JOHN C. (John Christopher) KUNZE 1744-1807

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"That the air and clouds guide your flesh and blood is apparent to your eyes; but what, I ask you, will arise to plunge you into fear and want?"

The 20th of July 1770. At eleven o'clock I, together with the two gentlemen sons of Pastor Mühlenberg, accompanied by Mr. Pasche, went on board the ship. It is named "The Dutchess of Gordon" whose captain, who seems to be a very good man, is named Winn. The salon will be completely filled with passengers, of whom however at this time none are present. The ship still lies before Detford and will by all appearances not go to sea so very soon. May our ever faithful covenant God let his gracious face shine upon us. It was primarily for his approval that I, of course completely unworthy, shall help to bear his Gospel to America; and so in his mercy he himself bears me to that place. Our little cabin is, to be sure, a little confining for three persons; nevertheless it is large enough for the merciful presence of our great Messiah, and every one of us will no doubt recognize it as a good opportunity to be alone occasionally and yet not completely alone. Our little cabin, incidentally, has two small windows, a small table and a chair. Because there is only one chair the lack of others is made up for by the beds which are comfortable to sit on. Moreover I already found out today that the Lord is also on the ship because I saw that I might pray unhindered at his feet, which for me is and will be the greatest benefit on the ship. May he in his mercy without cease compel my heart to supplication and sighing, because only this will ease the journey for me.

Jul. 23d. In the afternoon I went on shore, partly because since my arrival on the ship I always felt somewhat unwell which I hoped to alleviate through physical movement, partly to buy a few more trifles. I stayed this night with the most worthy Pastor Burgmann.

On July 24th I went with Pastor Burgmann to my treasured father, the court chaplain Ziegenhagen, and once again could experience the amiability and benefaction of this treasured man.

Because news arrived just this day that our ship would probably lie at anchor for fourteen more days or longer, gained the opportunity to enjoy henceforth for a few more days company dear to and treasured by me. Just this evening my God made a beginning of the blessings still intended for me here. I conducted the prayer meeting that Pastor Burgmann is accustomed to convene Tuesday evenings in his house with a large group attending, on 2 Cor. 3,3, and thereby enjoyed

much useful encouragement. The remaining time here spent in letter writing and in conversation useful to me with Pastor Burgmann.

On July 28th heard unexpectedly that the ship would move to Gravesend tomorrow and then proceed farther, and therefore journeyed to Gravesend in the company of the worthy Mr. Pasche. Shortly after our arrival there the ship arrived, but because of nightfall I could not be taken aboard enjoyed a few amusing hours with Mr. Pasche and stayed in the inn. With the other passengers also staying here it was arranged that they were to take me aboard tomorrow. It was said that the ship would leave tomorrow as early as five o'clock.

July 29th. Today woke up only at six o'clock and was startled that nobody had awakened me, and believed that all the others were gone. I asked but unfortunately no one understood my fractured English, and so let myself be transferred to the ship by myself. On the ship I found everything still very quiet and none of the passengers here. But soon they all came. In the afternoon at three o'clock the anchors were indeed weighed. In the name of Jesus I now therefore begin my sea voyage. With a favoring wind we cleared the Thames this same day. This day the good wind lasted till evening, then came from the west.

On August 1st at ten o'clock we saw the white mountains of the Isle of Wight. Everybody is seasick except for the older Mr. Mühlenberg and me. The younger one feels it all the more violently. Me the Lord has still maintained in health even though I must remain in the small cabin where Mr. Mühlenberg lies ill. The sea by the way was so tempestuous and looked so terrifying that the early tea had to be served on the floor. Around four o'clock it became noticeably quieter. It is attractive to see the land stretching away horizontally from aboard ship. The Isle of Wight boasts high and yet green-covered mountains. It is said to be of extraordinary fruitfulness, so that many warships are supplied by it.

About six o'clock we came into the harbor of Portsmouth where we dropped anchor. This same evening most of the passengers went to Portsmouth with the captain. The Lord be praised who brought us this far. As soon as we came into the harbor we heard that on the previous Thursday the place where the voluminous shipping gear and rigging is kept was set afire on five sides simultaneously and that the fire was not yet quenched. The damage is estimated at two million pounds sterling. That was the rumor from the beginning. No foreigner is allowed into the place.

On our ship there are five Quakers of whom the captain, who belongs to their number, and two others as well seem to be quite good people. One, an old man, said to me that it would please him if language [differences] would not prevent us from speaking with each other, "we would," he added, "speak with one another many good things,"¹ i.e. we would say many good things to each other. I said to him, the world talks about the world; we should, if I could speak English, talk about of God. Meanwhile we exchange a word with each other anyway. This man preaches very often for the Quakers. On his account our captain asked a passenger if possible not to do any cursing because one of their greatest preachers was on the ship who could not bear it. But cursing has nonetheless not diminished on the ship, although it is heard more from the sailors. The other Quaker spoke a few words in Latin with me. It was hard to understand because of the English pronunciation.

