A Moravian pilgrim's progress: The "travel diary" of Nathaniel Braun.

Karen A. Zerbe

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A MORAVIAN PILGRIM'S PROGRESS: THE 
"TRAVEL DIARY" OF NATHANIEL BRAUN

by
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A Thesis
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CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

This thesis is accepted and approved in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Sept 16, 1975
(date)

[Signature]
Professor in Charge

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Chairman of Department
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This thesis is an annotated translation from the German of the "Travel Diary of Brother and Sister Nathanael and Elisabeth Braun from Philadelphia to Jamaica from June 19 to September 4, 1797." The manuscript is stored, unbound, in the Rice Collection of Miscellaneous Materials in the Archives of Historic Bethlehem Incorporated, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. It is 64 pages long in 8" x 13" folio sheets. A xerox of the original forms the Appendix of the thesis.

Nathanael Braun was born in Nazareth in 1763. He served the Moravian Church as a missionary and minister from 1797 until his death in 1813. Sister Elisabeth Chitty, whom Braun married in 1797, was born in Carol's Manor, Maryland and died in Jamaica in 1800. A biographical study of the Brauns is included in the thesis.

Braun's "Travel Diary" is a record of the missionaries' sea voyage to Jamaica providing, in particular, a detailed account of their capture by French privateers and their imprisonment on Hispaniola. The annotations give biographical information and elaborate on Braun's descriptions of geography and social mores. They also identify the various Moravian missions in the West Indies, explain Moravian Church customs, and clarify events caused by political disturbances in the Caribbean islands of the late eighteenth century.

The "Travel Diary" is an important document because it gives insight into the feelings and experiences of a typical late eighteenth-
century Moravian chosen to serve the Lord in an official capacity. It is also interesting from a psychological viewpoint because it shows an individual's reaction to international political events.

An extensive bibliography, noting most of the important sources used in researching early Moravian history, has also been included.
The Moravian Church sent its first foreign missionary to St. Thomas in the West Indies in 1732. From that date, the Caribbean Islands, with their large black slave population, became a fertile, though difficult, ground for spreading the Gospel.

Nathanael Braun (1763-1813) was called to Jamaica in 1797. He represented a class of Moravians which could be designated "professional missionaries." During the early years, Moravian missionaries were drawn from the entire congregation as almost every member spent a part of his life as a missionary or lay preacher; by Braun's period, however, missionary service was a full-time career. Missionaries were well-educated men who received their calling because their characters particularly suited them for a pious, challenging, and often difficult life. Indeed, Braun's "Travel Diary" ("Reise Diarium"), which has been translated from the German and edited as part of this paper, indicated that even travel to one's place of service could prove hazardous.

Nathanael Braun's career as a missionary in Jamaica and later as a minister in Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Staten Island, although successful, could hardly be called exceptional. His "Travel Diary" is an important document, however, because it gives insight into the

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Moravian chosen to serve the Lord in an official capacity. It is also
interesting from a psychological viewpoint because it shows an indi-
vidual's reaction to international political events.

I am grateful to the following people and institutions for assis-
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paper to n. L. h.
CHAPTER I

Nathanael Braun: A Short Biography

Nathanael Braun (Brown) was born in Nazareth, Pennsylvania, on July 9, 1763, the third son of Peter and Maria Barbara (Meyer) Braun. The young Braun, like his father, was destined to serve the Moravian Church as missionary and minister.2

Nothing is known of Braun's early childhood. He was educated at Nazareth Hall, a well-known Moravian institution founded in 1745 for young men in Nazareth. In 1772, Braun probably entered the school, which trained boys not only in trades but also in the work of the Lord.3 Here he received instruction in reading, writing, arithmetic, English, German, music, geography, religion, and other subjects.4

In 1777, Braun and two other youths joined the Single Brethren's

2Clarence E. Beckel, ed., Marriage Records of the Bethlehem Moravian Congregation 1742-1892, Vol. I (Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, 1936), p. 83. (N.B. It should be mentioned here that Braun was remarried on July 19, 1801, not 1800 and that he died in 1813, not 1815 as the Beckel volume states.) Peter Braun, Nathanael's father, served as missionary to Antigua from 1769 to 1791.

3Braun's name is listed among the Little Boys in Nazareth Hall Catalogs for 1772, 1774, and 1776 (Catalogs no longer exist for 1773 and 1775). "Catalogus der Gesch. und Kinder auf Nazareth d. 17 Feb. 1772," "Catalogus deren Summa gegenwärtig im Januar 1776 sich auf 25 Seelen Knaben in der Hall belêuft."

choir in Nazareth\(^5\) where they received formal training that would enable them to take an active part in the secular and religious life of the Nazareth Moravian community. The daily "Diary" kept by the scribe of the single men notes that young Nathanael took his first communion in 1779.\(^6\)

Braun remained in Nazareth until 1782 when he was among six boys who joined the Single Brethren's choir in Bethlehem on August 6, the choir's Festival Day.\(^7\) According to Moravian practice, which rigorously prepared youths for all aspects of daily life, Braun was also apprenticed to a master craftsman. On May 30, 1787, he became master hatmaker in Bethlehem and for the next few years trained others in his craft.\(^8\)

In addition to providing the unmarried males of the community with a controlled Christian environment, the Single Brethren's choir was also a training school for ministers and provided most of the

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\(^5\) The early Moravians instituted a social structure called the choir system in their settlement congregations (that is, communities like Bethlehem and Nazareth in which only members of the Moravian Church could reside). It was a grouping of individuals according to age, sex, and marital status. The choirs included single men, single women, married couples, little boys, little girls, older boys, older girls, children in the nursery, widows, and widowers. Each choir, particularly the single men and single women, had its own house for living, worship, work, and social and cultural activities.

\(^6\) "Diarium der Ledigen Brüder im Chor-Hause zu Nazareth 1774-1790." Nathanael Braun is listed by name in the "Memorabilia," or year-end summaries, for 1777, 1778, and 1779.

\(^7\) "Chor-Diarium der Ledigen Brüder fängt an vom den Januarii 1775-Dec. 31, 1789 /Bethlehem/," p. 367.

Moravian Church's leaders. Throughout his formative years, Braun must have exhibited qualities of faithful service particularly suited to a religious calling. On January 20, 1790, at a gathering of the leaders of the Brethren's choir, Braun was appointed Mithelfer and choir helper to the young boys, positions which he began on March 10.

As Mithelfer, Braun was a spiritual leader of the choir. His duties included footwashing, serving Holy Communion, leading the daily choir liturgy, holding services on the choir's festival day and providing guidance for the young boys. Occasionally he accompanied other Brethren on preaching duties in neighboring churches.

On February 3, 1792, Brother Braun returned to Nazareth as Mithelfer of the Single Brethren and young boys and as a teacher in Nazareth Hall. His duties were similar to those in Bethlehem: officiating at choir festivals and burials, celebrating communion and general preaching.

Five years later, on February 12, 1797, Nathanael Braun received a call from the Unity Elders' Conference, the administrative board of the Moravian Church in Herrnhut, Germany, to serve as missionary to the Negroes in Jamaica.

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9 Kenneth Gardiner Hamilton, John Ettwein and the Moravian Church During the Revolutionary Period (Bethlehem, Pennsylvania: 1940), p. 70.


11 Ibid., See entries for March 31, 1790; April 14, 1790; July 28, 29, 30, 1790, and October 5, 1790.

12 "Diarium der Ledigen Brüder im Chor Haus zu Nazareth angefangen den 1ten Januar 1791–1812." See entries for February 3, 1792; July 9, 1792, August 9, 1792; January 10, 1793; and March 26, 1796.
On April 27, he was directed to Lititz where the Conference decided that he would marry before going to the island.\textsuperscript{13}

The Moravian mission in Jamaica was founded in 1754 by Zacharias Caries, Gottlieb Haberecht, and Thomas Schallcross of England. William and John Foster, two wealthy West Indian planters, had invited them to bring Christianity to the Negro slaves who worked on their sugar plantations. The first mission station, Carmel, was established on 700 acres of the Bogue estate, St. Elizabeth, a plantation run by the Fosters.\textsuperscript{14}

Although the Moravians eventually opened four other mission stations, including Mesopotamia in the parish of Westmoreland where Braun was to serve, the whole missionary effort did not fare well during the early years. By 1804, only 938 slaves had been converted.\textsuperscript{15} The Reverend J. H. Buchner, a Moravian missionary to Jamaica in the 1850s, wrote:

\begin{quote}
Up to the year 1800 when other missionaries joined the Brethren and their united efforts began to make an impression, the whole population white and black appear to have been sunk in ungodliness, knowing no other god than Mammon, and the lusts of the flesh.
\end{quote}

Religious conversions came slowly, generally hindered by the harsh, daily routine of the sugar plantations:

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{13}\textit{Ibid.}, See entries for February 12, 1797 and April 27, 1797.
\textsuperscript{14}Fred Linyard, "The Moravians in Jamaica from the Beginning to Emancipation 1754 to 1838," \textit{Jamaica Journal} (March, 1969), p. 10.
\textsuperscript{16}J. H. Buchner, \textit{The Moravians in Jamaica...From the Year 1754 to 1854} (London, 1854), p. 9.
\end{flushright}
...Every morning, with the first dawn of day, the shell was blown to call the slaves to their work, and every one was expected to appear immediately and join his party; each gang of Negroes walked off to the field under the direction of the driver, likewise a Negro, armed with a long whip. The children, from six to twelve years of age, under the care of an elderly Negress, likewise armed with a rod, formed another gang, and proceeded to clean the pasture, or any other work suited to their strength. These Negro drivers were steeled against all pity and compassion, being generally as much brutalized as they could be. The gangs went to work and toiled all day in the sun, their only covering being a cloth tied round their loins. In digging cane-holes they were expected to keep the line, and any one not keeping it with the rest felt the drivers' whips. There was no remission of work, except in the middle of the day to take their meals. Late in the evening, after the setting of the sun, they returned weak and faint and, not unfrequently, were forced, for hours together, to continue their labour by the light of the moon. And then their work having been examined by the overseer, those with whom they were dissatisfied, whether man or woman, were ordered to be flogged. They were laid on the ground, and before the whip had descended the third time, were covered with blood. I am informed by a missionary, who resided in this locality, that not an evening passed without his hearing the crack of the whip and the shrieks of the victims...But what could he do? He was as much despised as the slaves. He would write a line to the overseer, begging him to have mercy; and sometimes, but not frequently, his intercession prevailed to save the poor creature. Day after day the same toil, the same scenes continued.\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, p. 45.}

Often the requirements for conversion were too stringent. Marriage regulations in particular were strict. Polygamy was banned, although a man did not have to give up his extra wives when he was baptized. However, the Moravians would not allow such a man to assist in the work of the church. The sale of Negro slaves, which indiscriminately
tore husbands from wives, was also a problem. The Moravians would let these Negroes remarry only if there was no chance that they would be reunited with their original partners.\(^{18}\)

It is interesting to note that the Moravians did not agitate against slavery in their West Indian missions, although they hated the evil and dehumanization which it caused. They learned that active opposition would only complicate their already difficult task.

Living conditions hindered the Moravians' work. The missionaries at first received no wages and were forced to cultivate land at Carmel. As a result the Brethren themselves became slave holders, reducing their credibility among the Negroes they wished to convert. Climate was also a hindrance. In 1780 a hurricane destroyed the mission at Mesopotamia. During the early years, the missions were located in the unhealthy, low-lying areas of the island. In 50 years, 47 missionaries and members of their families succumbed to disease and climate at Carmel and Mesopotamia.\(^{19}\)

Because it was the custom that Moravian ministers and missionaries should be married, a "helpmeet," Sister Elisabeth Chitty, was selected for Brother Braun. Details of her life are found in the "Lebenslauf," or Memoir, written by her husband after her death.\(^{20}\)

\(^{18}\)Ibid., p. 45.

\(^{19}\)Linyard, p. 8.

Sister Elisabeth Chitty was born on May 29, 1768 in Carol's Manor, Maryland, the oldest daughter of Benjamin and Mary Padget Chitty. She was baptized in infancy and at the age of four moved with her family to South Carolina. A few years later, the Chittys settled in Wachovia, the Moravian tract in North Carolina. For a short time Elisabeth attended school, but because she was the eldest daughter in a large family, she had to leave her studies to help at home. During this period she was filled with a desire to accept Jesus Christ as her Savior, and after the death of her mother in May 1788, Elisabeth asked to live in the Single Sisters' House in Salem, North Carolina. In the summer of 1789, however, she was sent to Lititz, Pennsylvania, and received permission to join the Sisters' choir there in August: "Now her greatest wish was fulfilled, and she was entirely in her element here."  

To Elisabeth's great joy, she took her first communion on July 9, 1790. She was known as a "most dear, true, and selfless Sister who performed her duties with truth and industry." In April 1792, her father, three younger sisters, and brother also came to Lititz.  

In May 1797 Sister Chitty was asked to marry Nathanael Braun so that she also could serve in Jamaica. It was a hard decision for her, partly because she would be separated from her family by great distance. However, she decided "to give herself to the Lord" and married Braun on May 18, 1797.  

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21 Ibid., p. 610.
22 Ibid., p. 611.
23 Ibid., p. 611.
when Nathanael Braun received his call, there was only one other Moravian missionary couple in Jamaica, Brother and Sister Christian Lister. Although the church leaders wished to staff the new position as quickly as possible, the problem of transporting the Brauns to the West Indies proved difficult. The United States was moving into its undeclared war with France, and American travel on the high seas was extremely dangerous. In 1796 France had renewed its seizures of American merchantmen, impressing their crews. On August 22, 1796, it was reported at a meeting of the Provincial Helpers Conference in Bethlehem, the local governing board for Pennsylvania and nearby communities, that sea transportation was difficult to find because captains generally refused to carry American or English passengers. A few months later, the board received a report that all American ships bound for English-owned islands and ports were in danger of being taken prisoner by French privateers.

On June 8, 1797, the Helpers Conference received word that a ship would sail from Philadelphia to Jamaica the following week, protected by an English convoy. Members of the Conference acted immediately and announced that the time had come for the Brauns to travel.

After their marriage, Brother and Sister Braun spent a few days in Lititz and Bethlehem visiting parents and other relatives. On June 9, while in Nazareth, they received word from the Helpers Conference that a

24"Protocoll der Helfer-Conferenz fürs Ganze der Pennsylvanischen und umliegenden Gemeinen April 16, 1791-April 7, 1797." See entry for August 22, 1796.

25Ibid. See entry for March 7, 1797.

ship would sail from Philadelphia in two days. The Brauns left immediately for that port on the 10th, but the ship did not sail until the 19th.\(^{27}\)

Following a harrowing voyage which included capture and imprisonment by French privateers, the Brauns finally reached Kingston, Jamaica on September 4, 1797. It was during this period that Braun wrote his "Travel Diary" ("Reise Diarium") translated on the following pages. On January 4, 1798 the Brauns arrived at their post at Mesopotamia. In the Spring of 1798 Braun wrote about the trials of his missionary work:

It is much to be regretted, that no missionary has been resident here for so long a time. I have perceived, that of the late missionaries, Brother Taylor has been particularly successful in his labors, and the blessing of God upon them is still visible in abiding fruits. The negroes have a great respect for his memory. There are at present thirty-two baptized, and on the 25th of March, we baptized a widow, who for this long past expressed the most earnest desire to be added to the congregation. The presence of God was sensibly felt during this transaction, and the greatest ATTENTION was paid by the negroes, a large number of whom attended, though it is now crop-time.

In general however the prospect is not so bright as in other islands; for Satan rules here with great power, and darkness covers Jamaica in many places. The Methodists have a considerable congregation of Christian negroes at Kingston, and during my stay here, I became acquainted with several, who adore the gospel of our Savior. But between Kingston and the country there is a great difference in the manner, both of whites and blacks...\(^{28}\)

\(^{27}\)Ibid., p. 613.

At the end of 1799, Braun complained that his congregation included only 46 Negroes: five baptismal candidates, 32 baptized members, and 9 communicant members—a very small portion of the 400 Negroes in Mesopotamia.29

Braun also had personal trials. The severely hot climate affected his and his wife's health. On October 20, 1798, Elisabeth almost died while giving birth to their daughter, baptized Elizabeth. A raging fever attacked both missionaries in June 1799. Although both recovered, Elisabeth was continually stricken with weakness, fever, and great pain in her head and back. Each attack made her think that this time she would die. On January 29, 1800, the pain was most excruciating and, as Nathanael sat by her bedside, Elisabeth reported that she had seen a vision of heaven: "How beautiful it all is there! All is white!" Sister Braun passed away in the evening of January 30, in the words of her husband, "a true servant of Jesus with much love for the Negroes."30

After his wife's death, Braun and his little daughter returned to America, arriving in Bethlehem on September 1, 1800. The next afternoon he addressed the Helpers Conference about the Mesopotamia mission. He also informed the Conference that he did not wish to return to Jamaica but wanted to serve the Lord in North America. The Conference members, probably surprised by his announcement, reminded him that his call to Jamaica had come from the Unity Elders Conference in Herrnhut and that

Brother Lister expected his immediate return.\textsuperscript{31}

During the next weeks, Braun suggested that he assist Brother Schlegel in the Graceham, Maryland congregation. Finally, the Helpers Conference resorted to the lot to determine Braun's future. The early Moravians frequently used the lot to ask additional guidance from the Lord in decision-making. One of three answers could be drawn: a yes, a no, or a blank which meant either that the time for a decision had not yet arrived or that the question was improperly phrased.\textsuperscript{32}

At the September 23 meeting it was asked if Brother Nathanael Braun should return to Jamaica. The answer drawn was "No!", which was reported to the Unity Elders Conference for their consideration. At the October 20 meeting the question of Brother Braun's travel to Graceham was put to the lot, and the answer was "Yes!".\textsuperscript{33}

On October 29, 1800, Braun arrived at Graceham with Brother Cunow to take over the school and preaching duties for the winter.\textsuperscript{34} In November, the Helpers Conference learned that Brothers Schlegel and Braun had met President John Adams who had wished friendship and blessings to his friends in Bethlehem.\textsuperscript{35}

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\textsuperscript{31} "Protocoll der Helfer-Conferenz...August 1800 bis 25 August 1802." See entry for September 2, 1800.

\textsuperscript{32} For a detailed discussion of the use of the lot see Gollin, pp. 50-63.

\textsuperscript{33} "Protocoll der Helfer-Conferenz...August 1800 bis 25 August 1802." See entries for September 18, 1800 and September 23, 1800.

\textsuperscript{34} "Graceham [Maryland] Diary January 1800." See entries for October 29; November 6, 10, 16, 23, and 30; and December 7, 14, 21, 25, and 28.

\textsuperscript{35} "Protocoll der Helfer Conferenz...August 1800 bis 25 August 1802." See entry for November 18, 1800. John Adams was quite familiar to the Moravians at Bethlehem. He had stayed in the town's Sun Inn as a member
By March 3, 1801, the Unity Elders Conference had reported to the Helpers Conference that Brother Braun should remarry and return to Jamaica. A copy of the letter from the Elders Conference having been sent to Braun, he replied on April 21 that he was quite unhappy with the decision. At the May 5 session of the Helpers Conference the question was raised of Braun's suitability for work in Hebron and Mountjoy, Pennsylvania.

Braun soon returned to Bethlehem. In a memorandum read to the Helpers Conference on May 29, he complained that his position had not been clarified and that he felt no joy in being a widower but desired to remarry. At the next meeting, July 7, the question of Braun's service to Hebron was put to the lot. A blank was chosen, meaning that the question was not complete. It was then suggested that Braun should serve the Hebron and Mountjoy congregations, but this question also proved incomplete. When a Hebron-Heidelberg combination also drew a blank, the Conference decided that Brother Braun's remarriage should also be discussed, and the Single Sister Anna Catherine Frederica Unger was suggested as his new wife. When the combination of Sister Anna and duty at Hebron were jointly put to the lot, the answer was affirmative and Braun's future decided.

