Moravians Amongst the Cherokees:

An Account of the Springplace Mission

Dissertation

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Chapter 1: An Introduction

For too long the story of the Moravians' ministry amongst the Cherokees at Springplace[1] has laid in silence. Far too little attention has been given to the level of success that would ultimately transform a Native nation of traditional beliefs and values into a historical marvel. This dissertation's intent is to examine the responses of the Cherokee Nation as the Moravians worked to establish relationships with the Natives at the turn of the 19th century. More specifically, this dissertation will analyze the impact that the Moravians had at the mission in Springplace, Georgia as the missionaries worked to minister amongst and strive for conversions among the local Natives in northwest Georgia. Focusing specifically on the social constructs built between both people groups, this dissertation will focus on the willingness and acceptance of the Moravians by the Cherokees as opposed to other Christian-based organizations who attempted the same feat but eventually failed. Furthermore, the social relationships that were built between the Natives and the Moravians will be highlighted to further distinguish the ties that bonded the two cultures together and transformed a nation.

Led by John and Anna Rosina Gambold, the Springplace Mission established by the Moravians swiftly became a center for religious and educational endeavors for both the white and Native populations in northwest Georgia at the turn of the 19th century.[2] While religious

[1] Throughout this work, the title 'Springplace', as one word, refers to the physical mission established within the Cherokee Nation in Northwest Georgia at the turn of the 19th century; on the other hand, 'Spring place', as two separate words, refers to the township established by the legislature after the decline of the mission.

[2] Originating in Europe, the Moravians, or sometimes known as the United Brethren, formed missions throughout the Americas as they worked to promote the spread of the Gospel. The term Moravian and Brethren will be used interchangeably throughout this project. As well, the term 'Brethren' and 'Missionaries' are used interchangeably throughout the dissertation.

matters were at the forefront of their undertaking, the Brethren also established a very successful school that would ultimately be the door through which they would gain the respect of the Cherokee Nation. The relationships established through these undertakings would eventually lead to the acceptance of the Moravians by the Cherokee Nation both near and far and change the course of history for the Cherokee people living in Springplace, Georgia at the time.

Although most of the conversion efforts of the Moravians were undermined by traditional Cherokee beliefs, the educational endeavors undertaken by the Brethren at Springplace would result in bridge-building between two cultures that would eventually 'civilize' a 'heathen' culture in the eyes of the missionaries. Although the mission at Springplace would suffer financially throughout its existence (due to the costs accrued from running the mission in a time of unstable financial resources), the generosity of the Vann family both in the money they provided to the mission and the support they gave to the mission as an establishment on the Vann family's land, would be an important aspect in ensuring the success of the Moravians during their time of service at Diamond Hill Plantation.

Although the mission collapsed at the time of Indian removal, the legacy built at Springplace would live on through the work put forth by the missionaries who labored at Diamond Hill. Rather than demoralizing the Cherokee as they worked amongst them, primary evidence shows that the Brethren were successful in ministering to the Cherokee due in part to their wholesome efforts of not only to preach a message of conversion but to also educate the Cherokees in Christian values and principles. As a result, the mission at Springplace created a new world between two civilizations that would forever change Native-U.S. relations.

Although the mission's efforts at Springplace have been largely forgotten throughout the years, recent efforts to revive a translation of the mission's diaries have led to renewed interest in the work of the Brethren at Springplace. Amid this renewed scholarship came Rowena McClinton's 2007 translations of the Springplace diaries from their native language of German to English. The largest part of this dissertation relies upon McClinton's translations that allow day-to-day activities to be revealed, finally bringing life to the work completed at the mission. As well, from these translations came a renewed interest in the sister mission at Oothcalooga that formed to the South of the Springplace mission, giving a full picture of the Brethren's efforts amongst the Cherokees in north Georgia. From this recent scholarship, and from the uncovering of various primary sources related specifically to the mission's work amongst the Cherokees at Diamond Hill, a new insight into the social interactions between the two civilizations has revealed vital information regarding the success of the Moravians amongst the Cherokees. As well, an in-depth analysis of the primary sources has revealed information regarding the 'civilizing' of the Cherokee people as related to the intent of the Moravians' mission. This study is significant because little scholarship exists concerning the success of the Moravians amongst the Cherokees though evidence suggests the work accomplished in relation to the Moravians' ministry was significant in the overall development of the Cherokee people's way of life in Springplace, Georgia, and beyond. While other denominations attempted to establish relationships with the Cherokees, few were as successful as the Brethren as they worked with the Cherokees at Springplace at the turn of the 19th century.

The second chapter of this dissertation provides an overview of the history and establishment of the Moravian culture in early 15th-century Europe, as well as tracing their influence as they established themselves among the Christian denominations that were also vital to the establishment of Christianity in America. Emphasis will be placed on the Brethren's work in the mission field; particularly, their efforts to minister amongst the Natives up and down the eastern coast of the United States. The burden for mission work will be traced as roots for such labor can be followed to Count Nikolaus von Zinzendorf as he worked to establish a base for Moravian mission work in 18th century Germany. The spread of the Moravians' mission work is then analyzed as the Brethren established missions amongst the Natives such as that established at Springplace, which is the central focus of this study. Chapter two also aims to bring clarity to the various Native groups that were established throughout the southeast as the Moravians began to exert influence in the region. More importantly, the Cherokee Nation becomes the focus of this chapter as the social and cultural anomalies of the Cherokee people are explored to highlight the influence the Cherokee Nation had on the southeastern region of the United States. A history of the Cherokee Nation is exhibited to emphasize the importance of the Cherokee throughout the 18th and 19th centuries in America, as well as how their traditional cultural and social constructs played a major factor in determining the level of influence the Moravians had on the people of the Cherokee Nation.

Chapter three offers an analysis of the Springplace community that was in existence at the turn of the 19th century. This chapter explores the Diamond Hill plantation and the Vann family's influence on the area during the time when the Moravians were seeking to establish a mission amongst the Cherokee. This chapter brings clarity to the saga of the Vann family and Chief Vann's influence regarding the acceptance of the Moravians amongst the Cherokee.

Furthermore, an analysis of the Cherokee's leadership, including Vann, further brings insight as to why the Moravians became the choice among many who attempted to establish mission work amongst the Natives.

Chapter four will explore the inner workings of the Brethren's mission established at Springplace at the turn of the 19th century. The chapter establishes a foundation for the work that was done at the mission as well as provides context concerning the major players who lived and worked amongst the Cherokee at Diamond Hill plantation. Not only does this chapter provide an overview of the mission and the work completed by the missionaries while living amongst the Cherokee, but it also explores the long-term effects of the mission's school and other distinguishing factors to show the importance of the mission's existence not only within the Springplace community but also its reaching effects concerning the Cherokee Nation as a whole. A brief analysis of the Springplace Mission's sister mission at Oothcalooga is also provided to highlight the outreach efforts of Springplace in neighboring communities.

The fifth chapter solidifies this dissertation's role in providing an analysis of two cultural worlds coming together as both the Native and Moravian cultures blended at Diamond Hill. Even though the Moravians struggled financially to maintain their work at Springplace, Vann and Cherokee leadership ensured that their work continue. Why would a culture of differing beliefs be in support of such efforts? This chapter explores the lasting relationships that were built at Springplace that would vitally transform two worlds of differing beliefs. The work of the Moravians at Springplace began a string of events that would forever change the Native cultures of North America.

Chapter six solidifies the work compilation of success that the Moravians had experienced at Springplace as the relationships that were built became evident as the Cherokees reestablished themselves in Indian Territory in the West. The chapter explores the fruitfulness of the relationships that were built between the two cultural worlds as the Moravians once again showed up to rekindle the fire that had been started as Springplace. Through the evidence given throughout the chapter, it becomes obvious that the Moravians were most impactful, and that the Cherokees were adamantly supportive of their work at Springplace for they once again sought out the advice and leadership of the Moravians as they worked to reestablish themselves in Indian Territory.

Finally, chapter seven draws conclusions regarding the themes and interests as related to the works analyzed throughout the research project. It becomes clear, although the goal of the U.S. government was to assimilate the Natives, that they continued to maintain their identity post-Removal. As well, it becomes evident that the impact of the Moravians on the Cherokees continues to remain vital as the Cherokee Nation continues to rely on the educational principals taught at Springplace as the Natives continue to carve out an identity for the Nation in modern-day America. Furthermore, suggestive future studies and topics are explored as a result of the findings of this study.

In an effort to establish a clear picture of life and responsibility for the missionaries who lived and worked amongst the Cherokee in Springplace, the main primary source repository came from Rowena McClinton's multi-volume work that contains the translation of the diary entries of Anna Rosina Gambold. These diaries contain the day-to-day activities that occurred while the Gambolds lived amongst the Natives at Springplace. The diaries play an integral part in aiding in the understanding of the social and cultural blending that occurred between the Natives

and the Moravians. Included in the collection are also diary entries from the sister Oothcalooga Mission that was established south of the main mission at Springplace. These entries give a rich description of the Brethren's intent to spread the Gospel throughout the Cherokee Nation. The work of Professor McClinton in her efforts of translating these entries from their original German script truly opened doors to the work of the Moravians in the 19th century. These diary entries are an invaluable addition to this research project for they provide first-hand insight into the work of the Moravians as they ministered to the natives at Springplace.

In addition to McClinton's multivolume translation of the Springplace diaries, C. Daniel Crews and Richard W. Starbuck's multivolume *Records of the Moravians Among the Cherokees* provide some of the only translations available of the Cherokees' documents from their native language to English. As well, these documents form a basis for understanding the cultural and social distinctions that set the Cherokee Nation apart. The translations available concerning the Springplace Mission within this multivolume set provide a point of view of the mission from the Cherokee perspective giving a wonderful contrast to McClinton's translation of the diaries. These works are vital to the integrity of this project for they give the Cherokee people a voice where they have not had one prior to the translations provided on the pages of these books.

In addition to the sources mentioned above, this project relies on a number of published, unpublished, and archived primary sources that unveil the social and cultural blending miracle that occurred between the Cherokees and Moravians that began at Springplace. Complimentary to these primary sources are a multitude of secondary sources that provide insight and valuable commentary on the primary materials used throughout the project. Many of these sources are compliments of the Moravian archives in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, as well as the archives of the Chief Vann House State Historic Site in Chatsworth, Georgia.

Until recent years, much of the Moravians' work was only available in the native language of German. Upon renewed interest in the Moravians and their extension into the Southern Province of the Moravian Church in North Carolina, much of the original script was revived in translations received by modern scholars. The most recent scholarship completed by Professor Rowena McClinton in 2007 brought to life the Gambold diaries of Springplace giving the public an insight into the life of the mission at Springplace. Other scholars interested in the inner workings of the Cherokees have relied heavily upon McClinton's work for Anna Rosina Gambold's entries which depict a relationship of dynamic proportion formed between the Cherokee and the Moravian Church.

As the main purpose of this dissertation is to explore the relationships kindled between the Cherokee Nation and the Moravian Mission at Springplace, Georgia, the literature available is in limited quantity due to the rarity of professional scholarship as related to the Moravians' work under such a specific focus. However, the historiographical sketch as related to the groups individually is of significance. Due to the in-depth analysis that exists for each group separately, a number of sources will be used to substantiate the importance of the work of the Moravians as they worked to build relationships amongst the Cherokee at the turn of the 19th century in northwest Georgia.

Some of the scholarly literature available that addresses the Moravians' interaction amongst the Natives, and more specifically the Cherokees, includes, but is not limited to, Reverend Edmund Schwarze's *History of the Moravian Missions Amongst Southern Indian Tribes of the United States* (1923).[3] Being one of the earliest sources pertaining to the

[3] Rev. Edmund Schwartz, Ph.D., *History of the Moravian Missions Among Southern Indian Tribes of the United States* (Bethlehem: Times Publishing Company, 1923).

Moravians' work amongst the Natives in the South, this source reveals the status of the relationships that were fostered and how efficient the missionaries were at reaching the Natives as they worked to evangelize amongst the indigenous groups. This source contains some of the most intimate details regarding the relationships that were built during the Moravians' time amongst the Cherokees, as well as documenting both positive and negative aspects of the journey towards building such relationships. Dr. Schwarze's account follows the Natives' journey from old Springplace, Georgia to their new home in Oklahoma- New Springplace. In doing so, the reader is exposed to the Moravians' journey from the beginning stages as they founded a mission at old Springplace, to their decline in influence as the Cherokees assimilated into mainstream America after being moved to Oklahoma as a result of the Indian Removal Act of 1830.

As well, Adelaide S. Fries' *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina* (1925) gives the reader a glimpse into the daily life of the Moravians' work through a multivolume work of translated diary entries.[4] These diary entries, while not solely associated with the Springplace mission in Georgia, give the reader a wide-angle view of the Moravians' work as they began to minister to the Cherokees at the turn of the 19th century. This allows the reader to trace the Moravians' evolution from their establishment in Winston-Salem, North Carolina to their final destination with the Cherokee in New Springplace, Oklahoma. Fries also focuses specifically on the North Carolina missions in her article "The Moravian Contribution to Colonial North Carolina" (1930) as she explores the impact the Moravians had before they reached the Cherokee in northwest Georgia.[5]

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[4] Adelaide L. Fries, ed., *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina, Vols. 1-12* (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton Print Company, 1925).

[5] Adelaide L. Fries, "The Moravian Contribution to Colonial North Carolina," *The North Carolina Historical Review 7*, no. 1 (1930): 1-14.

Clemens DeBaillou's *References to the Spring Place: Diaries of the Moravian Mission in the Land of the Cherokees* (1952) further emphasized the cultural impact the Moravians had on the Natives as they worked amongst the Cherokees.[6] In his article "Diaries of the Moravian Brotherhood at the Cherokee Mission in Spring Place, Georgia for the Years 1800-1804" (1970) DeBaillou further analyzed the previously mentioned work after further research was conducted on the diaries that were analyzed in the aforementioned title.[7]

Chester S. Davis' *Hidden Seed and Harvest: A History of the Moravians* (1973) gives a well-rounded analysis of the Moravians from their origins to their transplant in the New World.[8] While this work does not pertain specifically to the Moravian mission at Springplace, it does add to this dissertation by providing background information vital to understanding the work of the Brethren. Daniel L. McKinley's "Anna Rosina (Kliest) Gambold (1762-1821), Moravian Missionary to the Cherokees, with Special Reference to Her Botanical Interests" (1994) gives insight into the life of one of the most impactful characters who worked at the mission to evangelize amongst the Cherokees.[9] While this article focuses more on Anna Gambold's contribution to the educational purposes associated with the work done at Springplace, it also gives a well-rounded analysis of Mrs. Gambold as a historical figure.

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[6] Clemens De Baillou ed., *References to the Spring Place: Diaries of the Moravian Mission in the Land of the Cherokees* (Athens: 1952).

[7] Clemens De Baillou, "The Diaries of the Moravian Brotherhood at the Cherokee Mission in Spring Place, Georgia for the Years 1800-1804." *Georgia Historical Quarterly 54* (Winter, 1970): 571-576.

[8] Chester S. Davis, *Hidden Seed and Harvest: A History of the Moravians* (Winston-Salem: Wachovia Historical Society, 1973).

[9] Daniel L. McKinley, "Anna Rosina (Kliest) Gambold (1762-1821), Moravian Missionary to the Cherokees, with Special Reference to Her Botanical Interests." *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society 28* (1994): 59-99.

Katherine M. Faulls' *Moravians Women's Memoirs: Their Related Lives, 1750-1820* (1997) adds to the collective research by analyzing the role of women within the Moravian denomination. This addition solidifies Anna Gambold's importance to the overall mission of the Moravians amongst the Cherokee while at Springplace.[10] Nina Serman's report "Ground Penetrating Radar Survey of the Moravian Cemetery (God's Acre) at Springplace" (2000) helped place the Mission into the context of modern-day Springplace as archeologists worked to uncover the past.[11] This survey also adds to this dissertation by adding modern substance as it gives reference to the place in Springplace at which the Moravians evangelized at the turn of the 19th century. As well, Ronnie Roger's report "Initial Testing of the Reported Site of Spring Place Mission Church, Murray County, Georgia" (2003) adds to the geological survey placing the story of the Mission more clearly aligned with modern-day placement.[12]

Daniel C. Crews and Richard W. Starbuck's contributions to this field cannot be left unnoticed as both have contributed an unearthly amount of scholarship as they have worked to uncover the work of the Moravians amongst the Cherokees. One of the most important contributions of these two scholars to the field was their *Records of the Moravians Amongst the Cherokee* (2010).[13] This multivolume work is most important to the subject for it is a translation

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[10] *Katherine M. Faull ed., Moravian Women's Memoirs: Their Related Lives, 1750-1820. (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1997).*

[11] Nina Serman, "Ground Penetrating Radar Survey of the Moravian Cemetery (God's Acre) at Springplace." (Geology Department: The University of Georgia. Athens, 2000).

[12] Ronnie Rogers, *Initial Testing of the Reported Site of Spring Place Mission Church, Murray County, Georgia*. (Athens: Historic Preservation Division, Georgia Department of Natural Resources, November 4, 2003).

[13] C. Daniel Crews & Richard W. Starbuck., ed., *Records of the Moravians Among the Cherokees: Early Contact and the Establishment of the First Mission* (1752-1802), Vol. 1 (Tahlequah: Cherokee National Press, 2010). This entry alludes to the multivolume work as written by Crews and

of the Cherokee records pertaining to the Moravians as they worked and lived among them. This work allows the reader a glimpse into the influence of the Moravians amongst the Cherokees not only at Springplace but throughout their journey with the Moravians as they trekked from Georgia to their new home in Oklahoma.

Another important work that comes from Daniel Crews is *Faith and Tears: The Moravian Mission Among the Cherokee* (2000).[14] While this is a short work, Crews gives an intense overview of the Moravians' efforts as they worked to evangelize amongst the Cherokees. As well, he gives an abstract of the Moravian mission as it related to the goals set forth by the fraternity of the Brethren. Both Crews and Starbuck contribute to the narrative of the work of the Moravians in their book *With Courage for the Future: The Story of the Moravian Church, Southern Province* (2002).[15]

Another scholar who has contributed much to the study of the Moravians is Dr. Rowena McClinton. Her two-volume work *The Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees* (2007) is a most important contribution to understanding the importance of the work of the Moravians amongst the Cherokees while in Springplace.[16] The diary entries of Anna Rosina Gambold are so

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Starbuck. These works include volumes 1-6, as well as volumes 7-8 written by Starbuck after the death of Daniel Crews.

