the days when the members of the church "had all things common". We may say that progress, being inevitable in every other field, must be expected in this realm also. The present order then, is not necessarily opposed to Divine intention, on the contrary, God's intentions for the present age, are different from His intentions for the early church.(12) This is one way of dealing with the problem.

On the other hand we may assert that truth is eternal, and that what is right in one age is right

(11)Dean Church, in a memorable sermon delivered before the students of Oxford, May 5, 1867 on "Christ's Words and Christian Society"- SermonII, in The Gifts of Civilization, New Edition, London 1880.

(12)This, in brief, is the view of Dean Church(see the sermon referred to above)and others.

in every other age. This is equivalent to saying that the principles of Jesus are to be taken as literally in this age as they were during the first century after Christ. This in brief was the basic assumption of such groups as the Poor Men of Lyons, and the Lollards of England. This fundamental idea lies back of the drift towards what Wells calls the "primitive communism," which appeared among certain branches of the followers of Wycliffe in England, Luther in Germany, and Huss in Bohemia. These tendencies, Wells remarks, "seem to follow naturally enough upon the doctrines of equal human brotherhood that emerge whenever there is an attempt to reach back to the fundamentals of Christianity."(13)

The spread of such Christian teaching has been responsible, Wells thinks, for the "steady and, on the whole, growing pressure of the common man in the West, against a life of toil and subservience"(14). And it is to be wondered at, that in view of the joy over the new freedom - a joy which comes with over-powering force whenever oppression is replaced with freedom; whenever subservience is replaced with equality; is to be wondered at that many have drunk to excess every time the intoxicating cup of social equality has been offered? If every religious reformation has its social side, every social side of a reforma-

(13-14)Wells Outline of History Vol.II, pages 153 & 157.

tion has its excesses. The German Reformation had its Peasant Revolts and its Zwickau prophets, the preaching of Wycliffe and his followers resulted in some cases, in social disturbance; need we be surprised if the Hussite "reformation" in Bohemia prove to be no exception to the rule?

We are not alarmed therefore when we learn that before Ziska died he was compelled to adopt stern measures in putting down a sect of "Adamites", who in their zeal to return to the "good old days", divested themselves of all clothing, in order that they might live as Adam and Eve had done. Even after the death of Ziska, the Taborites, in their attempt to restore the glory of the first century after Christ, determined upon the common table for all their followers, and refused to permit their minister to own any kind of property. (15) These little systems soon had their day, however, and today there remains only the influence of the great movement of which these excesses were but unworthy examples.

(15) Bost, A, History of the Moravian Church.

THE HUSSITE REVOLTS LINKS IN A CHAIN OF SIMILAR
REVOLTS EXTENDING FROM ABOUT 1350 A.D. to 1530 A.D.

If, as Kuno Francke asserts, the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries were "the true incubation period of modern thought and feeling", (16) the twins "modern thought", and "feeling" were born during tempestuous days. Perhaps no other period of similar length in the world's history has been marked by so many uprisings, revolts, and social upheavals of every kind. "All Europe" as Jan Herben says, "was then volcanic ground" (17) On every hand peasants were asserting their "rights" whenever possible opportunity for so doing presented itself. Landlords and petty rulers lived in constant terror of revolts - some of which threatened at times to become too extensive and powerful to be put down by brute force, the spirit of nationalism was coming into its own, the secular power of the Church was being shaken, and men, have tasted liberty, were every where anxious to know whatever truth

(16) Francke, Kuno - Personality in German Literature.
before Luther,

(17) Herben, Jan - Huss and His Followers, page 37.

promised to make them free.

In France, peasants dared to dream of independence, freedom from obnoxious taxes and duties, and at least enough of liberty to be able to cut down a tree without having to suffer the death penalty for it - and their dreams led to the "Jacquerie" of 1358. In England John Ball, whose favorite "text" it is asserted, was the doggerel verse

"When Adam delved and Eve span
Where was then the gentleman"?

at the head of group of peasants, estimated by some to have been a hundred thousand in number, forced the King to grant them freedom of commerce, the abolition of slavery, and a general pardon for having dared to ask for these things. Thus 1381 could become celebrated in English history as the birth year of freedom for the peasant. In Germany, during the days of Luther, the Zwickau prophets and others made their memorable attempt to throw off the hated yoke of bondage, and establish if need be by force the truth that in the sight of God, all men are equal. Into this chain of revolts, the social, or what some have chosen to call the "communist" side of the Hussite movement, may find its place. "The communist side of the Hussite movement", says H.G.Wells, was apart of the same system of disturbance".

(18)H.G.Wells Outline of History - Vol.II, page 156.

THE GENERAL CAUSES OF THE SOCIAL REVOLTS OF THE
HUSSITE PERIOD.

If the Hussite revolts were as we have seen, but links in a chain of similar uprisings extending from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century, it may be helpful, before we refer to some of the peculiar aspects of the Hussite revolts to refer first of all to certain of the social conditions of this period, everyone of which undoubtedly exerted a certain amount of influence upon the leaders of the social revolts of which we have spoken, as well as upon the people who so eagerly accepted these preachers of revolt as prophets of a new day.

THE RISE OF TRADE GUILDS AND FRATERNITIES.

Unquestionably the rise of trade guilds and similar organizations designed to protect the working man, indirectly furthered the social dissatisfaction of the Middle Ages, and subsequent centuries. Into the history of the trade unions, and guilds we cannot go. It will be sufficient for our purpose to mention merely a few of the outstanding characteristics

of these interesting organizations.

These unions enabled each man to feel his own importance, to recognize the value of his individual contribution to the material progress of the world; in brief, to feel his strength as an individual . Even when as in England, the guilds had little direct connection with any particular trade, they furthered the spirit of neighborliness and mutual help. The church put its stamp of approval on the organizations; each guild had its patron saint, and celebrated his birthday by giving a feast in his honor. Combining what a modern writer calls "the advantages of a social club with the benefits of insurance and assurance against fire, water, thefts, property, disease and death," (19) the guilds became with the exception of the church, the most popular and most powerful organizations of their time. They acted as employment agencies, standardized prices on numerous articles, and even attempted the complicated business of setting wage scales.

To the peasant of the Middle Ages, all of these

(19) Workman, H.B., The Foundation of Modern Religion, page 178.

things were eagerly accepted blessings. To have a voice in a society whose members were men of his own class, and to have the support of his fellows in his struggles to attain a position equal to that which nobles and those of higher classes already enjoyed, - this was to make life worth living - and reasoned the peasant, if the inalienable rights of men could be obtained by means of a social revolt, and a great man appeared to lead the revolt, ought not all good men everywhere loyally rally round his banner?

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE INQUISITION AND THE
BLACK DEATH.

Among the general causes of the series of social revolts must be placed, two very definite events, the first, the establishment and gradual spread of the courts of the Inquisition, the other the Black Death. Both plunged men into dark despair. The establishment of the Inquisition, probably the greatest of the sins crouching at the door of the church, paralyzed commerce, broke up the homes, of nations, placed a premium upon treachery and deceit, and struck terror into the heart of nations. Men and

women were no longer innocent until proven guilty, rather they were called guilty and defied to prove their innocence. But even as men bowed their necks to meet "the tyrants brandished steel", the spirit of rebellion was born in the hearts of their comrades.(20)

In 1348 came the Black Death, a bubonic plague which spread rapidly throughout all of Europe, like a monster threatening to devour the entire human race. It was swift and terrible, those seized with it, usually died we are told, within two or three days. Hecker the historian estimates the total number of the dead at twenty-five million, while H.G. Wells refers to the fact that "Chinese records say, thirteen million people perished in China alone.(21)

(20)It is true of course that the Inquisition may be defended upon grounds such as these: (1) The punishments of the Inquisition were no more severe than those meted out by civil courts, (2) The church was engaged in an honest effort to blot out heresy, and if cruel, was probably only over zealous in a good work.(3) Many of the Inquisitors were kindly men, etc - Never-the-less the Inquisition stands - condemned as: "one of the most terrible engines of intolerance and tyranny which human ingenuity has ever devised". (Fisher, History of the Christian Church, page 194)

(21)Wells, H.G. - Outline of History - Vol.II, p.154.

Lands were left without tenants, idle hands caused the fortunes of the rich to disappear, and the wealthy, in a vain attempt to recoup their diminishing fortunes, increased the burdens of the poor. Thus once more the poor man paid, but this time the poor man did not forget. Less than ten years after the passing of the Black Death the once beautiful Kingdom of France, where now there was "nothing but fearful solitude and extreme poverty, uncultivated land and houses in ruins" heard the cry of the Jacquerie.