Nathanael Braun and Anna Unger were married on July 19, 1801, and of the Continental Congress when the British occupied Philadelphia during the Revolutionary War.

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36 Ibid. See entries for March 3, 1801 and March 17, 1801.

37 Ibid. See entries for April 21, 1801 and May 5, 1801.

38 Ibid. See entries for May 29, 1801 and July 7, 1801.
left ten days later for Hebron.\(^{39}\) Braun continued his ministry there until 1803.\(^{40}\) At a November 8, 1802, Helpers Conference meeting, the question of Braun's transfer to Staten Island was put to the lot and approved. At the March 1, 1803, meeting it was reported that the Brauns had accepted this call.\(^{41}\)

Brother and Sister Braun and their daughter Charlotte arrived at Staten Island on May 7, 1803. Eight days later, Braun, it was noted in the congregational diary:

Delivered, or rather stammered his introductory sermon, on Gal. 6:14: "God forbid, that I should glory, save in the Cross of Christ" to a considerable number of helpers to whom he declared that this and this only was his intention through the Grace of our dear Savior. Afterwards the Congregation and Society had a lovefeast to welcome Br. and Sr. Brown in which their commendatory letter of Mr. Loskiel in Bethlehem was read.\(^{42}\)

Braun served at Staten Island until his death of an apoplectic fit at 1:00 a.m., July 11, 1813. He was buried on the 13th and the congregational diarist reported:

On this day the remains of our dear departed Brother were interred, under a great concourse of people from all quarters of the island. The ministers of all different denominations, residing on this island, and likewise several of

\(^{39}\)Ibid. See entry for August 4, 1801.

\(^{40}\)Only two letters written by Braun exist in the Hebron Pennsylvania Manuscripts: "Nathanael Braun to the Reverend George H. Loskiel in Bethlehem, March 10, 1803," and "Nathanael and Anna Braun to the Reverend George H. Loskiel, February 8, 1803." Both describe Braun's work with the youths of the congregation and school and can be considered a summary of his duties at Hebron.

\(^{41}\)"Protocoll der Helfers-Conferenz...1802-1803."

\(^{42}\)"Diary of the Congregation and Society on Staten-Island of the Year 1803." See entries for May 7, 1803 and May 15, 1803.
our brethren from New York were present at the funeral. Br. Benjamin Mortimer, Minister of the Brethren's Church at New York, officiated—(after some weeks a tomb-stone was procured by the Congregation, containing the following inscription: In Memory of the Rev'd Nathaniel Brown, Pastor of the United Brethren's Church on this Island who departed to our Lord July 11th, 1813 aged 50 years and 1 day. He is at rest, in endless bliss Beholding Christ our Savior; Our humble expectation is To live with Him forever.  

Braun's death notice in the congregational diary gives a final insight into the character of a man who had been a faithful servant of the Lord for 23 years:

Esteemed and beloved by his brethren and sisters and by all that became acquainted with him, in his lifetime, he will though now withdrawn from our mortal eyes, and entered into the joy of his Lord, live long in the affectionate remembrance of all those, who had an opportunity of witnessing his unwearied and faithful endeavors to edify souls, and of observing his own walk and conduct, which plainly proved the humility and sincerity of his heart...  

43 "Diary of the Congregation and Society on Staten-Island of the Year 1813." See entries for July 11 and July 13, 1813.  

44 Ibid. See "Memorabilia or Review of Memorable Events of the United Brethren's Congregation on Staten-Island, of the Year 1811 (Read at the Love-feast of the Congregation January 1, 1814)."
CHAPTER II

Introduction to the "Travel Diary"

The early Moravians believed that all human life had a significance worthy of being recorded. Consequently, record-keeping—including diaries, account books, and personal letters—was important to them.

Nathanael Braun began his "Travel Diary" on June 19, 1797, when he and his wife Elisabeth left Philadelphia for their journey to Jamaica. In his neat, very legible, old German hand, Braun recorded seasickness, homesickness, and descriptions of geography, climate, and living conditions. He devoted much of the "Travel Diary" to a detailed account of their capture by French privateers and their subsequent imprisonment in Saint-Dominque. Thus, the 64-page "Travel Diary" provides a valuable insight into Moravian missionary life and the effect of world historical events on private individuals. Unfortunately, the "Travel Diary" ended abruptly with the Brauns' departure from Kingston, Jamaica. The rest of the account, which apparently covered the missionaries' arrival at Carmel, has been lost.

Internal evidence indicates that the existing copy of the "Travel Diary" (see Appendix for xerox) is a redaction of Braun's original version, presumably made to send to friends and superiors. Important manuscripts were usually copied: some were forwarded to relatives, others were needed by various church officials. First, Braun noted early in his account that he and Elisabeth committed themselves to the Lord's protection during the voyage. He then added that they were put to the
most "magnificent tests" on the trip, hinting that the reader will discover what these were later (see p. 24, l. 8). Second, when Braun described one of the other passengers on his ship, he mentioned in passing an incident that occurred a few weeks later with the explanation that this problem would be fully explained in the "Travel Diary" at the proper time (see p. 27, l. 5). Third, Braun remarks briefly about the punishment of sailors, then adds "yet more about this at another time" (see p. 64, l. 6). Surely Braun would not have made these remarks if he were to be the only reader.

The "Travel Diary" has been translated from the German as literally as possible to maintain the feel of the eighteenth-century language, except where changes were necessary to correct awkward phraseology. Braun's sentences, written in the lengthy Germanic style, have been divided into more easily readable segments. The paragraphing has been treated in the same manner to comply with modern English usage.

Nathanael Braun's "Travel Diary" is stored, unbound, in the Rice Collection of Miscellaneous Materials in the Archives of Historic Bethlehem Incorporated, Main and Church Streets, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. It is written on two different weights of laid paper, 8" x 13" in folio, still in remarkably good condition. The paper shows three different watermarks, two of which are dated 1794.
Travel Diary of Brother and Sister Nathanael and Elisabeth Braun from Philadelphia to Jamaica from June 19 to September 4, 1797

Early on Monday, June 19, 1797, we went on board our ship, the snow Boston, Captain Martin Dougherty, to which Brother and Sister Meder and other Brethren from Philadelphia accompanied us; and after we had

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45 Nathanael Braun was born in Nazareth, Pennsylvania on July 9, 1763, and died in Staten Island on July 11, 1813. He served as a teacher in Nazareth Hall, 1792-1797; a spiritual leader of the Single Brethren's Choir in Bethlehem, 1790-1792 and in Nazareth, 1792-1797; missionary to Jamaica, 1797-1800; assistant pastor to Graceham, Maryland, 1801; assistant pastor to Hebron, Pennsylvania, 1803-1803; and pastor to Staten Island, 1803-1813. His first wife, Elisabeth Chitty, was born in Carol's Manor, Maryland on May 29, 1768. She died in Jamaica on January 30, 1800. The Brauns had one child, Elizabeth.

46 A snow was an early eighteenth-century two-masted, square-rigged ship which differed from a brig in that its spanker was set on a try-sail mast placed on the deck about a foot behind the main mast. (Howard Chapelle, *The History of American Sailing Ships* (New York, 1935), pp. 15-16.)

taken a hearty departure from them, we set sail about 10 o'clock. The weather was pleasant and the wind was favorable so that we both could be on deck, and Philadelphia gradually disappeared from sight.

About 4 o'clock in the afternoon we anchored at Marcus Hook. Here lay the frigate under whose protection we should go to Cape Nichola Mole. When we arrived, we learned that it would be ready to sail in a few days. However, we had laid here until Wednesday, and the captain (who until then had remained in Philadelphia) came on board. He heard that the convoy would sail in six or eight days at the earliest. He resolved, therefore, to wait for it no longer but to sail alone, for which preparations were immediately made.

Now we were all together. Our entire ship's company consisted of the following persons: namely, the captain, the mate, two other

48 Mole St. Nicholas, a fortress-city on the northwest coast of Hispaniola (now Haiti and San Domingo), was known as the "Gibraltar of the Caribbean" at the time of the French Revolution. C. L. R. James, The Black Jacobins (New York: 1953), p. 317. France owned Saint-Domingue, the western part of the island. In 1793, after four years of brutal warfare between the slaves, mulattoes, and the white ruling class of Saint-Domingue, the whites suggested that Britain invade the country to quell the revolt and restore the balance of power to them. On September 20, 1793, British troops captured Jeremie, and Mole St. Nicholas fell two days later. Thus, when the Brauns began their voyage, they were heading for a British-held port in French-owned territory.

49 The Brauns travelled to the West Indies in the period leading to America's undeclared war with France. American neutrality was no longer observed on the high seas and France's renewal of its seizures of American merchant ships in 1796 made the passage of unarmed ships dangerous. Therefore, when news reached Bethlehem on June 9, 1797, that a ship would sail for Jamaica within a week under cover of a British fleet, the Helpers Conference took immediate action and asked the Brauns to begin their trip. Indeed, the captain of the Boston was making a very dangerous decision when he chose not to wait for the promised convoy. For a discussion of the events leading to the undeclared war with France, see Thomas A. Bailey, A Diplomatic History of the American People, 7th ed. (New York, 1964), pp. 83-94.
passengers, one of whom lodged in the steerage, the both of us, a steward, a cook, and five sailors or seamen; 13 travellers in all. Our first cook, who like the next [cook] and the steward, was a Negro, was hauled off on Thursday by his master from whom he had run away; the captain, however, was fortunate to obtain another one immediately in Philadelphia in his place.

The captain, as well as the mate and the other crewmen, conducted themselves very well on the entire trip and were (p. 2) very friendly to us and showed us all possible love. The captain, particularly, paid many respects to the Brethren's Unity, which he had learned to like through his cousin and other young girls from Philadelphia who had been sent to the Boarding School in Bethlehem and who were devoted to it.

More especially the methods of the Brethren's Unity in the education of children pleased him, and he said if he had a half-dozen daughters, he would send them all to Bethlehem in the Boarding School.

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50Page numbers in parentheses indicate page numbers in the original "Travel Diary."

51The Brethren's Unity, or Unitas Fratrum, more commonly called the Moravians, was the earliest Protestant Church. It was organized in Moravia and Bohemia in 1457 by followers of John Hus, a Roman Catholic reformer priest burned for heresy in 1415. After worshipping in secret for many years, the Unitas Fratrum was formally renewed in 1722 on the estate of Count Nicholas von Zinzendorf, a German Lutheran nobleman who was the Moravians' patron. The Moravians were primarily a missionary group, sending their first missionary to St. Thomas in the West Indies in 1732. They founded Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in 1741 as their first permanent settlement in North America.

52The Moravians valued a well-rounded education for both boys and girls. Their aim was to develop the whole individual--body, mind, and soul--for life now and in the future. To this end, the main curriculum areas in Moravian schools included spiritual guidance and moral discipline, intellectual and cultural pursuits, vocational training, and physical exercise (see Haller, pp. 214-5, 233. The Haller dissertation has an excellent discussion of Moravian educational theory and
Since toward evening all was readied and the high tide began again and the wind was more favorable, we sailed further and, indeed, without the convoy. We commended ourselves to the gracious care of our dear Lord without whose will no hair falls from his children's heads. He has never made a mistake in His rule of mankind but lets everything come to a good end from what He lets happen to His children who are devoted to Him, proving that what is impossible with people is possible with Him. Thereby we also had been put to the most magnificent tests on this trip.

On Thursday the 22nd, when we got up in the morning after a quiet night, we saw that we were opposite Wilmington. Our captain went ashore with the pilot and Mr. Hamilton (the cabin passenger) and bought two sheep for the trip. Near noon there came a moderately strong but now not entirely favorable wind, and the ship now had begun to rock somewhat more than it had in previous days. Thus my dear wife, who, like me, up to now had remained healthy, began to complain that she did not feel well, and it was not long before she had to throw up. I was still spared this work.

Friday the 23rd we passed New Castle, a pretty little city in the state of Delaware.

(P. 3) Today the wind was weak and we covered no great distance. Meanwhile my wife could take nourishment again today. Saturday we ________

descriptions of various Moravian schools.)

The Moravian Seminary for Young Ladies—the captain's "Boarding School"—was a well-known private girls' school. Founded in German-town, Pennsylvania, by the Countess Benigna Zinzendorf in 1742, the school was moved to Bethlehem one year later. Curriculum included reading, writing, grammar, English, German, painting and music, as well as the usual household skills. Today Moravian Academy in Bethlehem is a continuation of the Seminary.
finally caught a good wind again; therefore, the Delaware was full of
large and small vessels which came from Philadelphia, and we (unfortu-
nately) had to watch them all sail along past us because our old snow
sailed very slowly. Towards midday we caught sight of the lighthouse
which one could see well 15 miles away (and stood at the mouth of the
Delaware at Cape Henlopen) and hoped today to reach the open sea: this,
however, disappointed us because the wind died down towards evening.
The pilot left us this afternoon. I sent letters with him to Philadel-
phia. we all were not sorry to lose this man because he made more noise
on the ship than the whole crew. Otherwise, today we were much with the
congregation in spirit which today celebrated the Lord's Supper, and
from our dear Lord we asked for a portion of the blessing which He al-
lowed to flow after the partaking of His Body and Blood, and He did not
let us go unblessed. Also the little boys in the congregation, parti-
cularly in the Boys' School in Nazareth, were a special object of our
remembrances, and we wished them a very holy and blessed festival.

Sunday the 25th, we saw upon arising in the morning that we were in

53 Brother Braun had been a teacher at Nazareth Hall (the "Boys'
School in Nazareth") from 1792 to 1797. This institution was founded in
1743 and reorganized in 1785 with the principal intention "to educate
youth for the service of the Brethren's congregations." Boys aged seven
to twelve received instruction in reading, writing, geography, arithme-
tic, music, drawing, and trades [H. H. Hacker, *Nazareth Hall, an Histori-
cal Sketch and Roster of Principals, Teachers, and Pupils* (Bethlehem,
1910), pp. 34-35].

54 Each group within the choir system (see p. 6, note 5, above) had a
special day for prayer called the Covenant Day, or Choir Festival. For
the Little Boys, this day was originally celebrated on July 24. Later
the Little Boys and Little Girls Festivals were combined and celebrated on
August 17 as the Children's Festival [Adelaide L. Fries, *Customs and
the open sea; we had spent six days on the Delaware. This morning we
drew our captain's attention to a small schooner; just then it sailed
straight to us. When it came closer we saw that it had no cannon and we
heard that it was going from New York to Carolina. Today we both be-
came somewhat sick, especially my dear wife. However, we became better
in the afternoon as the sea became more quiet. Out of a mass of other
fish today we also saw a small whale which splashed water high in the
air and from time to time showed his black back above the water.

As far as our divine service on Sunday was concerned, everyone
quietly had his own. The captain, who was a Catholic, read his own
prayer in the morning; Mr. Smith (the mate), who belonged to the English
Church, did the same. Even a few of the sailors read in the Bible or
other religious book on Sunday.

Only one of the passengers, Mr. Hamilton (an Irishman) who lodged
in the cabin with us, appeared to have no religion. He belonged to the
class of so-called Christians who with sincere compassion look down at
those who as yet have not the right insight and clarity to lead a moral
and virtuous life. They in confusion about the preaching of the Savior
of the world are, in error, led astray but they must believe in Him if
they will become virtuous and temporally and eternally happy. God is
righteous and has not created man to misfortune but has given him the
same reason and understanding to watch out for things which could make
him unhappy and would remove the need of a Savior from him.

One such model of virtue was our passenger. He was very friendly
to us and showed us much love. His behavior on the trip was also so
far irreproachable that (p. 5) he could have passed as a moralist if
he had not cursed so much; however, this perhaps belonged to his reli-
gion. We were, nevertheless, happy that he had not directed his sympa-
thies toward us earlier than in Jean Rabel in a company that was of
the same mind as he; a few days later we had the opportunity to give him
evidence of our sympathies. However, of that in its time.

Every Sunday we held a Singstunde in the evening when it could
occur undisturbed, whereby we enjoyed ourselves very much in our little
chamber, and the Savior had us experience the following words from the
Bible right blessedly: "Where two or three are gathered in His Name,
there I am in the midst of you."

During the night between Sunday and Monday, I was awakened for the
first time by the watch who would call out on the ship every four hours;
and as I had not heard this before, I was not a little frightened by it
and thought nothing else than that we were now in the hands of the French
which the voice of the boatswain, who was a Scot, confirmed because he
spoke Scottish so broadly that I in bed thought nothing else than he
spoke French. In my belief, I burst from my bed but saw, however, that
the captain remained lying quietly and I likewise laid myself down again.
In the morning when I related this to the captain, he laughed heartily

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55Jean Rabel was a city three or four miles from the sea on the
northwest coast of Hispaniola. It fell to the British in 1793. After its
surrender, however, the city received no British reinforcements for eight
months, and early in 1794 it again returned to French ownership (Gran-
ville, pp. 98, 101).

56The Moravian Singstunde, or singing meeting, was usually a short
service devoted to hymns whose verses told a devotional message. The idea
for this type of worship came from Ephes. 5:18, 19: "Speaking to them-
selves in psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs, singing and making
melody in their hearts."

57Matthew 18:20.
On Monday the 26th and Tuesday the 27th, we had little wind but we saw more ships. Wednesday the 28th, we passed the Gulf of Florida. This day was a good one for our trip; however, so much the worse for our stomachs. We were both so sick from the violent motion of the ship that we could not remain up and alternately had to grasp the washbasin. We begged our cook to prepare some schnitz which he then brought to the table; we saw clearly that to cook schnitz was not his specialty because it was like a mash and tasted not quite like schnitz but like cooked rags. In the evening we happily came through the Gulf; this will remain unforgettable for us. The captain told us that the sea at this place was often very wild.

Thursday the 29th, in the morning, the still living but sick sheep were slaughtered and their livers were fried and eaten for breakfast. We had little or almost no wind today and the following day, therefore our sickness also subsided; however, my wife lacked an appetite to eat.

Saturday, July 1st, the wind again became favorable for us and continued until Monday. On this day we passed by the island of Bermuda.

Schnitz, or dried apples, is a German delicacy. The apples are peeled, quartered, and cored, and then dried either in the sun or near an open fire. Schnitz could be eaten as dried fruit, baked into pies, or cooked into puddings and other dishes.

At this point in their journey, the Brauns were passing the spot where the Gulf Stream entered the Florida Channel. Sir Alan Burns in his History of the British West Indies (London, 1954), p. 26, states that here the Caribbean had gained a bad reputation because of its currents—the rate of the Gulf Stream being about four knots. Burns further quotes Sir Walter Raleigh as saying "when it is at the best, it is a perilous and fearful place" and Samuel Champlain as stating that "the sea flows into the said channel with great impetuosity."
could not see it, however. Today we saw the first dolphins, a type of blue fish which looks very pretty in the water. I was in so great a hurry to see them that I lost my hat, which a rope from the sail got hold of and threw overboard.

Tuesday July 4th, we drank to the health of former president Washington and of the present president of the United States, John Adams. Today my wife, who had only somewhat recovered, and I began to eat mush and molasses at breakfast instead of (p. 7) bacon and eggs (which we received every morning); this agreed well with our health, and we continued with it in the following days.

Wednesday the 5th, we again had sunny weather; now it was especially pleasant in the evening; the moon illuminated the sea quite magnificently.

Thursday the 6th, Friday the 7th, and Saturday the 8th, we had storms all day; nevertheless, they were not violent, and there were little or almost no strong gales with them.