[14] C. Daniel Crews, *Faith and Tears: The Moravian Mission among the Cherokee* (Winston-Salem: Moravian Mission Archives, 2000).

[15] C. Daniel Crews & Richard W. Starbuck, *With Courage for the Future: The Story of the Moravian Church, Southern Province* (Winston-Salem, NC: Moravian Church in America, Southern Province, 2002).

[16] Rowena, McClinton ed., *The Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees* (1805-1813), Vol. 1. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007). This work consists of two volumes. Dr. McClinton translated the diary entries of Anna Rosina Gambold to reveal the day-to-day activites as they unfolded at the Mission. This allows the reader to gain an insight into the Mission's work, and the building of relationships between that of the Moravians and the Cherokee.

eloquently translated in this work giving the world a most extraordinary story of a relationship built that transformed the Cherokee Nation forevermore. McClinton's work magnifies the relationships that were forged at Springplace by emphasizing to the reader the intricate world that was built between two people groups who collided in the northwestern corner of Georgia at the turn of the 19th century.

Jon F. Sensbach's *Rebecca's Revival: Creating Black Christianity in the Atlantic World* (2005) allows the reader to view the importance and wide-spread reach of Moravian evangelistic measures as they worked throughout North America and the various Caribbean regions.[17] Gene Capps' *The Moravians and Their Town of Salem* (2007) does not particularly pertain to the Moravian mission at Springplace but gives a good comparison of the Moravians' work as they evangelized amongst the Natives at Salem.[18] Robert L. Gallagher's article "The Integration of Mission Theology and Practice: Zinzendorf and the Early Moravians" (2008) gives the reader an overview of the theological practices of the Moravians as they lived and worked among the Cherokees at Springplace.[19]

Finally, sources pertaining to the Moravians' work as a whole include *The Moravian Mission Diaries of David Zeisburger (1772-1781),* (2005),[20] and David Zeisburger's *History of*

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[17] Jon F. Sensbach, *Rebecca's Revival: Creating Black Christianity in the Atlantic World* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2005).

[18] Gene Capps, *The Moravians and Their Town of Salem*, 1973; (reprint Winston Salem, NC: Old Salem Museums & Gardens, (2007).

[19] Robert L. Gallagher, "The Integration of Mission Theology and Practice: Zinzendorf and the Early Moravians," *Mission Studies 25* (2008): 185-210.

[20] Hermann Wellenreuther & Carola Wessla, eds., *The Moravian Mission Diaries of David Zeisburger* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005).

the North American Indians (1910).[21] While both tell the story of the Moravians amongst the Natives, the latter gives a great overview of the work of the Moravians as they lived and worked among the various Native groups throughout North America. Both works bring clarity to the status of the relationships built amongst the Natives as the Brethren worked to spread the Gospel to the ends of the earth.

The sources to follow are examples of works that pertain specifically to the Cherokee Nation. While these sources may not be specific to Moravian influence, they do bring clarity to this dissertation by exploring the cultural, social, and economic variances that existed amongst the Cherokee during the 19th century. As well, the sources bring clarity to the interaction that occurred between the Moravians and the Cherokees.

Clemens DeBaillou's article "James Vann, a Cherokee Chief" (1963) gives insight into the life of a most prominent character in the narrative of the Moravians amongst the Cherokees.[22] A most noted scholar that simply cannot be overlooked as his expertise brings a great asset to the narrative of the Cherokee was William G. McLoughlin. His work *Red Indians, Black Slavery, and White Racism* (1974) painted a picture of the strained relations that existed between that of the racial groups that lived amongst the Cherokees in the 19th century.[23] This work brings further questions as to why the Moravians were so successful in living amongst the Cherokees. As well, *Cherokees and Missionaries, 1789-1839* (1995) allows the reader to gain a deeper understanding

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[21] David Zeisburger, *History of the North American Indians* (F.J. Heer Printing Company, 1910).

[22] Clemens De Baillou, "James Vann, a Cherokee Chief." *Georgia Review 17* (Fall, 1963): 271-283.

[23] William McLoughlin, "Red Indians, Black Slavery, and White Racism: America's Slaveholding Indians," *American Quarterly 26*, no. 4 (October 1974): 367-385.

of the social, cultural, and political changes as influenced by the Moravian Missionaries.[24] *Cherokee Renaissance in the New Republic* (1987) details the Cherokee Nation's venture as they worked to acclimate to the new ways of the United States government as they worked to assimilate the Natives into the ways of Anglo society.[25]

And finally, McLoughlin's *The Cherokee's and Christianity, 1794-1870: Essays on Articulation and Cultural Persistence* (2008) focuses on the Cherokee Nation's efforts as they worked to revive traditional religious beliefs and practices following removal.[26]

Another author of notable reputation concerning her work on the Cherokees is that of Tiya Miles. Dr. Miles' attention to the cultural and social changes that the Cherokee experienced throughout the 19th century is second to none. Her work *The House on Diamond Hill: A Cherokee Plantation Story* (2010) is a moving story of the plantation on which the Springplace Mission was established on.[27]

This work brings clarity to the relationships that were established as the Moravians worked to thrive amongst, and work with, the Vann family in Springplace. *Ties That Bind* (2015) is a most ravishing work of social and cultural scholarship that tells the story of slavery as integrated into Cherokee society during the 19th century.[28] As well, Miles' article "Showplace of

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[24] William McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries, 1789-1839* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995).

[25] William McLoughlin, *Cherokee Renaissance in the New Republic* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987).

[26] William McLoughlin, *The Cherokees and Christianity, 1794-1810* (Athens: university of Georgia Press, 2008).

[27] Tiya Miles, *The House on Diamond Hill: A Cherokee Plantation Story* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010).

[28] Tiya Miles, *Ties That Bind: The Story of An Afro-Cherokee Family in Slavery and Freedom* (University of California Press, 2015).

the Cherokee Nation: Race and the Making of a Southern House Museum" (2011) allows the reader to see the transformation of the Diamond Hill Plantation as it evolved throughout the years to the modern-day.[29]

Other sources of notable mention that add needed support to this dissertation include Murial Wright's *Springplace Moravian Mission and the Ward Family of the Cherokee Nation: From Genealogical notes of Miss Clara A. Ward* (1940).[30] This primary source adds clarity to the inner workings of the Cherokee Nation as it pertained to their interests in Northwest Georgia from the viewpoint of Clara Ward. Tim Howard's *Murray County Heritage* (1987) gives a fantastic overview of the history of the Springplace area as told by a local historian.[31] And, Kenneth Coleman's *A History of Georgia* (1991) gives a respected synopsis of the history of the Cherokees and Moravians as they influenced Georgia's history.[32] As well, *The Brainerd Journal: A Mission to the Cherokees, 1817-1823* (1998) is a most needed primary account that brings vivid imagery of the Northwest Georgia region as the Cherokee and Moravians interacted throughout the early part of the 19th century.[33]

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[29] Tiya Miles, "Showplace of the Cherokee Nation: Race and the Making of a Southern House Museum," *The Public Historian 33,* no. 4 (November 2011): 11-34.

[30] Muriel H. Wright, *Springplace Moravian Mission and the Ward Family of the Cherokee Nation: From the Genealogical Notes of Miss Clara A. Ward* (Guthrie: Co-Operative Publishing Company, 1940).

[31] Tim Howard, *Murray County Heritage* (Fernandina Beach: Wolfe Publishing, 1987).

[32] Kenneth Coleman, ed., *A History of Georgia* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1991).

[33] Joyce B. Phillips & Paul Gary Phillips, *The Brainerd Journal: A Mission to the Cherokees, 1817-1823* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998).

Jane H. Walker's *In the Lion's Paw* (2008) gives meaningful oral historical accounts of the Cherokee's interactions with the communities throughout Northwest Georgia. [34] These accounts add local aspects to the intentions of this dissertation. As well, Mary Young's article "The Exercise of Sovereignty in Cherokee Georgia" (1990) analyses the social interaction of the Cherokees with that of the local community in which they lived and worked.[35] A more recent work by Troy Smith, "Nations Colliding: The Civil War Comes to Indian Territory," as published in the *Civil War History* journal by the Kent State University Press (2013), gives the reader a clearer image of the Natives' involvement during, and post- Civil War.[36] Although the article focuses on the Five Civilized Tribes, rather than specifically on the Cherokee, Smith most vividly paints an image of the effects of the political and cultural turmoil that the Natives in the Indian Territory faced as they entered into the Civil War. The article also brings clarity to the autonomous perspective relating to the Natives post-Civil War. For this study, the article was used to bring a perspective to the devastation experienced by the Cherokees and the Moravians as a result of the Civil War. This allows the reader to experience the losses due to the vast devastation caused by the War, as well as the setbacks experienced by the Moravians as they continued to attempt ministry while both the Natives and the United States were split throughout the course of the Civil War.

Sigrun Haude's article, "The Thirty Years' War (1618-1648): Moving Bodies-Transforming Lives-Shifting Knowledge" (2017), as published in *Daphnis,* allows the reader to

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[34] Jane H. Walker, In *the Lions Paw* (Clearwater: Longleaf Pine Press, 2008).

[35] Mary Young, "The Exercise of Sovereignty in Cherokee Georgia," *Journal of the Early Republic 10* (Spring 1990): 43-63.

[36] Troy Smith, "Nations Colliding: The Civil War Comes to Indian Territory," *Civil War History 59*, no. 3 (Kent: Kent State University Press, 2013), 279-319.

get an insight into the effects of the Thirty Years' War on the Moravian movement in Europe during the 17th century.[37] This article gives detail as to how groups like the Moravians pushed the ideas and philosophies of the Pietist movement throughout the European countryside during the Thirty Years' War. Through this viewpoint, the reader begins to understand how the Moravian movement became so important to the common person as it gave a varying religious option other than the mainstream Catholic thought of the day. It is also here that the reader begins to understand how the Moravians became so well-versed in traversing from place to place spreading the Gospel. Haude's article brings clarity to this dissertation by providing plentiful insight into the movements and migrations associated with the Moravian Brethren throughout the course of the Thirty Years' War.

As well, Katherine Ellinghaus' *Blood Will Tell: Native Americans and Assimilation Policy* (2017) brings clarity to the measures taken by the United States government throughout the 19th century as they worked to assimilate the Native American culture into a Euro-centered way of living.[38] Throughout the book, Ellinghaus focuses on the allotment process, in terms of possessions, and how each Native would be evaluated by the United States government concerning the redistribution of land in Indian Territory. The case study that is of central focus throughout this book as it allows the reader to understand the atrocities afforded to the Natives following Indian Removal. Ellinghaus' work brings clarity to the injustice that the Natives Americans dealt with throughout the latter part of the 19th century and throughout the 20th century in regard to maintaining their status as human beings. The book lends an excellent

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[37] Sigrun Haude, "The Thirty Years' War (1618-1648): Moving Bodies-Transforming Lives-Shifting Knowledge," *Daphnis 45*, no. 2 (Cincinnati: University of Cincinnati, 2017), 475-491.

[38] Katherine Ellinghaus, *Blood Will Tell: Native Americans and Assimilation Policy*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 2017.

advantage to this dissertation by opening the door for the reader to understand the suffering of the Natives post-Indian Removal Act (1830)

Jon Matusiak's *Europe in Flames: The Crisis of the Thirty Years War* (2018) also brings understanding to the Thirty Years' War and how it affected the Moravian diaspora throughout the 17th century.[39] Throughout Matusiak's work, he elaborates in great detail about the course of the war and how it affected the religious, social, cultural, and political structures throughout Europe. This allows the reader to get a grasp on the whole of the war and how the Moravian Brethren interacted with the conflict. This work pairs nicely with Sigrun Haude's article in helping the reader understand the scope of the Thirty Years' War and how it affected the religious groups of the 17th century.

Due to the amount of literature provided that is intended to analyze the scope of influence that the missionaries would have on the Native people of Springplace, it is understandable that this was only the beginning of a much larger influence that would eventually span a nation. In many ways, the historical impacts that were created were established for both the Cherokee Nation and the missionaries who came into their world. The cultural bonds created at Springplace between the two worlds would remain strong for centuries to follow.[40] Although the mission that was established held a significant impact on those it influenced, that impact would come at a great price for many. This is the story of that sacrifice.

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[39] Jon Matusiak, *Europe in Flames: The Crisis of the Thirty Years War*. Cheltenham: The History Press, 2018.

[40] C. Daniel Crews, *Faith and Tears: The Moravian Mission Among the Cherokee* (Winston-Salem: Moravian Archives, 2000), 44.

Chapter 2: The Moravians' Place in a Changing World

"On Saturday, July 6th, 1415, there was great excitement in the city of Constance…as the Council met in the great Cathedral to settle once for all the question, What to do with John Hus?"[41] Why would such a question be spoken by nobility concerning a man of such sincere faith? And what reasons can be attributed to "offend[ing] both [the] Pope and Emperor" of a Catholic-centered world?[42] The story behind such questions can be obtained through careful examination of the origins of the Moravian Church in 15th-century, eastern Europe. As well, to satisfy such questioning, it is necessary to trace the development of the Moravian Church as the birth of such a radical undertaking as it developed through the life of its founder, John Hus.[43]

Founded in the country of Moravia in the 14th century, the Moravian Church almost immediately became a threat to the Catholic Church of eastern Europe due to its unorthodox ways as its people challenged the Latin orthodoxy of Catholicism of the 14th century.[44] Consequently, and out of concern for such a falling away, the Catholic Church deemed it necessary to strengthen its influence throughout the region in an effort to deter such heresy by creating a Catholic diocese in Moravian around the turn of the 14th century. It was only to the Church's dismay that followers of this Protestant faith remained strongly committed to their convictions. It was then in the late 14th century that someone containing a strong leadership

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[41] Joseph Edmund Hutton, *A History of the Moravian Church* (Ann Harbor, University of Michigan, 1895), 7.

[42] Ibid., 8.

[43] Multiple variations of spellings exist in the literature including Jan Huss, Jan Hus, or John Hus.

[44] C. Daniel Crews, *Faith Love Hope: A History of the Unitas Fratrum* (Winston-Salem, North Carolina: Moravian Archives Press, 2008), 31-33.

presence came along to lead the Moravians to new heights in their efforts of spreading their faith. That leader, John Hus, would prove to be the light needed to guide a very weary people toward redemption.

Born in the year 1371 in the southern part of Bohemia, John Hus became most noted for his ability to "arouse deep emotion, much loyalty or loathing, and strong emotions" as he spoke to the masses.[45] Although Christianity had arrived in Europe at a much earlier date compared to the life of Hus, his intimacy towards the spread of Christianity to the masses across Europe set him apart from his Catholic counterparts who existed throughout the eastern world. John Hus' desire became clear as his compelling focus was to increase the number of people taught in the ways of the Christian faith and inspired them to teach that faith to others. Educated at the University of Prague, Hus would go on to earn a Master's degree "after taking an oath that he would deliver lectures at… Prague University and no other for the next two years."[46] While in Prague, Hus devoted the majority of his lectures to the teachings of Wycliffe's philosophical works, for he felt that his (Wyclif's) works remained the most unchanged in a Catholic-dominated world.[47] It is recorded in Langton's *History of the Moravian Church* that Hus was ordained at the turn of the 15th century, which made him more appealing to the people around him as he was then seen as an authority of the Moravian church as he began traveling preaching

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[45] Thomas A. Fudge, *The Trial of Jan Hus: Medieval Heresy and Criminal Procedure* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 2.

[46] Matthew Spinka, *John Hus: A Biography* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), 37.

[47] Ibid., 38. Here, Spinka elaborates on Hus' adherence to the teachings of Wyclif for he feels that they remain closest to the unchanged doctrinal principles of the Scripture. Spinka further goes into detail stating that Huss was even accused of being a "thoroughgoing Wyclifite" (p. 38) for he pledged his devotion to so much of Wyclif's teachings.

and giving lectures on his faith.[48] Not long following his ordination, Hus officially became a part of the faculty at the University of Prague where his notability and fame increased ten-fold. Hus' long tenure at the University of Prague allowed him to teach and preach to many students throughout his tenure. As well, he mentored many who would go on to be promoted to the ranks of both the bachelor and master's statuses, furthering the influence his religious thinking had on the people at the time as generations of people would continue forward from his teachings and influence.

On March 14, 1402, Hus was appointed as the preacher of the Bethlehem Chapel in Prague.[49] Here he would stage his presence as leader of the Hussite Reformation by providing a place where the commoner could go to hear the Gospel preached in his or her native tongue as an alternative to the Catholic indoctrination that had spread throughout Europe. Hus believed that the Catholics had become too focused in their efforts to serve the aristocracy of the country, so he felt that it was his duty to provide a means by which common Bohemians could participate within a local body of believers most suited to their needs**,** even if that participation was focused on a different way of life or religious view. The Bethlehem Chapel became the outlet by which Hus arose to the status of leader of the Hussite Reformation which would ultimately lead to a shift towards Protestant belief in opposition to the doctrine of the Catholic Church of the Medieval Age.

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[48] Edward Langton, *History of the Moravian Church: The Story of the First International Protestant Church* (London: George Allen, 1956), 8-9.

[49] Ibid., 39. Often the Bethlehem Chapel is given credit as the first site of the Bohemian Reformation. Here Hus would teach and preach in resistance to mainstream Catholic teachings. This site became a target of the Catholic Church shortly after Hus' execution in 1415. Church leaders felt that this would put an end to such heretical teachings, however, Hus' audience had grown to a substantial size allowing his followers to spread throughout the Bohemian countryside allowing the reformation to grow rapidly.