THE SOCIAL WRITINGS OF THE PERIOD.

Undoubtedly also, the social writings of this period also fostered the spirit of revolt. In 1324 Marsiglius of Padua, one of the most popular writers of the day, published his *Defensor Pacis*, an attack upon the existing social order, written with the assistance of John Jandum. "For originality and boldness of statement", says Schaff, "the Middle Ages has nothing superior to offer." (22).

(22) Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, Vol. V Part II, page 73.

In the interest of maintaining "the peace" which he sought to "defend", Marsiglius boldly maintained the separation of church and state; that the functions of the priests and the Pope were spiritual and educational only and that the people were the source of temporal authority, and had the right to select their own rulers. The Scriptures, and neither the church nor the Pope were the ultimate source of spiritual authority. The right of insurrection and rebellion against unjust oppression were asserted, in fact, under certain conditions, it became man's solemn duty to rebel; and cast off the chains of the tyrant. Such were the doctrines of Marsiglius, called by a modern writer; "the leader of revolt, from whom Ockham, Wyclif, and other rebels gained all that was most characteristic and daring in their doctrines.(23)

(23) Workman, Herbert B, The Foundation of Modern Religion, page 176. For an English edition of the Defensor Pacis, see that by W. Marshall, published in London in 1535. For a full treatment of the life and teaching of Marsilius see "M Bircks Marsilio von Padua und Alvaro Pelayo über Papst und Kaiser Mülheim, 1868. For a summary of the ecclesiastical views of Marsiglius see Schaff History of the Christian Church, Vol.V, Part II, pages 74 - 77.

THE NEW APPRECIATION OF THE SOCIAL TEACHINGS OF
SCRIPTURE.

In addition to the general causes of which we have spoken must be mentioned the new appreciation of the social teachings of Scripture which seems to have entered the minds of men during these "centuries of incubation"(24). To some of the social teachings of Scripture we have already referred. Suffice it to say that Jesus had recognized the value of the individual in His parables and in His teachings, and that the church had always theoretically approved of this attitude. During the period of which we write however men began to a greater degree than they had ever done before, not merely to believe these truths, but to put them into practice.

Jesus had deeply impressed His hearers with His story of the good Samaritan, and certainly the Church had always believed that the sick and the wounded should be cared for - yet, only to quote Sir Henry Burdett, "after the period already reached; the 13th

(24)See note 16.

century" did hospitals become common enough" to demand individual or at any rate national treatment."(25)

Jesus taking a little child and placing it in the midst of the Disciples had reminded them of the fact that "of such is the Kingdom of Heaven", and certainly the Church had always believed in theory at least in the sacredness of every human life, yet not until the period of which we now write, did homes and asylums for orphans and foundlings become at all common.

Jesus whose concern for the poor and the needy led to many a deed of kindness and countless acts of mercy, had gone so far as to tell a would be follower to sell what he had and relieve the misery of the poor; the church had always maintained a more or less lively interest in charity but not until the centuries of which we write, did the church regain its pristine passion for the furtherance of the welfare of human beings. Now the doctrine of the brotherhood of man began to triumph; and those who called One their Master, were becoming more and more willing to call all men their brethren.

(25)Burdett, SIR Henry- Article Hospital, Encyclopaedia Britannica.- Eleventh edition.

Now it was but natural that with the increasing recognition of the brotherhood of man, there should come also in addition to the mutual interest and concern which found expression in the building of hospitals, the endowment of orphan and foundling asylums; the establishment of trade guilds, and in similar activities grave questionings and suppressed murmurs about the obvious inequalities under which the peasants and lower classes lived. If all men were brethren, could it be right that some should live in luxuriant wealth, while others toiled and starved? Was there justice in the fact that the majority of the in habitants of any particular country spent their lives toiling in order that the minority might live in toil-less ease? Such was not the intention of the Divine Creator, Indeed,

"When Adam delved and Eve span
Where was then the gentleman?"

The peasants of the Middle Ages were awaking to the fact that there had once been a time when gentlemen of the type referred to in the famous text of John Ball, were conspicuous by their absence. The revolts of the peasants were merely attempts to restore the happy days of the past; expressions of

the common desire to teach the "gentleman" how to dig, and to have his "lady" learn to "spin".(26)

(26)Prof.F.F.Roget, in a paper on "The Influence of John Calvin Down the Centuries on the Religious and Political Development of the Protestant Nations" (see Vol.LVI- Journal of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute, London, 1924) characterizes the Reformation as "the resolution of existing Christianity into Biblical and Evangelical first elements, so as to breath again in the original Christian atmosphere". In that sense every one of the movements of which we have just written was but a more or less unsuccessful attempt to do what was more successfully done during the sixteenth century.

CAUSES PECULIAR TO THE SOCIAL REVOLTS IN BOHEMIA

Everyone of the conditions we have referred to in the preceeding section as a cause of the social revolts of this larger period, had its share in fanning the smouldering fires in Bohemia. The spirit of unrest among the laboring classes was not peculiar to any one country; even Bohemia was torn by minor disturbances before the Hussite revolts began. If the heel of the Inquisition was not so ruthlessly pushed into the heart of Bohemia as it was into the heart of Spain, its influence and its terror were felt in every country in which the Holy Roman Church called itself the mother of all Christians. Certainly the Black Death was no respecter of countries; in every corner of Europe might have been seen the spirit of Rachel weeping for her children "because they were not". Nor could the barriers of language entirely shut out of Bohemia the revolutionary doctrines of Marsiglius of Padua, nor prevent the entrance of the new appreciation of the social teachings of Scripture which seems to have spread throughout Europe during the centuries of which we have been writing.

In addition to these causes, two things stand out as having been peculiar to the prehistory of the Bohemian revolts: namely, (1) the rise of the spirit of nationalism, and (2) the burning of John Huss in 1415. Without these two things the Hussite revolts, if they had come at all, would have been merely local disturbances destined to endure the fate of the uprisings under John Ball and Wat Tyler in England or of the Jacquerie in France.

THE RISE OF THE SPIRIT OF NATIONALISM IN BOHEMIA

In Prague today stands a great statue erected in memory of Charles IV. The Bohemians may properly honor him, for he was as Maximilian I is said to have wittily observed "the father of Bohemia", but only "the step father of the Holy Roman Empire." It was Charles himself who laid the egg which after Huss(27) had hatched it, grew to be so large a bird that neither King nor Pope could clip its wings!

(27)The name "Huss" meant in the native Czech "a goose". Huss often, refers to himself in his letters, as "a poor bird" or "a goose."

It was Charles who filled the Bohemian heart with pride and patriotism. It was Charles who established the University of Prague, made Prague an imperial city, drew up a code of laws for his people, (known as the *Majestas Carolina*) and had the code read publicly in the city of Prague to all his Bohemian subjects. Every act of the King, from the abolition of the foolish ordeal by fire, to the fact that he himself learned the Czech language was calculated to win for him the support and loyalty of the Bohemian people. So it did for a time, but it did more than that. It roused in the hearts of the Czechs so powerful a spirit of national pride; so strong a love of country, so fierce a patriotism, that nothing but national independence could be conceived of as a proper state for Bohemia. (28) Czechs everywhere began to say in spirit what Scott put into words centuries later

"This is my own, my native land"

(28) We cannot however give assent to the statement of Leon Dominian; *The Frontiers of Language and Nationality in Europe*, page 146. "Antagonism to Catholicism was merely a special form of Bohemian objection to German influence in the land." To this theory that religious enthusiasm played a very minor role we shall refer in Chapter II, of this part.

and having said that not even love for and gratitude
to Charles could ^{repress} the one great passion to be free.
Add to this the oppression of the "Germans", as the
Czechs called the three nations whose students had
been forced out of the University of Prague, and the
condemnation and burning at the stake of a popular
leader, place control of the situation in the hands
of John Ziska, put into the mouths of his followers
the Te Deum Laudamus and you have all of the pre
requisites for a national revolution.(29)

THE DEATH OF JOHN HUSS

The condemnation and death of John Huss was in
the last analysis, the immediate cause of the Hussite
Wars. The funeral pile of John Huss, as Victor
Duruy remarks, "Kindled a terrible war." The murder

(29)"All writers on the Hussite wars agree that these
wars were the result of three causes; the antagonism
of the Bohemians to the Church of Rome, the revival
of the Slavic national feeling, and the rise of
the democratic spirit which is to a greater or lesser
extent, evident in many European countries at the be-
ginning of the fifteenth century."
Luetzow, the Count, The Hussite Wars, opening
sentence, page one.

of a native Bohemian, sent to a Church Council under the protection of the King of the Romans could not be forgiven.