Sunday the 9th, I celebrated my birthday and, to be sure, for the first time on the water. The Savior, to whom I gave myself anew today to live for Him and only for His pleasure, let us both feel His indescribably powerful nearness. Today we thought also particularly of the Big Boys in the congregation and we commended them to the Savior to bless their choir festival.

Monday the 10th and Tuesday the 11th, it was calm again. The time seemed very long to us because it was now three weeks since we had left Philadelphia and we still had covered scarcely half the distance. Every day we saw ships which sailed past us and we always remained behind.

On Tuesday the captain spoke with a schooner which went from Dominica
Saint-Dominique to Boston, and had left the island 12 days ago. It requested our captain's name and the latitude in which it left us, to put in the newspaper in Boston of which it also spoke.

Wednesday the 12th, we again spoke with a captain who came from Havana, Cuba. He was from Baltimore and brought sugar from Savannah to St. Thomas.

Thursday the 13th, at midday about 12 o'clock, we saw ourselves 10 miles further back than we were yesterday at this time, which to us was a very depressing dose.

Friday the 14th, the wind was somewhat better. Today the first two dolphins were captured from which the entire ship's company received a good meal. Saturday the 15th, we had a weak storm, which, however, was of short duration. Sunday the 16th, we finally passed the Tropic of Cancer. We both had to give the sailors money for rum because we passed this line for the first time; this we did early the following day. It did not occur to any of the sailors to throw water on us which sometimes happens; generally they were all very friendly to us and became still more so when they received the rum, and if they would have had something in mind, the captain, who was an enemy of such trickery, would not have permitted it.

Monday the 17th, it was still calm and the drinking water on our ship began to become scarce; thus, today the captain ordered that it should be rationed to everyone and each person received two quarts daily. This, and the continual calm, made the entire ship's company very depressed, particularly because one in this latitude generally receives
trade winds and these were not had until now. Our faces became quite
happy and bright when on the following day, the 18th, the trade wind
began; now it happened in addition that the captain again (p. 9) allowed
everyone to drink as much water as he wanted. Also this morning a land
bird came to the ship which was a good sign to us. Nevertheless we
could see no land.

Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, and Saturday our trip progressed well;
nevertheless, we saw no land. Four weeks ago we had believed that this
time we could have celebrated the Lord's Supper with our Brother and
Sister Lister in Carmel in Jamaica; but we again had to be deprived
of it because we yet saw no land. Nevertheless, the Savior comforts us
in inexpressible ways as we appeared before Him in the evening in our
little chamber and He let His peace come to us in an especially blessed
way so that we could go to bed comforted.

Early on Sunday the 23rd, we finally see, to our great joy, land--

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60 Trade winds are masses of cool air that flow from the poles to
the equator and blow from the north-north-east because of the earth's
rotation. They are the strongest in February and March and even though
they are the weakest in August and September, they hardly ever fail.
The fact that the Boston was becalmed was apparently rather unusual
(Burns, pp. 26-27). Ships travelling from Europe to the West Indies took
advantage of the trade winds to help their journey while those travelling
the opposite route sailed against the trades.

61 Carmel was the first Moravian mission station founded in Jamaica
in 1754. It was organized by Zacharias Caries, Gottlieb Haberecht, and
Thomas Shallcross. Christian Lister and his wife were the only Moravian
missionaries on the island when the Brauns arrived. Little information
is available about Brother Lister. It is known that he died in April,
1804, in Jamaica, and that he served in Labrador in 1784 /Periodical Ac-
counts... Vol. III (London, 1802), p. 287/. It should be noted here
that many of the records of the Jamaica mission had been transferred to
London and, subsequently, destroyed during World War II.
through a fog, to be sure—that part of the island of Hispaniola
called Old Cape Francois. Now all were full of good hope that to-
morrow, or at the latest, the day after tomorrow, we would be in Cape
Nichola Mole.

Early on Monday the 24th, we saw three English warships named the
York, Hanibal, and Brunswick. The first one came up to us and when it
was near enough, a lieutenant, a midshipman, and six other men came in
a boat to our snow. The lieutenant was very friendly, asked to where
we were going, and wrote down the name of the captain and the name of
the snow. Our captain also wanted to show him our papers. He consi-
dered it, however, superficial, took his departure and wished us a
happy trip. He tried not to pressure [our captain] as the English of-
icers usually do when they meet British subjects, or such people who
have no American protection, when they meet them on an American ship
[illegible]. But only at the departure he hoped we were all Americans
and when this was answered in the affirmative, he left us again.

About midday, we saw yet another English warship that did not come
to us, however. This ship lay here before Cape Francois and spied on
French ships and privateers and also seized American ships which wanted

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62 Cap Francois (now Cap Haitien) was called the "Paris of the An-
tilles" and was the center of the West Indian trade. It had a popula-
tion of 20,000, about half of which were slaves. According to C. L.
K. James, "Le Cap's" streets were sewers filled with garbage and the
residents entertained themselves chiefly by reading lascivious novels
(pp. 31-32). Cap Francois was the chief port of the north and the cen-
ter of Saint-Dominique's social, economic, and political life. The city
was bounded on the north by the ocean and on the south by a ridge of
mountains. It remained in French hands during the British invasion of
Saint-Dominique.

63 The term "illegible" used in this translation refers to words or
phrases which Braun deleted from his manuscript.
to go to a French port when they themselves could come close. Towards
evening we came suitably close to land so that the captain was forced,
because the wind was becoming strong, to shorten the sail so as not to
come to shore during the night. We experienced a comical event while
it was yet daylight: two pieces of wood came floating to our ship; on
each sat a bird which appeared like a Greenlander in his cayak without
leaving their vessels as far as we could see.

Thursday the 25th, after the most restless night which we had on
the entire voyage (in which the ship reeled about so severely
that one could scarcely keep in bed and that all the utensils which
were not securely tied down in the cabin rolled around and broke) fol-
lowed a still more restless day. In the morning when we arose the wea-
ther was very beautiful and land had come quite closer (which does not
appear very attractive because one hardly sees anything but high uncul-
tivated mountains covered with thin shrubs and scarcely a patch of
green); the weather was very beautiful. Already we could also see the
houses in Cape Nichola Mole through the telescope. And so we forgot in
our joy the restless night, and we believed we would sleep more quietly
in the Mole the next night. However, the captain was very restless the
entire morning, and when my wife said to him (p. 11) that now there
should be no more danger of imprisonment by the French, he answered
that we were just now at the most dangerous place.

64 The Moravian mission to the Eskimos in Greenland was founded on
the southern end of the island by Matthaus and Christian Stach and
Christian David in 1733. Conversion attempts moved slowly until 1745
when the number of converts rapidly increased. The history of the
Greenland mission and the customs and practices of the Eskimos would
have been known to most Moravian children and adults.
In the meantime we breakfasted without care and rejoiced that we came ever closer to the hole. Around 9 o'clock in the morning, the captain caught sight of a sail from Jean Kabel coming toward us in the distance; it was, however, still so far away that one could see only one-half mast of it. It was immediately clear to him that it would be a French privateer. I tried to console him that perhaps it would be an English or even an American vessel. He was, however, certain of the situation and we discovered sadly that he was right.

He now gave the order to turn the ship about immediately and go from shore into the sea again, in that way perhaps to escape the privateer. If we had gone to the hole immediately, which we could have reached in two hours, we might perhaps have arrived safely before the privateer could catch up to us, yet one could not interest him in doing this. He wanted all the sails spread now and we soon came away from shore a good piece; however, we had seen to our sorrow that the privateer came closer to us because it sailed twice as fast as we; we saw nothing before us than that we would fall into its hands.

Now all on the ship was confusion. My wife and I were also not a little frightened. We sought a corner for ourselves, threw ourselves to our knees and asked the Savior to comfort us in this our anxiety, which He did abundantly. It was said to us by the lieutenant /Illegible/ from the English vessel who came to our ship yesterday, that if we came into the hands of the French, seldom would they take everything away from us, and the passengers themselves would not be hurt. With that it occurred to us how the Brother and Sister Towel[^65] (p. 12) were

[^65]: Samuel Towle was born in England on November 26, 1757, and died
treated a few years ago on their voyage from Antigua to America by a French privateer, or rather pirates, who took everything away from them, and here we had met the same fate. Now everyone hurried to put on his best clothes. I gave my watch to my wife and told her to say that it was her property, the same with a pocket book which Sister Sally Mumford sent to Mr. Rees, a minister in Kingston, and we both put on our best clothes. The captain, the mate, and the two passengers, Mr. Hamilton and More, did the same. Mr. Hamilton put on two pairs of underwear and a pair of trousers, three pairs of stockings, and two or three shirts and then an overcoat and vest. It was certainly a very hot day and he could not complain about the perspiration because he had on so many clothes.

In this style we awaited the enemy, who now was coming so close to us that we could see the blue French flag through the telescope. We, however, continued to sail on. Finally, when the privateer saw that we did not shorten the sail, it fired a swivel, a type of small cannon, at us and then raised two flags, a blood red one on the bow, and an American one aft. On his vessel, however, our captain still went on until the privateer fired another shot, then he drew in the sail.  

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Samuel Isles founded the first mission on Antigua in 1756 and died there in 1764. Peter Braun, Nathanael's father, took over the position five years later and, until he left the island in 1791, had a remarkably active and productive mission. Under his influence the number of converts increased from 14 to 7,400 (Hamilton and Hamilton, p. 249).
Now the privateer came so close to us that we could speak to it. Our captain called to it, what did it want. Answer: Send us your boat immediately. The captain immediately ordered the boat untied and placed in the water. In doing this it must be noted that a few weeks previously, many preparations were made on our ship to defend against an attack; a musket and a few pair of pistols were cleaned up and cartridges were made for that purpose. How, however, no one thought to take defense except the mate, who when he saw that the privateer (p. 13) had only one piece of large cannon, said it would not be necessary to surrender, we could force the privateer to depart. The captain, however, thought otherwise; and if we had defended ourselves and the privateer taken us, it would have gone badly for us and many would, perhaps, have lost their lives. They said to the captain after they had taken us that the red flag meant that if we defended ourselves, no mercy would be given, et cetera.

Our sailors were now industrious to untie the boat. This, however, used some time; thus the people on the privateer became impatient and began a horrible outcry of threats. Finally when the boat went into the water, one of our sailors in entering it had the misfortune to sprain his shoulder, but this did not help, he still had to row.

When our boat now came to the privateer, six men jumped into it. Among these were an officer and the prize master who came on our ship. The first, who could speak some English, came to the captain in the cabin; he asked where we wanted to go and when this one (the captain) said to him, to the Mole, he said quite
pleasantly he wanted to bring us back. He also said to my wife and me, because he saw that we were somewhat frightened by their weapons (because each one of them was armed with a pistol and sword), that we should not be afraid, nothing should happen to us. This, and his promise to bring us to the Mole, which had made us pale, made us think this, nevertheless, was perhaps an English privateer to which he belonged. Then I came to the deck, however. A youth who could speak English came to me and said we should not be afraid, they would only lead us to Port d. Paix and we would soon be free again. That was a different port!

The abovementioned officer now demanded our papers, which we then turned over to him, as well as letters in the form of birthday verses I had in a large pack that the children in Nazareth Hall had written to me during the five years that I lived in the school: all these they would have as well as all the notebooks, et cetera. One could imagine that all these papers would take some time to look through. It was amusing that when I handed over the letter which I had from Sister Mumford to her relatives in Jamaica, the letter from Br. Ettwein to Br. Lister concerning my

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67 Port de Paix, in the northern Province of Saint-Dominque, was one of the first cities to participate in the slave revolt of 1791 (James, p. 152). In 1793, it was captured by the British.

68 The early Moravians celebrated birthdays by writing devotional messages to each other. Often these were water-colored or had other drawings on them. Samples of these greetings are displayed in the Moravian Museum in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

69 John Ettwein (1721-1802) was one of the most able leaders of the Moravian Church. He came to Bethlehem from Germany in 1754 to take charge of the young children. He also developed a great lifelong interest in the Indians and preached to numerous tribes.
calling remained in my pocket without my knowledge. I, however, wanted to show it to the officer when he gave me my papers back; however, he likely had become so tired from the search of my other papers that he did not demand to see this one.

We now went with strong steps to our imprisonment. A sailor was ordered into the cabin to stand guard so that nothing would be stolen. Toward midday, or thereabouts—I know not for certain what time it really was—we came to anchor at Fort Jean Rabel. There the privateer fired another cannon. Here four or five American vessels lay at anchor, part brought in by the French, part had come here by themselves. As soon as the anchor was thrown, the owners of the privateer, of which one was a mulatto who was quite friendly to us, the

throughout North America.

Ettwein was one of the founders of the Southern Province of the Moravian Church in North Carolina in 1758. In 1766, he became assistant to Nathaniel Seidel, the Chief Administrator of Bethlehem. Ettwein's duties included making official trips to Moravian centers throughout North America.

The Revolutionary War placed strong demands on Ettwein's abilities as a church leader and diplomat. Marching militia and refugees seeking safety from British troops disrupted Bethlehem's normally quiet routine. Ettwein himself offered religious comfort to hundreds of wounded soldiers. He also hosted important military and government officials, including General Washington, when they visited the town.

Ettwein became Chief Administrator of Bethlehem in 1762. Two years later his great leadership abilities were honored when he was consecrated a Bishop. Ettwein continued to provide leadership in Bethlehem's affairs until his death in 1802. For an excellent monograph devoted to this man's career, see Kenneth Gardiner Hamilton, John Ettwein and the Moravian Church During the Revolutionary Period (Bethlehem, 1940).

A privateer is a privately-owned, armed, and manned ship designed to capture enemy merchant vessels during wartime. Because it was commissioned by the government under whose flag it sailed with a "letter of marque," it differed from a pirate vessel. Two owners, called bondsmen, were needed to obtain the "letter of marque" so that claims occurring from illegal captures could be satisfied. The crew,
other (a white), who, however, betrayed his anger by his look, and
yet another from shore, came along with the captain and others from
the privateer, and the cabin was so full that one could scarcely
move. In this confusion our chests were opened and every little
packet searched. My wife's chest-of-drawers, which was not in the
cabin, remained spared for the time being.

During this search, (p. 15) we especially noticed one man. He
had lost his lower lip to a bullet in a fight and appeared entirely
frightful. His duty on the privateer was, as well as I could under-
stand, when it went out, to stand on the foremast and see whether an
English ship would be in the vicinity and when he sighted one to
report it. He was, however, good to instill fear in a neutral ship
which had no weapons because one had only to see him first, and that
had almost as much force as a bullet. It was really this man who
searched our luggage and rummaged around our clean linens with his
smokey, greasy hands. Now they had come as far with their search
as the aforementioned chest of drawers and our schnitz chest in
which there were also other articles; however, these were also
nailed up. Thus, all was put back again, during which this man
truly helped.

Now we, namely the captain, mate, Mr. Hamilton, More and I,
were ordered ashore. My wife had permission to remain on the ship

officers, and owners had shares in the privateer in a ratio varying
with the ship's size and reputation, the captain's ability, and the
difficulty the ship had in procuring a crew. Because the idea was
to obtain goods rather than fight, privateers often carried many
crewmen to overpower the enemy and imprison the ship (Chapelle,
pp. 130-132).
among the sailors. She declined politely and wanted to go with me where she also had freedom. As we came on shore, we were brought to a guardhouse in which were people of all colors. Here horses stood completely saddled for us to ride to the city of Jean Rabel. My wife should mount first; she saw, however, no horse with a lady's saddle, but she was brought one with a man's saddle and she was given to understand that the women here rode as the men, which she had to accept, and I myself wondered that she endured so well because we had to travel across a steep hill at the start. (p. 16) In addition the white owner, who was mentioned before came (and he, the mulatto, the captain of the privateer, and the officer who had first taken over the authority of our ship, were our guards). He scolded my wife in French that she rode so slowly. The horse on which she rode was so lean that it could hardly stay on the road and thus could not go very fast.

We now came to the city which lay approximately three or four English miles from the fort; we were brought to the owners' house and some wine and water was given to us, which strengthened us again. Our captain now was taken away to be present at the search of the papers. We remained sitting at the spot until 8 o'clock in the evening, except that once we were brought before the Justice of the Peace, in front of whom we stood for a few minutes and had ourselves looked at and then were led away.

It was already 8 o'clock before we had received the evening meal; however, we saw no preparation for it yet. It was all the better that our good mulatto, who always appeared to be sympathetic,
came to us with our captain and brought us to a house which we at the beginning considered a prison since we were not yet used to the West Indian type of window. These, we saw, were not very unlike prison windows except that the bars, which were of wood, went across and not down. In this house, which was to become our lodging, we found a table set and were treated to a hearty evening meal from which we were rightly refreshed as we could certainly not eat during the confusion at noon. After this we were shown to our beds; my wife and I received a small room for ourselves. Now when we were alone, we carried our innermost thanks to our gracious Savior, who so graciously stood by us on this day, and we commended ourselves in our distressing day to His further care. Because we knew not for certain how it would go with us, we had, however, good hope that we would receive freedom to go to the Mole, which the people from the privateer who had come to our ship had confirmed. We could for that reason be somewhat relieved.

First, in the morning after we had breakfasted, we were again brought before the Justice of the Peace and our papers were given to us, except for the letters to Jamaica which we never saw again. Because we were now declared free by the Justice, I asked him what it meant and whether it would not be possible for us to go from here to the Mole. He said, however, this was entirely impossible. The commandant of Jean Rabel did not have the power to give a pass to travel to Port de Paix (the next French post). Question: Can I there receive a pass to go to the Mole? Answer: No! A pass to English occupied territory was given by no French post on this island. I
said to him that we would do neither the French nor the English harm but that our intention was to preach to gospel of peace to the poor heathens in Jamaica; to that, however, he paid no attention. Our captain—as Mr. Hamilton in particular also did—said I had behaved very unwisely, that my wife and I had risked this voyage in very troubled times. Probably they (especially Hamilton) had known before that we would be taken by the French.

Our hope to go from this island to Jamaica was also out entirely. Captain Dougherty said to me that he went to Cape Francois today (p. 18) and there saw that there was no possibility to go to Jamaica; thus, he wanted to advise us to go back to America, the sooner the better. In Cape Francois he wanted to apply for a pass to America for us and the two others. [Illegible] One could imagine how we both felt about that. An American captain by the name of Rinker from Baltimore, who was born not far from Nazareth and had bought a ship here, offered me a free place to take us both to Baltimore [Illegible] when he heard that I must go back to America, if only we would worry about our food on the ship. However, we could obtain no pass to America, thus we could not accept his generous offer.

Here I must quote our interpreter when we were with the Justice of the Peace and I stated to him my wish to go to Jamaica; he only answered: He believes we were good people. He wanted to advise me in confidence, however, to speak in no company of my goal of going to Jamaica—it might go quite badly for me because the people on this island still hated all that was spiritual from the unrest of previous years that they threatened revenge wherever
possible. With the unrest (Santhanax and Polverell,\textsuperscript{71} two French commissioners who made the Negroes free), they blamed such cruelty on the priests that they bound many to the tail end of horses and dragged them through the streets.\textsuperscript{72} As I had said to him before, it would not alarm me and I would gladly live a while on bread and water in prison if only I could go to Jamaica. He laughed and went away. His prophecy, however, did not come to pass because wherever we went everyone was friendly to us and everyone in the city knew our plans.

\textsuperscript{71} By the late 1700's, Saint-Dominque, owned by France, was the center of West Indian trade. Its economy was based on sugar cultivation. Over half the population were black slaves; other classes included mulattoes, some free blacks, and the ruling whites. The slave system was harsh and uncompromising. Agitation for its abolition resulted in many years of bloody revolt in the colony.