Following Hus' ascension to the rector of Bethlehem Chapel in 1402, his following grew rapidly as men and women of Bohemia sought an alternative to the Catholic way of being that was the mainstream thought of the day. "At this point, when the minds of men were stirred, the writings of Wycliffe were brought to Bohemia [by Hus] add[ing] fuel to the fire" that had begun to burn brightly amongst the followers of the Brethren associated with Hus' teaching at Bethlehem Chapel.[50] No longer were the Scripture and teachings only available to the aristocracy in Latin, which was widely uncommon to the mass population of Bohemia, but they were now readily available to be translated into the conventional vernacular. The availability and openness of the Hussite Reformation would draw attention from Catholic leadership that would ultimately dispel doom for Hus as his movement continued to gain steam throughout the 15th century, making his opposing intentions all the clearer to his Catholic counterparts.

The Hussite Reformation opened a door for believers seeking another path to the throne room of Heaven other than the way paved by the Catholic doctrine of faith. Because Hus refused to conform to Catholic teachings, he would again be placed on trial, but this time before the general Church Council at Constance.[51] Following several offers extended by the Council to Hus to recant his sins, "he [Hus] made it clearer now than ever that he set the authority of his conscience above the authority of the Council."[52] This decision set his fate as being marked as a heretic for which he would ultimately die "for the fate to which he believed to be true."[53]

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[50] Hutton, *A History of the Moravian Church* (Ann Harbor, 7).

[51] Ibid., 29.

[52] Ibid., 32.

[53] Ibid., 36.

Despite losing their leader to execution in 1415, the Brethren continued to push forward, gaining more followers but, for the large part, in secrecy. The leadership of the Brethren continued to grow with the election of various bishops who would carry on the work Hus began during his ministry. However, as time marched forward, the Catholic Church would continue its mission by trying to eradicate the various Protestant movements that would arise throughout the 15th century that included the work put forth by the Moravians. In response to the first persecution that took place in 1461, Craig Atwood comments in his article "The Bohemian Brethren and the Protestant Reformation" that the Brethren "formally organized themselves into…a Unity" under such conditions.[54] As such, this Unity not only provided a set of universal beliefs and customs for the Moravian Church but also united the Brethren in a front against the persecution that was to come. The six essential beliefs established under this Unity: creating, redeeming, sanctification, faith, love, and hope, would allow the Brethren to relate to other Protestants, such as the Lutherans, in the fight against the Catholic doctrine that dominated the day.[55] This set of core beliefs would guide the church for centuries to come as they worked to reach unbelievers throughout the world. Just as the other reformers were preaching a message of the "essential church" [as] the invisible body of the elect," so too were the Brethren in agreement that "salvation [does exist] outside of the visible church."[56] In their focus on the six essential beliefs, their intentions became more and more clear as these beliefs were at the core of the Moravian Church and the drive behind its thinking.

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[54] Craig Atwood, "The Bohemian Brethren and the Protestant Reformation," *Religions 12* (May 2021): 8.

[55] Ibid., 8.

[56] Ibid., 9.

The first three of the six essential beliefs reflect the intentions of God: God creates, God redeems, and God sanctifies (blesses). These first three beliefs directly demonstrate the understanding of God's intentions with His people according to the Moravian credence. The Moravians believed that God follows His people through every stage of their walk of life from the moment they are created in His image, to when a person comes to the realization of needing God in their life, and finally, to when God sanctifies and sustains His people throughout the remainder of their life following their salvation. The latter three beliefs are focused more on how God's people respond to His goodness: in faith, in love, and in hope. Without all six of these beliefs forming a full circle depiction of the Moravian's intentions, a parallel of comparison was not sustainable to the Catholic-centered focus of the day. While much of the Moravian Church remained in secrecy throughout this time period, a common agreeance in doctrine allowed traction to be gained as the Protestants continued to fight against the Catholic dominion within Europe throughout the mid-16th century. This like-mindedness continued to excel the Moravian Church into the 17th century with a growing number of followers eager to return to being on a mission with God. However, despite their efforts, the Brethren and other Protestants throughout Europe would face another trial that was soon to come.

By the turn of the 17th century, the period of growth and prosperity so experienced by the Moravian Church slowly came to an end as the Catholic Church waged a war against Protestants across Europe that became known as the Thirty Years' War. This war became one of the lengthiest of all wars in European history. Waged out of concern over the legitimacy of the Catholic Church's domination over Christianity throughout eastern and western Europe, "the devastating, [lasting] effects of the war challenged many long-held views of life and how the

world functioned."[57] In essence, the stronghold of the Catholic Church was challenged by various Protestant movements (most predominantly, the Lutherans), and "life as contemporaries knew it [began] shifting fundamentally beneath their feet, challenging them to adjust and realign their worldviews to new realities."[58] This movement caused upheaval in the Catholic Church that would drive the Papacy to move to try to limit the spread of such Protestant efforts that were sprouting across the whole of Europe.

Although peace agreements were attempted between the Catholic Church and the Protestants prior to the onset of war in 1618, including the Peace of Augsburg in 1555, their failed efforts eventually led to the Holy Roman Emperor, Ferdinand II, and the Protestant nobles of Bohemia coming to blows as they fought to maintain dominance in their respected territory. John Matusiak commented in his work, *The Crisis of the Thirty Years War,* that tensions had reached the point that "no amount of cultural refinement or underlying economic vitality in the Empire… [could] have resolve[d] the religious tensions that were soon to dash the fragile balance [that had been] established more than half a century earlier by the compromise Religious Peace of Ausburg."[59] Because Bohemia was "proud of their traditions, idiosyncrasies and 'liberties," they fought against the Holy Roman Emperor tooth and nail as they wanted to maintain their religious autonomy in 17th century Europe.[60]

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[57] Sigrun Haude, "The Thirty Years' War (1618-1648): Moving Bodies- Transforming Lives-Shifting Knowledge," *Daphnis 45* (2017): 490.

[58] Ibid., 490.

[59] John Matusiak, *Europe in Flames: The Crisi of the Thirty Years War* (Cheltenham, U.K., The History Press, 2017), 33.

[60] Ibid., 22.

As the war continued throughout the early part of the 17th century, the atrocities of the war affected the entirety of Europe in every way; but most of all, the towns and byways of Germany became prime targets as "the war… induced widespread movement and migration-especially for the German populace."[61] As the armies of the various countries involved trampled and marched across the countryside, the cities, towns, and people who were in the path of such bewildering movements often became decimated as the soldiers swept through. Thus, as the war dragged on, the entirety of Europe's political, social, and economic structures were affected as the crippling effects of the war touched every aspect of European society. By the end of the war, when the conflicts had finally reached a tipping point, it became obvious that the conflict had turned from an interest in maintaining religious autonomy to a focus on political power. Not only had the central political power shifted to reflect that of France's dominance in western Europe, but the Catholic Church had to officially recognize and give autonomy to the Protestants who had proved themselves worthy of religious independence in the empire. Thus, by 1648, the Treaty of Westphalia ended the conflict by promoting peace amongst the warring Protestants and Catholics that had so long engulfed the continent of Europe. It was following this cease of fighting that the Pietist movement ensued the land in which a "resurgence of personal Christian commitment through stances on nonviolence and the promotion of mission work consumed the hearts of men."[62] It was at this time that the Moravian Church once again took center stage, for the Pietistic characteristics that drove the Moravians were the characteristics that were being sought after by European parishioners.

[61] Haude, "The Thirty Years' War…," 476.

[62] Rowena McClinton, *The Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokee*, 3.

Not only did the Moravians experience periods of setbacks between 1618-1648, but all Protestant denominations throughout the European countryside became targets of the Catholic Church. Langton comments that approximately 80,000 Brethren fled their homeland of Moravia during this period to try to escape the grip the Catholic Church held on their homeland; however, it is also noted that not all were able to escape the grip of the Pope and were forced to accept Catholic indoctrination.[63] In order to maintain their identity and the active status during this tumultuous period, followers of the church were forced to retreat underground where they would remain until the close of the Thirty Years' War. By the end of the conflict, both the Moravians and other Protestants across Europe had earned a seat alongside the Roman Catholics as both groups marched forward in their quest for eternal salvation.[64]

Although the Thirty Years' War dealt a blow to the Brethren by spreading them near and far, the bonds that had been established by the forerunners of the faith kept the Moravian Church alive and well throughout the 18th century. One prominent man in the Moravian timeline who wanted to continue spreading the gospel was Count Zinzendorf. Committed to the revival of the Moravians' work amongst the people of Lusatia, Count Nicholaus von Zinzendorf proved to be the savior needed to reset the timetable for a people yearning to make a difference in their world. Nicholaus von Zinzendorf was born into a family of wealth in May of 1700. Within two months of his life, a tragic event struck the family when his father died. Being the only male heir, Nicholaus inherited his father's estate and riches. Although his mother was present throughout Nicholaus' early years, much of his education and training can be credited to his maternal

[63] Robert Langton, *History of the Moravian Church*, 51-57.

[64] Ibid., 63-69.

grandmother, Henrietta Catherina von Gersdorf.[65] A well-educated lady who was steeped in religious conviction, Henrietta nurtured Zinzendorf, as he "was the apple of her eye"[66] by providing him with the finest education of the day that "distinguished him [Zinzendorf] as an eminent scholar, and a devoted servant of God."[67] It was this passion to serve God in servant leadership that held a great deal of influence in the actions that took place in Zinzendorf's life that led him to his work with the Moravian ministries.

Although Zinzendorf had governmental business to attend to according to the title of Count that was bestowed upon him through his family lineage, his interests always were of more concern with the theological rhetoric of his day than that of the day-to-day affairs of the country. Thus, as he continued to grow in his education and spirituality, Zinzendorf longed for a spiritual community where he "himself [would be] the owner and proprietor of a country-estate" where people could grow and develop in their understanding and knowledge of their own spiritual being.[68] Zinzendorf's absent-mindedness towards the affairs of Dresden marked his record as a government official as one of little impact, so his political influence was not one that was well-remembered in the community. On the other hand, his sacrifices towards his religious convictions would be most beneficial for the future success of the Moravian church. As he continued forward in his endeavors to create such a community for believers of the faith, the Count made provisions for establishing a center for Moravians in Europe by purchasing the

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[65] Enoch Pond, *Memoir of Count Zinzendorf* (Massachusetts Sabbath School Society, 1839), 11.

[66] Gary S. Kinkel, *Introduction: Christian Life and Witness: Count Zinzendorf's 1738 Berlin Speeches*, (Pickwick Publications, Eugene, Oregon, 2010), xiii.

[67] Ibid., 12.

[68] John Weinlick, *Count Zinzendorf: The Story of His Life and Leadership in the Renewed Moravian Church*, (Winston-Salem, North Carolina, 1980), 52-53.

Berthelsdorf estate in Herrnhut, Germany that would be set aside for such use as a sanctuary for Moravian refugees from across Europe.

Because the atrocities of the Thirty Years' War forced the Brethren to disperse and spread out throughout the countryside, the work of Count Zinzendorf became extremely important as the Brethren worked to rebuild a cohesive congregation following the war. It was there on the Count's newly established estate at Herrnhut, located in present-day Germany, that the Brethren would come to assemble once again to form a congregation of approximately 300 people who would serve as the foundational generation of the revived Brethren.[69] With Herrnhut successfully established, the Brethren could work to rekindle the fire that had been started so long ago by John Hus in Bohemia. As well, due to the successful re-establishment of their congregation, and as a remembrance of their homeland, the Brethren chose to rename their labor of love as the Moravian Church.[70]

At first, the church established at Herrnhut struggled to become united due to the Count's absence in leadership. His duties in governmental affairs continued to absorb much of his time, but the activity on his estate in Berthelsdorf unceasingly occupied a large piece of his mind. Being so distracted by the activity at Herrnhut, Zinzendorf officially relieved himself of administrative governmental affairs by mid-1729, leaving him to fully devote himself to the

[69] Ibid., 64-67.

[70] Gene Capps, *Moravians and Their Town of Salem,* (Old Salem Inc., Winston-Salem, North Carolina, 1997), 3.

concerns of the Moravian Church at Herrnhut for the remainder of his life.[71] It was when he successfully stepped away from his governmental focuses that Zinzendorf fully established himself as the leader of the Moravian Church by creating guiding principles that would lead the Church forward in its mission of evangelism and missionary work.

Central to the core beliefs of the Moravian Church established at Herrnhut was the Brethren's desire to spread Christianity through missionary work led by members of the congregation. Under such conviction as described in Scripture, the congregation at Herrnhut began 'sending out persons… [to foreign lands that would later be] known within the Moravian Church as the Diaspora."[72] One of the first tasks associated with this new foreign mission endeavor was to send missionaries to the island of St. Thomas in the Caribbean in 1732 to minister amongst the slave population.[73] Jon Sensbach's description of such work in his book *Rebecca's Revival: Creating Black Christianity in the Atlantic World* brings clarity and perception to the work of the Moravians as they successfully discipled and converted African slaves in such a tumultuous time in the Atlantic World. It should be noted here that it was at the desire of Count Zinzendorf that missionaries be sent throughout the world so that by the time of his death, the Moravians had successfully "sent out 226 missionaries and entered 10 different

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[71] *Count Zinzendorf: The Story of His Life and Leadership in the Renewed Moravian Church*, (Winston-Salem, North Carolina, 1980),74-78. Throughout these pages, Weinlick notes that Zinzendorf's absence at Herrnhut lead to a divide amongst the inhabitants at Berthelsdorf. This divide amongst the beliefs of the Brethren would not be solidified until the full-time commitment of Zinzendorf to the community and his presence as its leader established.

[72] David A. Schattschneider, "Pioneers in Mission: Zinzendorf and the Moravians", *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* (April 1984): 63.

[73] See Jon Sensbach's *Rebecca's Revival: Creating Black Christianity in the Atlantic World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005) to get a full depiction of the work done by such Moravian missionaries. Sensbach's description of the work brings clarity to the endeavors of the missionaries while working amongst the African population on the island, as well as describing the success in converting an African slave while in St. Thomas.

countries."[74] All of this work can be contributed to Zinzendorf's vision of reaching the lost throughout the world.

As word of the missionary work of the Moravians continued to spread, a call to fulfill the obligation of discipleship came to Herrnhut in a massive wave that would envelop the community for decades to come. Although Scriptural mandate led the way in ministering to the various people groups the missionaries encountered along the way, the logistical elements of the journey continued to be a learning curve for both Zinzendorf and his followers at Herrnhut. However, in partial credit to Zinzendorf's leadership and on behalf of the Lord's mercy and grace, the Moravian missionary endeavors continued to grow and develop into a well-oiled machine that, in time, would reach multitudes of people around the world. In his biographical sketch of the Count, Weinlick remarks that even after his death, the plans and procedures that Zinzendorf had set forth for foreign missionary work continued to "prove itself so effective as to be continued."[75] Success would continue to mark the presence of the Moravian missionaries as they worked abroad to spread the Gospel to nations around the world. As word spread of such successes, the mission field for the Moravians continued to diversify as various nations around the world sought to Christianize their imperial holdings. Thus, Zinzendorf's vision of foreign missions proved profound, for it worked to encompass "differ[ing] customs and traditions" of the

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[74] Robert L. Gallagher, "The Integration of Mission Theology and Practice: Zinzendorf and the Early Moravians," *Mission Studies 25* (2008), 186.

[75] John R. Weinlick, *Count Zinzendorf: The Story of His Life and Leadership in the Renewed Moravian Church*, (Winston-Salem, North Carolina, 1980), 99-100. Weinlick speaks in length regarding the early missionary efforts of the Moravians. Here he speaks of the success of Zinzendorf and his remarkable ability to lead the foreign missionary efforts with little to no guidance. For the most part, Zinzendorf relied on his own understanding gained through educational study, as well as spiritual guidance, as he led the foreign missionary endeavors of the Moravian Church throughout the early 18th century.

various people groups encountered by the Moravian missionaries as they lived and worked amongst the masses seeking to spread the Gospel for the glory of the Savior.[76]

By 1735, the call to mission work continued to press more firmly on the Moravians headquartered at Herrnhut. Due to the success of the early missions established in foreign lands such as St. Thomas, and with the further spread of Europeans across the North American continent, it became evident that new mission establishments were needed to "carry the Gospel of Redemption to peoples of distant lands who had not yet learned of Christ, their Savior."[77] In efforts to continue forward in their mission of spreading the Gospel to all nations around the world, the Brethren officially began establishing missions all along the eastern seaboard of what was to become the United States of America. Although turmoil pursued between Great Britain and the colonies throughout the mid-18th century, the Moravians were most successful in building communities throughout these boisterous years, and "by the end of the 18th century the Moravian Church was firmly planted in North Carolina" and other colonies that were to become a central focus in ministering to the native inhabitants of those lands.[78]

The Moravians' first attempt at settlement in the southern colonies was focused on Georgia. Count Zinzendorf's attention, being drawn to the colony for the opportunity to minister to the native Creek inhabitants, was never at a more heightened state than was presented in Georgia. Due to the Trustees' willingness to "provide more room for [a] common opportunity"

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[76] David A. Schattschneider, "Pioneers in Mission: Zinzendorf and the Moravians", *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* (April 1984): 66.

[77] C. Daniel Crews, *Faith and Tears: The Moravian Mission Amongst the Cherokee* (Winston-Salem, North Carolina, Moravian Archives, 2000), 1.

[78] Ibid., 1.

amongst its settlers than any other colony established to date, Zinzendorf seized the opportunity before him, for in Georgia he knew his evangelists would be safe from religious persecution.[79] It was finally agreed upon by General Oglethorpe and the Trustees in 1734 that a group of Moravian missionaries be sent to Georgia for the purpose of settling in the colony as they were to "build a town, to preach the Gospel to the heathen, [and if necessary] to pay a double war tax" to provide for the needs of the colony.[80] Finally, on January 10, 1734, Oglethorpe and the Georgia Trustees agreed to a "grant of 500 acres of land" to be given to Zinzendorf and the Moravian missionaries.[81] In addition, General Oglethorpe arranged for the missionaries to receive "a loan of sixty pounds for the company; ten pounds for supplies to be bought in London and fifty pounds for passage money."[82] It was in these moments that the Moravians were making a passage for themselves to create a new world of missionary work as they traveled to the unexplored regions of the New World.