An old anonymous volume asserts that the few Bohemians at Constance during the trial of Huss, carried back to Bohemia with them some of the earth from the spot upon which their hero had been burned to death.(30) Within a few months(Sept.2,1415) the Bohemian nobles formulated a lengthy protest, upholding the character of Huss and declaring their willingness to defend the law of Christ with their blood, and sent it with more than four hundred fifty seals dangling from it, to the Council of Constance. In May of the following year, the University of Prague issued its famous testimony, "O virum ineffabilem", praising Huss for his holiness of life, his humility, his service to the poor, his vigorous preaching against the sins and vices of his day, and his conduct at all times as "a Master of life without compare." (31)

(30) Die Liebe zu Hussen ging so weit, dass seine Glaubensgenossen die Erde von dem Platze seiner Hinrichtung nach Böhmen brachten". Erzählungen aus der alten und neuen Geschichte der Brüderkirche, Barby(England) 1803.

(31) Magister vitae sine pari.

But of what avail were either protests, or the praises of men? Only force, the Bohemians came to believe, was a match for force. "His countrymen" says Hallam "aroused by this atrocity, flew to arms."

(31) Henceforth the battlefield was to be their home, and if, the Bohemian heresy became "a symbol of riot and revolution" as some have said, it was because the Bohemians had taken in their hearts the oath which the poet later put into their mouths:-

"Hus, beneath this oak I swear
Vengeance on thy death, for lo,
Hus, the earth soon crimson red
With they torturer's blood shall flow"(32)

In that spirit sword clashed with sword, and the Hussite War, one of the most violent in history, decried and lamented by every church historian since that day, began to spread its terror over Europe.

THE SOCIAL TEACHING OF JOHN HUSS

Was John Huss a fiery preacher of revolution?
Was the Hussite revolt the result of the socialistic teaching of the Bohemian reformer? Let a native Czech answer:-

(31)Hallam, Henry-View of the State of Europe During the Middle Ages., Vol.II-London 1855. In reality about four years elapsed between the death of the martyr, and the beginning of the Hussite Wars.

(32)From the poem John Ziska by Lenau. English translation by Luetzow.Appendix I of his Hussite Wars.

"There are many even in our nation who begin to read Huss' sermons or writings in general and lay them aside disappointed. For they expected some sort of revolutionary contents, mottoes about liberty, equality and fraternity or rebellious socialist principles, and behold, there was nothing of the kind."(33)

A survey of the writings of Huss serves only to bear out this assertion. No better proof of this fact can be advanced than a comparison between the social teachings of members of modern schools of Socialism, and the social teachings of Huss.

The leaders of the so called modern German Socialists do not hesitate to assert that "a change in our industrial system through peaceable means is unthinkable".(34) Social reform is not a matter for law or politics. "Those who wish a new society must work directly for the destruction of the old one,-- It is solely a question of force, (the German "eine Machtfrage") which is not to be fought out politically but on the battlefield"(35). In France similar doctrine,

(33)Herben, Jan. Huss and His Followers, page 47.

(34)Liebknecht, in Volkstaat quoted by Brooks, The Social Unrest. page 300ff.

(35)ibid.

are found to prevail among the socialists, and Brooks reminds us, "at every Congress (that is Labor Congress) since that at Calais, 1890, to that at Rennes, in 1898, this tumultuous resolution is passed. 'Let the world's workers lay down their tools, let the millions in every land who produce the wealth stop all toil, and the in-famous parasite of capital will soon capitulate.'⁽³⁶⁾ The strikes of the present day, and the organized war now being waged by the working man against the employer, show that even our day is not characterized by the absence of similar doctrines.

Those who ^{read} John Huss hoping to find in his writings similar doctrines, will be, as Herben has remarked "disappointed".

Of the fact that Huss resented the German domination of Bohemia there can be no doubt. He used the pure Bohemian language in his sermons, refusing to employ any of the popular idioms borrowed from the Germans. He resented the fact that most of the governmental positions of power and influence seemed to fall to the Germans. He must have favored the policies which led to the memorable exodus of the three German nations from the University of Prague,

(36) Brooks, The Social Unrest, page 341.

else he would not have retained his connection with the University. Yet only once did he apparently permit his indignation to burst into flames, and that only after Rupprecht began a war during which Saxon armies penetrated Bohemia as far as Prague. When a number of the Bohemian nobles allied themselves with Rupprecht instead of resisting his entry into their country, Huss protested from the pulpit of St. Michael's Church. "The Czechs are worse than the dogs and snakes, because the dog defends the bed he is lying on, and if another dog would try to drive him away he would fight with him, and so would the snake; but the Germans are oppressing us and also siezing all the offices in Bohemia and we are silent."(37)

But this was in the year 1401, fourteen years before the death of Huss, and almost twenty years before the Hussite revolt began. That the indignation of Huss against the Germans was not a life passion is evident from the oft quoted statement to the effect that he loved a good German better than a bad Bohemian,

(37) Sermon delivered in St. Michael's Church 1401. Quoted by Jan Herben in Huss and His Followers, Page 51.

though the latter be his own brother, and a good English priest more than a wicked Bohemian priest.(38)

The letters of Huss throw interesting side lights upon his character, but always show him to have been far from the sullen fanaticism often characteristic of reformers, or from the wild enthusiasm of the prophets of a revolutionary movement.

He was not anxious to become the leader of a great social crusade; when he writes ^{of} himself as a leader it is only to say: "I do not desire to live in this corrupted age unless I can lead to repentance myself and others, according to the will of God."(39) When he writes of having zeal, it proves to be not for social reform, but for the gospel. "I burn with an ardent zeal", he writes "for the gospel; and my soul is sad for I know not what to resolve on."(40) As the day of his death approached he wrote again and again to the church at Prague, consoling and comforting his faithful followers, "do not let yourselves be borne down by terror," he wrote upon one occasion

(38) Documenta Mag. Joannis Hus-Additamentum III
No.8 - page 724.

(39) From a letter to the rector of the University of Prague, about 1414; No.4 in Bonnechose's "Letters of John Huss".

(40) From letter No.3 in Bonnechose's Edition.

and again "do not be frightened, if the Lord should tempt some of you by allowing the ministers of anti-Christ to exercise their tyranny over you"; never once does he suggest that his followers come to ^{his} rescue; never once does he suggest rebellion against "the minister of anti-Christ." Rather he writes: "Peace be with you from the Lord, that you may love each other, and your enemies also." (41) The language of Huss is always as a modern biographer has expressed it, "temperate and calm". (42)

A survey of the sermons of Huss discloses the same lack of social propaganda. Whenever called upon to preach synodal sermons he spent his time not in urging social reforms but rather in pointing out the evils within the church, in declaring that evil priests were the enemies of God, that monks were bending their energies toward the acquisition of wealth and forgetting their vows of poverty, that the clergy, were in many instances leading lives governed by greed and licentiousness, that many theologians were spending their days in inventing lies in order that they might embarrass the preachers of the gospel of Christ,

(41) Letter to the Church at Prague No. 8 in Bonnechose's Collection.

(42) Gillett, E.H. The Life and Times of John Huss, Vol. I, page 291.

that Saint's Days were becoming drunken holidays, and that the Church was "clothing its stones with gold, but leaving its children naked."

While on the one hand then we may confidently affirm that the social and more revolutionary aspects of the Hussite movement were not the results of the teachings of John Huss, on the other hand to deny that the influence of Huss was both present and powerful throughout the entire period of the Hussite wars would be folly. Many historians of the Lutheran Church have succeeded in proving to the satisfaction of practically everyone that the doctrines of Martin Luther ought not to be held responsible for the Peasant Wars, but the fact remains that the influence of the man Luther was both present and powerful throughout that unhappy uprising. There is ground for the assertion, of Lindsay, "the fact remains that the voice of Luther awoke echoes where-of he never dreamt, and that its effect cannot be measured by some changes in doctrine, or by a reformation in ecclesiastical organization."(43)

(43)Lindsay's History of the Reformation, Vol. I, p. 328.