Events in Saint-Dominque were closely allied with occurrences in France following the French Revolution. In 1790, the mulattoes fought to claim equality with the whites but were defeated. One year later the slaves revolted and were opposed by the whites and mulattoes.

The French government sent Commissioners Léger-Félicité Sonthonax and Polverell to quell this slave revolt. Sonthonax abolished slavery on August 29, 1793. He and Polverell were later recalled to France for this action which Sonthonax had taken without the sanction of the French government. Acquitted of treason charges, Sonthonax returned to Saint-Dominque in 1796. Working to restore the colony, he abolished imprisonment for debtors and began an extensive education program for the blacks. James notes that "the name of Sonthonax was in the mouth of every black. Here, astonishing sight, was a white man who protected the liberties and privileges of all, labourers and generals alike, as if he had once been a slave himself" (pp. 185-186).

\textsuperscript{72} The clergymen of Saint-Dominque have been labelled irreverent and degenerate by one historian of the revolutionary period. Apparently not religiously oriented, the priests found pleasure in easy money, easy living, and easy women and they exploited the Negroes as did all the other whites. Despite this state of affairs, and contrary to what Braun reports, the priests were spared in the subsequent uprisings because they were feared (James, pp. 32, 88).
we were treated especially kindly in (p. 19) the guest house where we lodged. The man, a mulatto \(^73\) by the name of Major, was indeed a rough man to the people employed in his house; to us, however, he was always friendly. His wife, a very young mulatto, appeared to be a pious and God-fearing person of the very quiet type. Every evening before she put her step-children to bed she took them into her room, sat them down, and the children kneeled around her illegible, folded their hands and repeated the prayer which the mother led so solemnly that it was a great inspiration to us both and proof that the Savior also has souls in this dark region who follow Him in quiet ways. It was sad to us that we spoke no French, yet we could understand because the children wished to speak with us often. Perhaps one could have had the opportunity to say to them how the Savior loved them. They pointed often to the church and made signs with their hands about how the children of preachers walk, and so on.

There is a church here, to be sure; it is, however, used more as a market than for the service of God. With that the temple of Jerusalem often occurred to me, where the Savior entered into the city and came upon a crowd of buyers and sellers instead of a devout

\(^73\)Mulattoes made up a sizeable force in Saint-Dominique's total population. Usually the product of a white father and a slave mother, they were hated by the whites and they, in turn, looked down upon the free blacks and slaves. They gained property, became artisans and shop owners, and some amassed enough wealth to send their children to France for an education. The mulattoes, however, soon began to demand the certain oppressive laws be repealed, particularly those forbidding them to purchase ammunition without special permission, play European games, or meet together for any reason. In 1790 they first unsuccessfully revolted to obtain equality with whites. When the slaves revolted one year later, however, the mulattoes joined the whites in trying to end the disturbance.
gathering. The priest from Fort de Faix comes here very seldom, and they have no others except one soldier who, however, liked to give only republican sermons. As long as we were here there was no sermon even though we were there on a decade-day. However, this was celebrated in the morning with military exercises and in the remaining time with dancing and singing.

If one looks at all of the present inhabitants, the whites as well as the blacks, then I believe that there are a few who ask about (p. 20) God. A certain General Toihsan, a Negro who stood

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74 Here Braun compares the church at Jean Rabel to the Temple at Jerusalem during the Jewish Feast of Passover, when Jesus entered and threw out the sellers of cattle, sheep, and pigeons, and the moneychangers (John 2:13-21; Mark 11:15-17; Matthew 21:12-13; and Luke 19:45-46).

75 A decade-day (Decadi) was the tenth day of the "Decade," a period of ten days substituted for the week in the French Republican calendar of 1793. It superseded Sunday as a day of rest (OED).

76 Touissant L'Ouverture was the world-famous Negro leader who worked for the emancipation of the slaves in Saint-Dominque and the independence of that colony from France. A statesman and military leader, Touissant was born a slave around 1743 on a plantation near Cap Francois. He favorably impressed the manager of the Breda plantation where his family worked. He became a livestock handler, coachman, and steward, and was held in high regard by the plantation owner and his family. Touissant received his freedom in 1777. When the slaves revolted in 1791, Touissant did not immediately join the movement to murder and pillage the whites. However, after he did, he realized that the rebel leaders were incompetent, and he formed and trained his own army.

In 1793, Touissant joined Spain in the war against France. However, one year later, he went over to France because the French government had abolished slavery and Spain had not. He was made lieutenant governor of Saint-Dominque and in this capacity worked to restore the country and ease racial tensions.

During the next few years, Touissant worked also to expel the British who had invaded and held portions of Saint-Dominque since 1793. He started trade with the United States and Britain. In January 1801 he invaded Spanish San Domingo to the east and freed the slaves there, contrary to the wishes of Napoleon Bonaparte, then
in great esteem with the French and his own nation, recommends the
service of God. He has built churches which he himself, perhaps,
had helped to destroy in the horrible assassination events of the
previous years. He had been one of the leaders and had at the time
murdered many innocent men, women, and children in his rage. He be-
came troubled about this for a time and sought to do good where he
could. He is supposed to have written a letter to his former mas-
ter, whom he drove away from his property and who had fled to Ameri-
ca, in which he invited him to come back again. He (Toihshant)
wanted to hand over to him all his legal goods except
his slaves, which he could not give back because they were free.
However, he himself and his wife wanted to surrender to him
his master and his service as long as they lived.  

First Consul of France. This gave Touissant complete control over
all of Hispaniola.

Touissant's subsequent behavior toward France led Napoleon to
invade Saint-Dominique in 1802. Almost all of the blacks and mulat-
toes in the colony joined the French, however. After five months of
fighting, Touissant surrendered in return for France's promise not
to restore slavery. The French welcomed the Negro leader and al-
lowed him to retire in peace to a plantation. A few weeks later,
however, they arrested him, sent him to the French Alps, and charged
him with plotting an insurrection. Touissant died there on April 7,
1803. For a detailed study of Touissant and his role in the Saint-
Dominque revolution, see C. L. R. James, The Black Jacobins (New

Before joining the 1791 slave revolt, Touissant allowed his
former master and family to escape the country. In 1795, while
working to restore law and order, he wanted to allow some emigre
planters to return to Saint-Dominque. Charles Moran in the Black
Triumvirate (New York, 1957), p. 35, notes that Touissant "later
petitioned the French to allow his former master, who had emigrated,
to return to the colony 'where his former slaves will provide for
him, in recognition of the humanity with which he had treated them.'" James, however, claims that "Touissant used to send assistance to his
old master in America, Bayou de Libertas. He wanted to get him back
would have gladly seen this man. He should have been very friendly to Americans who come to him and impart to them the brotherly kiss. He was expected in Jean Rabel on a visit; however, he did not come as long as we were there.

As far as our life style and that of the present inhabitants is concerned, it was so different from ours that I have no choice but to describe it. One usually arises in the morning around 6 o'clock, and as soon as one has washed himself he receives a cup of coffee which certainly is three times as strong as the way we drink it and when poured out appeared quite black. Then everyone goes to his employment. Only the Negroes do not because for the most part they go back to bed or do not come out at all; yet there are many, however, who work quite industriously. We usually breakfasted about 8 o'clock. This was, at least in our (p. 21) lodging, more like a midday meal than breakfast. It usually consisted of different types of meat and fish, different types of vegetables and fruits, and instead of coffee one received wine and water. After one was quite finished with the meal, coffee was served again. Between 1 and 2, we ate the midday meal. There again wine and water was drunk. Right after the noon meal, one again received a cup of strong coffee. In the evening around 8 o'clock we ate the evening meal. There again, as at noon and breakfast, wine and water and excellent food were served. Before every meal some water was brought to wash oneself. In Jamaica and other West Indian islands this appeared after the meal.

but bowed to the law against emigres and Sonthonax was especially pleased at this instance of Touissant's civism (Civility, pp. 185-6).
we both became accustomed to this aforementioned life style; nevertheless, the time seemed very long to us, especially since we had nothing to do. we also found very few with whom we could speak, and those inhabitants who could speak English--one was a Virginia merchant who lives here and came with other French merchants for the food in our lodging--were of the type that we gladly relinquished conversation. One evening at dinner, religion was also discussed. Mr. Derrie, the abovenamed merchant from Virginia, asked me what I thought about Jesus Christ. My answer was: I believe and am certain that he is the Son of God who has reconciled us lost people with God. He: Do you not believe that we and all people are God's children? Answer: Yes, if we believe in Jesus Christ with all our hearts. My good Mr. Hamilton argued about this with much zeal and uttered such blasphemies of God that I found it impossible to be still. He, nevertheless, became more composed again and said (p. 22) finally: It was not his intention to offend anyone and if he knew that he offended a person with such talk, he would prefer to be quiet. I thought so, however. He appeared to me to regret it and I must say that I felt sympathy for him because he was certainly no unpleasant person in the group if he only kept his harmful reasoning to himself. A few days after this insubordination we had more opportunity to have sympathy for him. He thought when he started this venture that he acted wisely.

There were more American captains here--some came before, some came after us--who, however, advised us to go back to America because they had already been in Cape Francois and assured us that we
certainly could go to the hole no other way than if we went secretly by land. This would be dangerous because on the border there was always a strong guard and one had to pass through thick shrubs and high mountains. This would have been impossible for us; we should, rather, seek to come to Fort de Paix as soon as possible where one of these captains had a sloop which goes to Philadelphia, and he promised to take us with him. We, however, wanted to wait until our snow, together with its cargo, goes to Fort de Paix, and see if it/the ship7 would be sold when it arrives. We and our possessions could not go to the abovementioned place because we could not have gone by land or in another vessel to Fort de Paix.

Mr. Hamilton and more, who would happily go to Jamaica but could not quite see how they should make this arrangement, turned to a Captain Tate from Philadelphia whose schooner was brought here. This captain was in reality destined to Goanaives, a French port on this island. However, the owners of the privateer which had taken him would not lose the cargo gladly—it had genuine articles which very well could be sold here; and yet the captain (p. 23) was declared free by Commandant Santhonax because he was destined for a French post. These owners waited for an opportunity so that they could get a hold on him, so that this his pass7 would be null and void and the cargo would fall into their hands; and they reached their goal in the following way.

On the same day that Captain Tate would sail from Jean Rabel to Goanaives, Mr. Hamilton would go to him—by what means I know not, because it happened so secretly that we did not hear about it until
the next day. Shortly thereafter, on Wednesday evening, August 3rd, Mr. Hamilton and More took their possessions from the lodging to the fort where the ships lay. First Mr. Hamilton went on board Captain Tate's schooner, dressed himself in sailor's clothes, [and] also brought his chest on board. This was observed by the privateers. A few of them boarded that schooner and saw Mr. Hamilton there, said nothing, however, but went away after they had eaten something. When Captain Tate weighed anchor and had, moreover, sailed a mile, the privateer sent out a boat. This boat was armed with two men and a youth (who had run away from his master in New York and now serves on a French privateer and helps rob his own countrymen). These three persons, who, further, had no weapons but two pistols, took the great schooner which had at least eight men. Among them was Mr. Hamilton who could have sailed the boat to shore at once. The captain, however, was too frightened to defend himself. Now the privateers had what they wanted. Not only was Mr. Hamilton made a prisoner of war because he left Jean Rabel without a pass, but the schooner was similarly manned with a guard because the captain took a passenger who had no pass (p. 24), and, for that reason, the poor rogue was now expecting to lose his schooner and cargo. This happened in the night.

In the morning when we arose we missed Mr. Hamilton [illegible]. More, who wanted to escape with him, came to the ship too late. He also came to the house late in the evening when we already lay in bed, and told us the entire story. How happy we were that we knew nothing of it yesterday. Very early we heard our host speak
earnestly with a French captain and although we did not quite under-
stand, we noticed that it concerned Mr. Hamilton. At breakfast we
also discussed it a lot. A French merchant said to me that this
could also be disadvantageous to the other passengers. I said that
I myself wondered very much how Mr. Hamilton could have handled it
so unwisely. O, he said, Mr. Hamilton is no fool.* N.B. This man
had his own beliefs. I said that it was not very intelligent, what
he had done the previous night, bringing others into
danger which had also involved me. About 9 o'clock, Mr. Hamilton
came again and appeared quite deplorable. He said to us that he and
Mr. More would have to declare themselves British subjects and now
no longer would appear as free people but as prisoners. However,
they were treated well as they had been before, only they were much
laughed at by all who came into the house, whites, blacks, and
browns. They could not go out of the place as before and their pos-
sessions were sealed up. We, however, could eat freely and go
walking where we wanted.

As far as the present circumstance is concerned, it is not very
pleasant. From the fort to the city little is attractive. (p. 25)
The fort is close to the sea on a high mountain from
which the guard can look out to the sea, and few American ships
which pass to the Mole can go by unobserved because it is only 24
miles away. Five or six cannon are mounted at this fort to protect
it. The fact that the city of Jean Kabel is a good four miles from
this fort makes it very unpleasant for ships which are unfortunately
taken there. In addition to this, the commandant who lives in the

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city is entirely powerless and cannot declare a ship free nor can he confiscate it. This must occur in Cape Francois, at least 100 English miles from here. Thus, all the captains, whose ships are brought here first, must make the long trip to Cape Thun which involves much expense. Every single person must pay three Spanish thaler just for his horse and servant (or guide), and there are few guesthouses here. To quench his thirst he must take along a bottle which he refills with water from one stream to another. Still, the way is supposed to be good.

From the fort to Jean Rabel, along the entire way on both sides, are high mountains and cliffs grown over with dry shrubbery. Only here and there one comes upon Negro huts and plantain fields. About half a mile from the city is a pretty sugar plantation. On the same is a Negro town in which there is also a miserable hospital; still this town looks about the same as Jean Rabel. In addition there is a better view here than in the city. It is almost entirely surrounded by mountains and may consist of about 200 houses, for the most part one story and very dirty inside and outside. (p. 26) For example, in the house where we lodged, which had its ground floor paved with fine marble stones [illegible], the horses were led in and out, and it was not seldom that during a meal a person came riding in and without ceremony led his horse past the company. Those at the table had to stand up to avoid being stepped on and to make room for Monsieur Horse to get by. When one washed before the meal, the dirty water was thrown without ceremony on the floor and this was considered good because many vermin were killed by it.
here I must mention an incident which came to our attention. One morning a he-goat was slaughtered at our lodging. When his neck was slit and he had bled out well, the hole was then sewed up again and the hide opened at another place, at which point the butcher blew so much air into it that the goat was as thick and round as a drum; and he continued blowing until every patch between the hide and flesh was full of air. Then the opening was sewed up and with a strong stick the goat was beaten so hard that no patch remained on the entire skin where the stick was not applied. This was done so that the skin could be pulled off more easily. I could not, however, see the purpose of this because the butcher had worked as long with it as our butchers do when they skin a sheep.

(p. 27) In this city are different tradesmen, such as the tailor, the shoemaker, the blacksmith, and the like. The merchants here pass most of their time with cardplaying and the present Justice of the Peace also follows this trade. When someone here dies, he is buried without divine services in the churchyard. Thus, I once encountered two Negroes who carried a coffin on their heads. I asked what it meant and received the answer that they buried a dead person. Six or seven grieving persons, probably relatives of the deceased, followed the coffin.

The location here is otherwise very healthy and we both were healthy the entire time. I believe that the life style of the French

78 James has claimed that what the towns of Saint-Dominique lacked in intellectual pursuits, they more than made up for in debaucheries like private brothels, dancehalls, and gambling dens—"for everyone in San Domingo played and great fortunes were won and lost in a few days" (p. 32).
must also contribute much to that. We have seen no rum here, and
tea is used only as a medicine in illness. A French doctor said
to me that so much rum drinking causes so many to die in other west
Indian islands. We French, he said, drink no rum, but wine and
water. The wine, however, was so cheap here that one could buy
a bottle for one-quarter thaler.

In regard to the type of French people here we can say no-	hing else than that they were very friendly to us and many dis-
played true sympathy for us. Most white people here wish that the
Negroes would be slaves again and believe that it will come to
that when there is peace though this would cost much bloodshed be-
cause the Negroes are drunk with the spirit of freedom. Only a
few weeks before we arrived there was almost a revolt when a rumor
came that peace had been concluded and the Negroes would have to
give up their rifles and weapons. Immediately they banded together
and (p. 28) threatened murder and manslaughter so that Santhanax
(the creator of this faction) had to interfere to quiet them.

79 Reverend Buchner, in writing about the health of Moravian
missionaries in Jamaica, noted that for many years it was thought
indispensable to use liquor as a remedy to cure and prevent tropi-
cal fevers. He went on to say that experience had proved this un-
necessary and harmful to the health and that most missionaries of
his time (the mid-1800's) were temperate (p. 13).

80 Although the details which Braun relates are sparse and he
is perhaps confused, he may be referring to the mulatto insurrec-
tion in the southern part of Saint-Dominque in the spring of 1797.
here the mulattoes had been successfully fighting the British un-
der the leadership of Rigaud. Sonthonax sent three Commissioners
to Rigaud, who had abolished slavery, to bring the mulattoes back
under French control. The blacks of the area became disquieted
and they joined the mulattoes to kill many whites. The insurrec-
tion ended only when Sonthonax's Commissioners allowed Rigaud to
proclaim that he was officially in charge of the government. Son-
is really pitiful to see these poor blind heathen, no clothes on their bodies and to some extent so wretched that they look like skeletons, and yet they would have it so. The land here is generally very fruitful and they could easily put an end to their predicament, but they do not, however, work gladly for a day's wages. However, they enjoy exercise and the like.

We had already waited over eight days for the return of our captain from Cape Francois, and we received news that his snow together with its cargo was declared a valuable prize and would go to Port de Paix on Saturday August 5th. Thus, we got ready, without waiting for him any longer, because he told us he would himself go to Port de Paix on his return trip. Therefore, I went to the Commandant, whom I still had not seen and who had been recommended to me by the Justice (from whom I inquired about a pass for us both to go to Port de Paix), and I found that he spoke German and could understand me. He said to me he was born in Alsace; however, he knew nothing at all about the Brethren's Unity when I asked him. I took the opportunity to tell him our reason why we would very much like to go to Jamaica and asked him whether he did not think that it would be possible to go from here to the Mole. He said, No! He believed, however, that I could receive a pass from Commandant Santhonax in Cape Francois if (p. 29) I myself went there. That would be impossible for me, however, because this trip would have cost more than I could have paid and because it would have still been

Santhonax immediately reorganized the southern province and would have arrested Riguad for treason had not Touissant intervened. See James, pp. 181-185, for a detailed account of the uprising.
uncertain and I may, perhaps, have not found the opportunity to go to the Hole or Jamaica anyway. I had a pass to Fort de Paix issued and disregarded Jamaica entirely.

At this point our hearts got very heavy—to have made the sea voyage so far with my dear wife that we could have gone in a few days to our chosen place from which it would have been unnecessary to return to America! I could not hold back the tears but had to cry it out in my little room. Still the Savior relinquished his trust to us in a powerful way.

We now hastened to get ready this evening because when we received the pass to go the four miles to our ship it was already 5 o'clock Friday. We brought everything into order and went to tell the host about our poverty, that we were not in the position to pay the bill which would be rather high. Then the captain of the privateer which had captured us said we should not concern ourselves about it. He himself would pay for us. We were quite ashamed about that and thanked him for his friendship. After we had departed from our host and his family, we went on our way. However, we were not out of the city when the interpreter ran after us and said we would not have to go the four miles in the dark (it was already becoming dark). (p. 30) Our snow would leave the next afternoon. We were also happy about that because it would certainly have become quite dark before we would reach the ship. We again turned back to our lodging and remained there the night.