In February 1735, the missionaries set sail for Georgia in hopes of creating a new mission amongst the "heathen." Upon arrival in Georgia, Oglethorpe assigned the two brothers, Nitschman and Spangenberg, two tracts of land in the bustling city of Savannah.[83]

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[79] Alan Taylor, *American Colonies: The Settling of North America* (New York: Penguin Books, 2001), 244. In this portion of Taylor's discuss of the early colonial settlements, Georgia is discussed concerning the original intent for settlement. Taylor speaks to Georgia being established as a colony for religious dissenters. Upon establishment, the Trustees' intent was to be open-minded towards all religions except Jews. Therefore, the Moravians were an excellent fit for the occasion of ministering to the native Creek.

[80] Rev. Edmund Schwarze, *Moravian Missions Among Southern Indian Tribes*, 6-7.

[81] Ibid., 7.

[82] Ibid., 8.

[83] Ibid., 9.

It was there that the missionaries would set up a base of operation for the Moravian Brethren who were to minister to the colonists and Natives in the New World. Reverend Schwarze recorded that:

> their belongings were moved into a cabin hastily erected and the first night in the new land found them holding a service of praise and thanksgiving. Soon the five-acre garden plots in Spangenberg's and Nitschman's tracts were surveyed and planted and by the middle of April a small house stood finished on the town lot of Spangenberg's grant. Later on, the tract of 500 acres on the Ogeechee River was surveyed… [to which would later be developed] and occupied by the Moravian Brethren.[84]

It was at this location in Savannah that the Moravians had their first encounters with the Natives. As they worked to build and strengthen their newly erected community, the Natives became curious as to what the Brethren sought to achieve. The friendly encounters by the Natives became encouraging to the Moravians as they continued to seek open doors through which they could reach the "heathen people" of these new lands.

Now that the new mission team had been firmly established in Savannah, attention turned to the missionary work that had been so entrusted to the Brethren by Zinzendorf. It became evident to the missionaries that successful encounters with the Natives relied on their ability to learn the language of the Creek Indians. Although this was a difficult task, it became evident that the Yamacraw chiefdom of the Creek Indians, which surrounded Savannah, was willing to aid in the Brethren's quest to speak the Native tongue. The following account so eloquently records one of the missionary's journeys, Mr. Peter Rose, as he lived and worked amongst the Creek near Savannah:

[84] Ibid., 10.

On August 9, Mr. Ingham went to the Moravians with a new plan. General Oglethorpe had agreed to build a new schoolhouse for Indian children, near the [Yamacraw's] village, with the idea that it would give opportunity also to reach the older men and women with the Gospel message. The house was to contain three rooms, one of Ingham, one for the [I and my wife], and one to be used for the school, and it was suggested that the Moravians undertake the erection of the building, the Trustees' fund to pay them for their labor. The proposition was gladly accepted, and preparations were at once made to send the necessary workmen.

On Monday, the 13th, Chief Tomochichi, [I], and five others went to the spot which had been selected for the Indian Schoolhouse, usually called Irene… When the carpenters arrived, the first act was to unite in prayer for a blessing on their work, and then they began to fell trees and cut down bushes, clearing the ground or the hut in which they were to live while building the schoolhouse… Until the hut was finished the men lodged with the Indians. Tomochichi himself taking charge of their belongings. Toltschig returned the same day to Savannah, going back later with a supply o provisions. The Indians made them heartily welcome to their neighborhood, and the Moravians, even in the midst of their building operations, began to teach them the English alphabet, at the same time putting forth every effort to learn the Indian tongue, in which [I] was rapidly becoming proficient.

By the 20th of September, the Schoolhouse was finished, and [the Creek] and the Moravians held a conference to plan the future work, and decide what duties each should assume, as he proposed to move thither at once, and, with the approval of the lot. [I] and my wife were to do the same. Morning and evening they were to read the English Bible, accompanied by silent prayer; morning, mid-day and evening an hour was to be given to the study of the Indian language; [I] and my wife were to have an hour for private devotions. Mrs. Rose was to teach the Indian girls to read, and the boys, who had already begun to read, were to be taught to write. In their remaining time they were to clear and plant some land., that they might not be too long dependent on the Congregation at Savannah, and on the friendly Indians, who were giving them much.

The next day, [Chief] Tomochichi escorted [me] and my wife to [our] new home, and at the Ingham's request united them in a little prayer service. Four days late fourteen of the Moravians went to the schoolhouse, which was solemnly consecrated by Seifert, the Chief Elder. That evening, in Savannah, [I] and my wife were set apart for [our] missionary work, and the next day [we] returned to Irene, as the school was called, to enter upon [our] duties.

> At first, everything was encouraging. The children learned readily, not only to read, but some to write, they committed to memory many passages of Scripture, and took special delight in the hymns they were taught to sing. The older Indians looked on with wonder and approval, which stimulated the missionaries to new zeal in mastering the language, and in taking every opportunity to make the "Great Word" known to them.[85]

As exhibited in Mr. Rose's excerpt, the mission established at Savannah amongst the Creek was at first a success. However, due to the nature of Georgia's intent to serve as a buffer colony between Great Britain and their competing power of Spain, the Moravians soon became caught up in the turmoil that drew attention away from their original intent of ministering to the Creek. After refusing to partake in Britain's conundrum of preventing Spanish attacks from the South, Oglethorpe officially requested the Moravians withdraw from the colony, which left the Moravians no choice but to abandon their settlement in 1740.[86]

Following the collapse of the mission in Georgia, the Brethren continued to seek ways to minister to the Indians in the South. Although they had established a mission at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania in 1741, it was obvious that the Brethren needed a settlement in which they could live and work amongst their constituents. Privy to this knowledge, the Moravian Church agreed to and approved the purchase of "a 100,000-acre tract of land in 1753, which the Moravians called Wachovia, surrounding what is now Winston-Salem [North Carolina]."[87]

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[85] Adelaide L. Fries, *The Moravians in Georgia* (Raleigh: Edwards & Broughton, 1905), 201-203. Here, Fries records a primary excerpt from the Moravian diaries of Mr. Peter Rose as he worked amongst the Creek Indians in lower Georgia. The excerpt gives an example of the initial success that the Moravians experienced as they encountered the Natives during the colonization period in Georgia's history.

[86] Gene Capps, *The Moravians and Their Town of Salem* (Old Salem Inc., Winston-Salem, North Carolina, 1997), 3.

[87] C. Daniel Crews, *Faith and Tears: The Moravian Mission Amongst the Cherokee* (Winston-Salem, North Carolina, Moravian Archives, 2000), 1.

It was at this time that a new door opened allowing the Moravian missionaries to carry out the message of Christ to the Natives. The one-hundred-thousand-acre tract of land was purchased by Count Zinzendorf in January of 1753.[88] It was there on the purchased land that the missionaries would begin to transform the "heathen" Indians of the Wachovia wilderness, where the Brethren could minister to the colonial newcomers, and expand the inner workings of the Moravian community to allow for the maximum number of converts to be achieved through the Brethren's preaching and teaching of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

Preparations began for the first mission at Wachovia (Winston-Salem) upon the completion of the purchase by Count Zinzendorf. By October 1753, the new mission had been established and the work began. By 1771, Rev. Schwarze noted that "Salem became the seat of a distinct Moravian center and government of the Church in this southern section of the country."[89] Throughout the process of establishing a center of operations for the Moravians in Winston-Salem, the spiritual needs of the Natives continued to remain at the center of thought for the missionaries. It was due to this careful attention that relationships amongst the Natives began to be built as members of the local Cherokee tribes began to take interest in the work that was happening around them.

The establishment of the mission at Wachovia revived the efforts of evangelism amongst the Natives throughout the South. A rejuvenated spirit would envelop the Brethren as they began work within the Cherokee Nation, for the Cherokees were the closest Native inhabitants to this new mission at Winton-Salem.

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[88] Rev. Schwarze, *Moravian Missions Among Southern Indian Tribes*, 17.

[89] Ibid., 18.

As time passed, the success of the newly established mission at Wachovia would further branch out throughout the Cherokee Nation southward, leaving a remarkable impression on the Cherokee people each step of the way. This marked the beginning of the story of the Moravian Church that would create an inseparable bond "to the great Cherokee Nation."[90]

[90] Crews, *Faith and Tears*, 2.

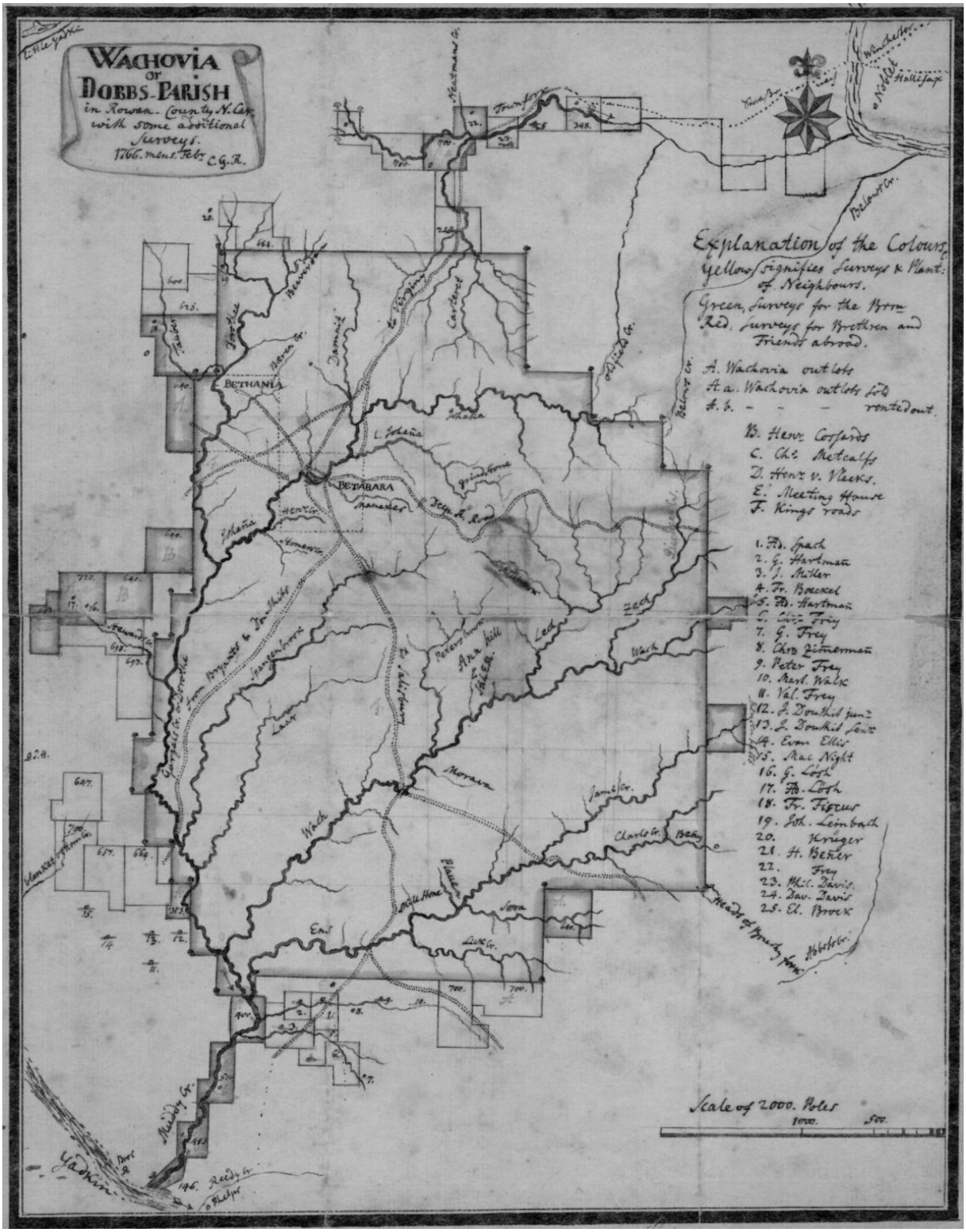

Figure 1: 1766 map of Wachovia. Courtesy of the Whitfield-Murray Historical Society[91]

Although the Cherokee descendants can trace their roots to primitive times, the Nation "reached a higher peak of civilization than any other North American Indian tribe"[92] between the 16th and 19th centuries by establishing themselves as the "warlords of the southern Appalachian Highlands."[93] With the arrival of the European culture came further adaptation and change for the Cherokees, which added to a long-established lineage of progress for the Nation. The power and prestige of the Cherokee Nation led to new heights being established for the Native cultures of North America.

The early history of the Cherokee Nation is one often up for debate. Most scholars conclude that the origin of the Cherokee people is unknown, leaving the earliest histories of the people to be questioned.[94] In her book *Cherokee Women: Gender and Cultural Change*, Theda Perdue made the observation that most archeologists believe that the Cherokees migrated to the valleys of the southeastern United States around 1000 A.D. for the soil's ability to grow rich

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[91] This map is a depiction of the original tract of land purchased by the Brethren as they began working towards creating a settlement suited to serve as a base of operation as they worked to minister amongst the Cherokee in present day North Carolina. The tract of land was named in honor of Count Zinzendorf's estate in south Austria.

[92] Grace S. Woodward, *The Cherokees* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), 3. Woodward's *The Cherokees* is a well-written, well-researched narrative of the Cherokee Nation from its beginnings to the time of Indian Removal in the 1830s. The book provides pertinent data to understanding the breadth of the Cherokee Nation and its impact on the southeastern United States. Concerning the material used in this footnote, Woodward goes on to explain the significance of the Cherokee in the grand scheme of North American Natives. It is obvious that much of the evolution to the Native culture can be attributed to the Cherokee.

[93] Ibid., 3.

[94] For more concerning discussion of the origins of the Cherokee Nation, see Charles Hudson's *The Southeastern Indians* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1976, Chapter 2, "Prehistory and Early History". Throughout Chapter 2, Hudson addresses the origins and early histories of the Cherokee people. In conclusion, as with other historians, Hudson suggests that the migration of such a people to North America is unclear; therefore, most of the Native American past begins to be measured as Europeans began to interact with the various tribes during times of exploration.

crops of corn for which "they depended [on] for subsistence."[95] As further evidence suggests, it is most likely that the Cherokee Nation who first greeted European explorers was steeped in the traditions of the Mississippian culture of the southeastern United States.[96]

Upon first contact with Europeans, the Cherokees inhabited approximately 40,000 square miles of land in the southeastern United States.[97] However, as European explorers began moving inland, particularly the Spanish, the depletion of conflicting Native tribes due to European conquests throughout the southeast allowed the Cherokees to expand their borders as the conquered dissipated. The introduction of disease and sickness was a leading cause of such loss amongst the Natives in the southeast as the populations had never been exposed to such sickness and thus lacked immunity to many of the diseases brought forth by the explorers from the East. Although many from neighboring tribes were lost to sickness and disease, the Cherokees escaped much of the wrath of such devastation in part to their location being so far north of current-day Florida, but also due in part to their understanding of De Soto's goal of discovering gold, to which their land lacked such luster, ultimately leading De Soto and his men to quickly flee Cherokee territory.[98]

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[95] Theda Perdue, *Cherokee Women: Gender and Cultural Change 1700-1835* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 13-14.

[96] Guy Gibbon, ed., *Archeology of Prehistoric Native America: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1998), 781-783.

[97] Frederick Hoxie, ed., *Encyclopedia of North American Indians* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1996), 107.

[98] Charles Hudson, *The Juan Pardo Expeditions: Exploration of the Carolinas and Tennessee, 1566-1568* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1990), Chapter 3.

Following the evacuation of the Spanish, the Cherokee expanded their borders by moving into the lands formerly held by their rival tribe, the Creek. The Cherokee began to prosper as the Nation grew into multifaceted townships that worked together making the tribe much stronger by the 18th century, following the decline of the Creek Nation of the Southeast.

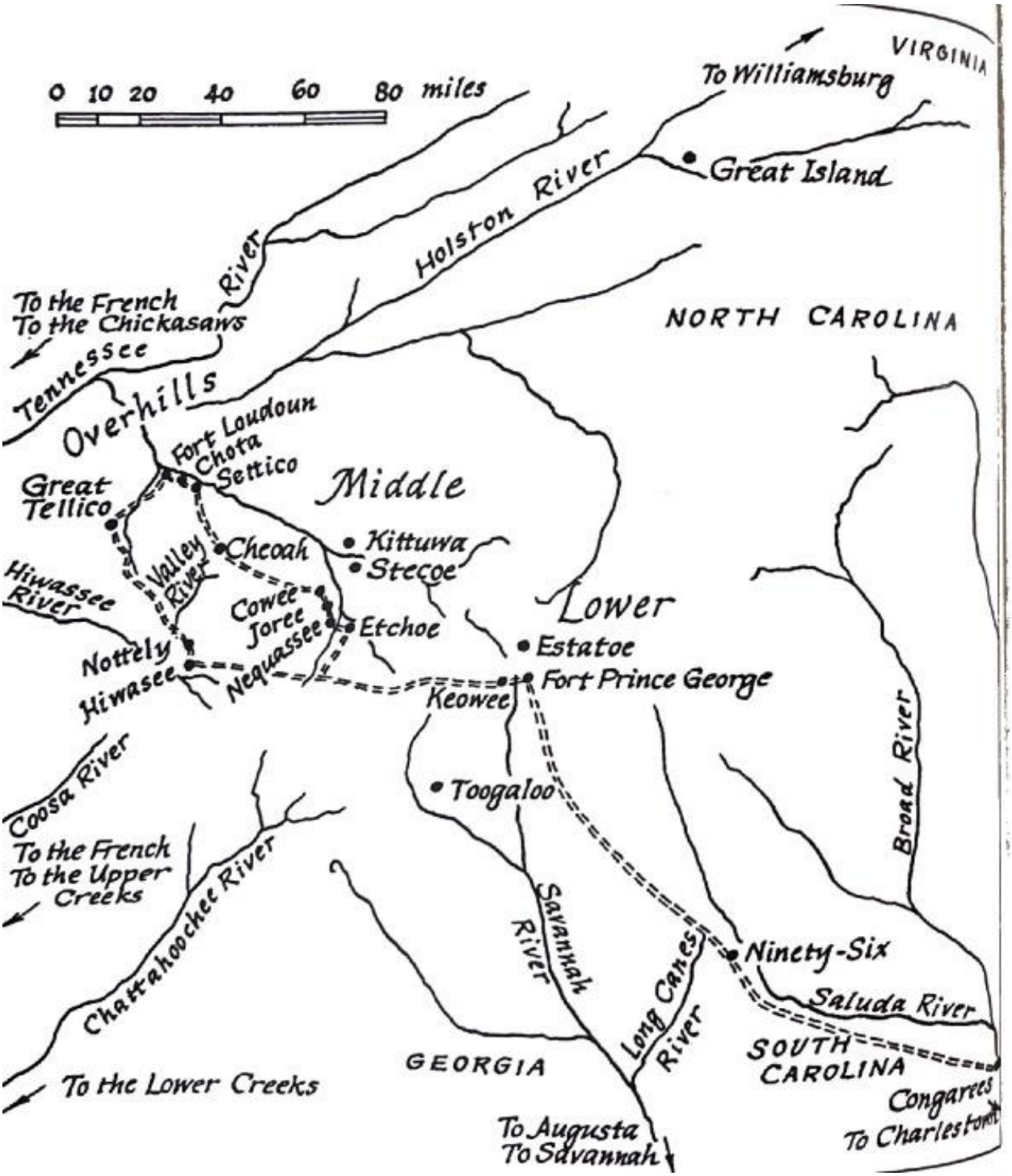

Figure 2: Above is a depiction of the compilation of the Cherokee Nation in whole c. 1740. Courtesy of the Whitfield-Murray Historical Society.