16885
168891

To a somewhat lesser degree to be sure, because of the fact that the Hussite Revolt did not begin until after the death of Huss, but never-the-less in the same way, the Hussite Warriors carried in their hearts the image of Huss. He had been a man of peace, they were men of war, yet they called themselves Hussites. He had rejoiced to be put to death for his faith, they in the name of the faith for which he had died, put others to the sword, yet it was Huss who had first aroused in them the passion which now led them to plunder and to pillage. "Few great teachers," says Maurice, "are ever well represented by their immediate followers and disciples, but hardly any have been distinguished from their followers by so many and such important differences as those which separated John Huss from the men who are known by his name." (44)

Yet even the terrible Hussite Wars were not an unmitigated evil. They certainly served to lay bare the heart of the country and to reveal the actual

(44) Maurice, C. Edmund, Bohemia, page 221.

motives back of the haughty conduct of the Church, and the oppressive attitude of the Empire. Reform from within had been attempted again and again; now an attack from without upon the evils of the day was to be resorted to. "Had the Bohemians been defeated" writes their own Count Luetzow "their doctrines would have been immediately suppressed, and Huss would have appeared in history as an isolated enthusiast, such as Savonarola." (45) Thus it is that God occasionally makes even the evil things of this world praise Him.

(45)Luetzow, the Count, The Hussite Wars, page VII of the Introduction.

"Almighty Lord, who art the way, the truth,
and the life. Thou knowest how few in this pres-
ent time walk in Thee, how few imitate Thee as
their head, in humility, poverty, chastity,
diligence, and patience. Open is the way of
Satan; many walk there-in. Help Thy weak flock,
that it may not forsake Thee, but follow Thee
unto the end in the narrow way."

Prayer of John Huss, concluding Chapter VI
of DeEcclesia - English translation by David Schaff.

PART ~~II~~ TWO.

OUTLINE OF CHAPTER TWO

THE DOCTRINAL ASPECTS OF THE HUSSITE MOVEMENT.

- 1 - The Hussite Revolt Essentially a Religious Revolt.
- 2 - The Relation of the Doctrines of Wycliffe, to the Theology of the Hussite Movement.
 - A-Great Similarity certainly exists between the Doctrines of Wycliffe and those of Huss.
 - B-Theories advanced to explain this great resemblance.
 - C-Which of these theories shall we accept?
- 3 - The Doctrinal Tenets of Huss.
 - A-The Style and Importance of the theological Works of Huss.
 - B-The Plan of the Discussion.
 - C-The Views of Huss on the Constitution and Nature of the Church.
 - D-Huss and the Authority of Holy Scripture.
 - E-Huss and the Christian Conscience.
- 4 - John Huss the Protestant.
- 5 - The Theology of the Hussite Movement.

Part II - Chapter II.

THE DOCTRINAL ASPECTS OF THE HUSSITE MOVEMENT.

1. THE HUSSITE REVOLT ESSENTIALLY A RELIGIOUS REVOLT.

In one great respect the Hussite revolt differed from every other one of the many revolts which marked the "centuries of incubation"; the Hussite revolt was first of all religious and only in the second place, political or social. Religion had little to do with the Jacquerie of France, or with the social rebellions of Wat Tyler and John Ball in England, but Religion had everything to do with the Hussite revolt in Bohemia. In spirit the Hussite War was more like one of the Crusades, than like one of the strictly social revolts of the period of which we write.

Members of the school of historians who apparently believe that religion never inspired anything, and who will not even admit the religious element in the Reformation unless one permits them to make some other

characteristic the dominant one, (1) may approve the words of Dominian: "Antagonism to Catholicism was merely a special form of Bohemian objection to German influence in the land. The Hussite movement is therefore an episode in the prolonged struggle between Teuton and Slav." (2) To make an assertion such as this however is to ^{go} directly contrary to what both native Bohemian and competent modern authorities confidently maintain. It would be folly to deny the fact that the Hussite revolt had its social side, but that is far from asserting that it was merely social or political in its nature. Likewise it will scarcely be possible to deny that as the years passed, the religious enthusiasm which had inspired the citizens of the city of Prague to rush violently at the first array of Papal Crusaders to the tune of the Te Deum Laudamus, faded to a great extent. Yet in spite of these facts, the Bohemian scholar Doctor Herben asserts: "The Bohemian movement was at

(1) As, for instance Louis K. Birinyi, who insists, in his volume The Tragedy of Hungary, that "The Reformation was not merely a religious movement in the modern meaning of the term; it was a politico-religious movement". Page 43. The Tragedy of Hungary, Cleveland, Ohio, 1924.

(2) Dominian, Leon. The Frontiers of Language and Nationality in Europe, page 146.

first purely religious, and only in its subsequent progress did it grow into a national revolution, carried through by John Ziska with his people's army"(3) and Charles Pergler, in 1919 Commissioner of the Czechošlovak Republic in the United States is no less positive when he writes:"Spiritual values have never been underestimated by the Čzechs. The Hussite War, while it had its social and economic background, was fought for a religious and civic ideal, and for the rights of the Czech language against the aggression of the Germans."(4) Place religious zeal first in the list of causes, then patriotism, hatred of the German oppression, social discontent, and all the rest will follow of themselves.

THE RELATION OF THE DOCTRINES OF WYCLIFFE, TO THE
THEOLOGY OF THE HUSSITE MOVEMENT.

GREAT SIMILARITY EXISTS BETWEEN THE DOCTRINES
OF WYCLIFFE AND THOSE OF HUSS.

Upon the fact that great similarity exists between the doctrines of the English reformer and those

(3)Herben, Jan, Huss and His Followers, page 35.

(4)Pergler, Charles, The Czechoslovak State, page 11.

of Huss, practically all scholars are agreed. Both preached vigorously against the current sins of the clergy, both inveighed against the indifference and carelessness of the laity, both attacked the doctrine of the supreme authority of the Pope; both wrote treatises on the Church, that of Huss appearing at Wittenberg in 1520, while that of Wycliffe was not published until 1886. Of the fact that in both doctrine and practice there was great similarity between the two there can be little question. One great question however arises as a result of even a superficial study of the works of the two men, namely: In what sense, or to what degree was Huss dependent upon Wycliffe?

THEORIES ADVANCED TO EXPLAIN THIS RESEMBLANCE.

At least three very definite theories have been advanced to explain the resemblance under discussion. In the first place, it has been asserted by some that Huss borrowed extensively from Wycliffe, incidentally, without giving credit where credit was due. This theory is advanced with great zeal by many fellow countrymen of the English reformer. Thus H.G. Wells, the British historian asserts: "Seldom if ever, has one author been ^{under} so deep a debt of obligation to a teacher as Huss was to Wyclif." Not only did Huss adopt many of the ideas

of Wyclif, he appropriated whole paragraphs of his writing and transferred them to his own pages."(5) In somewhat the same spirit, Workman asserts that Huss "never took his degree of doctor, while the wide knowledge that appears in his writings is but the borrowed learning of Wyclif."(6) These views are based largely upon Loserth's great work on Wyclif and Huss. Writing during the last quarter of the nineteenth century with the purpose of tracing the Hussite doctrines to their source, (Zur Genesis der Hussitischen Lehre), Loserth concluded that Huss could scarcely be considered to have been original in as much as most of his doctrines could be found in the writings of Wycliffe.

A second theory, which is adhered to by certain historians, and which was first advanced by French scholars maintains that neither Huss nor Wycliffe ought to be regarded as the originators of new doctrines, in as much as the teachings of both could be found among the earlier doctrines of the Waldenses.

(5)Wells, H.G. Outline of History, Vol.II. P.151f.

(6)Workman, H.B. Dawn of Protestantism, Vol.II, page 119.

Opposed to both of these theories may be placed the view of modern Bohemian writers, best expressed in the words of the learned Dr. Herben: "there is but a single doctrine of Wyclif which up to the end of the fourteenth century, could not be found among the Bohemians, and that was his teaching upon transubstantiation."

(7) In other words, Huss, rather than being a product of Wyclif's theology, was a product of the reform movement in Bohemia. In support of this theory, Herben refers to the fact that from the time of Conrad Waldhausen on, the worship of saints, veneration of relics, and similar practices were often condemned by Bohemian preachers. One at least, namely: Janovsky, went so far as to declare the papacy to be merely "a usurpation by the Bishop of Rome." The views of Huss therefore become but the keystone of the arch which his fellow countrymen had been building up round about him. The fact that the views of Huss resemble those of Wycliffe becomes the result, then, not of mutual dependence, but a demonstration of the fact that "on a soil of the same conditions, the same species of plants will grow." (8)

(7) Herben, Jan. Huss and His Followers, page 43.

(8) *ibid.*

WHICH OF THESE THEORIES SHALL WE ACCEPT?