On August 2nd I went ashore for a little in Portsmouth with the younger Mr. Mühlenberg. The sailor who took us across offered to row us a little around the harbor. The elderly Quaker was with us. The harbor is very interesting, of great size and surrounded by very solid fortifications. Here we viewed warships of the first and second rank, especially the ship "Britannia" with one hundred twenty guns, the "Princess Amalia" and others, Spanish and French ones as well. Portsmouth itself is small and not especially beautiful, but two other towns are close by which are more attractive. The naval hospital here approaches that of Greenwich, which I had also seen, in beauty.

Had nowhere else before seen the real seashore so that the view of the great amount of sand caused me to reflect most pleasantly on the various comparisons in Scripture of large numbers with it. I, I and my sins, which are to be numbered like the shore's grains of sand, have stirred up the ill fortune which pains Thee and the saddened host of martyrs. The sand consists of mounds of little white stones, among which there are nevertheless also some pretty large ones. Lord JEsu, may your flood of mercy wash from my heart every large and small one. I do not add this only to create a forced metaphor; but because just now I truly felt burdened by many a stone and was especially melancholy. In Portsmouth I purchased various necessities such as lemons, which always gave me the best relief from sea sickness between Hamburg and London, candles, scissors, etc. For the rest we amused ourselves with a walk atop the embankment from which we could view the entire harbor. Because it is extraordinarily expensive in Portsmouth we returned this evening in our ship's boat to our ship. On the return trip observed in the sailors a true picture of an Englishman as yet untamed by grace. This evening I still wrote letters.

On August 3rd still more cabins were built on deck, so that it is becoming pretty small for promenading, especially since many are still coming onto the ship from Portsmouth.

August 4th. Today Mr. Mühlenberg the elder went ashore for a little. Early from 5 to 6 o'clock I walked on the deck and used the quiet and now very attractive solitude for a blessed conversation with my heart's friend. It was a very pleasant morning. But the greatest pleasure to me were the six words given me: All eves wait on you, LORD! They were brought to my consciousness on the occasion of the many geese, chickens, ducks, etc. simultaneously receiving their fodder and the ensuing loud sounds of joy by which I was always awakened in the morning. Just this morning I asked our first mate who as often as he opens his mouth damns himself, his soul and limbs, very pleasantly in my broken English that he should not ask for damnation but blessing. It were a terrible sin. He said, smiling, that that wasn't possible as he has to rule the whole ship. If he did not curse no one would begin to work and the ship would sink. God in his mercy would not allow it to sink just on account of the load of curses. When at last someone else joined us he said to him that he could not speak much with me because I did not understand it, else he would satisfy me (Mr. Mühlenberg has already noticed a somewhat educated manner of speaking in him) with his evidence. I of course could deal with God alone. Even the "God damn me, my Soul, Body, my Eyes etc." penetrating all my organs should motivate my heart to prayers and supplication!

Today at 3 o'clock the anchors were weighed. Everyone returned onboard, and additionally different new passengers and their servants, and hereby accommodation was of course made somewhat more difficult. Among the new arrivals is an English major who, maybe the future will bear this out, seems to have some goodness. He distinguishes himself by his particular reticence, by his zeal regarding many evils, and by many good conversations. In all nations, languages and modes of life our Lord still remains to be savoured. An Irish captain, however, who is also present is all the more dissolute. I cannot remember ever having seen a human being as impious as that. In one respect it is good that I understand so little English. I am constantly asked why I am so dejected. I told the reason freely to a German person. The worst of it on our ship is also that in many ways it is much too disorderly. Just now I came from the evening meal, and it is twelve o'clock. At eight we drank tea. I know of no reason other than that the whole company forgets everything in its chatter, eating, and drinking. My Savior hold me without stain and steadily awake. We proceeded so far this evening that we were not allowed to anchor again and the pilot left.

August 5th. Yesterday I reflected, especially in the evening in prayer and supplication, that today is for me that most important day on which I was born twenty-six years ago into this world. But it was for me this morning an extraordinarily loving sign of the renewed loyalty of my God that he gave me the grace to wake up with praise and gratitude before I myself yet thought on awakening of the cause of this praise. Lord Jesus, allow the blessings to remain which I sensed then and later that day. My intention is in my twenty-seventh year to be your servant who in my twenty-sixth year in Wernigerode in such a special way made me his servant. I had the pleasure to be alone this morning for some considerable time because I knew that he to whom I gave myself anew was also present. My main supplication today was that everything I have lived so far might be hidden by the blood of Jesus, and that with the lenghthening of my bodily age grace might be granted me to enter into a more mature age of faith and of strength. I remark in praise of the love and mercy of Jesus that I enjoyed great blessings this day, especially because I could trust in the loving heart of the Lord Jesus more than usual and have been guite certain that in achieving my purpose I would not strive uselessly. May he seal it by his mercy even though it should pass as it has always gone since he had wanted to take me up as his very own, through honor and disgrace, through thick and thin, up to the heights of God. Today tried to make some arrangements for the eventual tasks which might be undertaken for my salvation and in some preparation for the very important office of the Spirit on the ship, as much as might be observable of it, since of course the discomfort of being with two more persons in such small confines hinders much. When I have arisen early I receive, as I requested, in my small chamber a few cups of warm drinks solely for myself, because all the others, and therefore also the Messrs. Mühlenberg, join for breakfast in the salon. Here then for a short time I am alone. With the coffee I sing a few hymns out of my Closterberg hymnal. Thereupon I go on deck for a moment for the sake of fresh air then again into my little cabin where I read two chapters of the Bible in the order of the readings of the day, first in the original, afterwards the same in the English Bible. But on deck I take the little English treasure chest.* Usually it is about eleven o'clock. The hours from eleven until one I have assigned to reading books designed to further my theological understanding. I have especially directed my attention to books on faith. During this I shall remain for the most part on deck. From two to three o'clock I shall walk around on