The period between the Spanish departure and English exploration was a time of peace and prosperity for the Cherokee Nation. However, in 1670 when the English began to colonize the Carolina coast, the Cherokee would experience the same interactions as previously experienced with the Spanish in the prior century. Disease from the English began to ravage the Cherokee Nation on the eastern border of the nation. Smallpox, according to author Tom Hatley, cut the southern tribe's population "4 to 6 times" as compared to pre-English exposure.[99] James Daschuk observed in his book *Clearing the Plains: Disease, Politics of Starvation, and the Loss of Aboriginal Life* that the Cherokees suffered desperately when "[they] were reduced by as much as half in outbreaks" that occurred during this time.[100] In addition to disease, involvement in the American Revolution further reduced the Nation's population, including the Cherokees who chose to fight in any capacity during war times. By the turn of the 19th century, due to contact with the British, the Cherokee population was reduced to only a fraction of what it had been the century before. Even though such loss had been experienced, the period following such turmoil could be described as one of the most prosperous times for the Cherokees. According to author Sarah Hill, the "territory ultimately exceeded 124,000 square miles" by the end of the 18th century.[101] Although the population drastically shrank following contact with the British, the territorial claims of the Cherokees continued to climb, which established the Cherokee Nation as one of the most prosperous Native nations in the United States by the turn of the 19th century.

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[99] Tom Hatley, *The Dividing Paths: Cherokees and South Carolinians Through the Era of Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 7-10.

[100] James Daschuk, *Clearing the Plains: Disease, Politics of Starvation, and the Loss of Aboriginal Life* (Saskatchewan: U of R Press, 2013), 22.

[101] Sarah Hill, *Weaving New Worlds: Southeastern Cherokee Women and Their Basketry* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 7.

The interaction with Europeans forever changed the Cherokee Nation. Grace Woodward noted, "Eighteenth-century white men noted the adverse effects of war on the Cherokee tribe but saw also its benefits. William Fyffe bemoaned the fact that the war-loving Cherokees frequently confounded barbarity with courage."[102] Although war and disease left a great negative impact on the population in the 17th and 18th centuries, there were a few things that sprang forth from the wreckage that the Cherokee were better for, including the development of trade relations. The establishment of trade relations most definitely made a lasting impression that would help assimilate the Native culture into European ways. The hunting skills of the Cherokee men proved to be most vital in fulfilling the Europeans' needs for deer pelts. This specialized skill of the Cherokee men led to a commercialized trade relationship between the Natives and Europeans that would ultimately help balance power between the two worlds. As well, increased interaction through trade would soften cultural barriers that ultimately led to relationships being established that defined and primed both parties for sustainable relationships as seen between the Moravians and the Cherokees. Furthermore, this establishment of trade relations also opened a door for the Cherokee's voice to be heard (something that was not common at this time, and something that made the integration of the Moravian missionaries all the more vital). Woodward details an instance where:

> Having received complaints from the chiefs that Charlestown traders were frequently "very abuseful" to the Cherokees, Governor Nicolson suggested that the chiefs permit an English commissioner of trade to operate in all their towns—come and go as he pleased, and to supervise the traders and see that they did not short-measure the Cherokees. Other regulatory standards of trade between the Cherokees and the Charlestown government would also be taken over by the new commissioner. The chiefs perceived at once the advantages in this arrangement and gave it their sanction."[103]

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[102] Grace Woodward, *The Cherokees* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), 34-35

[103] Ibid., 59

In moments such as these, it was essential that the Cherokees find a voice among themselves to ensure the best was kept in mind for their people when decisions were being made as critical as some of these decisions were. To that end, the chance for assimilation provided through the work completed by the Moravians was crucial to the development of these Native people.

By the turn of the 19th century, pressure once again came against the Cherokees, but this time from the United States federal government. Under the direction of George Washington's civilization program, the expectation was given that all Native Americans be assimilated into an American lifestyle, abandoning their roots as hunter-gatherers to become "fee-simple farmers."[104] Washington's plan stated that "once they could support themselves individually as farmers, they would be admitted into the republic as full and equal citizens."[105] Such policy sparked serious debate amongst the Natives throughout the United States. Some members of the community were more conservative in nature regarding the adoption of such policies. Others, on the other hand, were much more aggressive in retaining their traditional cultures and values. The Cherokees found themselves on the somewhat middle ground regarding Washington's policy which opened the door to the "government's civilization and Christianization program" through which the Moravians would find their outlet for ministering to the Cherokees.[106]

Some of the first encounters between the Moravians and the Cherokees left the Natives questioning whether kinship could be established with such a group of people. William McLoughlin commented that "the missionaries came to offer the Cherokees a new set of beliefs

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[104] William G. McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries, 1789-1839* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), 2.

[105] Ibid., 2-3.

[106] Ibid., 3.

and values… yet the Cherokees could scarcely make sense of it, and what they did understand they rejected it."[107] This misunderstanding at first led to failed relationships among the Moravians and the Cherokees, for the missionaries who were sent to minister to the Cherokees rarely "bothered to learn much about the Cherokee belief system."[108] As attempts at contact continued to improve, the mission at Wachovia proved to be a tremendous help in reaching the Cherokee people in and around Winston-Salem.

Following the establishment of the Moravian mission at Wachovia in 1753, it became evident to the Brethren that it would be necessary to branch out by establishing smaller missions within this newly acquired territory to successfully minister to the Cherokees. In October 1799, the Moravian council at Wachovia sent two representatives, Brother Steiner and Brother von Schweinitz, westward to Knoxville, Tennessee, and Tellico Blockhouse, Tennessee to attend Cherokee Council meetings in attempts to secure a location for a mission within the heart of the Cherokee Nation. "On their return to [Winston]-Salem in late December they reported [to the council] that the possibility of a mission was favorable."[109]

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[107] William G. McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries, 1789-1839,* 18.

[108] Ibid., 21.

[109] C. Daniel Crews, *Faith and Tears: The Moravian Mission Among the Cherokee* (Winston-Salem: Moravian Archives, 2000), 2-3. This source is a wonderful asset to this study as Crews relies on direct record of the Moravian Archives for his study. This section of the source discusses the acquisition of the mission at Springplace from James Vann and the reasons for the establishment of the mission. This gives the study concrete understanding of the interweaving of cultures examined throughout the dissertation. Both Bro. Steiner and von Schweinitz were councilmen of the Moravian council at Wachovia (Winston-Salem). The council felt it necessary to send prime delegates from the council to represent the Brethren at the Chief Council meetings at both Knoxville and Tellico Blockhouse (situated just south of Knoxville-closer to the center of the Cherokee Nation).

There at Tellico Blockhouse, "Steiner and von Schweinitz met James Vann, a Cherokee chief of part Caucasian descent, who befriended them" and offered them a chance at establishing their mission on "a spot near [his home] and the towns of the Upper Cherokee" (Springplace).[110] Vann's assistance was crucial to the establishment of the Brethren's mission, for he was the only leader willing to provide such an opportunity to such a religious organization outside of traditional Cherokee belief. As well, it is imperative to note that because of Vann's mixed heritage, he could speak both the Cherokee language and the English tongue. This made him the key to the door that allowed the Moravians to enter the world of the Cherokees, for he so eloquently served as the "mouthpiece" for both worlds. So, it was there near Vann's own plantation that the Moravians would establish a mission amongst the Cherokees they called Springplace because it was "where three springs flowed out of limestone beds into a branch of the Conasauga River."[111]

At the mission, the missionaries taught the Cherokee children to "read and write and to cope with a rapidly changing social order."[112] This plan of intervention was in hopes of fulfilling the requirements of Washington's plan of assimilation, but a larger impact than ever expected would come from the relationships that were established at the mission. Desiring to create a

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[110] Ibid., 3.

[111] Rowena McClinton, ed., *The Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees, Vol. 1, 1805-1813* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007): 22. McClinton's translation of the Moravian diaries at Springplace are the most complete records of the mission in modern-day possession. McClinton's translations of the original Germanic writings give the reader a complete description of the day-to-day activities that took place at Springplace. Written by Anna Rosina Gambold, wife of John Gambold and leader of the mission for the better part of its existence, the diaries help historians understand the connections and relationships that were created between the Moravians and the Cherokee people at Springplace. As well, the diaries depict the impact the mission had on the Cherokee Nation as it grew and developed throughout the early 19th century.

[112] McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries*. 35.

seamless experience and to establish the mission that had been envisioned for sake of reaching the Cherokees, Vann granted the Brethren "a plot of ground upon which they could start a farm to support themselves."[113] It was here that Vann would help the missionaries clear the land, build the buildings necessary to conduct business, and live prosperously all the while being only about "a mile and a half from Vann's home and trading post."[114] This location proved self-sufficient for the Brethren and allowed them to live free of financial ties to Winston-Salem. In addition, it allowed Vann to provide consult and protection while the missionaries were amongst the Cherokees. "The Moravians rechristened the site Springplace because it was near a good spring [, and it was there] where traveling Cherokees often camped [on their way to and from the business where they would stay and receive] hospitality from the missionaries."[115]

During the time of establishment, Vann and the Cherokees living at Springplace showed "much kindness" as they welcomed the newcomers to the newly established mission.[116] Schwarze also noted that Vann's wholehearted buy into the mission prompted him to render the missionaries "splendid assistance in [their] work [by providing them with] "many negroes so that it was accomplished in a short time."[117] With the support of the Cherokees, the mission was promptly established as a "self-sufficient and self-contained community…that gained them the Cherokees' trust for most of their sojourn as missionaries."[118]

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[113] Ibid., 47.

[114] Ibid., 47

[115] Ibid., 47-48.

[116] Rev. Edmund Schwarze, *History of the Moravian Missions Among Southern Indian Tribes of the United States* (Bethlehem: Times Publishing Company,1923), 63.

[117] Ibid., 64.

[118] McClinton, *Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees*, "Introduction", 40.

Thus, a mission was born at Springplace that established relationships between two culturally diverse people groups that would forever change each group's world. Although the mission had been established by the winter of 1801, the upkeep and self-sufficiency status of the mission required much attention from the missionaries to keep the progress of the mission moving forward. Given the firm commitment of the missionaries to deliver the Gospel to the Cherokees, the "Moravians…allowed the Cherokees and their families [their] homeland [for they were] more aware than ever that they needed [to learn] English in order to negotiate with [the] United States [government] and to participate in a market economy."[119] to visit the mission freely."[120] This allowed the missionaries to minister on a daily basis to the Cherokees who passed by, and also provided the Natives with the "tools necessary to preserve [their] homeland [for they were] more aware than ever that they needed [to learn] English in order to negotiate with [the] United States [government] and to participate in a market economy."[121] The need for such a mutualistic relationship proved to be the nectar that drew both cultures closer together as the mission aged at Springplace.

[119] Ibid., 40-41.

[120] Ibid., 40.

[121] Ibid., 40-41.

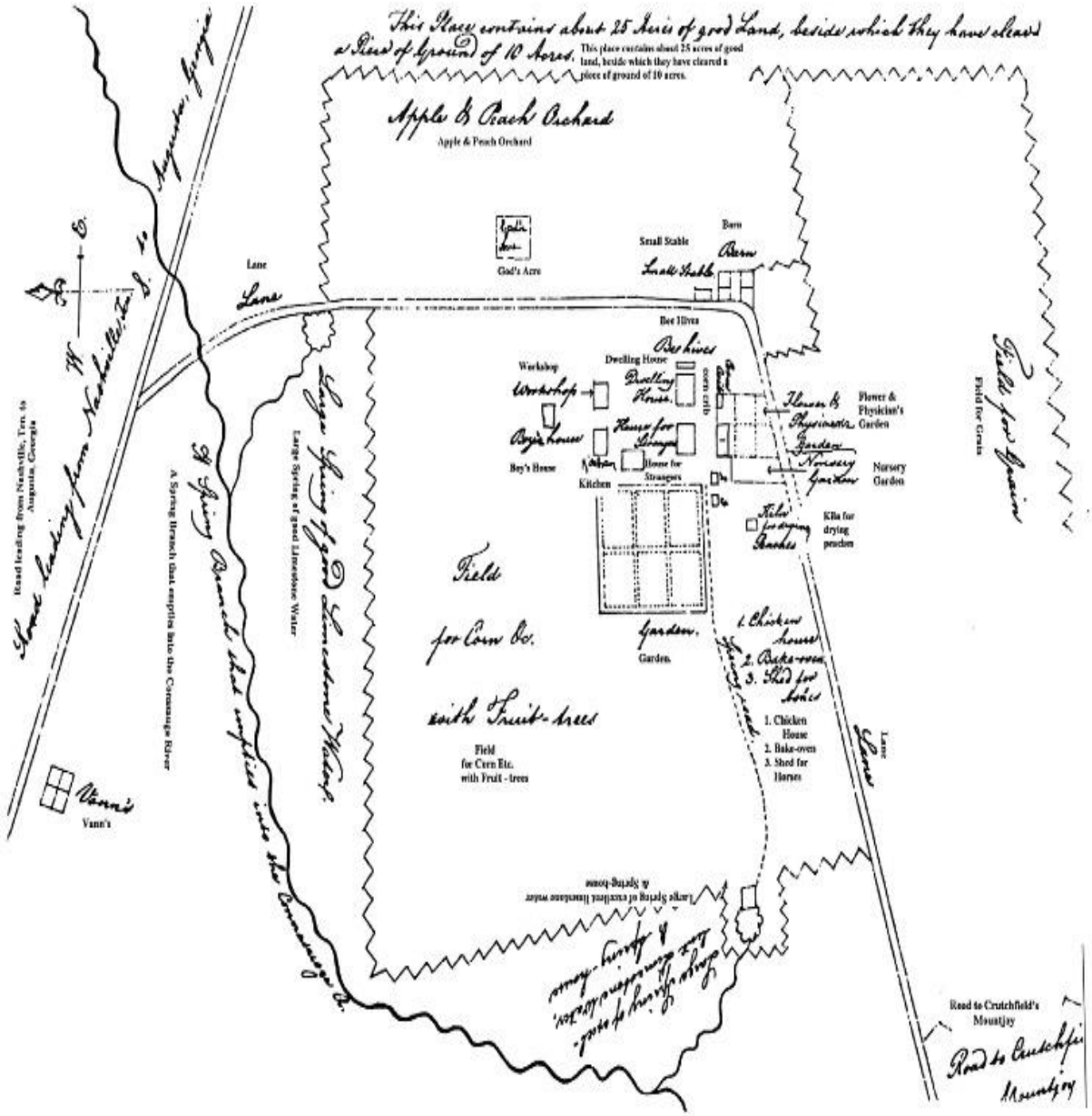

Figure 3: Above is a rendering of the mission established at Spingplace, c. 1801. Courtesy of the Whitfield-Murray Historical Society.

Moreover, in accordance with the covenant that was first formed with the Cherokee council that allowed the Brethren to enter the Cherokee Nation, a school was formed by 1804 to which Cherokee pupils entered where they would be educated in the ways of the 'white men'. Anna Rosina Gambold notes in her diary on February 1, 1805, that "an Indian from Coosawattee brought his child to us in the school. His name [was] Iskittihi, which means Fivekiller, and his father's name [was] The Mire. In the evening we sang the Liturgy. "You, Life of My Life, etc."[122]

This recorded example signifies one of the first Cherokee pupils being admitted into the school that was established at the mission. Although the student was taught basic reading, writing, and arithmetic by Mrs. Gambold, it was also noted that she would expose the students to the Scripture through the singing of the hymns at the close of the day. In his book *Trail of Tears: The Rise and Fall of the Cherokee Nation*, John Ehle writes in such a manner regarding the agenda of the daily tasks to be accomplished:

> after first light the boys had prayer…and sometimes the girls were present in time to join them. Classes took the morning hours, then recess consisted of two or three hours for eating and chores. These included work in the fields, gardens, or barn…occasionally there was no work, and the boys could go hunting, using their blowguns or bows. At about three o'clock the boys and girls took up their books again-or sometimes the girls went to their looms or practiced mending and cooking.[123]

From Ehle's description, it becomes clear that the Native children were immersed in the Moravian traditions while they attended the boarding school. It was noted in Mrs. Gambold's diary that on September 23, 1805, that Mr. Vann gave his full support to the school when he sent

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[122] Ibid., "February 1805", 43.

[123] John Ehle, *Trail of Tears: The Rise and Fall of the Cherokee Nation* (New York: Anchor Books, 1989), 89-90

his daughter "to the school for the first time."[124] This proved to be a true testament to the acceptance of the Moravians by the Cherokees. Should their leader be willing to accept the missionaries, then surely the people would be willing to choose to do the same.