Saturday the 5th, around 7 o'clock, we left the city early after we again took our departure from our host, as well as from
Mr. Hamilton and more, our two travelling companions who had to re-
main. Both (especially Mr. Hamilton) showed their sorrow that we
were leaving them alone in their imprisonment. We comforted them as
well as we could and spoke of their courage, that they were better
off than we, that they had a possibility to be exchanged and so come
to Jamaica which they both longed for very much since they have re-
latives there. We could see nothing else before us than to go back
to America. When we were on the way we were met by the captain of
the privateer who said to us that our snow would go to Port de Paix
first thing in the morning on Sunday. We went to the harbor and re-
mained in a Negro guesthouse until evening when we boarded our snow.

Early on Sunday the anchor was raised and we went under sail.
The privateer which captured us went with us as a guard and sailed
a little bit ahead of us to see whether English ships were in the
vicinity. The well-remembered man with one lip attended his office
on the foremast and also the men from the privateer who took com-
mand of the snow—the prize master and the captain.*

The mate who came with us from Philadelphia, as well as our sail-
ors, was on our snow. At the start there was some wind, however,
it died down and soon changed to a total calm. After we had sailed
about one-half hour, and the fort at Jean Rabel was yet visible,
the fearsome man on the privateer (p. 31) raised his voice and
showed our prize master that he saw two English war-
ships in full sail coming toward us and gave orders to turn around.
Our prize master cursed violently and said he wished he could make all the English into "pallelee" (a type of vegetable
in the west Indies which is chopped up like green cabbage). This did not help him but he had to turn around fast because the warships, among which one carried 98 cannon, had the wind in their favor and came quite near to us. When we had turned around all the sails were unfolded hastily to escape the English ships and return to Jean Ra-bel. The sails helped little, however, because there was absolutely no wind. A long line was fastened to the bowsprit of our snow; to this line four boats were attached and these boats were manned with sailors who towed the boat [snow] and yet it went so slowly that we scarcely moved although the oarsmen in the boats worked so that they were wet with sweat through and through. Nevertheless, they succeeded in gaining enough time to reach the fort before the Eng-lish ship came too close.

When we were again at Jean Rabel and had just thrown the an-chor, Captain Dougherty, who had come back from Cape Francois the previous night, came to our snow and brought me a letter from a gen-tleman in Cape Francois, Mr. Sibbald, a merchant from Philadelphia who had a business in the Cape. I eagerly opened this letter and could scarcely read it for joy when I saw the contents of it, namely that this Mr. Sibbald learned to his sorrow that my wife and I and the two other passengers, as well as the captain and his snow, (p. 32) had been so unfortunate as to fall into the hands of the French.

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81 George Sibbald, "a clerk in the Register's Office of the Uni-ted States in 1793," Abraham Ritter, Philadelphia & Her Merchants (Philadelphia, 1860), p. 1927, was a shipping merchant located at 170 Front Street between Spruce and Pine Streets in Philadelphia. In the 1797 Philadelphia Street Directory, Sibbald's office is located at 57 North Fourth Street.
he, Mr. Sibbald, had reported this circumstance to Commandant Santhonax in the Cape and with that applied for a pass for us and the two other passengers, Mr. Hamilton and More, to go to Cape Nichola Mole. He had also been so lucky as to have his purpose fulfilled. We should therefore be happy about it. He would send his brig, which had to take on cargo in Goanaives, for us as a flag of truce, in which we had received permission to go to the Mole. Santhonax had also given the owners of the privateer an order to leave our possessions untouched and not to take anything from us. Here we saw the help of the Savior so clearly that we could have cried tears of thanks and friendship, for at present we had given up all hope of reaching Jamaica. My dear wife now believed surely that she would soon see again her dear father, aunt, and other relatives and friends in Lititz, to whom she is very devoted and from whom it was so difficult to part. Thus, this news was pleasing to her, too. The Savior Himself without our assistance had opened a road for us to reach the place of our choice, and, indeed, in such a wonderful way, through a man we had never seen, much less known or ever heard.

It was also as if all must have been ordained so that we should not miss this opportunity because (p. 33) if we had gone to Port de Paix that day, the two English warships would not have seen us and forced us to return to Jean Rabel and the brig which Mr. Sibbald had sent us would not meet us there. We just had to sail on this day when these ships were in the vicinity to drive us back again, but as we read the letter we also saw the brig which was sent for us in the distance. When it, however, came nearer to the English ships, one
fired on the brig to bring the same to it and to search it. This somewhat alarmed us because at the fort they thought the cannon was meant for them and sent a bullet at the English ships. If these ships had begun to fire at the fort we would have been in the midst of them but they departed and searched only the brig. After they had stopped it for a few hours, they allowed it to go again and so it came happily to anchor at Jean Rabel.

The captain of it, Mr. Triphton, went immediately to shore and called to us that we should get ready, as he would sail for the hole today. We immediately put all our things in order. He was delayed the entire day until evening, which was against his liking, because the owners of our privateer (who had taken our snow) would not allow Mr. Hamilton and More (for whom Santhonax had also given a pass to go to the hole) to go along. Presumably they feared they would lose the American schooner in which they had wanted to escape if these two gentlemen became free. In reality it went so far at the commandant's in Jean Rabel that he would not allow them to go. They had to accept the fact of losing this wonderful opportunity. My wife and I left with honor. However, this was proof to us that what appeared impossible with people is possible with God because these two gentlemen had only the smallest prospect to be freed from such a place had they not tried to escape. In 0, we were ashamed in our hearts before Him that He is so gracious and helps the wretched ones so splendidly. As our knowledge and our ability could do nothing and we did not know a way out, so He came, the strong God, and showed us His power to help us so visibly as He
came, incarnate, and led us by the hand. This, His wonderful blessed
guidance, has always cheered us on our further journey when new dan-
gers threatened us. The reading for this unforgettable day was es-
pecially comforting and noteworthy for us. It was: I will comfort
you as a mother comforts, and so on (the reading for August 6th).

In the evening, Captain Triphton came back again and pointed out
to us that he wanted to sail early in the morning; he would send a
boat to carry our belongings. We laid ourselves down on the bed for
the last time on our snow with a heart full of thanks to our good
ture Savior and after that we slept well—better than we had slept
for three weeks.

we arose early on the 7th. Our French were in all haste busily
unloading the snow because they had now resolved to leave the cargo
here and not bring it to Port de Paix because it would be too danger-
ous on account of the English warships. Our belongings were now
brought on Captain Triphton's brig (the Gratitude), and after we had
again given our warmest thanks to the Savior for all (p. 35) His com-
passions which we enjoyed on the snow, we left it and went on board
the abovenamed brig where we were received by the captain, mate, and
the rest of the crew in a friendly manner. The mate was a pious,

62. The reading for the day is always taken from the Daily Texts of the Moravian Church, a small devotional book published by the Moravians since 1731. Count Nicholas von Zinzendorf had begun to draw an inspirational passage from the Old Testament, called the daily "Watchword," to guide each day's pursuits in 1728. These were often accompanied by a New Testament verse. The daily texts are still chosen by a church committee and printed in many languages for the use of Moravians all over the world. The daily text for August 6, 1797 was taken from Is. 66:13.
handsome man with whom I had conversations from the heart in the following days. One of the sailors, who had come along on our snow and whom we learned to love very much on the trip—as also the steward—had also hired out with Captain Triphton and now went with us again. About 7 o'clock in the morning, after we had taken a friendly departure from our privateer, we went under sail with perfect wind and weather and soon the place of our imprisonment disappeared from view. On this trip nothing notable happened as it was very pleasant.

Around 11 o'clock we came into the harbor of Cape Nicola Mole, which is by nature so beautiful a harbor to defend that it would cost an enemy much to take the place by force. Right at the mouth of it, if one comes into the place on the left side, cannons are planted here and there the entire way, especially at the outer end where there is a fort with a constant guard. To the right side the brigands have their caves and escape corners, but no fort. From these caves they sit in wait with their tow boats for American and English ships and take not a few of them—yes, often when they are already in the harbor.

As we threw the anchor at the Mole between 12 and 1 o'clock, we heard to our sorrow that just yesterday a fleet had sailed from here to Kingston (Jamaica), which again delayed our trip. This was unpleasant to us since at this place most provisions were so shockingly

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83 The brigands to which Braun refers were probably escaped slaves who raided and murdered in the countryside. One author claims that many whites joined forces with Touissant's Negroes to protect themselves from these robbers (Burns, p. 565).
expensive. For example, a hen cost 2 Spanish thaler; a turkey or welsh hen (p. 36), 5 thaler; a pound of fresh meat, 4 thaler; a pig about three-quarters of a year old, 18 thaler. Garden vegetables are almost impossible to get here because the inhabitants of the place have hardly any land, only at their houses are little gardens because the boundaries of the brigands are close. The citizens, as well as the soldiers who are here, must constantly stand guard because the brigands steal where they can; many small skirmishes take place between them and the English. Flour, salted fish, and wine are the cheapest here. A barrel of flour was sold for 4 to 6 Spanish thaler while we were here; a barrel of herring for 3 to 4, and a barrel of dough, or macaronie as it is called here, for 1/4 thaler.

The heat, I believe, is at few places as great as in the Mole. On the other hand, there is almost always a wind in the harbor. The place itself is otherwise built regularly and the differences between the houses here and in Jean Rabel are great, but it is difficult to get a lodging. We were, therefore, very indebted to Captain Triphton that he allowed us to remain on his brig as long as he would be there, which made our residence here very easy in view of the cost—because it cost us scarcely one-third as much in our floating house as it would have cost us on land if we had rented a lodging. Our sailors also began to catch fish in the harbor so that we, in this respect, had it better than on land.

It was lively enough around us because many war and merchant ships lay in the harbor and scarcely a day went by that some did not come and others go. Boats constantly went back and forth by us and
the noise and cries of the sailors were great. In addition to this, there was the firing of a large cannon from the commodore's ship at sunrise and sunset which (p. 37) had to be answered by other ships with small cannon. In short, there were many pleasant things; however, still more unpleasant ones. The most unpleasant was the whips which one heard daily on the warships, yet more about this at another time.

When we had thrown anchor and had eaten at midday, Captain Tripton went to shore to receive a pass from the commandant for us to go ashore, which was according to local law, because no traveler who comes here from a French post without such a pass may go to shore. However, he came on board again in the evening without having attained this goal, and not before the third day after we came was he fortunate enough to receive one.

It appears generally that much compassion and justice are not shown on this island under the two nations who have occupied it. Many a captain who belongs to a neutral power loses his entire property on this island. A Danish captain whose vessel was declared a real prize by the present commandant, cried about it like a child. Many Americans meet the same fate. Another Danish captain became free after repeated hearings, but he had honestly to pay the court costs. This captain is from St. Crux, and when he saw us for the first time, he recognized that we belonged to the brethren's Unity. He is known to the Brethren in St. Crux and St. Thomas and said

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**64** In 1732, St. Thomas in the Danish West Indies was the first missionary effort of the Moravian Church. It was founded under the auspices of the Danish government after Anthony, a Negro in the
if we had gone there, we would have been received by everyone in the friendliest manner because the Brethren were esteemed in the Danish Islands. He said he also had relatives in the Boarding School in Bethlehem and mentioned a Miss McLaughly. \(^85\)

After we had received a pass, on the 10th, we went to shore on the Mole for the first time, but found it so hot that we soon returned on board our brig. We found few in the place with whom we could speak except the abovenamed Danish and a few American captains whose ships were brought here. Friday the 11th, and Saturday the 12th, we remained on board. Sunday, August 13th, a special day of thanks of the Brethren's Unity \(^86\) we went ashore in the morning to attend a public divine service after about three months—although only one single Catholic church is here and the divine service is preached in the French language. When we arrived, however, it was already over. We still went into the church and there, alone in it, service of Count Laurwig of Denmark, had related the pitiful living conditions of the slaves on the island. In 1734 additional missionaries founded the church in St. Croix. While the early missionaries suffered severe personal hardships during the first 50 years of the Danish west Indian missions, they baptized 8,833 adults and 2,974 children (Hamilton and Hamilton, p. 248).


\(^86\)August 13, 1727, marked the spiritual rebirth of the Renewed Unitas Fratrum. On May 12, 1727, the residents of Herrnhut signed an agreement to live together peaceably and religiously. On August 13, they celebrated their first communion as a group with what was later called a great outpouring of the Holy Spirit. Today the anniversary of this service is celebrated as one of the most important festivals of the Moravian Church.
we considered the strange story of this day; and the fact that on
this day we must again miss the Lord's Supper, which today is cele-
brated in all congregations, made us quite sad. The Savior, how-
ever, to whom we presented ourselves in this place and to whom we
implored comfort and a portion of the blessing which He shares with
the Brethren's Unity today, let us feel His peace so strongly that
we felt joyful and could go on our way full of thanks.

Today we looked for a lodging because Captain Triphton wanted
to sail one of these days and we did not know when. My wife saw an
old woman standing in her house doorway and said: Let us enter,
perhaps we can find a lodging here. (p. 39) we went to her, spoke
with her in English; she could not understand us, however, because
almost all speak French here. She offered us a stool to sit on,
which is somewhat rare here. I noticed a few books on the table
and I opened one; I found that one of them was a German prayerbook,
and now the good mother was happy when she heard that we could
speak German, she herself began to speak German and said that she
and her husband were Germans born in Alsace. Her husband had a
brother by the name of Schafer in Baltimore and there was an entire
 colony of Germans 15 English miles from here in French territory.  
we asked the woman whether she could not help us to a private lodg-
ing because it would be too expensive for us in a guesthouse. She
offered us her house and kitchen if we would be satisfied with that,

87 The German colony referred to is Bompard. In 1794, the Eng-
lish tried to capture this outpost in French territory but were re-
pulsed. J. Granville, History of the Island of St. Domingo, From its
First Discovery by Columbus to the Present Period (New York, 1824),
p. 1017.
and her husband, who then arrived, also gave his full consent to that. We were thankful for that and, after we had been joyfully refreshed by these good people, left for our vessel in order to bring our ship beds to our new lodging.

When we came to the harbor, however, we saw that a number of American vessels had come here this morning and it was in reality the same fleet under whose protection Captain Dougherty, our captain from Philadelphia, would have sailed. Had we waited in America until it had left, we would not have been taken by the French and we would have been as far as we were now. Now we hoped to reach Jamaica because some of the abovenamed vessels went there, likewise a sloop of war which also arrived today from Jamaica which always goes back and forth between Kingston and the Mole.

Here we left our beds where we were and made arrangements to go the next day with Captain Woodworth from Norfolk who wants to go to Kingston with the next convoy. He promised to take us in his schooner, which, to be sure, had not much cargo. He had brought Brother and Sister Frizen and the two sons of Brother and Sister

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88 John Christian Fritz (Frizen) was born on October 28, 1736, in Mittelslachtstätten near Obernzen in Anspachischen. He was a composer of hymns. He went to England in 1770 and to Salem, North Carolina in 1774. He married Christina Elisabeth Loesch Van der Merk in 1774. In 1758, Fritz was ordained a deacon. Nine years later, the Fritzes went to Barbados, serving there until 1794. He later served in Bethlehem, Hebron, and Gnadenhütten, Pennsylvania. He died in 1805 ("Bethlehem Diary," Vol. 41, pp. 260-278).

Sister Christina Elisabeth Loesch Fritz was born in Tulpehocken, Pennsylvania on January 26, 1733, to George and Anna Christina (wall-born) Loesch. In 1759, she married Jacob Van der Merk in Bethlehem. When he died, she married Fritz in 1774. She died in 1806 (Kluge, p. 122).
Haman from Barbadoes to Philadelphia in a previous year. However, he would not yet say to us what we should pay him. When we explained our poverty to him and that we had already had so many costs on this trip, he said he would treat us inexpensively and he affirmed this as often as we questioned him on account of the bill. We brought our possessions on his schooner and parted from our good Captain Triphton. He would take nothing from us for the more than eight days we lodged on his brig in spite of the fact that he had gone to much trouble for us and his crew was also very friendly to us. We gave him six bottles of wine (three Spanish thalers' worth) as a small acknowledgment for which he was very thankful. With him I sent a letter to America.

In the previous evening before we had gone to Captain Woodworth's schooner, he had an argument with his mate, who owned half of the ship and cargo, in which they came to blows and, indeed, about an unimportant situation. This was, however, no good prospect for us and when

89 In 1765, John Wood and Andrew Rittmansberger founded the Moravian mission in Barbadoes. Rittmansberger, however, died three weeks after landing and the mission was not renewed until 1767 by Benjamin Brookshaw. Unlike most of the other West Indian missions, the one on Barbadoes was generally approved by the white planters. In 1780 a hurricane hit the island destroying nearly all the property of the mission. Famine and general havoc among the inhabitants of Barbadoes was rampant and particularly wiped out the mission's work. In 1784, with John Montgomery's arrival, work was again renewed.

90 At the August 5, 1794 meeting of the Helpers Conference, it was reported that Brother and Sister Fritz were glad to return to America. They were accompanied by Brother and Sister Haman's two sons, whose destination was Nazareth Hall (Protocoll der Helfer-Conferenz... 1797).

The Haman sons were Adam and John Samuel. John was born January 30, 1788 in Barbadoes; was a teacher at Nazareth Hall, 1808-1811; married Sarah Schmick in 1811; had charge of the Congregational Hotel in Nazareth, 1811-1836; died in Nazareth in 1866 (Kluge, p. 152).
we came to his schooner in the morning, we saw that we had not come into the most pleasant company, although they both seemed ashamed about that which had come between them yesterday evening because we and all ships lying in the vicinity had heard their argument. The captain opened up to us; however, his confession of faith (p. 41) was of the kind that could stand one's hair on end, and he often complained to us in the following days. Generally we heard here the most shameful slanders of God from the other captains who visited on our ship and it was shocking to hear how Jesus and his unexceptional expiatory sacrifice were denied. Among these, however, was Captain Byern who had brought the Brother and Sister Haman from Barbadoes the previous year and who was known by more Brothers and Sisters in Pennsylvania—among others by Brother Youngsberg whose countryman he is—yet this one was not as mean as the others.

Our new Captain Woodworth surpassed them all. His conduct also corresponded fully with his teachings. What hurt us much was that he had with him his son, a boy of 15 who was as mean as his father, and another boy of 10 years, who had his father's bad example before him daily. One can imagine how it all went. In the evening before he went to sleep, however, the abovenamed child had to say a prayer to Him whom he had heard denied during the day. The boy was not seldom to be awakened with the words, Little Rascal, Villain, Poppy, get up! and similar words. Enough of this.

During this week, a sentence was given to the two persons from

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91 John Youngberg was ordained a deacon on September 7, 1794, in Lititz by Brother Huebner (Edmund De Schweinitz, "The Clergy of the American Province of the Unitas Fratrum," p. 149).
the warship on account of a disturbance which had happened in the harbor. The sentence was that each of these should receive 300 lashes with the whip—and a certain amount in front of every warship. They were lined up in a boat that was prepared, placed in position with their hands bound fast to two crosswise stationary poles, and so were brought under guard by four other boats from one warship to another starting at the oldest captain's ship and ending at the youngest's. One of them fainted after he had received 102 so the whipper had to stop. However, he died (p. 42) the next night; the other held out somewhat longer. However, his convalescence was also uncertain as we left the Kole.

On the warship, as well as on shore, there was very sharp discipline among the soldiers. In the daytime a bell is rung every half-hour on the warship to announce what time it is. In the morning and evening when it grows light and dark, a large cannon is fired from the admiral's ship and is answered with smaller ones from the other warships. In the night when nothing happens, the guard calls out, All well! on every ship every hour. And whoever sleeps and neglects this is punished severely.