deck. From three until four I continue the reading begun at one [o'clock] for an hour, from four to six either write in this journal or letters in advance, or continue an essay begun for my own heart. At six o'clock again I drink something warm, after which time until supper, set for nine but often enough late, I enjoy being mostly on deck, often alone without the company of others and able in the quiet to entertain myself with books. When now dining has begun at nine, I have an hour to myself afterwards because at eleven o'clock all lights must be doused. But, as I said, it isn't always as punctual as that.

*Collection of English Spiritual writings?

This morning we spoke with a large East Indian ship. We were very near Dorchester, the whole previous night we had a good eastern wind which continues but, because of the changed course the captain took to meet the ship, became useless to us. So far we all find ourselves quite well. At two o'clock we were near Plymouth.

August 6th. Today at ten o'clock we already sighted Landsend. The east wind is extraordinarily strong so that we proceed at almost sixteen English miles per hour. But at the same time the equally extraordinary rolling of the ship will make many ill, and in fact the younger Mr. Muhlenberg already lies abed.

August 7th. Lord Jesus, teach me to preserve the tie of a clean conscience with you. Today long ago I was baptized in your death. The wind is southerly but weak, the rolling of the ship lets up.

August 8th. The wind does blow from the east, but so weakly that in an hour we do not even make an English mile. The younger Mr. Mühlenberg is still in bed.

August 9th. Early this morning there was no wind at all, and finally, when it turned stronger, it turned to the north. We made five miles per hour. Testing the speed is done in this way: At the end of a long string wound on a spool that has different equally spaced knots or indicators there hangs a small board whose border is lined with lead. One man picks the spool up in both hands, another grasps the board whose border is lined with lead, the third a minute sandglass. The board is thrown into the sea, as soon as the first knot appears the clock is turned upside down. As soon as the minute sandglass has run out the man who holds it gives a quick signal that the one who unrolls the string stop immediately. As many knots as have rolled off the spool, that is how many English miles we go in one hour.

August 10th. A day on which almost all on the ship are ill. Our dear Mr. Mühlenberg, the younger, quite violently. Me my dear father seems to want to protect completely from this plague. The weather looks very much like a storm. The bow of the ship dips deeply into the depths. On the table everything slid together that could not be placed on the device invented by our captain. This device is by the way a very good thing. A board as long as the table but only a third as wide is fixed above our table thusly, that at both sides of the table it is suspended in two protuberances that, whenever the ship rolls violently, are screwed down. On one side the board has a quite heavy iron weight. This then always inclines to the side where the ship lists and thereby holds the board level. On it then are set and laid bowl, salt cellar and everything except

the plates and knives. If one does not see the weight it appears surprising how the bowl and the other things can stand still since the board, when the ship rolls, also seems to move. This is accounted for by the side-to-side movements of the latter. The longitudinal movement of the ship never amounts to much and rarely causes great disturbances.

August 11th. The rolling is less but the wind contrary, now it is said that we shall see the island of Madras [sic - Madeira?].

Today on our ship a sort of committee has been established which consists of three members and has as its purpose to make arrangements for the impending Sunday celebration because the old Quaker had emphatically complained that the previous Sunday was spent so badly. In the evening a general assembly was held in which different decisions were taken. First, that all Sundays are to be celebrated. Second, that double divine services are to be held; one for the English, in which the old Quaker has promised to preach, from ten to twelve o'clock; the other from twelve until one or two o'clock for the Germans of whom there are eight altogether. It was already assumed that I would preach at it so I was only asked whether I wanted this time. I rejoice in the opportunity here also to be allowed to witness every Sunday to the Lord Jesus. Third, that the Germans on the ship should enjoy rights equal to the English. Without my knowing it a peculiar arrangement was made on the ship already yesterday. We are supposed to represent a sort of republic, hold several assemblies weekly to consider the best for all the passengers, and record all decisions in a minute book. To this end there is a secretary and even a speaker in the parliament. Whoever wants to see a change made presents it publicly in the assembly and the majority makes the decision. If someone wants to present an important matter anonymously this too is provided for. One writes letters and sticks them into a little box hung out for this purpose that is opened every morning by designated persons. These add their own comments, both are then read in the public assemblies, and the votes are collected. That it has a somewhat playful character one must credit to the English who like to see their parliament and whole form of government imitated; otherwise the system is in many respects good. Already, doubtlessly from the old Quaker, several letters opposing some disorder and wild behavior or other have come in, and some things are prohibited but not strictly enforced. The letters, like all proceedings, are entered in a book.