Even a casual survey of these theories will arouse certain objections which cannot be entirely disregarded. To assert for instance that Huss was merely the imitator of Wycliffe, and that he did not even take the trouble to acknowledge his indebtedness, is to assert that Huss was ^a more or less unprincipled plagiarist. Even a passing acquaintance with Huss forbids this thought, nor is it probable that a man would be willing to die for a few doctrines which he had surreptitiously copied from a reformer whose bones were ordered dug up and burned by the Council of Constance during the very days when his own cause was hanging in the balance.

To assert that both of the Reformers were products of Waldensian doctrine is to posit something which only the most thorough research could substantiate. It is difficult to believe that Waldensian doctrines could have percolated in England to a degree sufficient to have really made Wycliffe a product of that movement. On the other hand, to maintain that Huss is solely a product of his own nation, and of his age, is to permit national pride to obscure obvious facts.

While thus recognizing both the value and the weak points of the theories we have sketched, we may agree with the assertion of a modern scholar who writes: "we now know that there was a real and vital continuity in the labours of Wyclif and of Luther, with John Hus and his followers for the middle link."(9) Thus Huss becomes the developer and elaborator of the views of the English reformer, but only in the same sense as that in which Luther became the exponent of the doctrines of Huss. If on the one hand we assert in the words of Workman that "the wide knowledge that appears in his(Huss) writings is but the borrowed learning of Wycliff", we must not forget on the other hand that Luther once wrote to Spalatin "unknown to myself, I have both taught and held all (the doctrines of) Huss , in short, we are all Hussites even if unaware of it."(10) Place beside this Luther's assertion: "in his(e.g. John Eck's) Obelisks, he calls me a fanatic Hussite, heretical, seditious, insolent, and rash"(11) and Luther's

(9)Smith, Philip.The History of the Christian Church during the Middle Ages, page 631.

(10)"Ego impudens omnia Hus et docui et tenui, breviter sumus omnes Husitae ignorantés" Letter to Spalatin, Feb.1520. Luther's Correspondence.

(11)Luther to John Sylvius Egranus at Zwickau, Preserved Smith's translation from E.L.Enders, Luther's Briefwechsel, Vol.I, page 172.

own confessions to the effect that he read Huss' De Ecclesia; add to these things the fact that Luther himself edited an edition of Huss' letters, and wrote a preface for the volume, in which he asserted of Huss: "if such a man is to be regarded as a heretic no person under the sun can be looked on as a true Christian", and one might assert with equal boldness that the "wide knowledge" of Luther was but the "borrowed learning of Huss!" Thus the process might be carried on probably ad infinitum, and certainly ad absurdum! Instead of maintaining that anyone of the three was a servile imitator of one of the other two, let us rather say that each was the product of the Spirit of God, which like the wind, blows where it listeth, leaving behind it no clues as to whence it has come, or whither it has gone. This is not to deny that both Huss and Luther were deeply influenced by the doctrines of Wycliffe, or for that matter to deny that Wycliffe was influenced by the writings of his predecessors, but rather to assert that each in his own particular sphere saw his vision and answered "Here am I, Lord send me." If with such an attitude we approach any one of the reformers, we will be compelled to confess as Loserth does of his earlier

sweeping judgement of Huss: "We can assume it as certain that our previous judgement in regard to Huss' literary work must be altered in several points, and that it will be appraised at a considerably higher value than heretofore."(12)

THE DOCTRINAL TENETS OF HUSS

THE STYLE AND IMPORTANCE OF THE THEOLOGICAL WORKS OF HUSS.

Paul Van Dyke, in his notable biography of Loyola remarks that the works of the founder of the Jesuits "because of their influence on men must be classed among the great writings of the world."(13) For the same fundamental reason, the writings of John Huss must always take their place among the classics in the field of religion.

To be sure the writings^w of Huss are important from a literary standpoint. His fifteen Bohemian treatises purified the Czech language. The simplified system of orthography which he employed in his own works, and in his revision of the anonymous Bohemian Bible first produced during the century preceeding his day was adopted

(12) Loserth, Johann, see Schaff- John Huss, page 309.

(13) Van Dyke, Paul, Loyola, page 8.

throughout Bohemia. Well may a modern writer assert that "his merits as a Bohemian writer cannot be over-estimated." What Luther did for the German language and Calvin for the French, Huss accomplished for the Czech. Each was the father of his native tongue in its modern form."(14) In this judgement the modern Czechs, Palacky, Wratislaw and Count Luetzow concur,

Be this as it may however, it is safe to affirm that Calvin is not remembered by many persons at least, for whatever contributions he may have made to the development of modern French, nor is Luther remembered as the father of modern German. Noble as these things may be, their work as leaders in the religious world has far out distanced whatever fame may have come to them because of the purity of their literary style. Even so it was in the case of John Huss. His works remain today, and are still important, not because of their literary style, but because of their influence on men. Towering supreme among the works of Huss is that one which he wrote during his "exile" from the city of Prague, and which Loserth assures us, "friends and foes alike have always regarded with respect"(15) namely De Ecclesia. From the pages of this volume were drawn

(14)DeSchweinitz, Edmund History of the Unitas Fratrum
page 45.

(15)Loserth, Johann, Wyclif and Huss , page 182.

the charges upon which Huss was condemned at Constance; this volume, in the words of Schaff was the "apologia pro sua vita."(16)

THE PLAN OF THE DISCUSSION.

In order to assist the reader to follow the discussion of the theological views which lay at the foundation of the Huss^{ite} movement, it may be helpful to assemble under various headings the theological doctrines of Huss. Most of his distinctive doctrines will be found in the various chapters of his, De Ecclesia, for while the title of that magnum opus indicates its main subject, Huss often leaves his subject in order to state his views in many other directions. Additional sources for our survey of his doctrines are the letters in which he so often expressed his faith, the sermons in which he expounded the word of God, and the so called minor tracts upon numerous subjects connected with the doctrines and practices of the Church.

THE VIEWS OF HUSS ON THE CONSTITUTION AND NATURE OF THE CHURCH.

Huss begins his De Ecclesia by saying that in order to reach a proper knowledge of the Church it is necessary to understand clearly the significance of the term

"church". The term church says he is, "the totality of the predestinate, including all from the first righteous man to the last one to be saved in the future." (17) This church now consists of three great divisions, namely, the church militant, the body of the predestinate, now living on earth; the church dormant, that is the number of the predestinate suffering in purgatory, and in the third place, the church triumphant, namely the blessed, who holding fast the faith of Jesus Christ finally triumphed over the army of Satan. Although the church is thus apparently divided, it is never-the-less one in spirit, as will become apparent upon the day of judgement when the three branches will be united under Christ their Head. (18)

(16) Page XI, of Schaff's introduction to his edition of The Church by John Huss.

(17) This is Schaff's translation. See his edition of De Ecclesia entitled The Church by John Huss with notes and introduction by David S. Schaff.

(18) Huss' phrases are (1) "Ecclesia militans, i.e. ecclesia praedestinatorum dum hi viant ad patriam, (2) Ecclesia dormiens, i.e. numerus praedestinatorum in purgatorio patiens, (3) beati in patria quiescentes qui adversus Satanam militiam Christi tenentes, finaliter triumpharunt".

Of this universal church Jesus Christ is even now the Head. To be sure, there is a sense in which an individual church may be said to have a human ruler, or "head" but in the last analysis, Christ is now and always the head of His Church. "Christ alone" asserted Huss in the fourth chapter of *De Ecclesia* "is the head of the universal church, which church is not a part of anything else." (19) Huss himself revealed the sincerity of this position, when after his excommunication, he appealed from the apostolic See to Him whom he acknowledged as sole head of His Church, namely Christ Himself. (20) Of this attitude Luther later wrote in the introduction to his edition of the letters of John Huss: "The greatest crime of John Huss was his having declared that a man of impious life was not the head of the universal Church; he allowed him to be the chief of a particular church, but not of the universal one." (21)

(19) This is Schaff's translation.

(20) For this appeal, *Appellatio M. Joannis Hus a sententiis pontificis Romani ad Jesum Christum supremum judicem*, see Palacky, *Documenta Mag. Joannis Hus, Pars Quarta*, No. 49 (pages 464 - 466).

(21) See Luther's preface, published in full in Bonnechose's *Letters of John Huss*. Huss says in Chapter VII of *De Ecclesia*: "If he who is called to be Peter's vicar, follows in the paths of the virtues, just spoken of (faith, humility, love) we believe that he is His true vicar and the chief pontiff of the church over which he rules."