Even if it was very lively around us, we were quite heartily tired of this place. We yearned to leave here, the sooner the better, which seemed possible because the abovenamed sloop-of-war, under whose guard we hoped to reach Kingston, was unloaded. No other convoy would be sent so soon from the government, while no English merchant ships left here for Kingston—only a few small American schooners and they did not go all the way to Kingston. In the
beginning the captain did not want to say to where and when the sloop would go. When some of the captains, including ours, offered him a reward if he would take us under guard, he became more open and promised to do this for every captain who would give him 150 thaler. The captains, however, were all willing until it came to ours who said that his entire cargo would scarcely be worth that much. He promised the captain when he was alone with him that if he waited for him on the way, he would satisfy him. The owners, however, knew nothing about it.

It was now established that we would sail on Tuesday, August 22nd, and we got ready. However, when Tuesday came and the flags (p. 43) were raised on all the ships except ours,* (*This happened because our schooner went under the pretext of not belonging to the flotilla because our captain had not spoken to the owners but only secretly to the captain of the sloop,) nothing happened and Wednesday was established as the sailing date. On this day (the 23rd) preparations were made early for sailing. Our flag was now raised. This is a sign for the inspectors that when they see the flag on a vessel, they have to come to it and see whether the captain has a letter from the commandant because without such a letter no vessel is allowed to leave the harbor.

When the inspector came, Captain Woodworth showed him his permission and said at the same time, however, that he did not go with the flotilla (this was a lie). This was suspicious to the inspector because the captain of the convoy had told him the opposite. Thus, he ordered our captain to go with his schooner to the guard ships.
which lay close to shore, and if he would not do this, he would order the captain of the convoy to fire on us. He, therefore, had to obey, and would we not have been happy to find an opportunity to leave this schooner for another vessel, for which there was still time. A captain from Baltimore, whom we had come to know in Jean Habel, where he had come but was freed again by a trick, was very dear to us as was his supercargo. He would have taken us on board immediately and taken us to Port Morant without pay. Captain Woodworth, however, went straight to shore and was declared free by the commandant. We had to remain on the wretched schooner where we had so much anxiety in the following days.

About 10 o'clock the signal to sail was given and we went with good wind from the harbor with about 10 large and small ships going to different places. However, scarcely were we out of the harbor when one cannon after another was fired in the mole which was a sign that all the ships should turn back. Since most had already passed the first fort in the harbor, we and some others sailed on. Before we knew it, however, more shots were fired on the ships that went on sailing and we had to turn around again. Now we had lost the wind and it took eight hours until we again anchored at the mole, while we needed two hours, at the most, to sail out. When we came to anchor it was 10 o'clock in the evening. Our curiosity about why the entire fleet had to turn back could not be satisfied. First, on the next day—the 24th—we heard that a few soldiers were missed from the English warships which lay in the harbor; it was believed that they were on a ship in our flotilla—but the brig on which it
was believed that they were had not come back but sailed on.

The entire fleet went under sail again at 8 o'clock in the morning. Today, however, we had not such a good wind as yesterday. When we left, an English fleet arrived from Jamaica on its way to England with about 25 ships. When we were scarcely half way out of the harbor, a strong storm came up which caused misfortune on account of the many ships which were going in and out. Still all went well. Now, when our fleet came to the outermost fort, we were fired on again which alarmed us once more. The captain of the convoy sent a boat to the fort to inquire why they fired today when the fleet had permission to sail. They said that they had not known that because they had received no counter order (p. 45) from the commandant of the hole since yesterday when we had been called back, and, therefore, they had shot. They were not very sober, apparently, but stopped the shooting anyway. About 4 o'clock they began again and because it was calm and the entire fleet was already opposite them, no one knew what it meant. However, we soon saw that the cannonballs always flew into the water close to one of the English snows which also carried cannons. It was, however, some distance behind us, and we finally saw that it was fired on from the fort because its flag was not hung out. As soon as this happened the cannonading stopped.

In the evening when it was dark, the captain of an English schooner from Providence, who sailed with us from the hole, came on our schooner and ate the evening meal with us. Because the convoy had to accompany a few ships to Jeremie in Hispaniola, and this captain whose schooner had eight cannon went straight to Kingston, our
captain accordingly discussed with him taking us under his protection and promised him 50 thaler for this. We were happy about that, all the sooner to reach Kingston. The night we laid over was seemingly quiet; there was almost no wind. Early on Friday we had a good wind and sailed with our new convoy; we soon saw a part of the island of Cuba and also hoped to see Jamaica soon. But about 11 o'clock the abovename captain, who was a good piece before us, thought he spied a vessel in the distance. He gave our captain a signal to go back and he himself turned around. Our hope to see Jamaica today also went wrong. In a few hours we were back where we were this morning. Our captain fired his swivel gun a few times to persuade the other captain to sail on, but he sailed back as strongly as he could and we had to follow. When we came closer to the harbor at the mole, we again saw (p. 46) our first fleet which had just come out of the harbor and we were soon in their midst. Here there was a complete calm again.

Around 4 o'clock our courageous convoy sailed again and gave our captain a sign to follow; he, although, had no favorable wind with him, remained with the fleet. After the sun set we saw that our schooner sailed the slowest of all the ships, and we were soon the last. This happened again later and we were the last almost all night so that we had to endure much anxiety on this trip. The first night the captain of the English snow, who appeared to us very true and always remained in our vicinity, said, however, if we saw an enemy vessel (because these gather in this region) we should give a sign and he would protect us. We were happy about this when morning came.
Today, as on the 29th, we had a favorable wind until noon. Toward noon, an enemy schooner was spotted coming straight for the fleet, which came together as soon as possible. The captain of the convoy discussed with the captain of the English snow what was to be done now. Judging from all the motions of the former, one could see that he did not have much courage to attack the enemy. The latter, however, was less fearful. An American captain, whose schooner had a few cannon, appeared to have the most courage and went courageously towards the enemy who appeared to be fearless. When he came closer, the English snow got ready to meet him and before we knew what had happened, he sent a cannon ball to the enemy, who, however, was yet too far away to be reached. He hung out his flag, fired a swivel gun, and turned around. Presumably he thought that the snow was more strongly armed than it really was because it had eight 12-pounders, but it only had (p. 47) eight men. It had a respectable appearance from a distance, not unlike a frigate. The enemy soon appeared again and wanted to attack us from behind but held itself at a distance, and believed it better to reach its goal during the night. He also had a friend which we could see on our other side.

We had Jeremie,\(^2\) an English post in Hispaniola, in view and would have been able to reach it today if we had not been delayed by the enemy. However, a calm came around 4 o'clock and we remained in one place and the enemy also remained at a certain distance.

\(^2\)Jeremie, a city on the southeast coast of Saint-Domingue, was the first to fall to the British during their invasion of 1793.
On Sunday, the 27th, there was a complete calm today until 3 o'clock in the afternoon, and we saw Jeremie lie close before us but could not approach. In the afternoon a storm finally came whose wind took us to Jeremie around evening. Here is a pretty little place and it does not appear so dead in this region as in Jean Rabel and Cape N. Mole because one sees pretty green sugar fields here and there. We could not land here although we would have liked to buy some fresh provisions and also some sugar because the entire ship's company, captain and sailors, lived (p. 48) on ours. However, it was late when we came here and in the evening around 8 o'clock, we would sail which we did. This night we were in the midst of the fleet and could enjoy some peace.

Early on Monday the 28th, there was calm again. Our enemy still followed us but did not trust the English snow, however, and believed they were safer at night. Then when we arose in the morning, the one was quite close behind us but drew back again as the snow showed him its broadside. Until 2 o'clock we lay almost in the same place where we were yesterday. Toward midday we spied two English warships, and the enemy left us first because it believed it was no longer advisable to follow us. In the afternoon, we spoke with the English ship and soon afterwards a storm came again and with the same good wind which remained the entire night. We stayed back again, and seemingly far, still we did not have so much fear here.

In the morning far ahead of us we saw the fleet, which, besides us, consisted of the convoy, sloop-of-war, the English snow, and a Baltimore schooner. Still they waited for us. A nice wind came
about 9 o'clock and we thought we certainly would see Jamaica before us today but our hopes were dashed. Today we thought much about the Single Brethren's Choir, which today celebrated its festival, and we wished it a right holy festival. Toward evening when the fleet was so far in front of us, it waited until we were in its midst; and thus we sailed during the night and we were always with it. In the morning, however, we remained back.

Today, the 30th, about noon we finally spied the eastern part of Jamaica where Port Morant lay. Our captain first wanted to enter this harbor, but when we told him that we wanted to go to Kingston, the sooner the better, and we, perhaps, could board the English snow or sloop-of-war because these would not stop, he said he had changed his mind and would (p. 49) rather go straight to Kingston with the convoy because it would still be dangerous between Port Morant and Kingston. We were, therefore, quiet and hoped to be in Kingston in the morning. The convoy came by the harbor of Port Morant toward evening and waited for us to see whether we would go into the harbor; thus, our captain again resolved to enter Port Morant and to go without the convoy to Kingston. This placed us in great difficulty. If we had been close enough to the convoy, we would have tried to join it, but we were too far behind and the captain of the convoy could see that we went into the harbor; thus, he sailed with the snow to Kingston.

It was now dark. When we came to the harbor, the schooner from Baltimore was already there, and the sloop and the snow had gone on to Kingston. All requests from us, as well as the entire crew, to
the captain to follow them were useless, and we could no longer go into the harbor because the captain had never been in it and did not know the most dangerous places of which there were several. Therefore, we had to heave to and remain without protection in the open sea, and, to be sure, in a place where Spanish and French lie in ambush. This was the most anxious night for us since we had left Philadelphia, especially for me. My dear wife appeared not to be so worried here as we both were in Jeremie—at that time I comforted her; however, now it was her turn and she was so comforting that I could not be more surprised. Generally, I had to bear witness to her that she had endured all hardships with great patience, on this difficult trip, and the entire time she was so satisfied to give in to the will of the Savior that she [illegible] was often of the greatest delight to me. We were also entirely without human help; however, we perceived the help of the Lord, who led us with a mother's hands and prevented all evil so graciously, so much the stronger.

The beginning of the following day was heartily welcomed by all of us, but in that strong storm we saw that we had been driven further back so that at the beginning we could scarcely see land. We now received favorable wind and around 10 o'clock in the morning came to the place where we were yesterday evening. However, the anxiety was not yet over because here and there we saw small sailboats along the shore. Also, the Spanish and French lie in ambush around here on the islands in such boats (which, however, were manned and had weapons). They hide in small bays where it is
uninhabited and where a warship cannot easily come close; we believed every boat that we saw to be a piccaroon (as these robbers are called). The pilot, who wanted to take us into the harbor, made us worry. When he came to us he said that just a few days before one such piccaroon had captured a plantain boat which plied between here and Kingston, and when we came into the harbor ahead, we saw this piccaroon coming as strongly behind us as he could. We were, however, already too close to the fort at Port Morant, so he had to turn back.

At noon we came to anchor at Port Morant, thankful and ashamed for the evident protection of our good Lord. The captain and the mate went (p. 51) ashore at once—the first ones to go to Kingston today. I went with them. Since we both were ruffled from our sea journey and since there is still danger between here and Kingston, we resolved where possible to go by land to Kingston which is 36 miles from here, and our belongings could come by our schooner. When I inquired about the cost to borrow a horse from here to Kingston, I was told 5 pounds and for two horses or a chaise 10 pounds. Therefore, we had to turn away from that and once more risk going to sea. Now we heard for the first time that our captain had contraband or forbidden goods on his schooner, on account of which he went to shore at Kingston. We had to expect that his schooner might not reach there at all, and /despite/ the assurance of the mate, who was as great a cheater as the captain, that they would reach Kingston for certain, we believed it would be better to take the certainty instead of the uncertainty and we accepted the offer of a Jew
who would go to Kingston with his plantain boat in a few days. He promised to take us and our belongings there for nothing, if he went away from here before our captain could.

The next day, September 1st, my wife and I went ashore to the house of a gentleman who had invited us to dinner. Here we were treated very well. The gentleman, who had invited us, Mr. Cochrane, was an Irishman and very friendly, as were the others who ate with us; yet the conversation at the meal was not the most pleasant. From here we went out a little bit to see the present conditions. The place consists of five or six houses and a fort on the other side; otherwise it is very pretty here and it amazed us how well the mountains, which were grown entirely green with sugar bowls, were used (p. 51). Fruit trees are also numerous here. [Illegible] It is not so hot here as further inland because there is always a sea breeze.7

Seven miles westward from here is Morant Bay where there are more houses than in Port Morant. When we were quite alone in the bushes on a pleasant path, we reflected how graciously our dear Lord and Savior watched over us on our trip and with His strong hands led us through so many dangers [Illegible] so that we could place our feet on this island where we should serve Him. Our hearts were filled with such happiness and thankfulness towards Him that our mouths overflowed with it. And we brought warm and kind thanks to Him for his dear signs and offered our lives, souls, and

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7The trade winds, Braun's "sea breeze," made life in the lowlands of Jamaica and other West Indian countries tolerable. They rose at 9 in the morning and died away about 5 in the afternoon, to be replaced with a land breeze at night (Gardner, pp. 52-53).
bodies anew to His service and asked Him for His blessing in our work among the Negroes here that we, poor and weak tools as we are, might receive His grace to help spread the reward of His suffering. At this we felt happy and a feeling of His peace penetrated our lives and souls so that we could trust Him in a childlike way. In the evening we again boarded our schooner. May He let us finish the trip to our goal happily.

Saturday September 2nd, we breakfasted with a Mr. Lynch who had invited us the day before. The people here are very hospitable and we were welcome wherever we went. Sunday the 3rd, the above-named Jew, who had promised to take us to Kingston, went there; however, he left us behind because our possessions had so far not been brought to his boat by our boat, and although he had promised to go to our schooner with his boat and take our possessions, he did not do it. This did not worry us very much, (p. 53) however, because the people here gave him not the best character. They warned us not to lodge in his house if we did not go with him to Kingston although he had invited us and would shelter us for nothing.  

94 Whether the Jew in question was really an unscrupulous fellow, or whether he was branded this merely because he was a Jew, is indeterminable. Jews were barely tolerated in eighteenth-century Jamaica. They were successful, shrewd business leaders specializing in trade with the Spanish Main, and they had constructed an elegant synagogue in Kingston with their wealth. Up to 1736, the Jews had been taxed because, it appears, of religious prejudice, although the Jamaica Assembly gave these reasons why the tax should be collected: 1. Jewish businessmen, who were primarily dry goods dealers, induced the population to dress above their means; 2. Jews were moneylenders; 3. The Jews did not drink and therefore did not contribute to the country's chief source of revenue; and 4. They sold cloth which was not taxable and they smuggled cocoa and indigo which were taxable (Gardner, pp. 196-198).
This morning about 9 o'clock, our captain came back from Kingston with the news (as we had supposed) that he could not enter with his cargo and urged us to leave his ship. It was fortunate for us that a plantain boat was here by which we could go to Kingston in the morning and to which we brought our things. We now would pay for our trip from the Mole to here, which should be inexpensive as he had promised us in the Mole. We dearly wanted to know what we would pay him; he demanded 6 guineas. We were shocked by this inexpensive price, reminded him of his promise and that they had consumed our sugar, coffee and tea—not only he and the mate, but his sailors and all, because they, as well as the captain, had to have tea and coffee every day. He had promised us not to go without the convoy and, like the other captains, had not yet paid the convoy so that they were not obliged to wait for us, and we, therefore, were exposed to the greatest danger. Also our positive agreement with him was to take us to Kingston and now he let us sit in Port Morant from where we had to pay the captain who would take us there another 6 thaler. He remained firm, however, and we gave him his 6 guineas not to get into a fight with him, and so we left him, glad that we left this company in which the most shameful discourses which one could imagine were conducted.

The captain from Baltimore, who had come here with us, gladly

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95 Unless Braun is being very ironic here, it is apparent from the context that he was shocked about the high price rather than the inexpensive price. He evidently misused the German billig, meaning inexpensive, for the German teuer, meaning expensive.
took us in his schooner (p. 54) over night. This man was our true
friend—as also his supercargo, Mr. Taggard, also from Baltimore,
who had a pretty sugar estate here in Port Korant—and both showed
us all possible services without obligation. May the Lord reward
them for this.

Early on September 4th, we went on board our plantain boat.
The captain was sick. This was now the fourth vessel on which we
had to take our possessions since we left Philadelphia. About 6
o'clock we went under sail (Captain Woodworth had gone from here
with his forbidden wares in the night in the fog, not knowing him-
self where). Our vessel was not adapted for passengers and was
very narrow. In the meantime, the trip progressed well because we
had favorable wind. We caught sight of no enemy ships but enough
English ones.

At midday, we came happily to anchor at Port Royal and went
over to Kingston in an open boat. Here, between Port Royal and
Kingston, we nearly ran into a gale because a thunderstorm came up
just as we departed and the waves hit the boat in heaps. We came
happy but wet to Kingston in 40 minutes and forgot for joy all the
sorrow. Here we inquired after Mr. Rees, the English minister to
whom we had carried a packet from Sister Mumford. First, we went
to the superintendent of the church and from there to Mr. Rees's
brother-in-law, who sent his Negro with us to Mr. Rees. When we
arrived there, we turned over the packet from Sister Mumford. How-
ever, we could show no letters (except for an open letter from
brother Bltwein to Mr. Mumford) because the French had taken these
away and Captain Humford does not live here at all in Jamaica, but
in Jeremie.

we inquired (p. 55) of Mr. Rees if he could advise us about a
lodging as we were quite strange here. He could not, however, but
sent us back to the superintendent and offered his services. After
he had read Brother Wittwein's letter to Captain Humford, and un-
derstood that we were in need of money, he was also quite friendly.
we thanked him for his offer, but were still furnished with money,
so we departed and went again to the superintendent, who directed
us to a house which had a private lodging. The woman who ran this
lodging, a mulatto widow, took us in gladly; we agreed beforehand
to pay her four thaler each week for the lodging. We had to find
the food ourselves and she cooked for us. We immediately had some
food cooked for us which tasted heartily good because it was 5
o'clock, and we had not eaten at noon and had only a piece of dry
bread for breakfast. We wished only to send news of our arrival to
our dear brother Lister as soon as possible in order to go if pos-
sible by land to Carmel because we had enough of water. Between
Kingston and Black River 96 it is the most dangerous because of the
picaroons, who have already come ashore in this region and have
plundered here. We also thought, perhaps (if Brother Lister re-
ceived our letter in time) we could celebrate the choir

96 The Reverend J. H. Buchner described Black River as a small
seaport of 2,000 people "like all other towns and villages in
Jamaica, ... disorderly, and filthy. The houses mostly wooden had
broken windows, doors, and gates and decent structures were few"
(buchner, p. 5).
festival if they put it off a few days. We were happy that the packet boat from England had arrived here yesterday. The mail would go to Black River in the morning. I wrote to brother Lister and gave my letter to the mail.

At sunset we saw a heathen procession. The captain of a negro tribe had died and was buried accompanied by crying, the beating of drums, singing, and dancing. I believe more than 1,000 Negroes attended the burial. It hurt us to see such heathen customs in this pretty city where so many Christians lived.\(^\text{98}\) Now we went to our lodging and gave our humble thanks to the Lord once more, for He led us so graciously and guarded us through our entire journey.

\(^{97}\) The choir festival which Braun refers to here was that of the married People. It was celebrated on September 7 to honor Count Zinzendorf's marriage to the Countess Erdmuth Dorothea on that date in 1722 (Fries, p. 51).