Throughout his life, James Vann remained a leading proponent of the mission at Spingplace. Although he possessed a somewhat violent nature outside the boundaries of the mission, his violent nature rarely crept near the religious work of the Moravians. And although Vann supported the work of the Moravians at Springplace, Vann remained clear in his testament to the Moravians that he did not believe in their religion and remained opposed to accepting the message of salvation preached by the Brethren. It was his generosity to not only the Moravians that helped seam an endless bond between two worlds but also to his fellow Cherokee brethren he most adamantly supported in helping them maintain their identity amid a time when assimilation continued to knock at their door.

Finally, it was in February 1809 when James Vann's fate was sealed. It was then, Tiya Miles noted in her book *The House on Diamond Hill: A Cherokee Story*, that "James Vann set out on a task to which he was most dedicated- capturing and punishing horse thieves in the company of the Lighthorse Brigade."[125] In the presence of his son, Joseph, "a shot was fired

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[124] Ibid., "September 1805", 67.

[125] Tiya Miles, *The House on Diamond Hill: A Cherokee Plantation Story* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 131. Dr. Miles' work brings exquisite detail to the inner workings of Diamond Hill Plantation. Throughout the work, Miles focuses on the detailing the story of the Vann family and how their interaction with the community around them. As well, the reader is immersed in social constructs of the Plantation as it involved the interactions between the Cherokees and those who occupied the area including, but not limited to, the Moravians, the African American slaves, visitors who frequented Diamond Hill, and other Cherokees from neighboring tribes. This work gives the reader a holistic view concerning the Cherokee Nation and its people as they interacted with the cultural, political, and social worlds around them.

[that] hit him (Vann) directly in the heart. Immediately this threw him dead on the floor."[126] The news came to the mission early on the morning of the 21st that left the Brethren stricken as they "cried and commended his soul to God's mercy."[127] Concern was immediately raised by the Brethren that regarded not knowing what would become of the mission, as Vann had always been a friend to the Moravians, "and no one knew what to expect from a now uncertain future."[128] The question for the Brethren became how would the mission survive now that their protector and provider was gone.

Though Vann was gone, the work had to continue forward to ensure his people would be capable of living and working in a European-centered society. In doing so, Vann's will named "Joseph as the primary heir according to his father's wishes. Each of the other children received eight Negroes and a number of horses and cattle."[129] Through Vann's work in trading, his estate had built up a considerable amount of land and possessions that were to be inherited by his son, Joseph. But most considerable to the estate was the brick mansion that would become the "crown jewel of the family's Diamond Hill plantation."[130] Joseph's relationship with the Moravians also remained in sustainable manner for the years to come.

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[126] McClinton, *The Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees*, vol. 1, 302.

[127] Ibid., 303.

[128] Miles, *The House on Diamond Hill: A Cherokee Plantation Story*, 133.

[129] McClinton, *The Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees*, vol. 2, 26.

[130] Miles, *The House on Diamond Hill: A Cherokee Plantation Story*, 3.

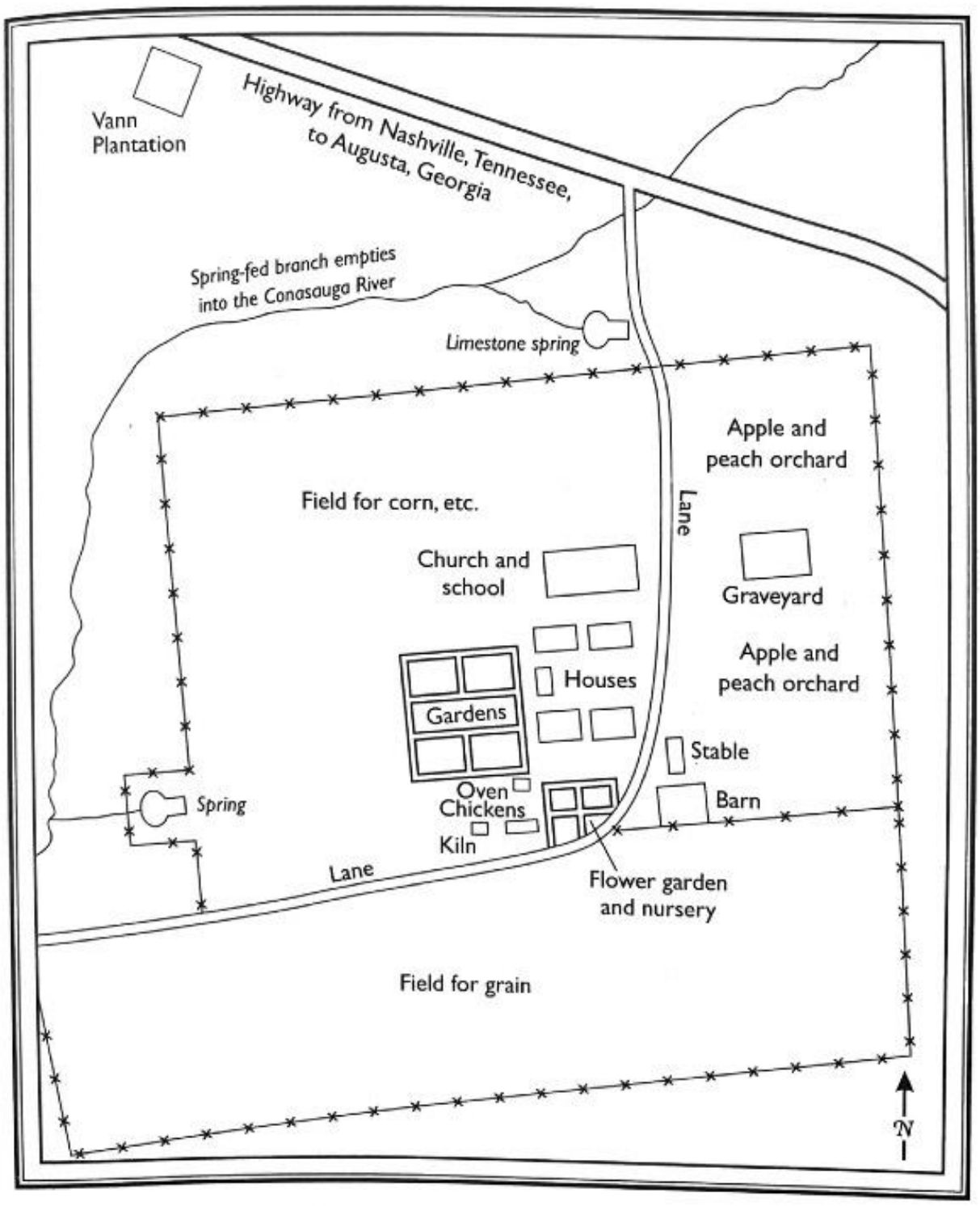

Figure 4: Above is a drawing of the divisions within the mission at Springplace, c. 1819. Courtesy of the Whitfield-Murray Historical Society.

Chapter 3: James Vann: A Friend to the Moravians

Central to the success of the Moravians' mission at Springplace was the generosity and hospitality of Cherokee Chief James Vann. Born out of a mixed-blood relationship, his father was a Scot trader and his mother, Wawli, was a full-blooded Cherokee princess, James' exact date of birth was never recorded. Little is known about the childhood of James Vann. Migrating to Murray County, Georgia in the late 1700s, the Vann family had already established themselves as "well-to-do traders and farmers."[131] Shortly after arrival, as shown on the map in Figure 6, Chief Vann quickly built-up vast land holdings.[132] It was imperative to note that no other Native "family adopted white ways to the extent that the Vanns did."[133] It was in this fashion that James Vann was so willing to accept the Moravians at the time of their arrival in 1801 when so many other missionaries had failed to integrate themselves into the Natives' lives.

By 1781, James had formally established his plantation at Diamond Hill in current-day Spring Place, Georgia. There he built a mill, trading post, and slave cabins on Mill Creek located just north of the plantation site. It was at Diamond Hill that James would establish his family. According to the genealogical record passed down through oral tradition, James married three wives: Jennie Foster, Elizabeth Thornton, and Margaret "Peggy" Scott. Out of those marriages, James fathered five children: James, John, Sally, Delilah, and the youngest, Joseph (born 1798),

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[131] Tim Howard, ed., *Murray County Heritage* (Whitfield Murray Historical Society, 1987), 3.

[132] Ibid., 3.

[133] Ibid., 3.

his only child by Peggy.[134] Although James had five children, it became apparent early on that Joseph was the favorite. This became even more clear when James Vann bequeathed his extreme fortune of the Vann family's majestic marvel atop Diamond Hill, the Diamond Hill Plantation, his slaves, livestock, taverns, mills, and other various holdings that set him apart from his other Cherokee brethren to Joseph Vann at the time of James' death.

At Springplace, Vann designed a system that excelled the plantation to heights above all others throughout the Cherokee Nation. Through the profits from his trading, Vann hired able-bodied laborers, coupled with slave labor, who ran and developed Diamond Hill into the crown jewel of the Cherokee Nation. Also, to promote the prosperity of the Cherokee Nation, Vann led a charge that would build a road between Augusta, Georgia, and Nashville, Tennessee that was called the Old Federal Road. In opposition to many of his counterparts in leadership, Vann firmly believed that this road was the key to the Cherokees' progress. Thus, in 1803, with his business senses at their height, Vann helped obtain approval from the Cherokee Council for a road to "run north and south from the Hiawassee River into Georgia" that placed Springplace on the map as the trading capital of the Cherokee Nation.[135]

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[134] Much of this information has been passed through oral tradition. There are genealogical records of the Vann family available courtesy of the Chief Vann House State Historic Site located in Chatsworth, Georgia. Upon inspection of the records, and under the guidance of the site interpreter, this is the most accurate interpretation of Vann's lineage as related to the plantation at Diamond Hill.

[135] Henry T. Malone, *Cherokees of the Old South* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1956), 151.

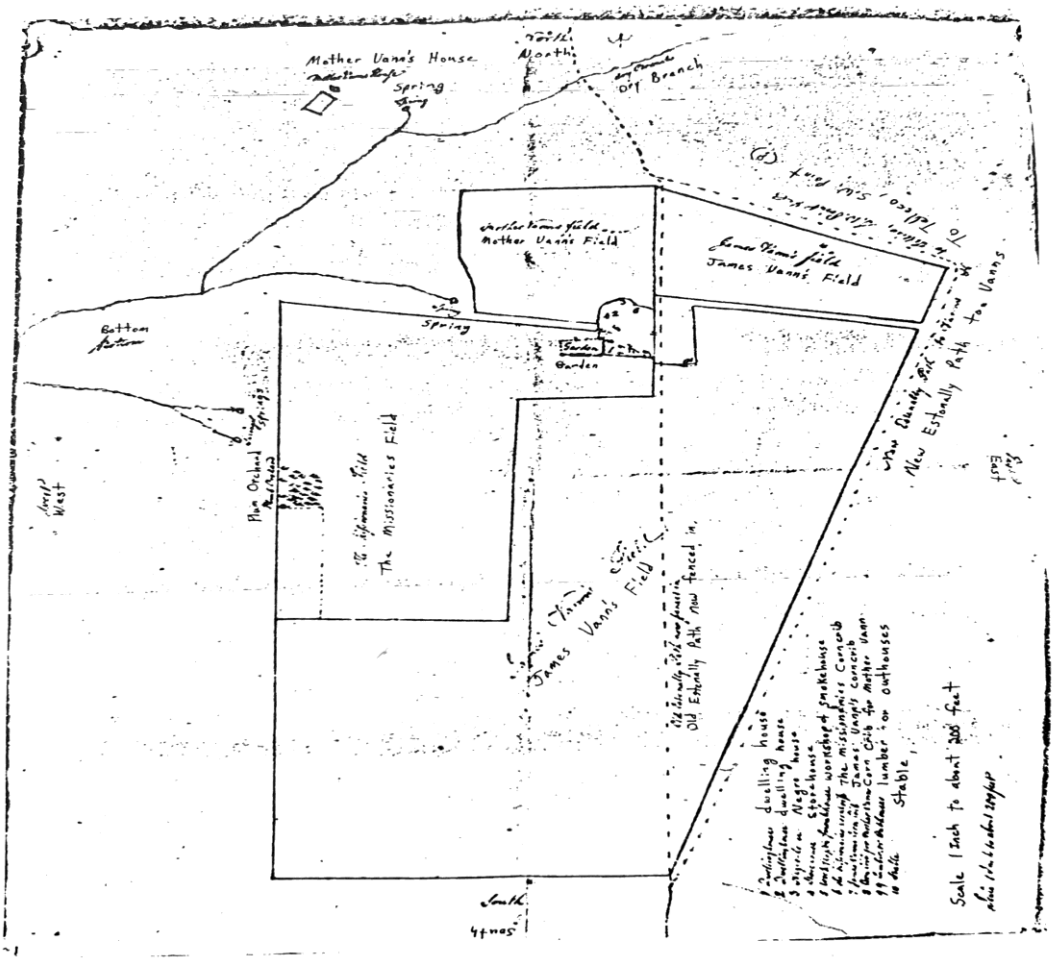

Figure 5: Map of Chief James Vann's Diamond Hill Plantation, c. 1805. Courtesy: Whitfield-Murray Historical Society.

It was Vann's understanding of the future and what could possibly be forthcoming for the Natives that allowed him to be more open-minded when it came to allowing the Moravians to enter Cherokee territory. He knew that his people learning the ways of the "white man" would take them very far, and he wanted to see his people succeed. Unfortunately, however, being constantly expected to perform at the highest level for those who followed, honored, and feared him also made Vann a force to be reckoned with when it came to matters that required his attention.

Throughout his lifetime, Vann developed an "immoral and wild reputation," especially when he was consuming alcohol.[136] Nonetheless, in 1793, the United States Government Indian Agents called upon him (Vann) to "clear the land of thieves and other white men who were causing trouble" within the Cherokee Nation.[137] Vann was loyal in policing such action and continued to be a "fierce protector of the Cherokee people" until his death in 1809.[138] This not only earned James the respect of his people, but it also gained him credit amongst leaders within the United States government for his willingness to help his people adapt to European ways.

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[136] C. Daniel Crews & Richard Starbuck, *Records of the Moravians Among the Cherokees, Early Contact and Establishment of the First Mission, vol. 1 (1752-1802,* (Tahlequah: Cherokee National Press, 2010), 220. It is in this series of diary entries that the reader is introduced to the Cherokee point of view of the establishment of the Moravian Mission at Springplace. This series by C. Daniel Crews and Richard Starbuck spans several decades of interaction between the Europeans and the Cherokee. The relationships built at the mission highlighted in this dissertation between the Moravians and the Cherokees can be found within the translations of these pages. Having both Crews & Starbuck's and McClinton's *The Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees* allows both interpretations of the mission to be discovered.

[137] Howard, *Murray County Heritage*, 4.

[138] Tiya Miles, *The House on Diamond Hill: A Plantation Story* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 37.

Although Vann presented a temper due to his drinking habit, he continued to care for and admire the traditions of his mother's people, the Cherokees. Even though he worked to try to assimilate them in the ways of the "white man," he loathed the thought of his people being taken advantage of or mistreated in any fashion. Out of concern for their well-being and to ensure the tribe had a long-lasting future, Vann took interest in educating his people as European culture continued to encroach upon the Cherokees at the turn of the 19th century. In doing so, he, along with other leaders of the Cherokee Nation, sought ways to innovate and prepare for such assimilation. The answer came just in time as the Moravians were looking to expand their missionary efforts in the Southeast.

In hopes of preserving his people's heritage, but also out of concern due to George Washington's assimilation plan for the Native Americans, Vann knew it was in his people's best interest to focus on their education.[139] According to Tim Howard, in his book *Murray County Heritage*:

> while on a business trip to the eastern coastal cities, including Washington D.C., he [Vann] met a group of Moravians from Salem, North Carolina [seeking to establish a mission amongst the Cherokee]. Impressed with their desire and dedication to work among the Cherokee, he promised them support-financially and physically-if they would come to Georgia and establish a school for the Cherokee children.[140]

[139] It was due to Washington's assimilation plan that the United States government became more involved in the process of moving the Natives more towards the ways of the 'white men'. It should be noted that the Moravians were given access to the Cherokee Nation due, in part, to the federal government's initiative to assimilate the Natives into European culture. Washington's plan for assimilating the Native Americans relied heavily on the influence of the various religious groups who wished to evangelize amongst the Natives; the Moravians proved to be some of the most successful among this group of religious affiliates to minister and "assimilate" the Natives into the ways of the Europeans.

[140] Howard, *Murray County Heritage*, 4.

This acquaintance set forth in motion a carousel of progress that would forever change the Cherokee Nation. Vann knew that out of the relationships that were established with the Moravians, this would be his people's ticket toward assimilation. Thus, the story of progress began to unfold as the work began at Springplace, Georgia at the turn of the 19th century. This, according to Clemens De Baillou, placed the Cherokees in the "midst of their greatest revolution."[141] With the traditions of old fading and the requirement to improve their system of agriculture to maintain necessary nourishment, the Cherokees desired to be educated in the ways of the "white man."

As Europeans continued to encroach further and further into Cherokee territory, Vann knew it was essential to acquire a means of educating his people on the latest advances in order to maintain a sustainable culture. Thus, a door was opened for the Moravians ushering in a sustainable relationship conducive to progress. It became apparent following the meeting of the Indian Council at Tellico in 1789 that the Brethren would be "kindly received…if they would come to instruct or teach their children" in the ways of European culture.[142] These words formed a relationship that would bind two cultures from worlds apart.

Because Vann believed that true progress for the Cherokee Nation lay within the education provided by the Moravians, he proved to be a great protector and supporter of the Brethren. Although not a believer, he came to admonish and appreciate the willingness and longsuffering of the Brethren as they worked diligently to build meaningful relationships with the Cherokees at Springplace. Vann oftentimes relied on the Moravians' expertise in writing letters or legal documents, and in return, he would often send presents of food to the Brethren at

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[141] Clemens De Baillou, "James Vann, A Cherokee Chief" *The Georgia Review 17*, 3 (1963), 271.