August 12th. Sunday I preached in the name of Jesus to seven Germans, although there were, I don't know why, many English present, the regular Sunday lesson of the day, and discussed the great but nevertheless highly limited wisdom of the children of this world, (1)how it is to be regarded in itself, (2)how the children of light are to use it. Before and after we sang properly. For the others the Quaker had only made a presentation on the topic: How we are to pray to God in spirit and in truth. May God create some goodness on this ship also. The old Quaker often asks me: "How do ye do in the heart." I do not doubt that he fears God. But the other Quakers do not all distinguish themselves from the great crowd.

Early today we caught a big, wonderful fish known to no one. A duck fell into the sea, the fish went after it, and so it was caught. Afterwards the current was tested by the lowering of the tin plate, and finally trial was made of the power of the sea. A glass bottle was tied to a long string, into the same someone stuck as tightly as possible a cork much thicker at the top than the

bottom; the bottle was then lowered thirty fathoms into the sea and pulled up after a few minutes. The bottle was full of water and the cork, which before could not be pressed into the bottle regardless of the force applied, was inside the bottle. An English captain who had been on our previous ship told us that by this method someone had previously obtained fresh water when a bottle as rapidly as possible had been lowered more than one hundred fathoms, but no one here knew anything about that.

On dark evenings like today the sea looks wonderful. One sees in it a lot of apparent sparks that doubtlessly arise from saltpeter and salt particles. They cast off real rays. Especially we just saw a clump of fire of considerable size that at first looked round, then enlarged itself and formed a half circle.

August 13th. Today the wind is southerly and pretty strong. We tack. In the morning at ten o'clock we met a Danish ship coming from the East Indies. At first it addressed us in German, but later a clergyman on board that ship spoke in English that, however, he could not speak well. We noticed besides the speaker some other clergymen on the ship. Doubtlessly the ship will have brought letters from our dear brothers in the East Indies for our highly respected fathers.² The ship when we met it had been underway seven months and may take another month to reach Copenhagen. Now it had a favorable wind because of which it would not wait as demanded by our captain, who wanted to purchase some things. In the afternoon the wind became stronger but for us more contrary. Meanwhile however we are already five hundred and thirty miles from Landsend. So far the Lord has helped. During last night the wind was so strong that it seemed like a storm. I however lay and slept quite peacefully. Today several are taken ill again.

August 14th. The continuing southwester is so strong that one might think the masts would break.

August 15th. Today the wind is completely westerly and the rolling of the ship is no longer so strong, so that Mr. Muhlenberg the younger got out of bed once. This evening we are at 46 degrees latitude and 22d west longitude. Today I tried, at first only with the intention to practice my English, to put down my thoughts as best I could in a letter in English on a few matters which I would like to see put in order on the ship; and when I had completed it in letter format and became aware that it could be well understood by English speakers, I deposited it where letters like it belong, as mentioned on August 11th. I remember this only because of the consequences. The points which I proposed and addressed in polite turns of phrase were these: (1) One should allow anyone, like his neighbor, the freedom to propose improvements in this or that and have them decided, from whomsoever they come, by a majority vote; (2) One should investigate whether it would not be better if the card games which some people play were banned from our company; (3) One should, if most approved, impose a fine for cursing and swearing and afterwards donate the money to the man who first sighted land, and in general for those who serve us; (4) One should institute a prayer hour during the week; (5) One should keep Sunday sacred even beyond the services and insist on decent behavior more suitable to Christians (heretofore there had been profane singing and chatter). In general I added the admonition to keep the omnipresence of God constantly in mind during the whole week and

presented the most hearty wish for all of us to be led by him to our destination in peace as my motive; (6) One should apply somewhat sharper discipline to the two children who are on the ship. They are so uncontrolled that I have never seen the like. I closed the letter with such expressions as to compel all the others to consider these points with the same courtesy.

August 16th. The rolling of the ship again caused illnesses. The wind is now south-, now northwestly. On our ship an assembly for the establishment of good order was held again; earlier it was announced that no one should stand because there was much to be considered. Accordingly my letter, in which three or four words had been changed, was read. The three persons who act as a committee had put down their comments on each point and these were also read. It was therefore decided that the whole next day both would be available at a certain place and be paid particular attention by all. Tomorrow then all is to be decided by majority vote.