\(^{98}\) Heathen superstition, featuring mystical rites and magic potions, was one of the most difficult blocks to conversion that the Moravian West Indian missionaries encountered. These customs remained especially strong in burial rituals, which were feasts accompanied by much singing, drumming, and dancing. The corpse was carried to the grave on the heads of bearers. Sometimes the procession would suddenly stop with the remark that the corpse was stubborn, perhaps not liking the route to the grave which the mourners were taking. At the cemetery, the coffin was placed in the ground with unsalted cooked food on it for the corpse to eat. The coffin was then covered with dirt thrown between the shovelers' legs so that the corpse's spirit could not return to its home. The widow remained in a state of mourning for a short time and, when she grew tired of it, cooked a chicken and took it to her husband's grave where some of it was thrown onto the grave with more earth and singing and dancing. The room in which the deceased had died was kept lit at night for nine days with food, water and wash water to provide for his spirit if it escaped the grave (Gardner, pp. 186-189).
and before all evil. He had also preserved our health, because except for the sea sickness at the beginning, we both remained healthy which we owe no less to those who we now can count among our numerous friends. Today's reading, which we received today, is certainly a fulfillment. It reads: "Mountains and hills may tumble, but my mercy shall not leave those, and my covenant of peace shall not fall," says the Lord our Redeemer.99 On this we at last went to rest.

Early on Thursday, we examined a bit of the city. It was built very regularly. The houses are almost all of brick, two or three stories high, and close together. Generally, the city is as large as Lancaster,7 but not so regular.100 The streets are not paved, and when it is dry, one gets his eyes and clothes full of dust because there is almost always a sea breeze here.

About midday, a Negro came to our lodging; he asked me whether I was a minister. I said to him that we had come to preach the gospel of peace to the Negroes. He said there were many blacks on this island who were curious about that, and a certain minister Mr. Munds, who had come to the island from America some years ago, had made much real progress with the gospel (p. 57) through his evangelical witness and Christian behavior. It was too bad that this worthy man had left so soon.

In the meantime, the Methodists had missions here and there on

99Is. 54:10 from Die täglichen Losungen...1797.

100Author Charles J. ward described Kingston as "constructed after the chess-board fashion of modern cities, the streets and lanes being parallel, or at right angles to each other." /Charles J. Ward, World's Fair, Jamaica at Chicago (New York, 1893), p. 27.
the island and also here in Kingston which were in a flowering condition. While we were conversing, one of their society members, a young mulatto, came by our house. The Negro called him in and told him my intention. He welcomed me in a friendly manner and said in the morning he would introduce us to a white family who belonged to the Methodist Church and who would certainly be glad to see us. He came the next day, bringing a Negro woman with him. She was familiar with the Brethren Gottwald and Birkly in St. Kitts and expressed great love for the Brethren's Unity. With tears in her eyes she recounted her entire life's story and how she had been awakened to God, and earnestly offered to lodge us in her house for nothing. We gladly took this offer. She also arranged that our possessions would be brought to her house which is at some distance outside of the city. Her husband is a mulatto, a lay preacher among the Methodists, and a right dear man with whom we should come this evening to the Methodist singing meeting in her house.

The abovementioned young mulatto, with whom we first got acc-

101 The Methodist minister, Dr. Thomas Coke, came to Port Royal, Jamaica, in January 1789. He preached in Kingston in a private residence until he was offered a public concert hall by a Catholic. Drunken mobs unsuccessfully attacked him, and the Methodists were declared general nuisances in court. Finally a number of wealthy property owners allowed the Methodists to preach in their homes, thus helping found the Jamaica mission (Southey, pp. 30-31). By 1799 the Methodists had over 600 members (Gardner, p. 345).

102 The Moravian mission on St. Kitts was founded in 1777 by John Gottwalt and James Birkly. A planter named Gardiner offered them a house at Basseterre to begin their ministry, and in 1795 the first Moravian Church was built. By 1800, the Moravians had 2,000 converts (Joseph E. Hutton, A History of Moravian Missions (London, 1920), p. 55).
quainted, came this afternoon and took us to Mr. Smith where we were invited for the evening meal. This man, along with his wife and a young lady, Miss Frogg who has a boarding school in this house, greeted us like a brother and sister with a kiss. These people are from Charleston in South Carolina. We (p. 58) had a right pleasant heart's conversation at the evening meal. Mr. and Mrs. Smith, as well as Miss Frogg, expressed themselves right heartily and told us much more of the blessings which rest on the preaching of the gospel to the Negroes on this island, where the Methodists have missions, and wished us much luck in our plan.

After the evening meal, we went with this family to the Methodists' chapel where the minister, Mr. Fish, held a right lively and emotional singing meeting. The chapel was rather full of whites, blacks, and mulattoes. Their singing was very pretty. After the singing meeting, Mr. Fish came through the people to greet us, was extraordinarily friendly, and took us into his room where more of his congregation was. We told him how wonderfully the Lord guided us on our trip. He said all could see from that how safe one is if one places his trust in the Lord in all circumstances.

It was as if we were in a society of brothers and sisters.

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103 The Methodist chapel in Kingston was "eighty feet in length, and forty in breadth, and will contain about 1500 persons. It has galleries on three sides, and is built exactly on the plan of our chapel at Halifax, in Yorkshire. Underneath the chapel we have a hall, which is absolutely necessary in this very hot country, four chambers, and a large school room" (Southey, p. 39).

104 Here Braun is referring to members of the Brethren's Unity.
Mr. Fish invited us and Mr. and Mrs. Smith and the others for breakfast early the next day, and after we all wished "Good Night" we went with our black house father, Mr. Drascoon, to our new lodging. Here we found a pretty, roomy, well-decorated house, although the owners were Negroes. Upon our arrival at the house, Mr. and Mrs. Drascoon wanted to make me the housefather who should perform their house prayers as long as we were here. I excused myself from doing this, however. It is the custom in this house, besides the table prayers, (p. 59) to say a prayer on our knees three times, namely, morning, noon and night which I had to perform occasionally in the following days. The first time I wanted Mr. Drascoon to do it. He then fell on his knees with his family and housepeople, and us, and said an urgent prayer, thanking the Savior that He had brought us here so fortunately and that he was worthy to take us into his house, and so on. Then a song was sung and we went to bed.

In the morning around 4 o'clock, we awakened to go to the early service which was held every morning around 5 o'clock so that those from the congregation who are slaves would not miss it. First, a prayer was offered before we left the house. Then we all went to the chapel where Mr. Fish rendered a pretty evangelical witness. Afterwards, we went with him and breakfasted with him, Mr. and Mrs. Smith, Drascoon, and so on. After breakfast, a prayer had to be given; Mr. Fish asked me to preach in the chapel next Sunday which I, however, refused and said to him that I had come here only for the Negroes and not for the white people. He was not
satisfied with that and pressed me strongly to do it; the same was done by the other people present. I, however, could not yet resolve myself to do that.

Mr. Drascoon asked me whether I would not take over the gathering the next evening in his house, to which I agreed. On Friday evening a good number of Negroes gathered, also some whites, so that the hall in his house was filled. First, Mr. Drascoon sang a song with the listeners and then spoke with a warm heart about Luke 13:29: "It will come from the east, west, north, and south" and so on. All were extraordinarily still (p. 60) and attentive, and after the gathering they all came and shook hands with me. This is the custom after every gathering or prayer—-that one shakes hands with one another.

Mr. Fish had asked me again today to preach on Sunday, and he did this on Saturday when he and we ate at noon at Mr. Smith's house. Finally I could no longer refuse him and promised it and also had to give a prayer in the presence of all the guests and the boarding school after the noon meal. Moreover, today we carried all our possessions from the boat that brought us here from Fort Morant and took them to Mr. Drascoon's store. We had to pay the captain who brought us 6 thaler so that our freight alone from the Mole to Kingston cost 12.15p. in addition to the ships, food and wharf expenses.

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105 Luke 13:29: "And they shall come from the east, and from the west, and from the north, and from the south, and shall sit down in the kingdom of God."
Sunday the 9th, I preached about Is. 40:5\textsuperscript{106} in the morning in the Methodist chapel after Mr. Fish had delivered the usual Sunday lecture. However, there began such unrest among the Negro women that I became alarmed. One rolled as mad on the floor and cried loudly, another sighed loudly and began to shake her entire body. The first had to be led out by two strong men. I soon ended my preaching. After it, I said to Mr. Fish that I was not used to this in the divine service and he himself was displeased about that, discussed it thoroughly in the evening with his congregation for that very reason, and said that such performance came not from God but from Satan. Many of them saw it, however, as a real force of the gospel. In the afternoon around 5 o'clock, Mr. Fish preached about the words of Elias: "How long halt ye between two opinions,"\textsuperscript{107} and so on, with grace and power.

On Monday I was busy writing letters to send on a ship (which this week went to America). (p. 61) Any day we expected news of our dear brother Lister in Carmel; I went to the post office daily because of this. This evening Mr. Drascoon held a meeting in a private house with a large auditorium. From Saturday there is much to catch up with; that same day in the evening, Mrs. Drascoon held a meeting of the women at which my wife was present.

\textsuperscript{106} Is. 40:5: "And the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together: for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it."

\textsuperscript{107} I Kings 18:21: "And Elijah came unto all the people, and said, How long halt ye between two opinions? If the Lord be God, follow him: but if Baal, then follow him. And the people answered him not a word."
On Tuesday, we had breakfast with Mr. Fish and a lady, Mrs. Muns, who also was a Methodist and was very friendly. She gave my wife a guinea after breakfast. She did not want to take it but she urged her. During breakfast, a lady (Mrs. Wallis's granddaughter) went to where we first lodged and told us that some of our people had come to take us with them. I went back to the house right after breakfast and to my great joy found our dear Brother Lister who had come to meet us with two chaises. It was sad to us that he had not received my letter before the marriage festival so that we missed the celebration of this festival. We now arranged for the vessel that should bring our possessions to Black River. Brother Lister was welcomed with friendship by the Methodists, and they invited him to our lodging along with his horses and the Negro Thomas, whom he had brought along.

Mrs. Smith had already invited my wife to come to her house several times yesterday and today because she had something for her. However, we had so much running around to do that she put it 

\[ \text{In London in 1729, John and Charles Wesley, the founders of Methodism, and others agreed to live religiously; celebrate communion weekly; visit the sick, poor and in prison; and study the Greek New Testament. They did not, however, believe in salvation through faith in the life and death of Christ until they met Peter Böhler, a Moravian leader from Herrnhut who had come to London in 1728. After many discussions, the Wesleys almost joined the Moravians. John, in fact, visited Herrnhut, but upon his return to London broke away from the Brethren after severe disagreements about points of religious doctrine.}

\[ \text{The Moravians and Methodists did not work together again until the 1770s. The Wesleys by this time had ended their animosities, and both groups realized that they were fighting against worldliness and unbelief. Both the Moravians and the Methodists worked side-by-side in the West Indies to convert the slaves (See Hamilton and Hamilton, pp. 77-78, 209).} \]
off. This morning she sent her Negro with a coffee mill, a coffee mug, a nutmeg grater with a nutmeg, some cinnamon, pepper, sage, and allspice and a handkerchief in which were 15 Spanish thaler and said to us that this (p. 62) came from a friend. However, we did not hear for certain from whom it came, and my wife went to Mrs. Smith immediately to ask her. She told us to be still, the man from whom it came was a friend of the good and a forwarding agent of the cause of God. We concluded that it must be a certain merchant, Mr. Cook, who lives in Kingston. This man, who never neglects a gathering of the Methodists, whether or not he belongs to them, was there the first evening that we were there with Mr. Fish and particularly inquired how our trip went and whether the French had allowed us our possessions. When we had told all about how it had gone, and so on, and what we had lost—and since we had just received again that which we had lost—we believed that it came from him. We asked Mrs. Smith to convey our hearty thanks to this man. At noon we ate with Mr. Weir, who was the young mulatto we had first met and who had introduced us to the other Methodists. They said to Brother Lister, who wanted to leave with us the next day, to remain here longer, and since his horse needed some rest, he resolved to remain until tomorrow.

After the noon meal we attended a Jewish burial. One of their rabbis, who was one of the richest Jews, had died and was buried. The corpse lay in a little chapel; the coffin was completely covered with black cloth. The priests, who first sang alone in their own language or cried, stood on the right side and sometimes all the
bystanding Jews called as loudly as only they could so that it hurt the ears. During the singing, the priests and the bearers went around the coffin a few times. After the singing, the corpse was brought to the grave whereby everyone cried bravely again. After the burial, we saw many return to the abovenamed chapel and wash their hands.

In the evening, we joined the singing meeting of the Methodists. Wednesday, Brother Lister and we breakfasted with Mr. Fish. This one asked Brother Lister to remain here until Sunday and also to preach in the chapel. Mr. and Mrs. Smith were also present did the same and when we were almost finished with breakfast, someone sent a note to Mr. Fish which informed Brother Lister that if it depended on whether we rode at once, the horses would cost the same as they would if we would remain here until Sunday. However, we could not. This man was the same who sent us the abovenamed things.

109 The Jewish Encyclopedia Vol. V (New York, 1912), pp. 229-230, gives additional information concerning Jewish burials which make Braun's observations clearer. It should be noted, however, that many of the elaborate burial rituals are no longer performed and that funeral customs varied from place to place.

The corpse was first washed and placed on a bier. Then the funeral procession began accompanied by trumpets and wailing women chanting dirges. At first the family of the deceased was obligated to provide professional mourners. Later addresses were given at the bier, accompanied by much crying. If the deceased had been a learned and pious man, he was often brought into the synagogue for these addresses. Then the coffin was carried to the gravesite by barefooted bearers reciting Psalm 91 several times. When the bearers reached the cemetery they placed the bier on the ground every four cubits until they reached the grave where the Zadduk ha-Din was recited. Sephardic Jews (Braun's Jews were evidently Sephardic) made seven trips around the grave before reciting the Zadduk ha-Din. After the grave was closed, Psalm 91 was repeated again followed by the Kaddish. When the relatives returned from the cemetery, several passages from lamentations were recited and repeated seven times. Then the people stood in two parallel rows and said to the mourners who walked between them "May
as Mrs. Smith had told us.

we now prepared for our trip to Carmel. In the evening we ate with Mr. Smith, where Mr. Fish, Mr. Cook, and a few ladies had gone. There was much discussion of the extension of the kingdom of Jesus, and Mr. Cook explained it in an especially friendly manner, and all wished us many blessings in our plans, asked us to visit them again and to write to us often. Mrs. Smith and Miss Frogg, who had really been like sisters to us since we (p. 64) had met them, cried when they departed from my wife. Afterwards, Mr. Fish came into our lodging to depart from Mr. Drascoon; another Negro and mulatto also came. We thanked the Savior for all the good which we had received from these dear people in Kingston.

Early in the morning about 2 o'clock, we got up and the whole household did the same; they made us good coffee. Before we sat down to breakfast, Brother Lister sang a verse, and after it Mr. Drascoon fell to his knees with us, commended us to the Savior and to His guidance, and when he was finished, his wife also began a prayer for us. Then another song was sung and we departed. Mrs. Drascoon gave us torn provisions for the trip.

About 3 o'clock we left Kingston, about 6 Spanish time, arrived 13 miles from Kingston but did not stop. Around 9 o'clock we came to a guest house where we breakfasted and then my wife had become somewhat ill from the much running about in Kingston, which made me somewhat disconcerted. About 3 o'clock we came about

God console you together with all those who mourn for Zion and Jerusalem." Before leaving the cemetery, it was customary for all participants to wash their hands.

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half-way between Kingston and Carmel.  Scarcely had we come to the
guesthouse when it began to rain heavily.  Here we ate our noon
meal and went to bed early in the evening and slept until 4 o'clock,
then we breakfasted....
CONCLUSION

Nathanael Braun’s "Travel Diary" is a detailed account of the experiences of an eighteenth-century Moravian servant of the Lord in the foreign mission field. Written during the summer of 1797, the document is important in the research and interpretation of early Moravian missionary work. The very fact that Braun devoted time to noting his daily experiences and reactions to them emphasizes the Moravian belief that all human life had a significance worthy of being recorded.

Because Braun took an active interest in his environment, his descriptions of geography, climate, and social customs lend insight into life in the west Indies, providing information about types of housing, Negro slave burials, food and drink, customs at sea, and the attitude toward Jews. In addition, Braun met people who related the impact of Moravian missionary activity in the Caribbean islands, as well as the influence of Methodist evangelists.

The major portion of the "Travel Diary" dramatically shows the effect of international events upon individuals. The Brauns journeyed to Jamaica during the time preceding the United States' undeclared war with France, a period of severe political disturbance in the Caribbean islands. The danger of American merchant ships travelling unarmed on the high seas was underscored when the Brauns' vessel could safely sail only under the protection of an armed convoy. When Captain
wougbery from the missionaries' snow chose, instead, to sail without the fleet, the Brauns spent many anxious nights hoping that the French would not attack them.

After their capture, the Brauns were imprisoned at Jean Mabel. Here, victimized by a pass system on an island controlled by two warring nations, England and France, the Brauns discovered that they could not leave French-held territory unless they received permission from the French commandant. The pass, however, forced them to return to America, not continue their journey to Jamaica, an English colony. With their destination so near, the missionaries were almost thwarted by incomprehensible political machinations. Surely here is ample evidence of the impact of larger events on innocent victims.

Braun's descriptions of certain leaders such as Sonthonax and Touissant L'Ouverture and the events of the slave revolt on Hispaniola are also revealing. He mentioned rumors of plots and counterplots, emphasizing the confused state of political affairs on the island.

Braun's "Travel Diary" is important from a psychological point of view. Throughout their trying journey, the Brauns received comfort from their deep belief in God. It is interesting, however, to note that at times the prospect of reaching Jamaica became so bleak that even Braun was driven to frustrated tears in the privacy of his room. Indeed, the psychological pressures often became almost insurmountable. The snow Boston on which the Brauns began their sea voyage sailed so slowly that they thought they would never reach Jamaica. After their release from Jean Mabel, the ship on which they then travelled also proceeded so slowly that they constantly remained
unprotected at the rear of the convoy in French-infested waters. The very fact that the Brauns could not understand nor speak French must likewise have proved disheartening.

Braun's document also included a statement about the position of women. Braun always mentioned his wife Elisabeth indirectly, for example, in descriptions of her homesickness and seasickness; never does he record her direct thoughts. Nevertheless, Braun credited her as a major source of comfort in their many trials. Thus, Elisabeth fulfilled the traditional Moravian female role of "helpmeet" in the Brauns' joint service to the Lord.

It is interesting to speculate about the impact Brother Braun's journey to Jamaica had on his later career. Biographic information reveals that following his wife's death in 1800, Braun and his daughter Elizabeth came back to Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. When he reported to the Elders Conference about his progress in Jamaica, he stated that he did not wish to return to the island. Certainly the loss of his wife to tropical disease, coupled with the difficulty he faced in converting the Negro slaves of Jamaica to Christianity, as later documents state, prompted his reaction. It is also highly probable that Braun's recollection of a harrowing capture and imprisonment, as outlined in the "Travel Diary," helped him make that decision.
PHILALETH SOURCES: Archives of the Moravian Church, Northern Province, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.


"Catalogus der Gesch. und Kinder auf Nazareth vom Jahr 1774." Ms. Unbound.


"Diary of the Congregation and Society on Staten-Island of the Year 1803." Ms. Unbound.

"Diary of the Congregation and Society on Staten-Island of the Year 1813." Ms. Unbound.

Die täglichen Lösungen und Lehrtete der Brüdergemeine für das Jahr 1797. Lancaster: Gedruckt bey Johann Albrecht und Comp. in der Prinz-Strasse, 1796.