In addition to being the Head of the Church, Jesus Christ is also its foundation. The Apostles recognized this fact, Huss says, for they when they preached, invited men to come, not to themselves, but to Christ, who is the foundation stone of the Church. The assertion of Roman Catholicism to the effect that the Church was built upon Peter, Huss answers by saying that while it is true that all of the Apostles were foundation stones of the church, never-the-less Christ remained "the foundation of the foundations".(22)

If the established church demands of its members obedience in some matter, the doing of which would do violence to enlightened conscience, it becomes the duty of members of the Church to obey God rather than men. "Obedience to superiors is obligatory only in lawful matters", Huss writes to his friend John Barbat. "I have clung firmly to this truth" he continues, "and have preferred in my sermons, to inculcate obedience to God, rather than to the pope and the archbishop, or to any others that may oppose the saying of Christ!"(23)

(22) De Ecclesia, Chapter IX.

(23) Huss, John, Letter to John Barbat, No.5 in Bonnechse's edition of the Letters of John Huss. No date given.

HUSS AND THE AUTHORITY OF HOLY SCRIPTURE.

Although he rejected the doctrine of the Supreme authority of the Church in matters of faith, this act did not leave Huss without a foundation for his faith. His resting place he found in "the Word of God which ne'er shall cease." No where did this attitude appear in bolder relief than in his bearing at the Council of Constance. Repeatedly he offered to recant any doctrine which could be proven false by an appeal to the Scriptures. When on the evening before the day of martyrdom, four bishops came to him ~~in~~ in order to make a last minute attempt to convince him of his errors, Huss once more affirmed that he was not proud but that on the contrary he was willing to give into the least of the doctors, if only his instruction rested upon the Scriptures. His doctrines he asserted were based upon the Scriptures, and "Hoc dicit Scriptura Sacra explicite vel implicite" (24) was his final defense. In this frame of mind he was led forth from prison, on the following morning to

(24)"Thus say the Holy Scriptures, either directly or indirectly", Hist. et. Mon. I, page 364.

be burned at the stake. His views of Scripture are fully expressed in the famous hymn which tradition asserts was written by Huss-

1. The Word of God which ne'er shall cease,
Proclaims free pardon, grace and peace,
Salvation shows in Christ a-lone,
The perfect will of God makes known.
2. This holy Word exposes sin,
Convinces us that we're unclean,
Points out the wretched, ruined state
Of all mankind, both small and great.
3. It then reveals God's boundless grace,
Which justifies our sinful race,
And gives eternal life to all
Who will accept the gospel call.
4. It gently heals the broken heart,
And heavenly riches doth impart,
Unfolds redemption's wondrous plan,
Through Christ's atoning death for man.
5. O God, in Whom our trust we place,
We thank Thee for Thy Word of grace;
Help us its precepts to obey,
Till we shall live in endless day. (25)

HUSS AND THE CHRISTIAN CONSCIENCE.

In the attitude which Huss assumed before the Council of Constance, he "gave a demonstration", Fisher says, "of his great principle; the right of private judgement."(26), while Herben, passing over the contributi-

(25) Translation by the Rev. L. F. Kampmann, Hymnal and Liturgies of the Moravian Church, 1923, NO. 1.

(26) Fisher, George, The Reformation, page 62.

tions Huss made to the Christian doctrine of the Church, and to the Christian conception of the place of the Scriptures, insists: "this is the new idea which Huss gave to the world, that there is no man under the sun who can by command force another either to believe or disbelieve something." (27) "A wonderful piece of information", Huss wrote to a friend, after D'Ailly had informed him that it was not proper for him to persist in his beliefs after fifty doctors of the Church had decided that his views were erroneous, "a wonderful piece of information, as if the virgin St. Catherine, ought to have renounced the truth and her faith in the Lord because fifty philosophers opposed her." (28) His own conduct throughout life gave evidence of the fact that these assertions were born of firm conviction. With boldness, and yet with humility, Huss endeavored to restore the enlightened Christian conscience to that high throne from which the dogmatism of the Church had violently hurled it. If in this noble attempt he perished, it may be said that he at least aroused others to a recognition of facts as they were, and men seeing Truth crushed to earth,

(27) Herben, Jan. Huss and His Followers, page 61.

(28) Letter of John Huss, Workman's Edition, page 264.

determined that with their aid^{she} should rise again.

JOHN HUSS THE PROTESTANT

It is obvious from the attitude of the Catholic Church over against John Huss, that he was not a Catholic. Are we justified however in asserting that Huss was essentially a Protestant? This question has been answered with an enthusiastic "yes" by D.R. Piper in an article published in The Open Court magazine during the year in which Protestantism celebrated the five hundredth anniversary of the martyrdom of Huss (1915). Insisting up on the fact that there may be found in the doctrine of Huss "all the elements of religious protest which were present in the Reformation of a century later", Mr. Piper comes to the logical conclusion that "Huss, however unconscious he may have been of the fact, was a perfectly good Protestant."(29) It is difficult to see how a careful student of the life and teachings of the Bohemian reformer could reach any other conclusion. How is it possible to consider Huss as a Catholic reformer within the Catholic Church, because he believed in purgatory, when he rejected the headship of the Papacy, declared the Scriptures to be

(29) Piper D.R. The Protestantism of John Huss, Open Court Magazine June 1915.

the supreme authority in matters of faith and doctrine, asserted the universal priesthood of all believers, denounced the Papal bull issued against him as a dead letter, and accepted practically all of the doctrines of modern Protestantism? If his doctrinal system was imperfect, it at least contained, as DeSchweinitz asserts, "all the elements of a body of pure divinity" (30). Had not the tyranny of Catholicism cut him down while in the prime of life, the glory of being the birth place of the Reformation might well have fallen to a little Kingdom in the heart of Europe.

THE THEOLOGY OF THE HUSSITE MOVEMENT

The theology of the Hussites was essentially that of John Huss. While it is true that fanatical groups of Hussites gradually drifted away from the doctrines of the reformer, those branches of the movement which brought credit to the name of Huss may be said for the most part, to have adhered to his doctrines. The Bohemian nobles who formed the Hussite league on September 5, 1415 pledged themselves to act only in unison, to accept and uphold the theological

(30) DeSchweinitz, History of the Unitas Fratrum, p.54.

opinions of the faculty of the University of Prague which was favorable to Hussite theology, and to obey only those orders of the Church which were in accordance with the principles laid down in Holy Scripture. By such action they definitely espoused the cause of their martyr^d leader, and accepted his teachings.

Even when, less than ten years after the death of Huss, the Hussites were torn apart by the rise of two powerful parties within their ranks, namely the Utraquists whom history has classed as the conservatives, and the Taborites who were in many respects fanatical and extreme, all united in accepting the celebrated four articles of Prague. Drawn up by unknown hands in Latin, Bohme^mian, and German, this confession of faith was sent to all parts of Europe, in order that all the world might know and understand the principles for which the followers of Huss were contending.

These were:-

1. Gross public sins, whether in clergy or laity were to be punished by those ~~an~~ authority.
2. The acquiring of great riches in unjust ways, and worldly pomp and pride together with the secularization of the church were contrary to the Spirit of Christ and His earliest followers.
3. The preaching and reading of the Word of God was to be permitted at all times and in all places.
4. The sacrament of the Lord's Supper is to be administered under each kind, and all who are not disqualified by means of gross sin, are to be permitted to partake of it. (31)

(31) These four articles may be found in the original form with the Scriptural references, etc, in Palacky's Geschichte von Böhmen Vol.V(that is the second part of the third division) pages 136 - 138. English versions, in shortened form may be found in most detailed works on the subject. For a later confession of faith, issued about 1443 see L.Enfant, Histoire de la Guerre des Hussites, Vol.III, page 132 ff.

PART TWO

OUTLINE OF CHAPTER THREE

THE HUSSITE MOVEMENT CULMINATING IN THE RISE
OF THE MORAVIAN CHURCH.

- I.- The Hussite Movement alone, of all the social and religious uprisings of the period made a permanent impression upon the world.
- 2.- How a Group of the Followers of Huss organized the Moravian Church.

THE HUSSITE MOVEMENT CULMINATING IN THE RISE
OF THE MORAVIAN CHURCH

I. THE HUSSITE MOVEMENT ALONE OF ALL THE SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS OF THE PERIOD, MADE A PERMANENT IMPRESSION UPON THE WORLD.

There is a sense in which no movement, social or religious, or even political is born to pass entirely away. "The glory that was Greece" and "the grandeur that was Rome" have disappeared, but all the world is debtor to these two civilizations. In view of this fact, it may be folly to observe that of all the social and religious revolts of the period which began with the thirteenth century and ended with the sixteenth, the Hussite movement alone produced permanent results, and left an enduring impression upon future generations. Never-the-less, such seems to be the case.