August 17th. The wind is again somewhat milder. It is a considerable relief after such stormy weather in which one is thrown to and fro, and even when it does not bring, as with me, real illness one nevertheless feels enough to appreciate it when the wind and sea die down even though there is no progress in this calm. Now I only admire always the love of my father, reconciled in Jesus, by which he seeks to ease my journey in every possible way; and in doing just that, that love does not spare us trials. To this certainly very sensible easing I have to add the great joy that I have been able heretofore daily to gain from the word of God; as I was just today refreshed abundantly by some selections from the Revelation of John. This happily occurred in the morning. Added to this in the afternoon was an occasion which caused me tears of joy and filled my heart with praise during the remainder of the day. When we had eaten our old Quaker suddenly interrupted the conversation, which was not exactly marked by grace, with the words: "I speak only a few words, but I must now express what is in my heart". Thereupon he took off his hat and offered a very moving and compelling prayer during which what moved me additionally to the special praise of God was that I understood it almost word for word. He asked God for grateful hearts for all his benefits. He pleaded that it might not be said of us: "the people sat down to eat and rose to play," and prayed in general in accord with what my heart and, as one could observe, other hearts, felt. After the prayer someone said: "Thus it should always be." This as well as the following four observations I made today caused me an agreeable day. (1) Since the institution of divine service aboard it is far guieter on the ship than before, and also not seldom sacred topics are talked about. (2) A German, as it seemed in all seriousness, revealed to me how his heart was touched by the word of God, just as even earlier I could not believe that the change of behavior noticed in him was mere hypocrisy for which he had no motive. (3) Another German revealed even more and has also told me how previously God's holy spirit had given him no rest in his denial of God. (4) A third has without his knowledge allowed me to discover evidence which has convinced me that grace was indeed powerfully at work in him. It will no doubt win the victory, according to which it would rather be made manifest on a candlestick than hidden under a bushel. These together led me today to the almost loud exclamation: On this ship too Jesus must be glorified, here too he must gain souls. And something like this can expel many an affliction in refreshing tears of joy.

In the evening my preannounced proposals were discussed. The first was approved and the reminder given that it had been observed from the very start. The second was disputed for an

uncommonly long time and I almost regretted having proposed it because it could have caused dissension. In the added comments about my letter card playing was called a permissible pleasure, this was supported by another, and someone read a written pretty lengthy defense of this game which he had deduced from the axiom: the human mind must always be active etc.; others, among them the captain, contradicted this strongly. It seemed probable to me that hardly any knew at the time that the letter came from someone who could not speak a word of English. Some assumed Mr. Mühlenberg to be the author who however as yet knew nothing about it. After much strife the lovers of card playing received one vote more than we, and so they retained here on the ship what otherwise one of course would not want to deprive them of, because in fact it makes up a substantial piece of their wordly constitution that after all is their own particular inheritance. But now a dispute arose; the opposing party, I do not know why, forcefully asserted that they could not allow it to be said that they had allowed card playing. The old Quaker so near and dear to me also rose and said: At some future time friends of his could be on this ship, they would then (it sounded very emotional) say: My friend Oxely also permitted the game. The minutes should remain on the ship and be read to future passengers. This point was finally decided to the end that all names which were in favor and those opposed were written down and kept as evidence. The third was partly highly approved, except that someone arose and stated that he himself was not aware of it when he cursed and that he would not obey any rule if a penalty were assessed on it. Meanwhile penalties were determined for other irregularities. The dispute about this lasted a long time. In the written comments this proposal was approved. The establishment of a weekly prayer hour was approved and scheduled for Thursdays from eleven to one o'clock. Only seven were opposed who were therefore of no account. About the remonstration in point five much, as it seemed to me, was said in favor that however I did not fully understand. In respect to the greater discipline to be applied to the children it was decided to commit them wholly to the captain and that he should punish them for all transgressions. I had added, which I have omitted above, the proposal that, if it were not impossible, the sailors could take part in our Sunday assembly, which however the captain opposed on the grounds that the established regulation had to be maintained that no sailor was allowed to enter the salon. The Quaker, however, thought as I did.

On August 10th I preached on the tears of Jesus and their cause. Toward evening we had, though only for a few hours, a favorable wind. As I stood alone on deck around ten o'clock of a pleasant evening and looked at the sea, a sail recoiling because of the weakness of the wind suddenly ripped hat and wig from my head and into the sea. It was just that wig that I had had made for myself in London for half a guinea. The worst part was to get my other one. Below where I had to pass sat all the ladies and gentlemen.

August 20th. Today the south wind blew, which we could well use. It is an uncommonly beautiful day. A sail cloth stretched above the deck moderates the somewhat excessive heat. The word sown yesterday seems to have some effect. Oh that my gracious Savior were to show me already here, like an advance payment, something of his blessing.

August 21st. This morning we met with a French ship coming from the West Indies. Our captain wanted to buy some things from it. Although it had a favorable wind it was nevertheless not only willing to wait but refused very definitely to accept money. As bitter as the English are about the

French otherwise they nonetheless do not deny their great courtesy. Our ship obtained rum and coffee from it and received some other things besides, such as wine, lemons, tobacco, as gifts, and from us it received some cheese and English beer. Today we are at forty degrees latitude from London.

August 22nd. The Lord be humbly praised who today gave us a strong northeast wind. In one hour we make nine English miles. Soon we shall have covered half the distance. In the evening we met an Irish ship. I do not know why it always seems refreshing to see another ship nearby.

August 24th. Today we have a weak northwest wind. My heart was most advantageously refreshed this morning by the word of God. I read the first four chapters of the First Letter to the Thessalonians. The joy in the midst of sadness, ch.1; The apostle's maternal and paternal heart for his community, ch.2, 8-11; the important admonition ch.3,3: "that no one be moved by these afflictions." You yourselves know that this is to be our lot;³ and the description of the dead in the Lord, so inexpressibly encouraging to me, caused me to feel that I could to some degree imagine Paul's emotion. In Athens he was greatly troubled, and in ch. 3,9 he says just what we say when we sing: oh, that I had a thousand tongues, etc. His unutterably great joy forced him into loud praise. I rejoiced inexpressibly in reading these four chapters and yet simultaneously felt an equally great sorrow at my insufficiency compared with the Pauline soul thirstiness and at my inconstancy in bearing the cross; a great deal, especially in the third chapter, sent me into serious and mortifying contemplation.