[142] Crews & Starbuck, *Record of the Moravians Among the Cherokee, vol. 1,* 35.

the mission. It became a great distress to the Brethren when Vann refused to respond to their preaching or teaching, or their attempts at leading him to salvation. Even thru such trials, the Brethren remained devoted to Vann because of his compassion as he helped them through their most difficult times of establishing a mission at Springplace.

Without James Vann's influence, the missionaries knew that it would be all the more difficult to try to spread the Gospel to the hearts of the Natives. They made sure to stay in Vann's best view, but their desire to see him saved and a brother in Christ was overwhelming, hence they continuously tried to influence him or his work as much as possible without threatening the progress being made of all the other souls in their mission field.

In 1803, to show the power and prestige of Diamond Hill, Vann "hired Mr. Vogt to build a house for him" that would rival all other mansions in the Cherokee Nation.[143] It was necessary to remember that at that time, a majority of Cherokees lived in small structures of unhewn logs with single-door openings and a fireplace for cooking and warming the home in the winter. Thus, the Vann House was a marvel of innovation for the Cherokee Nation, for it was the only brick-and-mortar mansion to be built in the Cherokee country.[144] While many partook in the building of the house, Reverend William Jasper Carter recalled that:

> the best master builder was engaged to make the brick and build the house. A skilled architect was engaged to prepare the plan, and when it was laid before Mr. Vann and the builder every mark of the profile was plain. It was a handsome, two-story brick building with beautiful surroundings. The bricks [for the house] were made about four hundred yards from the house [for] I have seen the brickyard where they were made.[145]

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[143] Ibid., 599.

[144] Baillou, "James Vann: A Cherokee Chief", 276.

[145] William Jasper Cotter, *My Autobiography* (Nashville: Publishing House Methodist Episcopal Church, 1917), 70-71.

Though many helped to create and build this massive structure, slave labor was an absolute necessity in building such a mansion. Although slavery was often thought to be the "enterprise of an odd, wealthy few [it had become apparent in the building of the Vann House that the institution had become] a cornerstone of Cherokee progressive society."[146] In his memoir, *My Life and Travels*, Levi Branham, a former slave and resident of the Vann House plantation in the 1850s, recalled the house as:

> one that [had] a large spacious yard with many beautiful shade trees. The front of the house which faces the South has four white columns imitating white marble posts. The door to the entrance of the house has a large arch, hand-carved and pegged, which was made by the Indians. The roomy hall is seventeen and a half feet wide with a beautiful hanging stairway, the banisters of which are hand-shaped and carved in many beautiful designs, and on which not a nail was used. In the dining room was a long table at which about fifteen or twenty people could be served.[147]

First-hand accounts, as the one highlighted above, are a remembrance of the grandeur and beauty of such a mansion that was built to stand as a testament to the power and wealth of James Vann. The new house was a great sensation that stood in the middle of Vann's empire that was unmatched by anything within close proximity to Diamond Hill. By 1805, Vann and his family formally inhabited the mansion. Although the establishment of a new home should have marked the beginning of a quaint ambiance enveloped Diamond Hill, an atmosphere of cruelty and wickedness continued to plague the manor.

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[146] Miles, *The House on Diamond Hill*, 167.

[147] Levi Branham, *My Life and Travels* (Dalton: A.J. Showalter Co, 1929). 13-15.

Despite the success of James Vann, wickedness and mayhem continued to fill the heart of such a weary soul. And on May 15, 1806, Mrs. Gambold of the mission wrote in her diary "that Mr. Vann had received and accepted a challenge from his brother-in-law, John Fahling, a thoroughly bad man who [had] threatened [Vann's] life for a long time."[148] It was evident from Mrs. Gambold's entry here that Fahling was considered a very bad character that left them (the Brethren) filled with "fearful uncertainty [that lasted] on into the night."[149] The hostility between Vann and Fahling had already reached a high point when Fahling had married Vann's sister and took her away from the plantation. According to Mrs. Gambold, late one night Mother Vann came in tears "report[ing] that James had ridden a mile and a half to meet Fahling. As Fahling approached, Vann greeted him with a joyful outcry. Both men came closer together and opened fire at the same time. Vann's shot had gone right through Fahling's chest and struck him dead to the ground."[150] Upon return, Vann consulted with the Brethren telling them all the facts about the altercation and wanted to make a will because he knew his life was evermore in danger.

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[148] Rowena McClinton, *The Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees, vol. 1,* 1805-1813 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010), 102.

[149]Ibid., 103.

[150] Ibid., 103-108.

Figure 6: The Chief Vann House as it sits atop Diamond Hill in Spring Place, Georgia. Courtesy of the Chief Vann House State Historic Site: A Georgia State Parks Division.

With a threat against his life looming ever so near, Vann hurriedly sought advice from the Brethren concerning the writing of his will. "The legal language, with a touch of religion" throughout the will indicated a strong Moravian influence throughout the document.[151] Because Sequoyah had yet to invent the Cherokee syllabary, the Brethren assisted Vann in penning his will in English.[152] Thus, in 1808, "the very first year that the Cherokee Nation adopted a written code of law, James Vann filed a legal will in the state of Georgia."[153] It was immediately obvious that the will was out of sorts according to traditional Cherokee standards as there were several aspects of the will that did not add up when compared to traditional Cherokee responses to death in their families. Miles indicated that even in a "cultural milieu where matrilineal family lines were still valued and respected, Vann left nothing to his mother or sisters. [And] in a community that cherished children, Vann left nothing to his…other recognized sons and daughters" and left much of the estate to his youngest son, Joseph.[154] Although Peggy, Vann's wife, remained loyal to her husband throughout the remainder of his life, it was discouraging that she was to only "receive the household furnishings" according to the will.[155]

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[151] Bailliou, "James Vann: A Cherokee Chief", 281.

[152] Georgia Historical Society, "Sequoyah and the Cherokee Syllabary" *Georgia Historical Quarterly 41*, no. 2 (1984), 41.

[153] Miles, *The House on Diamond Hill*, 143.

[154] Ibid., 143.

[155] Ibid., 143.

Although Vann had achieved much success throughout his life as a trader and businessman, the continuation of violent events throughout his lifetime culminated in tragedy as noted in Sister Gambold's diary on February 8, 1809:

> In the morning…Joseph Vann went with his father on a journey to go through the country to punish thieves in the company of a number of Indians. The boy cried and did not want to go along; the father, however, forced him to go. We were also sad about this…[but] unfortunately we were not allowed to say anything against it.

On February 21, Mrs. Gambold wrote:

> the horrible news of Mr. Vann's murder was brought to us. After he had already gone here and there holding the strictest trials, he had an Indian shot who did not give himself up willingly. The miserable man, Mr. Vann, had stopped and gotten really drunk for several days at an inn about thirty-six miles from here [Springplace]…Then he got into a fight with some of his former friends against whom he had long harbored a deep grudge and treated extremely contemptuously; he threatened them with the most horrible intimidations. Toward midnight, when Vann was at the table, which stood across from an open door, a shot was fired from outside and hit him directly in the heart. Immediately this threw him on the floor, without anyone being able to report with certainty who had done it.
>
> His youngest son [James] who was sleeping upstairs in the house [was] wrapped up in a blanket [and] fled with a Negro in the middle of the night to another of his father's plantations on the Chattahoochee [River, about] eighteen miles from the [inn]. At once, after the shot, all of his clothes he had with him… as well as other valuables including his pocketbook containing large sums of money in banknotes, were stolen. Thus fell this man, who had for so long been feared by many but loved by few, in his forty-first year.[156]

Such a tragedy shook the foundation of the Cherokee Nation for on February 23, Mrs. Gambold wrote:

> Mrs. Vann returned home with her retinue. Immediately, we [the Brethren] all went to see her to show our most sympathetic compassion, but we could not get there [to the house] because of the loud wailing that prevailed. In the meantime, we had learned from others that… Vann had already been buried in the woods close to the road [at the inn where he was shot].[157]

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[156] McClinton, *The Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees*, 301-303.

[157] Ibid., 303-304.

Although he had caused her much grief throughout his life, the formerly written stands as a testament to the faithfulness Mrs. Vann (Peggy) had towards such a man as James Vann. On January 24th, Joseph arrived home to find his mother still distraught over the tragedy of his father's death. He and his mother immediately went to Mr. Gambold for council concerning the matters of Vann's estate and "asked him for help in looking through some documents."[158]

[158] McClinton, *Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees*, 304.

Figure 7: Gravesite of Chief James Vann. Forsyth County, Georgia. Courtesy of the Whitfield-Murray Historical Society.

Mr. Gambold spent the entirety of the following day conducting such business. It was on March 11 that the executors of Mr. Vann's will "came to Brother Gambold with the request to assist them with [the task of executing the will] for they themselves could not read or write."[159] Even though the will called for Joseph to inherit much of his father's estate, Vann's wife, Peggy, after much legal debate with the Cherokee Council, earned the right to continue to live at the Vann mansion and receive her equal share of Vann's estate. During the time when such legal counsel took place, Peggy drew even closer to the Moravians while spending time at Diamond Hill. The Moravians at Springplace noted that she (Peggy) used Vann's death "as an opportunity to draw her[self] much closer to Him [(God)], and therefore wished to become closer to the Moravians."[160] Because of Peggy's "oppressive situation, as she had to deal with all sorts of bitter, insulting language from some of her husband's relatives" she hesitated to hasten toward building a true relationship with God.[161] Peggy's conversion though, as noted in the Springplace diary, is a testament to the relationship that had been forged by the work supported by James Vann. While no evidence supported his conversion, it was evident through Peggy's conversion that Vann's work was not all in vain. For through Peggy, his work to help assimilate his people into a more Euro-centered culture continued forward with the bond that was further strengthened by Peggy's glorious conversion. It was on October 18, 1830, that Peggy went home to be with her Savior and Lord to which Mrs. Gambold commented: "We have lost much in her; not only was she a reliable interpreter, but also a true evangelist among her people. Since she was always

[159] Ibid., 306.

[160] McClinton, *The Moravian Mission to the Cherokees*, vol. 1, 303.

[161] Ibid., 354.

respected by them, her words also had weight."[162] Showing their respect for a woman of such sincere faith, and in remembrance of the sacrifices her husband, James, had made on their behalf, "Peggy was buried in the Sprinplace Mission cemetery, or "God's Acre", before a crowd of over one hundred people" who paid their respects to a woman who continued her husband's legacy by building bridges between two worlds through the Brethren's mission at Springplace.[163]

Although contention continued to arise between the Vann family and the Moravians following James' death, it was clear that the Cherokees learned through James' death that the academic teachings of the Brethren were a necessity in dealing with the Europeans who continued to enter the scene. For this purpose, Joseph, as well as others of the Vann family, continued to attend the school established by the Brethren at Springplace to gain the skills necessary to follow in his father's footsteps.[164] "By the age of twenty, Joseph took a firm hold of plantation management, monitoring his enslaved labor force and extending his cultivated acreage."[165] On his plantation, "more than 800 acres were under cultivation, and the beautiful home was surrounded by kitchens, slave quarters, and mills. [Sprawling] apple and peach orchards [that] covered [the] adjacent hills."[166] Vann's pioneering family had prepared him well for the challenges that lay ahead. Joseph's relationship with the Moravians was also one of a

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[162] Miles, *The House on Diamond Hill: A Cherokee Plantation Story*, 172-173.

[163] Ibid., 173.

[164] McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries, 1789-1839,* 74-81. Here McLoughlin comments on Joseph as successor of his father's plantation and trading businesses. The excerpt discusses Joseph's inheritance and how he, too, became the richest man in the Cherokee Nation.

[165] Miles, *The House on Diamond Hill: A Cherokee Plantation Story,* 165.

[166] Marguuerite McFadden, "The Saga of 'Rich Joe' Vann," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* July 26**,** 1951.

sustainable manner. Although he continued in his father's footsteps in avoiding Christianity, he "supported his wives' desires to attend services at the Moravian mission and allowed his children to be baptized."[167] As Joseph's prestige became that of his father's in the Cherokee Nation, so, too, did his wealth and power follow. Throughout the years as head of his plantation, the missionaries watched Diamond Hill prosper and flourish. The house continued to serve as a symbol of both power and wealth for Joseph throughout his time as head of the Diamond Hill plantation. The plantation thrived for years to come as the Moravians continued to labor alongside the Natives as they continued to strive to build relationships amongst the Cherokees at Diamond Hill.

Unfortunately, as time marched forward, it became evident that the Moravians at Springplace would face dispute as the federal government once again avidly pursued assimilation on part of the Cherokees, for Count Zinzendorf firmly forbade the missionaries from involvement in political controversy. Rather than support the federal government in its efforts to remove the Natives and offend the Cherokees with whom they had earned trust, the Brethren were forced to separate themselves from mainstream politics and refused to take sides with either party on the issue. It is was at this point in time that the missionaries had to choose whether to go or stay. Their answer would determine the fate of the mission at Springplace.

[167] Ibid., 165.

Figure 8: Joseph Vann at the height of his reign at Diamond Hill Plantation in Springplace, Georgia. Courtesy of the Chief Vann State Historic Site, the Georgia Department of Natural Resources.

Chapter 4: Springplace: A Mission of Hope

The Moravians made it clear that they were grateful for the gratitude shown by James Vann as they established their mission at Springplace. The Vann family opened its doors to the Moravians when no one was sure that they would allow the missionaries onto their land at all. This was pivotal for the Moravians as they sought to establish, maintain, and prosper in their work of a new mission, but it has also been said of both James and Joseph Vann that "their greatest contribution to the Cherokees was their sponsorship of the Moravian Mission at Springplace."[168] The mission established at Springplace was a testament to the Brethren's thirty years of faithfulness to the missionary work ordained by God as they ministered to the people of the Cherokee Nation in northwest Georgia at the turn of the 19th century. The mission was also a testament to the relationships that were forged between the missionaries and the Natives of the area at the time it was established. McClinton commented that it was the "Brethren's commitment to evangelizing the "heathen" that resulted from a sense of [the Natives'] unique place in history that germinated from a common past of oppression."[169] It was from this commonality of both groups' pasts that relationships were built between the two very different people groups at Springplace that would change the landscape of missionary work for centuries to come.

It must be recognized that the work of the Moravians at Springplace undertaken by the Brethren was, without a doubt, a most cumbersome task that required much patience and perseverance as they entered a world of unknowns. The first task they had to focus on became apparent, for they knew the differences between their spiritual beliefs would be something that

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[168] Tim Howard, *Murray County Heritage* (Whitfield-Murray Historical Society, 2009), 22.

[169] Rowena McClinton, *The Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees*, 2.

needed critical analysis in order to see if any part of them were relatable enough to make a connection. For the most part, the Cherokee Nation, or Native Americans in general, held spiritual beliefs that were obscene to most people of European descent. Therefore, it has been said that it was a miraculous movement of Almighty God that opened the door to which the Moravians were allowed to establish a mission amongst the Cherokees at Springplace. One thing that was imperative to how the Moravians made the choices they made in order to remain constant with the Natives was the teachings that were passed down from their predecessor, Count Zinzendorf who "admonished his followers to let the Holy Spirit guide and direct the [Natives]".[170] As time progressed and it became evident that the Native people's ways would succumb to European traditions and values due to expectations from the government, it was then that the "Cherokees decided to admit permanent mission stations in their nation…because they expected the missionaries to teach their children to read and to write and to provide them with other useful information in their effort to cope with a rapidly changing social order."[171]

It was at the turn of the 19th century that the fruits of their labors came to pass when such access would be granted to the Moravians when, in 1801, Chief James Vann allowed access to his people under conditions set forth by the Cherokee Principal Chiefs. The mission at Springplace became the center of the action as the Moravians ministered to the Cherokees for close to thirty-two years. Though the journey was oftentimes characterized by turmoil, both the Moravians' and the Cherokees' need to understand and respect one another became the driving force that led the mission toward success. Oftentimes, as had happened many times in the

[170]McClinton, *The Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees,* 7.

[171] William G. McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries, 1789-1839* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), 35.

Brethren's past, they "faced animosity…because [the Moravians] regarded Indians as persons with souls. In contrast, most European settlers classed Indians as obstacles to expansion and therefore progress." [172] Both the Cherokees and the Moravians "had needs and expectations that the other sometimes considered inappropriate [,] but even as their daily contacts challenged each other, both the Cherokees and Moravians genuinely desired accommodation."[173] Although the goals of the Moravians were more associated with spiritual concerns, McClinton said that "the Cherokees found much in the Moravians to admire [including that] they were gentle, peaceful people who showed little interest in the accumulation of wealth."[174] The selflessness shown by the Moravians opened the door for missionary work to commence by 1801 as the intermingling of both cultures "transformed the mission into an interesting, vibrant, and important part of the Cherokee world."[175]

During the first years of interaction, the Cherokees and Moravians began to discover commonalities that would excel the mission towards success. It was said that one of the commonalities found between the two people groups was their "attitudes toward land and the accumulation of possessions."[176] Professor McClinton commented in her writing:

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[172] McClinton, *The Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees,* 13.

[173] Ibid., 20.

[174] Ibid., 22-23.

[175] Ibid., 21.

[176] Ibid., 22.

> To the Moravians, community goals were primary. The historic Moravian Church regulated all property, whether private or community owned, and fostered a non-acquisitive ethic. Their system discouraged competition and free enterprise except in ways that benefited the community. Cherokees, like the Moravians, stressed the concept of sharing and reinforced those values by holding land in common. Individual Cherokees could use unoccupied land for grazing cattle, growing crops, and erecting buildings, but [the] land itself could not be sold, only the improvements.[177]

It was in this fashion that the partnership between James Vann and the Moravians was forged, which allowed the Moravians to build their mission at Springplace The construction of the "model farm" at Springplace proved to be labor intensive for the Moravians, yet the missionaries "efficiently used the land the Cherokees loaned them and built a self-sufficient and self-contained community" at Springplace.[178]

The mission established at Springplace, as described in the diaries, was "surrounded entirely by a fence" that contained… an apple and a peach orchard, and a vegetable garden that was planted with beans, squash, pumpkins, turnips, and sweet potatoes.[179] In addition to the gardens, the Moravians kept animals such as goats, sheep, pigs, and cattle for the purpose of providing nourishment to the community. The smokehouse became an important staple for storing meats that proved to be a delicacy for the Indians who visited with the Moravians at Springplace.[180] As well, the property also included a graveyard [God's Acre], a barn and stable, a workshop, a flower garden, a plant nursery, a kiln, a bake oven, beehives, and chicken coops; all

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[177] Ibid., 23.