In May, 1358, the peasants of France, oppressed, taxed into abject poverty, forced by dungeon and torture to minister to the greed of the nobles, gathered in the vicinity of Cleremont, and agreeing that their oppressors had shamed the fair name of France, "went forth, without any other arms, save their iron bound clubs and knives", over ran the estates of neighboring nobles, and by that act began the revolt

of the Jacquerie.(1) The revolt spread with amazing rapidity, "more than a hundred thousand peasants" says Martin "quit^tted the spade for the pike; the huts (that is, their homes) had been burned - now it was the turn of the castles."

But once more the power of the nobility conquered. Armed legions put to flight the unarmed peasants, and within a few short months the nobles and knights, drunk with power, returned to their castles and again began to oppress their subjects, taking up that wretched work where they had ceased when the fury of the peasants had driven them away.

In 1381 the English peasants revolted under Wat Tyler. With John Ball's fiery text upon their lips, they too rushed forth to conquer, only to be conquered, to witness the murder of their leader, to be appeased temporarily by promises of reform, to set out trustingly for their homes, and to learn to their terror and dismay, that only those who could dodge the weapons of hidden soldiers might ever expect to see their homes again.

Nor did the peasants of Germany fare better. Rising in 1524, and assuming for a short time colossal

(1) For a splendid account of this revolt see Henri Martin, in Esther Singleton's *The World's Great Events*, Vol. II, pages 887ff.

proportions, the Peasants Revolt was eventually completely crushed, and that with merciless severity. Even Luther, upon whose support the leaders of the revolt had undoubtedly counted, turned "against the murdering thieving hordes of Peasants".(2)

In Bohemia alone did the uprising of the peasants become more than a passing event. In England, France and Germany the peasants revolts were spontaneous; in Bohemia four years elapsed between the death of Huss and the rise of the rebellion. But in Bohemia alone did the movement reach such strength that neither the armies of Pope or King could crush it. Five crusades, led by the ablest commanders the King could place in the field, and urged on by the Pope, came to an ignominious end. One hundred and thirty thousand crusaders, led by the Margrave of Brandenburg, and the Cardinal Legate Julian, fled in terror at Taus, in 1431, as soon as they heard in the distance the sound of the war wagons and battle hymns of the Hussites. Small wonder that as one historian remarks: "All Europe stood aghast."(3)

(2) Title of a tract issued by Luther at Wittenberg, in May 1525.

(3) De Schweinitz, History of the Unitas Fratrum, p.88.

Having failed to subdue the Bohemians by force, the Papal Legate induced the Council of Basle ^{to} invite the Hussites to send delegations to that assembly. For the first time in history the Church of Rome was obliged to listen for two months to heretical doctrines, without being able to cut off the heads of those who uttered them. For two months members of the Council writhed in their seats while Hussites protested against the ^asandals in the Church, praised Huss and Jerome as heroes and placed the blame for their death at the doors of the Roman Church, expounded the theological positions of the four articles of Prague, and pledged themselves to defend with heart and hand the law of Christ. Then, with as much dignity as it was able to retain, the Council authorized the signing of the Compactata of Basle, an agreement which incorporated a revised but not materially changed version of the hated four Articles. This did the Hussite ^{temporarily} revolt succeed in accomplishing its aims.

The success of the Hussite movement lay not however in its temporary triumph over the Church of Rome, but rather in its permanent influence upon the religious history of the world. That influence is with us today,

for while even "Wycliffism passed out of view in England", the influence of Huss, and "Hussitism" in spite of the most bitter persecution by the Jesuits, has trickled down in pure though small streamlets into the religious history of modern times, notably through the Moravians of Herrnhut"(4)

HOW A GROUP OF THE FOLLOWERS OF HUSS ORGANIZED THE MORAVIAN CHURCH.

Outwardly the bitter quarrel between the Hussites and the Church of Rome came to an end with the signing of the Compactata of Basle, in 1433. In Bohemia however internal dissension broke out. The Taborites and the Orphans, as the immediate followers of the lamented Ziska called themselves, insisted that the Catholics should be compelled to make further concessions, the Utraquists on the other hand began asking why, since the Compactata granted most of the principles for which they stood, they might not eventually rejoin the Catholic Church. To the devoted Taborites and Orphans such thoughts were pure heresy, and Procopius and others among their leaders did not hesitate to say so. The Utraquists were in

(4)Schaff, History of the Christian Church, Vol.V, Part II, page 358.

no mood to be argued with, and Bohemia having been torn by strife since 1419 was loudly calling for peace at any cost. Urged on by the Utraquists the nobles of the Kingdom formed a league to enforce peace, and gathered a formidable army. Alarmed, the Taborites prepared as best they could to defend themselves. On the field of Lipan, on the thirteenth of May 1434 the two armies met. The result was inevitable; Prokop whom his followers called "the Great," and thirteen thousand of his soldiers were left lying dead upon the field. Utraquisim had triumphed.

Under the leadership of John Rokitzan, the Utraquists continued in their attempts to induce the Bohemians to rejoin the Church of Rome. In this they partially succeeded, for in July, 1436, at a great meeting held in the market place at Iglan, the Compactata were ratified anew, and the Bohemians readmitted to the holy mother church.

But through out all of these proceedings, the little band of Taborites, whose numbers had been greatly reduced by the battle of Lipan, and who were everywhere looked upon with disfavor, held themselves together. Conferences between the Utraquists and the Taborites

served only to widen the breach. Even within the borders of the Utraquist Church there was no agreement, and both clergy and people were constantly at war with one another. Wearied by the endless confusion of their day many cut themselves off entirely from any church, and others accepted eagerly the fanatical doctrines of every passing prophet. For a time it seemed as if Huss had died in vain, and if the zeal of his followers had spent itself. Subsequent events however were to prove that the spirit of John Huss was still alive, and that his influence was still to be reckoned with.

In 1447 there ascended the throne lately vacated by Pope Eugenius IV, the first great pope of ^{the} Renaissance. When the Compactata of Basle were brought to his attention; he refused to sanction them on the ground that they were the production of a schismatic council.(5) This act placed the Utraquists in Bohemia in a somewhat embarrassing position. To abandon the Compactata would be to commit treason, to hold to them would mean giving up all hope of effecting a reconciliation between the Bohemian church and the Roman Church. John of Rockycana chose the former course, and began forthwith to preach with all the

vigor and eloquence he could command, against the corruptions in the church of Rome. When Pope Nicholas sent Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa, famous scholar, historian, author and theologian into Bohemia, with John Capistran the miracle worker, commissioning them to bring the Bohemians into subjection, the two papal messengers found no more bitter enemy in all Bohemia than John of Rockycana. Rockycana's position as Archbishop of Bohemia gave him influence, and once more the spirit of Huss was heard protesting against the iniquity and tyranny of the Catholic Church.

While at the height of his power, the attention of Rockycana was drawn to a band of Hussites who had allied themselves under the leadership of Peter Chelcicky, a man of unbounded common sense, belonging to neither the Utraquist nor the Taborite branch of the movement, anxious that all should forget their differences and uniting as brethren, attempt to live simply as followers of Christ. Hearing of these brethren of Chelcic, as they called themselves. Rockycana visited them, became acquainted with them, and kept in touch with them. When therefore in 1454,

after Rockycana had preached a series of sermons setting forth the deplorable conditions of the Catholic Church, and asserting that even among the Utraquists much was sadly amiss, members of his congregation began to ask him what they must do in order to find salvation, the eloquent preacher advised them to go, as he had gone, to Peter Chelcicky and the Brethren. To the Brethren they went and finding among this little group, men of kindred spirits, went again and again. "Each successive visit^{to} Chelcic" says a historian, "filled Rockycana's disciples with greater enthusiasim."(6) Upon their return to Prague after one happy visit with their friends at Chelcic many of Rockycana's parishioners began to urge him to begin a reformation, pledging him their undivided support in whatever measures he might deem wise. Rockycana however was not disposed to heed their requests. Although he told his friends that if they were disposed to assume the risks and hardships connected with a definite breaking away from

(6) DeSchweinitz, History of the Unitas Fratrum, p.101.

the established church, he would not oppose them. Repeated appeals succeeded only in angering the archbishop, "You are urging me", he cried out, "to a most dangerous leap." (7)

Finding the Archbishop unwilling to take a single definite step in advancing the cause which was in a sense born of his own preaching, Gregory, Rockycana's nephew, led a small group of followers to the estate surrounding the castle of Lititz, in the Barony of Senftenberg, near the Silesian border. This estate belonged to George Podie-brad, who later became King of Bohemia. Permission to establish a settlement upon this estate was secured for the group by Rockycana.