August 25th. Today we have a strong southern wind that is quite favorable for us, but toward evening its strength became terrifying.

August 26th. Now we are in the vicinity of Terra nova.⁴ This morning we met with a French ship going there. Today is the stormiest day which we have yet had at sea. The wind is northwest. The sea looms over us like mountains, and the waves break over the ship and into our cabin. Therefore divine service was omitted on our ship.

August 27th. The northwest wind is still strong and stormy, so that everyone looks quite sad, and one does not really know where one should go. During the night past we had a pretty hard storm.

August 28th. This past night the storm was so violent that it caused considerable unease. The whole following day the waves still broke over the ship. In the evening it seemed to become a little calmer.

August 30th. Today it is better in the sense that the wind has become somewhat southern. Otherwise it is so strong that all of us yearn for some relief. At one o'clock of the afternoon the topmost spar of our big main mast broke which caused a great deal of work. We had just emerged from our weekly prayer hour during which the old Quaker had spoken in a very heartfelt way about these words: "Lord, that I might see," when this uproar occurred. One of the passengers said with unchristian levity as we came out: "That's what you get for your praying." Mr. Mühlenberg answered: "Maybe the ship would have broken up instead of the mast if we had not prayed": it was unnecessary to give such a person more of an answer. I myself did not hear this mockery, directed also against the arrangements made by us here on the ship. The Lord meanwhile strengthened my faith through the enjoyment of his love. All will turn out well.

August 31st. The Lord be praised who after seven days of turmoil once again grants us some rest. In the afternoon we got an east wind which around eight o'clock in the evening became quite strong. During the previous night we already crossed false sand banks.⁵ From the real ones we are also not far distant any more, just as in general the captain estimates our distance from New York as less than three hundred English miles, although at the same time we have today the first east wind in a long time. Yesterday and today different birds have flown around our ship, and today I saw one of especially great size. Fish, among them also flying fish, one sees here in great quantities. Everything is filled with evidence of the riches of my Father.

September 1st. Lord Jesus. In your name also let this month, perhaps most highly important for me, begin. May the hand which has guided me this far not be withdrawn from me! The good east wind remained the whole night, but this morning there is scarcely a mild breeze. The sea is mirror smooth and still and the weather pleasant. For eight days we have had a wintry cold because we got too far north. This morning we lowered the lead but could not find the sea floor so that we are already past the sand banks. In the afternoon we once again got a good southeast wind and during the whole afternoon there was such a thick fog as I have never seen on land.

September 2^{*nd*}. Today the wind is southwest. Early at nine o'clock we spoke to a ship coming from Virginia. This told us that we were already one degree farther than what our calculations showed. It has been underway from Virginia for fourteen days. This ship will report us in the newspaper, so that I am very glad because I believe that our worthy fathers will be able to receive at least some preliminary news of our heretofore quite fortunate journey. At our divine service, which because of the illness of two persons only a few attended, I offered: The well deserved merit which must be granted our Lord Jesus in all things: He has made everything whole. At this I was flooded by the perception of his gracious presence. He has made all things whole.

September 3rd. Today the southwest wind is very unfavorable to us, the ship rolls violently and tests our patience. At four o'clock we met an English ship coming from the West Indies. Its captain wanted to locate us at the forty-eighth degree, while according to the reckoning of the ship met yesterday we were at the fifty-second and according to our own at the fifty-first. When our captain finally assured them that he must have erred, and asked to be forgiven, this man turned away and said he would see to his own progress, we should see to ours. At first the ship had not wanted to speak to us at all.

Sept. 4th. Today we have no wind at all but agreeable and refreshing weather. In the early morning the Epistle to Titus was blessed nourishment. In reading it I desired and pleaded for mercy from my all-precious leader and chief shepherd because my assistant-shepherd vocation had become vivid to me once again in this epistle. The word mercy surely does not occur for no reason in the introductions to the Pauline pastoral epistles, as many note.

Sept. 5th. Today's southwest and west wind does not offer us, it seems, much advantage. This afternoon at three o'clock we spoke with a ship coming from New England that confirmed our calculation. During the afternoon the wind died down completely; towards evening there arose a very light northern breeze.

Sept. 6th. Our dear Father is pleased to test our faith by a most contrary wind: the sea is very angry.

Sept. 7th. Today we have a storm that I believe is not to be regarded as negligible. Among other things it tore away one of our sails. There is a frightful commotion on deck. Everybody helps with the work. The older Mr. Mühlenberg has raised blisters on his hands. It is so terrible that even the captain is a little afraid. But I sit quietly in my cabin and refresh myself with the Epistle to the Hebrews.

Sept. 8th. Today we have a reasonably useful northwest wind.