"Protocoll der helfer-Conferenz fürs Ganze der Pennsylvanischen und umliegenden Gemeinen April 16, 1791-April 7, 1797." Ms. Bound.

"Protocoll der helfer-Conferenz fürs Ganze der Pennsylvanischen und umliegenden Gemeinen vom 18th April 1797 bis 11ten July 1800." Ms. Bound.


PRIMARY SOURCES: Other Locations


SECONDARY SOURCES


APPENDIX

1.

Dritte Dissert. der große Nath. 3. Elisabeth. Bruns
von Huberbergen auf Jarmonne vom 19 Septem-
ber 1797

...
gegen das Schiff aufgesetzt, fand sich der Schutz, die Banken, die geöffnet, auf der Treppe herab. Der Kapitän befahl, daß der Fuhrmann Böttcher, der den Kran einführte, in der Bank, die auf den Tisch lehnte, die Leute, die an Bord waren, einsetzen. Der Kapitän befahl, daß der Fuhrmann Böttcher, der den Kran einführte, in der Bank, die auf den Tisch lehnte, die Leute, die an Bord waren, einsetzen.

Feder und Befehl, dann habe ich die von den besonderen Maßnahmen, die für die gesamte Anlage der Küste, ferner diese sind nicht mit dem Völkerrecht. Daß jedoch der Zufall der Küste, manche mir diesem Bewegung, jeden der einzelnen auf der Insel, manche mir dem Beispiel. Im Turm, in der Insel, das Beispiel, und einige solche, die vielleicht der Küste, manche mir diesem Bewegung, jeden der einzelnen auf der Insel, manche mir dem Beispiel. Im Turm, in der Insel, das Beispiel, und einige solche, die vielleicht der Küste, manche mir diesem Bewegung, jeden der einzelnen auf der Insel, manche mir dem Beispiel. Im Turm, in der Insel, das Beispiel.
erlaubt, dass die Verhandlung vor dem Baron i. v. erfolgt. Die Verhandlung wurde von dem Baron der Rede Raum und die Rede Raum, die auf den Befehl alle von der Phase zwecks der Vorbereitung in die Vorbereitung, der Befehl auf den Befehl, der Befehl war, der Befehl wurde, der Befehl wurde.

Die Verhandlung wurde von dem Baron der Rede Raum und die Rede Raum, die auf den Befehl alle von der Phase zwecks der Vorbereitung in die Vorbereitung, der Befehl auf den Befehl, der Befehl war, der Befehl wurde, der Befehl wurde.

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Am 31. August wurde der Spion in ein anderes Boot abgeholt. Der Spion war sehr krank und konnte nicht mehr gehen.

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Am 18. Oktober wurde der Spion in ein anderes Boot abgeholt. Der Spion war sehr krank und konnte nicht mehr gehen.


Erstens: Die Liebe. Die Liebe ist eine der wichtigsten Tugenden der Menschen. Sie ist die Grundlage aller anderen Tugenden. Sie ist die Kraft, die Menschen auf der Welt zusammenhält. Sie ist die Kraft, die Menschen aneinander bindet. Sie ist die Kraft, die Menschen in der Welt der Wahrheit und der Würde führt.

Zweitens: Der Mut. Der Mut ist eine der wichtigsten Tugenden der Menschen. Er ist die Kraft, die Menschen auf der Welt zu überwinden. Er ist die Kraft, die Menschen in der Welt der Wahrheit und der Würde zu führen.

Drittens: Die Ehre. Die Ehre ist eine der wichtigsten Tugenden der Menschen. Sie ist die Kraft, die Menschen auf der Welt zu berühren. Sie ist die Kraft, die Menschen in der Welt der Wahrheit und der Würde zu führen.

Viertens: Die Tugend. Die Tugend ist eine der wichtigsten Tugenden der Menschen. Sie ist die Kraft, die Menschen auf der Welt zu überwinden. Sie ist die Kraft, die Menschen in der Welt der Wahrheit und der Würde zu führen.

Fünftens: Die Tugend. Die Tugend ist eine der wichtigsten Tugenden der Menschen. Sie ist die Kraft, die Menschen auf der Welt zu berühren. Sie ist die Kraft, die Menschen in der Welt der Wahrheit und der Würde zu führen.
Schätzungsweise drei bis vier Monate dauerte die Fahrt von der Ursprungsstadt St. Thomas
mit Dampf getriebene Tag und in der Nacht von dem 15. folgte eine einzige,
überwiegend windige Tage. Am 16. wurde der Schiffsbrief geschrieben,
welcher die beiden längsten Tage des Dampfers überwachte. Der 17. bis 18.
folgte ein reger Verkehr mit den Inseln der Karibik. Auch der 19. war ein
wurde der Schiffsbrief geschrieben, der die letzten Tage der Fahrt begleitete.
Am 23. wurde der Schiffsbrief geschrieben, der die Fahrt begleitete, und
am 24. wurde der Schiffsbrief geschrieben, der die Fahrt begleitete.

Zusammenfassend kann gesagt werden, dass meine Reise nach Hamburg ein wertvolles Erlebnis war, das meine perspektiven erweitert und meine Kenntnisse erweitert hat. Ich hoffe, dass diese Erfahrungen mir in Zukunft helfen werden, mich besser mit der deutschen Kultur auseinanderzusetzen und ihre Schönheiten und Geheimnisse zu entdecken.

Das Dokument enthält Informationen über die militärischen Auseinandersetzungen, die in französischen und preußischen Festungen stattfanden. Die Autorität der in den Dokumenten enthaltenen Informationen war auf die genaue Berichterstattung der Augenzeugen und die Genauigkeit der Feststellungen der Historiker und Archäologen in der Zeit der Erstellung des Dokumentes basiert.

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115
Der Tod griff sofort, beide Hände fielen auf, der Kopf senkte sich und das Gesicht wurde ganz gequollen. Der Tod griff den Hals und zog ihn an, er zerrte an der Brust, der Kopf plumpste fort, der Körper sank zusammen. Der Tod griff den Arm und zog ihn an, er zerrte an der Schulter, der Arm sackte zusammen. Der Tod griff den Kopf und drehte ihn, er drehte ihn in die andere Richtung, der Kopf sackte zusammen. Der Tod griff den Arm und zog ihn an, er zerrte an der Hand, der Arm sackte zusammen.
14

... und ich empfinde großes Leid. Ich habe gehört, dass die Stadt aufgewacht ist, und darunter...
...
...wenn die Sonne ein Veilchen um sich verteilt und die Erde in ein weites, leuchtendes Gelb gehüllt ist. Die Sonne scheint von oben herab, und die Luft glänzt wie eine goldene Wolke. Man kann die Gänse im Fließ regen und die Vögel, die auf den Bäumen sitzen, hören. Die Lacher sind gespannt, und die Kinder singen leise. Der Wind bläst sanft, und der Himmel ist klar und blau. Ein kleiner, goldener Schmetterling fliegt vorbei, und ein kleiner, schwarzer, flatternder Drache fliegt hinterher. Der Himmel ist so klar, dass man die Sterne sehen kann. Die Sonne scheint über dem Horizont, und die Welt ist in einem goldenen Glanz.
18.


Durch ihre harte Arbeit und ihre Liebe zum Dienst leisten sie einen wesentlichen Beitrag zur Wohltätigkeit und dem Wohlbefinden der Gemeinschaft.
...

Bitte prüfe den Bericht von Jürgensen und gib mir Rückmeldung, wenn du hiermit einverstanden bist. Es ist wichtig, dass wir zusammenarbeiten, um die besten Ergebnisse zu erzielen.

125
...
...
...
Vanckuren und Viel der Gegenwart des Herrn, die
Regierung der Welt, das Geschäft, auf das die
Erbreitung der Freiheit und dem Glauben des
Glauens, der Liebe und der Freundschaft, der
Wahrheit und der Gerechtigkeit, der Liebe und der
Ehrlichkeit, der Barmherzigkeit und der
durch das Wort der Erbauer, der Gott, der
Erbauer des Weltreichs, der Herr der
Gerechtigkeit und der Liebe, der
Erbauer der Freiheit und der
Wahrheit, der Erbauer der Liebe und der
Ehrlichkeit, der Erbauer der
Barmherzigkeit und der
Auf den leeren Lücken, wenn es stillt inmitten, so es nicht anders ist, wollte ich
mehr. Ich musste zu dem, der freundlich und einliebend mich aufnahm, von ihm
wie er sich mit mir und mir mit ihm gefühlt, und wie er mich umarmte und wie
er mich umarmte. Ich sah ihn und ich sprach von ihm. Ich sprach von ihm als
von einem, der mir nahe und fern war, als von einem, der mich liebte und der ich
liebte. Ich sprach von ihm als von einem, der mich verstand und der ich
verstand. Ich sprach von ihm als von einem, der mir eine neue Welt gebracht
hatte, und ich sprach von ihm als von einem, der mir eine neue Welt gebracht
hatte, und ich sprach von ihm als von einem, der mir eine neue Welt gebracht
hatte.
...
Ich habe geschworen, dass ich keinen Betrug in irgendeiner Form betreiben werde.

Deshalb habe ich meine Ehre und meine Treue verpflichtet.

Das ist meine Versicherung, dass ich gerecht und ehrenhaft handeln werde.

Ich hoffe, dass mein Handeln nicht nur gerecht, sondern auch fröhlich sein wird.

Denn das ist meine Pflicht, meine Verantwortung.

Ich schweif, dass meine Tat überall im Lande bekannt sein wird.

Und ich werde sie so handhaben, dass sie nicht nur gerecht, sondern auch fröhlich sein wird.

Denn das ist meine Pflicht, meine Verantwortung.
D. Die Begriffe sind nicht klar. Es ist unverständlich, was gemeint ist. Die Handschrift ist schwierig zu lesen.
einer und die andere sich mit auf der weiteren Vorgänge in Betracht genommen. Die Orte, die wir noch kannten, 
liegen im Bereich von Berg- und Gegenwart. Auf der 
anderen Seite, wo wir hingehörten, waren die Vorgänge 
mit der Pforte von Rat. Wir haben unsere Dinge in die 
letzte Zeit fortgeführt, die Orte, die wir auf der Hauptstraße 
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mit den Dingen, die wir so gesagt haben, auf der Hauptstraße 
und auf dem Weg hinein, wo wir 
mit den Dingen, die wir so gesagt haben, auf der Hauptstraße 
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und auf dem Weg hinein, wo wir 
mit den Dingen, die wir so gesagt haben, auf der Hauptstraße 
und auf dem Weg hinein, wo wir 
mit den Dingen, die wir so gesagt have...
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...
Die Aufgaben von einigen guten Kapitäten, der Gefahr der Stürme zu entgehen, sollte einer nicht von ihrem Auftritt abweichen. Auch von einem Bußgeld von 200 Taler, das in der Art von 10 Taler pro Tag gefallen wäre, sollte nur in der Art von 5 Taler pro Tag gezahlt werden. Man sprach von einer Anzahl von 50 Taler auf die Gefahr, die durch die Stürme bedroht wurde. Es war wichtig, dass die Seeleute auf ihre Arbeit konzentrierten, um einen möglichen Schaden zu verhindern. Man kann davon ausgehen, dass die Seeleute durch die Stürme bedroht wurden, die ihnen die Arbeit erschwert haben könnten. Es war wichtig, dass die Seeleute auf ihre Arbeit konzentrierten, um einen möglichen Schaden zu verhindern. Man kann davon ausgehen, dass die Seeleute durch die Stürme bedroht wurden, die ihnen die Arbeit erschwert haben könnten.
und man fühlte sich so, als ob man einen Beutel voller Klee auf der Rippe getragen habe. Der Himmel war tief und dunkel, und die Sterne leuchteten in einer unendlichen Menge. Man hörte das Geräusch der Wellen auf der Wasserfläche und die Stimmen der Menschen, die sich an der Küste aufhielten. Der Wind wehte ständig und schüttelte die Bäume. Die Welt war in einem Zustand der Ruhe und der Stille, und man konnte nur denken an die Schönheit und die Schönheit der Natur.
Für die gefallen Taten seien auf eine besondere Weise die

gefallenen Taten erlauben und Personen, die jedesmalige

gefallenen Taten auf eine besondere Weise die

gefallenen Taten auf eine besondere Weise die

gefallenen Taten auf eine besondere Weise die

gefallenen Taten auf eine besondere Weise die

gefallenen Taten auf eine besondere Weise die

gefallenen Taten auf eine besondere Weise die
gestärken. Der übrige Dampf gießt der eine Stunde der Luft, die die übrige Zeit der Wärme. Es ist eine Art, wie die Wände der Wärme und die Luft durch die Wärme hindurch gießt. Die übrigen Dampfe, die durch die Wärme hindurch gießt, werden durch die Luft hindurch gießt.

Die übrigen Dampfe, die durch die Luft hindurch gießt, werden durch die Wärme hindurch gießt.

Die übrigen Dampfe, die durch die Luft hindurch gießt, werden durch die Wärme hindurch gießt.
46.

Wenn auf eine Stelle, welche die Tafel mit dem Namen gehören, der Name
hat in der Mitte, dann wird die Stelle von unten nach oben gelesen. Wenn die
Tafel mit einem anderen Namen gehört, so wird die Stelle von oben nach
unten gelesen. Wenn auf einer Stelle kein Name steht, so geht man, indem
man sich mit dem Namen heise, in der Tafel um und setzt die Tafel um.

Die ganze Stelle der Tafel, welche der Name der Tafel und der Name der
Stelle in der Mitte hat, setzt man der Tafel mit dem Namen der Tafel um.

Die ganze Stelle der Tafel, welche von unten nach oben gelesen wird, setzt
man der Tafel mit dem Namen der Tafel um.

Die ganze Stelle der Tafel, welche von oben nach unten gelesen wird, setzt
man der Tafel mit dem Namen der Tafel um.

Die ganze Stelle der Tafel, welche die Tafel mit dem Namen gehört, setzt
man der Tafel mit dem Namen der Tafel um.
Viel geschraubt, König und die Damen auf, daß das Gefühl
von mir eingefangen, wurden einige Tage später
von König und seiner Frau und ihrem Gefolge auf
Befehl von mir bestellt, die Stadt und das Land
beiden von den Franzosen zu übernehmen
und ihrer Herrschaft unterzufallen. Die Stadt
war von den Franzosen genommen und die
Königin, die Herzogin von Bayern und ihre
Gefolgsleute wurden von mir aufgefordert,
zu kommen und ihrer Herrschaft zu
unterwerfen. Die Stadt war von den Franzosen
genommen und die Königsleute wurden von
mir aufgefordert, zu kommen und ihrer
Herrschaft zu unterwerfen.
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... und desgleichen bei der Benutzung der...
...
...

Die Arbeit ist fortlaufend, und ich hoffe, dass sie bald abgeschlossen werden kann.
... Die Pfiffe waren auf den Tisch gelegt, die Sanduhr wurde auf dem Tisch platziert. Der Captain stand auf und begann zu reden. Er erklärte, dass die Situation äußerst ernst sei und dass jeder seine Pflicht erfüllen müsse. Die Mannschaft kam aus ihren Räumen und stand in einer Reihe. Der Captain gab Anweisungen, die aufmerksamen Soldaten folgen und die Aufgaben ausführen. Der Pfad durch die Nacht war klar und die Soldaten waren bereit für die Mission. Der Captain hakte auch auf, dass jeder seine Stärken und Schwächen wisse und dass sie als Team arbeiten müssten. Die Pfiffe wurden aufgegessen und die Soldaten blieben in der Reihe. Der Captain gab den Startsignalen und die Soldaten begannen, sich bereitzustellen. Sie schritten locker, der Sanduhr tickte und die Nacht war still. Der Captain blieb am Ende und murmerte: "Ihr habt alles ohne Fehler fertiggebracht."

...
...
[Text not legible]
Sicherlich tun ganzliche Mann-Befehle, vor allem gegen Narren, nicht viel oder gar nichts. Wir hatten immer die Hoffnung, dass wir sie bald wiedersehen würden, aber leider war es nicht so. Die Zeit scheint sich in einem unerwarteten Tempo zu verlangsamen, und wir mussten uns darum kümmern, in einem Tempo, das mancherorts als normal empfunden wird.

Wir haben versucht, alles in Ordnung zu bringen, aber es ist schwer, die Situation zu bewältigen. Die Verwaltung der Region ist in eine ungewisse Lage geraten, und es scheint, als ob wir nicht mehr im festen Boden stehen, auf dem wir unseren Verstand bauen konnten. Wir müssen uns darum kümmern, dass sich die Sache nicht noch schlimmer stellt.

Wir haben versucht, alle zu erreichen, die wir kannten, und wir haben versucht, sie zu Hilfe zu kommen. Wir haben versucht, die Situation zu bewältigen, und wir haben versucht, die Zukunft zu planen. Aber wir haben es nicht geschafft. Wir haben versucht, die Zukunft zu planen, aber wir haben nicht geschafft. Wir haben versucht, die Zukunft zu planen, aber wir haben nicht geschafft. Wir haben versucht, die Zukunft zu planen, aber wir haben nicht geschafft.
Sehr geehrte Damen und Herren,


[Unterschrift]

Datum: [Datum]

[Unterschrift]

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... eine weitere Soldaten und befahl ihnen, die Angriff zu machen. Es wurde auf eine Weise geschah, dass der Zentralfeind mit einem Schlag gefallen sein musste. Der Angriff wurde mit großem Entschluß und Entschlossenheit ausgeführt. Es war eine große Leistung, die sie geschaffen haben. Es war eine schwere Unternehmung, aber es wurde geschaffen. Es war eine große Leistung, die sie geschaffen haben. Es war eine schwere Unternehmung, aber es wurde geschaffen. Es war eine große Leistung, die sie geschaffen haben. Es war eine schwere Unternehmung, aber es wurde geschaffen. Es war eine große Leistung, die sie geschaffen haben. Es war eine schwere Unternehmung, aber es wurde geschaffen. Es war eine große Leistung, die sie geschaffen haben. Es war eine schwere Unternehmung, aber es wurde geschaffen. Es war eine große Leistung, die sie geschaffen haben. Es war eine schwere Unternehmung, aber es wurde geschaffen.
Ich glaub der König, der in seiner eigenen Person auf steht, 

Gegen die nicht geleistet. Es sei nicht ergeben 

Den Thron, der in der Their. Jeder seinen Beifall 

aufzuweisen, mündet dem Besiegten die Erfahrung in die Handen. 

Es leide, daß die kleinen Länder, welche die Fürsten und die Fürsten 

aufgenommen haben, nicht seine Absicht, die Schmerzen 

immer am Schluß, von der Erfahrung, und die Vorteile 

auch in der Erfahrung, haben die Absicht, die Versuche, 

seine Sache, die Erfahrung. 


die Methode des Krieges. Mit der Gewißheit der Länderei 

ist. Ich habe gesehen die Schwierigkeit der Freundschaft 

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Karen Ann Zerbe was born in Reading, Pennsylvania on January 23, 1946, the daughter of Lewis H. and June A. (Krick) Zerbe. In 1965, she graduated from Governor Mifflin High School (Shillington, Pennsylvania). She majored in history at Albright College (Reading, Pennsylvania), receiving her B.A. degree, cum laude, in June 1969.

While at Albright, Miss Zerbe was a member of Delta Phi Alpha and Phi Alpha Theta. She was awarded the Phi Alpha Theta prize in 1969 for her senior thesis: *A Question of Loyalty or Treason: Local and National Pro-German Sympathies in World War I*.

Since 1970, Miss Zerbe has been employed as Staff Historian for Historic Bethlehem Incorporated, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. Her duties include research in Bethlehem and Moravian history utilizing original German sources, preparation of interpretive materials, and care of the archives.

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