Here the brethren began to build homes, and to this quiet spot came others who heard of the new movement and approved of it. Gregory, and a priest from Senftenberg, Michael Bradacius by name ruled over this little settlement. Calling themselves simply "brethren" they endeavored to live at peace with God and with the world.

Having sketched these facts, DeSchweinitz remarked: "Such was the beginning of the Unitas Fratrum. No further details can be given, because they were intentionally

(7) Lasitius, Origo, Progressus, Res prosperae quam adversae, nec non Mores Instituta Consuetudines Fratrum MSS in the Herrnhut Archives of the Moravian Church Herrnhut, Saxony. Plitt, a German historian made a copy of the more important sections of this work, and DeSchweinitz has translated Plitt's quotations.

concealed."(8) All that we know is that on this estate, and among these people, the Moravian Church as it was subsequently called, was organized in the year 1457. Tradition says that the birthday was the first day of March. All that has come down to us from those early days is this simple statement of fact, together with a list of the names of the first twenty eight elders of the little church.(9) In 1467 the first ministers of the church were chosen. Ordination was sought and obtained from the Waldenses. When, in 1517 Luther posted his 95 theses, the Church of the Brethren in Bohemia had more than two hundred thousand members, its own hymn book, its schools, printing presses and forms of worship. This wide spread acceptance of Hussite doctrines naturally made the Slovak nation friendly to the reform movement under Luther. Luther himself printed a Confession of faith for the Brethren (at Wittenberg) in 1532, and in his preface to that little volume affirmed of the Brethren "they exercise

(8) DeSchweinitz, History of Unitas Fratrum, page 108.

(9) This list may be found in MSS in the Hernhut Archives of the Moravian Church. In this country a copy may be seen in the MSS work of Riechel Zusätze (xlll)- in the library of the Moravian Theological Seminary in Bethlehem, Pa.

themselves day and night in the law of the Lord." By the time of Maximilian II(1564 - 76) Döllinger says that in some of the provinces of Bohemia nine tenths of the population was Protestant.

The Jesuits however, cared nought for that. In 1618 their pupil Ferdinand II ascended the throne. With zeal worthy of a better cause he began to carry out a saying tradition ascribes to him: "Better a desert than a country full of heretics." Within a few short months all Bohemia rose in rebellion. But now no Ziska appeared to oppose the Emperor. At the battle of White Mountain, near Prague, in 1620, in the very year in which as Field reminds, us, the Pilgrims landed in America, "the Reformation in Bohemia was drowned in blood." (10) The heads of twenty seven Protestant leaders were fastened to a gallery on one of the towers at the entrance to the famous bridge over the Moldau. Protestant churches were either closed or destroyed, in 1624 all Protestant teachers were ordered to leave the country within a week, the literature of the nation was almost completely destroyed, and the population of

(10)Field, Henry, Summer Pictures, page 209.

Bohemia, was reduced during thirty years of war and plunder from more than three million to perhaps seven hundred thousand. (11) Ferdinand's^d vow to exterminate heretics, if in so doing he had to rule over a desert, was realized. (12) In 1670, Comenius the last Bishop of the Unitas Fratrum died in exile, in Amsterdam Holland.

But the last Bishop of the ancient Unitas Fratrum was the forerunner of the renewed church of the Moravians. In November 1662, Comenius had a part in the consecration of two bishops. The church of the Brethren was scattered far and wide; whether or not its remnants could be gathered was a matter of some doubt. Never-the-less, a little synod, meeting not in Bohemia but at Milenczyn, in Poland authorized the consecration of Nicholas Gertich, and Peter Figulus, in "Spem contra spem" that is, "in hope against hope" that the church of the Brethren might be able under the providence of God to renew its days as of old.

More than half a century dragged on before patience and hope were rewarded. In 1722 two Moravian families, led by Christian David, began a new settlement

(11) No official records for this estimate exist. Schaff says "from between 3,000,000 and 4 - to 700 - 800-

(12) Schaff, John Huss - page 334.

upon the estates of the Count Zinzendorf, near Dresden. To this spot, and to the little village to which Christian David gave the name of Herrnhut(13) came other Brethren from the lands to which they had been scattered, - Singing as they journeyed to their new home, the hymn of the Moravian exiles.

1. Blest be the day when I must roam
Far from my country, friends and home,
An exile, poor and mean;
My fathers' God will be my Guide,
Will angel guards for me provide,
My soul, my soul in danger screen.
2. Himself will lead me to a spot
Where all my cares and griefs forgot
I shall enjoy sweet rest.
As pants for cooling strams the hart
I languish for my heavenly part
For God, for God my Refuge blest. (14)

And because most of the emigrants came from Moravia, men called them simply "The Moravians."

In 1732, but ten years after the establishment of their town, and when the total membership of their church was but six hundred, the Moravians began the mission work which has carried their name and faith

(13)An abbreviation of the phrase "unter des Herrn Hut", that is, "under the Lord's protection."

(14)"The Moravian Emmigrants"Hymn - author unknown No.938 in the Hymnal and Liturgies of the Moravian Church(printed for historic interest only).

into every part of the world. "Their success as missionaries and as the inheritors and guardians of pure faith" says Stone, has given them the reverence and affection of Christendom; and so long as the world admires simplicity, devotion, courage, and fortitude, so long will these spiritual descendents of John Huss be regarded with delight."(15)

(15)Stone, James S. Readings in Church History.

CONCLUSION

THE MORAVIANS OF TODAY THE SPIRITUAL DESCENDENTS OF
JOHN HUSS

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THE MORAVIANS OF TODAY THE SPIRITUAL DESCENDENTS OF
JOHN HUSS

We have become acquainted with the history of the Hussites and with the life story of the man in whose memory thousands called themselves Hussites. But we have done more than merely review history. We have studied the Hussite movement from many stand-points in additions to the historical one. We have considered the Hussite revolt as one of the social revolts of the period intervening between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries, and have pointed out both its resemblances to, and divergencies from that chain of uprisings. We have studied the movement as a religious revolt, have acquainted ourselves with the theology of Huss and his followers, and have attempted to explain both the origin and the influence of doctrines powerful enough to accomplish what these teachings brought about. Then too, we have considered the Hussite Movement as it effects the rise of the first of the denominations of modern Protestantism; we have attempted to come to an understanding of "the meaning and significance of the institutions of our day "by applying ourselves to a study of "what man has

done, and thought and hoped and felt, in the past."(1)

One brief word remains to be said. Huss is still alive, more alive than in the days when the Bohemians heard him preach in Bethlehem Chapel. On July 6th 1915 all Protestantism celebrated the five hundredth anniversary of the day of his martyrdom. In the fifteenth century, he was but Master John Huss of Bohemia, today he is one of the heroes of the universal Christian Church.

Nor has that Church which is in a peculiar sense his church, forgotten him. As soon as the anathemas against Protestants had cooled, and the anti Protestant bans lifted by the rulers of the lands in which Huss had once preached, the Moravian Church again entered Bohemia, in 1870. Ten years of constant interruption and hindrance followed, but in 1880 an imperial edict officially recognized the Brethren's Church and its workers.(2) In spite of discouragements the work was continued with unabated zeal. Thus the church of Huss even now proves by deeds its love for the man whose

(1) See the Introduction.

(2) See Hamilton, History of the Moravian Church, pages 473-4 also 554-56.

death day is each year celebrated throughout the length and breath of the church as a Memorial Day, and in whose memory Moravians, everywhere upon that day unite in singing:-

1. Triumphant martyrs! ye did fight,
And fighting, ye did fall;
And falling, ye took up a crown,
Crown Him who crowned you all.
2. 'Twas through the Lamb's most precious blood,
They conquered every foe;
And to His power and matchless grace
Their crowns and honors owe.
3. Lord, may we keep in view
The pattern Thou hast given,
And ne'er forsake the blessed path
Which led them safe to heaven. (3)

(3) One of the hymns in the Liturgy "to be used on the Sunday nearest July 6th, the Memorial Day of ^{the} Martydom of John Huss." Hymnal and Liturgies of the Moravian Church, page 74.

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Concilio actam, et Controversias de
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motas illustrantia, quae partim adhuc
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2. Urkundliche Beitrage zur Geschichte des
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