Sept. 9th. Praised be the Lord who on this his day gave us a good east wind. It began around ten o'clock, just as I to his praise do not deny that I prayed for it. When I arose the sails were set to the east wind. Of course my belief in the efficacy of this prayer was not as strong as was this evidence of the answer to the prayer itself. We made at first three, then four, five and by evening six miles in one hour. In our assembly I discussed the law of Christ.

Sept. 10th. Praised be the Lord. The east wind continues just as it has all night. In the afternoon it became almost too strong for us and in the evening at nine o'clock the uppermost part of our main mast broke again. Shortly after the break we lost a sail. Because the ship when the wind drives it straight before it no longer pitches lengthwise but sideways like a cradle, one now cannot stand securely for even a moment in any one place. Today one of our jolly passengers was suddenly stilled in this way. He hit his head on the gallery of the deck so hard that he lay there unconscious a long while and thereupon had to be put to bed. I myself fell down the stairs once, but without the least pain.

Sept. 11th. Our east wind granted us by the Lord continues with unrelenting strength.

Sept. 12th. During the past night the wind had turned completely around, for a short time also to the west and blew therefore completely contrarily, but early morning it was again northeast, and shortly after became easterly again and in the afternoon very weak. We cannot be far from New York, the captain believes we will be there tomorrow. Meanwhile we have been sent somewhat south by the northeast wind and now have reason to fear the current discovered not long ago, The Golfo of Florida, which is three degrees wide in the middle and according to the most recent but not yet fully verified determination goes near Europe and, unnoticed, during the day flows back sixty English miles. Our captain has the assignment to investigate it more precisely but now seems to be pretty certain that we cannot get into it because, after having passed the sand banks, it directs its flow as much as possible at Sable Island which according to his experience is much too far north of this stream.

Sept. 13th. Today the east wind left us entirely and turned to the south, southwest and northwest. Today we spoke with a ship coming from a West Indies island and going to Poston [sic]. This put us back a little farther than we were by our reckoning, but we were assured that Long Island was the land nearest us and that our distance was not much above sixty English miles. A few supplies were again taken from it.

Today we again had the weekly divine service, for which nearly all were present. The old Quaker spoke about the words: "In him there is no differentiation of persons," and also about the mission of Jonah to the Ninivites. This gave him opportunity to talk about himself, and now we all heard of the purpose of his journey. While he was in his house the Holy Ghost gave him clear and compelling reason to go to America and there preach the Gospel. So he said and referred to the many calls received by prophets and apostles to the same purpose, cited also the passage Joel 2,28.

Sept. 14th. A still, pleasant day, but with southwest wind. We now entertain ourselves with the hope to see land; to this end the anchor winch was already erected today and the anchors laid out.

Sept. 15th. Near to the desired we are, but we cannot see any land yet. The Lord still finds the present moment good for us to prove our faith. During the night we got a reasonably useful southwest wind. We went twenty-five miles with it and then it stopped again. The captain assured us that beginning yesterday until the end of this month was the most dangerous time of the whole year for seafaring because a storm and whirlwind would easily sink a ship. A New Yorker confirmed that at this time no ship sailed from New York. The danger truly became evident during the night. An uproar suddenly occurred. The sails were all guickly lowered and in this manner, praise be to God, the danger averted. Meanwhile the main mast broke. Today during the day no wind blows at all. We would not even be able to use a good wind as all masts are being worked on. My soul be consoled and rejoice in God my savior. That much I want to confess in his honor, nor yet do I know what to say about the fear of a shipwreck because I know where my Lord would have me. During the afternoon the busy work on the masts subsided somewhat, but the wind changes every moment. Toward evening it became steadier and good. From seven until eight o'clock there was a red and green, and almost oval, round cloud formation toward the northeast, which is supposed to indicate strong and dangerous storms. We sounded today without finding bottom.

Sept. 16th. During the past night and still this morning there is a remarkable change in the wind. Occasionally a brief storm and then once again the stillness. The astonishment at the failure of land to appear is now general. One begins to believe that we are in the reputed Gulf Stream. And it cannot be otherwise partly because there is here an extraordinary heat which is proof that we are too far south, partly because all reckoning already puts us far beyond New York. In our Sunday assembly I continued the reflection that I began fourteen days ago, on the glory of Jesus in accord with the guidance of the Gospel. I believe my redeemer will not leave me completely without bestowing blessings on the few Germans. Mr. Mühlenberg has written down the Quaker's sermon from which one indeed saw how necessary the office of the teaching ministry abandoned by the Quaker is. Today we again sounded uselessly.

Sept. 17th. Today we had no wind at all. During the previous week we had counted on Thursday or Friday, and the captain had assured us of arrival by Sunday, regardless of which way the wind blew. Now we see how little humans are able to predict in advance, as we have cause to set ourselves far back. No one can now state with certainty the degrees of longitude or latitude. The sea meanwhile is as smooth and still today as it had never been. However, suddenly after noon there came such a northern storm the like of which we have not experienced. Two parts of the big mast had to be lowered with the greatest speed and now we are thrown hither and yon. I have already been hit three times by waves. They pound with great force on our window which opens to the deck. Once again in sounding we have not found the bottom.

Sept. 18th. During the past night the storm was quite terrible. Once, as the power of the waves pounded the deck, I marveled that the ship did not break up. For a long time because of the rapid, crashing noise I could not come to my senses, all my limbs trembled. So it continued until this morning. This morning meanwhile it is again quiet. My GOD! What a privilege it is for the children of God to be serene in storm and weather and threatening danger. Only to him the Father I confess in praise that until the present I have always remained so, even if the aforementioned crash caused a shiver. Today we have once again cause to call out in a loud voice: He imposes a burden but he also helps us. This truth dawned on me not only this morning when I suddenly saw good wind and a quiet sea, but especially at nine o'clock when we spoke with a ship which freed us from error. The ship left Long Island last evening and informs us that we are still seventy-five miles from it. The storm has therefore driven us back about four hundred miles. Besides that it relieved our beginning scarcity of fresh provisions and gave us sheep, chickens etc. Praised be the Lord, at eleven o'clock we already saw a few pigeons and sounded bottom for the first time.

Sept. 19th. Today there was no wind at all and a mirror smooth sea. We saw today a great number of big and small fish and different land birds. It is extraordinarily cold. In the afternoon it became pleasant. The air here is very changeable.

Sept. 20th. Today is a very warm day and yesterday it was as cold as winter. One expects to see land any moment, alas none appears as yet, toward evening by dropping the lead we found bottom at thirty-five fathoms.

Sept. 21st. Praise God! At first awakening comes the report: land. Long Island lies visible to us toward the north. At eleven o'clock a piece of paper circulated already according to which everyone should give half a guinea for the steward and others: we gave over our half guineas. Toward evening we already saw something of the highlands where New York lies, but still very dark. At nine o'clock, however, we already observed some rays from the lighthouse.

Sept. 22nd. My soul, forget not what good he has done you. This is the day made by the LORD for the end of our sea voyage. Oh that I could praise my GOD according to his merits who has borne us across the sea on eagle's wings. This morning at ten o'clock we stepped onto land. As soon as we had set our feet on land and one of our fellow passengers had casually called out the name Mühlenberg a German living in New York, to whom we had thus become known, addressed us and inquired about our circumstances. We were taken to a German inn. But when

other persons learned about this they pleaded with us to take lodging with them as private persons, according to which my two travel companions took lodging with a baker and I went to a tanner named Grim, a respectable man, who showed me much love in the Lord. It was Saturday when we arrived. On Sunday I gave my first sermon on American soil in the parish of Mr. P. Gerkos, on the words of the Apostle Matth. 6,16: Are you not much more than they? I was pressed uncommonly hard to remain there longer but I held it to be more my duty to leave on Monday afternoon, Sept. 24th, on the stage boat with the Messrs. Mühlenberg, in order to be as soon as possible in the place determined for me by the Lord. On this boat we had very bad travel companions who could do nothing except chatter and sing. One of the passengers marvelled that the same thunderclap that a short time ago accompanied by the same chatter splintered the mast of this boat, so that everyone was filled with the fear of God, had so little influence on this journey even though some of the previous passengers were present now as well.

On Sept. 25th we drove in a mail coach through the province of New Jersey where, in my opinion, it still looked very wild and unpopulated. In the afternoon we were endangered by water, but our God mercifully helped us. The water, from a violent rain, had carried away two bridges. In the evening came to the Delaware River where we soon again entered the stage boat, and so by night in God's name approached dear Philadelphia. Early at six o'clock we arrived there. Everything in me praise the name of the Lord. In the worthy Mühlenberg house we found everyone, praise God, healthy and merry.

Now let the guide rope of my merciful Lord be kissed in deepest humility. Over land and sea I have now been carried to the place to which the voice, at first long misunderstood but finally unambiguously clear, of the arch shepherd called me unexpectedly. Here I am supposed to help continue the work fathers and spirited youngsters in the Lord have already so far advanced in praise of the Lord that some places have been plowed, others fenced, and some decorated with blooming plants as give refreshment to the eyes. I still see them, these worthy predecessors, plant and water in blessing. Their efforts would cry out to the Lord against me, and there where he is crowned suffice to bring against me the condemnation of the unworthy servants if I were not to give myself over to the same purpose. The intention laid on me by God is to imitate them because the word of the Lord condemns him who does his work negligently. But this should not be the only motivation which makes me effective. The flock to which I am called is purchased by the same ransom by which the whole world could become blessed and mercy be extended to me. Lord Jesus, let your redemptive death for this flock teach me in the power of the spirit to call with a flexible, with a loud, even with a tearful voice: Let yourselves be reconciled to God. And in that I shall not fail you, if you bless me then. Amen.

Footnotes

- 1. This quotation and others following it which Kunze took from conversations with English fellow passengers are in English in the original.
- 2. The Lutheran missions in the East Indies sent reports back to their base in Halle. Like those from North America of which this journal is a part they were published. The

Hartwick Seminary Collection includes just a few issues. Happily the one containing Kunze's journal of his voyage is one of them.

- 3. Quoted by Kunze in Greek
- 4. Probably Newfoundland
- 5. Probably the Grand Banks