[178] McClinton, *The Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees*, 23-24.

[179] Ibid., 95-96.

[180] Gary C. Goodwin, *Cherokees in Transition: A Study of Changing Culture and Environment Prior to 1775* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), 126-127.

of which ensured the self-sufficiency and longevity of the mission.[181] These things were vital to the mission being stable enough to stand alone and also serve those who visited it without encroaching on the needs of the people who dwelt on the plantation prior to the mission's existence.

Other places of interest around the mission included a schoolhouse, boarding houses for visiting Cherokees, and a congregation house that played a vital role in the lives and ministry of the Moravian Brethren stationed at the mission. Diamond Hill Plantation was historically known for hosting wealthy families, as well as people of influence. Having these designated buildings where something was happening nearly constantly made their missionary work all the more accessible and attractive to people from every walk of life.

The first few years of the Brethren's existence at Springplace were somewhat stagnant due to the laborious tasks of establishing their presence amongst the Natives; even so still to the extent that the Cherokee Chiefs issued an ultimatum of dispersal if the Brethren were unable to uphold their end of the agreement that promised the establishment of a school for the Natives in and around Springplace. It was in 1804 that such a school for the purpose of aiding in the assimilation of the Natives was established at Springplace to which orders were given by the Brethren in conference at Salem, North Carolina on September 14, 1804, for the "Cherokee children [to] be entrusted [to the missionaries] for instruction, care, and nurture, [and be the]

[181] McClinton, *The Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees*, 24.

responsibility [of the missionaries] to lead them to the Savior, who has bought them with His precious blood."[182]

But to whom would such responsibility be given, for, by this time, a change in leadership was necessary to ensure the longevity of the mission at Springplace. Moreover, the job required a person(s) who would be passionate about the educational and spiritual needs of the Cherokees at Springplace. Leadership amongst the Brethren knew that the solution to their problem must come quickly, for by October 1804, in haste to fulfill their obligations to the Cherokees, the Moravians began a school with two Cherokee boys who were waiting for such a leader. By 1805, the Brethren had found the person to fulfill God's will of evangelism to the Cherokee people. According to Rev. Crews, "The Cherokees got [just] what they [needed] in the person of Anna Rosina Kliest Gambold."[183]

Regrettably, little is known about Anna Rosina's early years, but records indicate that she was born at the Moravian settlement in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania in 1762. Anna's mother passed unexpectedly in 1765, leaving her to be placed in a boarding school. Following her time in boarding school, she entered the Sisters' House where she became a teacher in the Girls' School.[184] Her time spent at the Girls' School prepared her for later times when she would be

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[182] C. Daniel Crews & Richard W. Starbuck, eds., *Records of the Moravians Amongst the Cherokee: The Anna Rosina Years, Part 1: Success in School and Mission, vol. 3, 1805-1810* (Tahlequah: Cherokee National Press), 865. It is within this volume of Crews and Starbuck's translation of the Cherokee records that the establishment and success of the school at Springplace is focused on. Throughout the volume, the success of Anna Gambold is discussed as she and her husband overtook the direction of the mission at Springplace. Much is too be learned about the school's part in the success of the mission throughout this volume. It becomes evident that education was the key to ministering to the Natives as the Gambold's labored throughout the first part of the 19th century at Sprngplace.

[183] C. Daniel Crews, *Faith and Tears: The Moravian Mission Among the Cherokee* (Winston-Salem: Moravian Archives, 2009), 4-5.

[184] V. Nelson, "Ten Moravian Artists" *The Blacksmiths of Early Bethlehem 19*, no. 2 (1992), 36.

asked to teach at the school established at the Springplace mission. It was under the vision of Count Zinzendorf that Anna Rosina would be called to the ministry as she sought out a way to minister to the Natives throughout the land. In his journal, Rev. Edmund Schwarze indicated that Anna's "love for the Indians…probably [started]when she accompanied George Henry Loskiel, historian of Moravian missions to the northern American Indians, on a visit to the Indian mission on the Muskingum."[185] Marrying later in life to John Gambold of New York, Anna Rosina continued in her efforts to serve in the missionary field as she assisted "him in his missionary efforts among the Cherokee."[186]

It was on October 19, 1805, that Rev. Schwarze recounted the Gambolds' arrival at Springplace as "having come from Salem [Winston-Salem] in a covered wagon."[187] It was upon the arrival of Sister Gambold that the Moravians' agreement with the Cherokees to formally establish a school at Springplace was fulfilled. Rev. Schwarze wrote:

> there was unbound joy in the little mission house at Springplace when the party arrived. This relieved the mission Sisters [for] Mrs. Gambold at once began her labors in the school with much enthusiasm. [Although] frail in physique, she was, nevertheless, indefatigable among her Indian children. For this work she was especially gifted and could make little dessert hearts blossom like the rose. [Because of her dedication to the school,] the number of scholars had increased to six.[188]

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[185] Rev. Edmund Schwarze, *History of the Moravian Missions Among Southern Indian Tribes of the United States* (Bethlehem: Times Publishing Company, 1923), 83. Other than Mrs. Gambold's penned diary entries, Rev. Schwarze's writings are some of the most accurate depictions of the mission for he wrote as he traveled through Cherokee country throughout his ministry. His writings give the reader first-hand accounts of much of the work that was accomplished by the Moravians at the Springplace mission. It is through comparison of sources such as Schwarze's writings with that of Mrs. Gambold's diary entries that an accurate account of the mission is drawn allowing the retelling of the events that occurred at Springplace to be retold and analyzed.

[186] Ibid., 83.

[187] Ibid., 84.

[188] Ibid., 85.

Mrs. Gambold's school day was dictated by a rigorous daily schedule that she crafted each day before sunrise at her dwelling. The tasks for the day were meticulously laid out for each student so that she "appointed… ones to bring in the water for washing" and others to prepare the buildings and grounds for the day's labors.[189] Each day the students were responsible for gathering grass to feed the pigs, and "when milking cows, two were appointed to hold the calves away from the cows."[190] The students husked corn in the fall and were responsible for taking it to the mill for grinding where it would be ground into flour. McClinton wrote that "the Gambolds sent students in a small wagon to the woods for firewood. For lighting purposes, [the] pine knots were used instead of lamps."[191] It was to this extent that the activities of the day commenced under the watchful eye of Mrs. Gambold.

Each day, the children in the mission rose early in the morning to say a prayer before they started the day's tasks. Mrs. Gambold began school after breakfast and "continued to the noonday meal."[192] Following the break, the class would once again commence as Mrs. Gambold taught reading, writing, arithmetic, and grammar. It should be noted that Mrs. Gambold oftentimes relied on the Lancastrian method of instruction where it was the responsibility of the older children to instruct the younger pupils.[193]

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[189] McClinton, *The Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees*, 31.

[190] Ibid., 32.

[191] Ibid., 32.

[192] Ibid., 33.

[193] Ronald Rayman, "Joseph Lancaster's Monitorial System of Instruction and American Indian Education, 1815-1838," *History of Education Quarterly 21* (Winter 1981), 395-410, date accessed: 9/16/2022. https://www-jstor-org.ezproxy.liberty.edu/stable/367922?pq-origsite=summon#metadata_info_tab_contents. According to Rayman in this article, Joseph Lancaster devised an education system in Europe that proved most successful as the older children became responsible for disseminating information to their younger counterparts. This system was crucial during

It was through this method that she taught the children responsibility, for the older children understood that their pupils' success was dependent on their actions. As important as the lesson in reading, writing, arithmetic, and grammar proved to be, the religious instruction of the children continued to remain a priority with Mrs. Gambold. Dr. McClinton wrote that "Brother Gambold held catechism once every fourteen days.

The missionaries required the students to learn the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, hymns, and Bible verses. The missionaries held a public examination at Christmas to test Cherokee youth about the main Christian beliefs."[194] According to Rev. Schwarze. the neighboring Indians had frequently attended these meetings in the former years but walked in and out "indifferently while the service was in progress; now they sat quietly through the entire service, reverent in prayer and awe while the children sang."[195] Such behavior exhibited by the Natives was a true testament to the work that was being performed at the mission, and it was in this fashion that the missionaries held true to their calling as they continued to spread the Gospel to the Cherokees through their teaching at the mission school.

Throughout the first years of the mission school, the work seemed to produce slow results. One reason for such struggles came from the Gambolds' lack of understanding of the Natives' language. This prohibited them from adequately conversing with the children without the use of an interpreter. According to Daniel L. McKinley, "education at first was a matter of rote study, in order to pronounce even the simplest words. Soon [though], the children were able

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the 18th and early 19th centuries across Europe, for the shortage of teachers required the students to fill in the gaps as the student-teacher ratio became overwhelming.

[194] McClinton, *The Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees*, 33.

[195] Rev. Edmund Schwarze, *Moravian Missions Among Southern Indian Tribes*, 85.

to sing with the missionaries."[196] The air had a grand feeling as "new life and joy…filled the mission household."[197] Indeed, the missionaries were starting to see that their labors at Springplace were not in vain. Mrs. Gambold knew in her heart that progress was being made in building sustainable relationships with the Natives at Springplace, for she wrote in her diary on October 31, 1806, that there was "great rejoicing [in our] hearts for the blessed reformation had begun!"[198] The missionaries were beginning to see the fruits of their labor. They found comfort and perseverance in knowing that the children were being prepared for times of the future, as well as being acquainted with the Gospel of Jesus Christ. These small steps prepared the missionaries for a new day's dawning at Springplace.

According to Dr. Crews, the Gambolds were an instant success at Springplace.[199] Central to their success was their ability to find favor with leadership within the Cherokee Nation. Crews wrote that "though he was the first to send his son to the schools, Chief Chuleo had at first opposed the Moravians; but by the end of 1805, he was counted by the Moravians as a friend."[200] The school was turning out to be the link between the Moravians' success and the Cherokees' willingness to accept the Euro-centered culture in their world. By the close of 1805, the school

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[196] Daniel L. McKinley, "Anna Rosina (Kliest) Gambold (1762-1821), Moravian Missionary to the Cherokees, with Special Reference to Her Botanical Interests," *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society 28* (1994), 80.

[197] Rev. Schwarze, *History of the Moravian Missions Among Southern Indian Tribes of the United States,* 86.

[198] Rowena McClinton, ed., *The Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees, vol. 1, 1805-1813* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 138.

[199] Crews, *Faith and Tears*, 5-6

[200] Ibid., 6

had eight students, four of whose expenses were being paid for by Chief Vann.[201] This demonstrated the compassion and acceptance of the Moravians by Vann and his family at Diamond Hill. The school also drew the attention of neighboring communities from which students began to come to be educated by Mrs. Gambold at Springplace. Crews noted that this notoriety caused much praise from the United States government for the progress that was being made with the children's education.[202] Secretary of War, John C. Calhoun, announced that due to the success of the mission, the Moravians would receive a $250.00 yearly operating grant for the mission, along with "an offer to pay two-thirds of all future building expenses."[203] Calhoun was so pleased with the progress that he had Congress designate funds that would be allocated "for the civilization of the Indian as extensively beneficial as possible."[204] Although the Brethren's teachings forbade them from becoming involved in politics, it became clear that they had to succumb to the demands of the United States government in order to ensure their continued admittance into Cherokee territory. Furthermore, the financial support from the government, on account of the Moravians' continued success in assimilating the Natives into European culture, became most useful as the demands from the Natives continued to climb as the number of Cherokees utilizing the mission at Springplace continued to grow. Indeed, the Gambolds proved to be the trusses needed to span the gap between the Moravians and the Cherokees by acting as the bridge that spanned the gap between the Natives and the growing white population

[201] Ibid., 6

[202] Ibid., 7.

[203] Ibid., 7-8

[204] Ibid., 11.

consuming the world around them. Upon their successes would the Springplace mission thrive and survive for the decades to come.

One instance that proved the Moravians different from other evangelicals seeking to proselytize the Natives was their willingness to work with the Natives in their own environment rather than remove them from their native surroundings. McLoughlin noted in his article "Cherokees and Methodists, 1824-1834" that other denominations, such as the Methodists "got a late start amongst the Cherokees… for they had been neglecting the Cherokee… [until] they were first invited into the nation in 1822."[205] The Methodists' lack of determination to find an outlet into the Cherokee Nation, such as that had been established between the Moravians and Vann, was a crippling point in establishing relationships with the Cherokees. Furthermore, other evangelicals' "push to incorporate… elements of Christianity into [the Natives] lifestyle" often built barriers between the evangelists and the Cherokees, for the Natives feared that these "elements" would lead to the downfall of their native beliefs.[206] This neglect and late start only hindered the other various denominations from building meaningful relationships with the Natives as the Moravians had done some "twenty-three years prior" to the date the other denominations entered the scene.[207] Since the mission was surrounded by a farm, it became rather obvious that the best practice would be for Mr. and Mrs. Gambold to intertwine vocational training within the students' study. McLoughlin wrote in *Cherokees and Missionaries* that the girls "learned sewing, household chores, how to make butter and cheese, how to raise vegetables

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[205] McLoughlin, "Cherokees and Methodists, 1824-1834," *Church History 50,* no. 1 (March 1981), 47-48.

[206] Ronald N. Satz, "Cherokee Traditionalism, Protestant Evangelism, and the Trail of Tears, Part II," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly 44*, no. 4 (1985), 383.

[207] Ibid., 48.

and care for chickens [while] the boys helped the missionaries in ploughing, cultivating and caring for the livestock, [as well as] carpentry."[208] This hands-on, practical training was well in line with the government's means to assimilate the Natives, but it also forced the children to learn the value of working for their goods.

McLoughlin noted that this was oftentimes not customary for the Natives. Most manual labor was left to the adults, not the children.[209] While most Native parents disagreed with this type of training, they allowed for such efforts to continue out of respect and admiration for the Gambolds.

While Mr. and Mrs. Gambold continued to hold true to the mission of soul conversion while working amongst the Cherokees, Mrs. Gambold, too, took notice and learned from the traditional ways of the Cherokee. Much of her botanical knowledge was gained from careful notetaking that occurred while living with the Cherokees at Springplace. It is evident throughout her diaries that the Cherokees had a drastic impact on her understanding of the natural world around her. This mutual interaction with the Natives proved to be beneficial in earning their respect as Mrs. Gambold not only sought to teach them the ways of the "white man," but for the Natives to also know that she was willing to listen to them as well.

By 1810, with the passing of almost five years of success associated with the school at Springplace, God's favor continued to shine down upon the Gambolds and their fervent efforts to minister to the Natives at Springplace. The acknowledgment of such success can be seen in the following letter written by John Gambold to Secretary of War, William Eustis, in 1810:

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[208] McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries*, 60-61.

[209] Ibid., 61.

> Dear Sir, Having again been favored with a donation towards the maintenance of our little school from your generosity, which I this day received from our friend and patron, Col. Meigs, I humbly beg you to accept my most sincere thanks from the same.
> A year has now elapsed since last I had an opportunity to thank you for a similar favor. I then promised to give a statement of the use I should make of your bounty. The first great use of it was to provide each of our scholars with a good, warm blanket; next, strong, home-made clothing; some medicine; beef, venison and wheat flour when our stock of corn was at an end.
> Since I last wrote you our scholars have advanced in Arithmetic as far as the Rule of Three, made further progress in Reading, Grammar and Writing; learned by heart a little of sacred history, and likewise, the first rudiments of Geography.
>
> They advance but slowly and great patience is requisite to lead them on by degrees. Steadiness or perseverance in matters which require exertion of mind is not natural to the Indian, unless it regards those pursuits which are and have been habitual with them from generation to generation. Yet, I must say they are willing children whom we love sincerely and would gladly sacrifice our days in their service.
> Our girls excel our boys in writing at present, of which I enclose a specimen to you, trusting you will kindly take their good will.
> Commending ourselves and our dear little Indian charges in this country to your kind patronage and imploring our dear Lord to shower upon you, our generous benefactor, His choicest blessings day by day, I have the honor to subscribe myself,
>
> Your most obliged humble servant.[210]

Over the course of the next several years, the success of the school drew visitors from far and wide as they stopped over at Springplace on their journey to overlook the school. Rev. Schwarze recalls one of these visitors as Dr. Golding, of Franklin College (University of Georgia), who was "well pleased with [the] methods employed, and results achieved."[211] This type of notoriety fanned out throughout the southeast, causing such a stir "as to warrant higher education with a

[210] Letter from John Gambold to Secretary of War, William Eustis, August 4, 1810. Courtesy of the Whitfield-Murray Historical Society.

[211] Rev. Schwarze, *History of the Moravian Missions Among Southern Indian Tribes of the United States*, 109-111.

view to future usefulness in the Nation."[212] Of the most famous who attended the Gambolds' school at Springplace, and several future chiefs who left for further education in Cornwall, Connecticut, included Maj. John Ridge, John Vann, Buck Watie (Elias Boudinot), and David Taucheechy. Rev. Schwarze recorded that when Mr. Gambold wrote to Salem telling the elders the good news about the scholars setting out for Cornwall, "[their] eyes [became] blinded with tears of emotion and gratitude for God."[213] This proved to be a legacy of the Springplace school for which the students were placed on a road to higher education. For thirteen years, the Gambolds had labored, often discouraged and with no results, but "the day when the boys set out in pursuit for higher education, holding in store a bright future when they would return as leaders of their people, [the time spent] was [well] worth all [the] labor, prayers, and tears- many times over."[214] The following is a statement from David Taucheechy expressing his gratitude for the faithfulness of the Gambolds to their missionary work at Springplace:

> Dear Friends, I write to you this time [in] a few lines. I am hoping that you are all well. I am very happy indeed to receive your letter. I am very happy that our Good God has provided a place for the poor heathen to get their education, so they may be useful. The Lord will help us [so] that we may return to our own country to teach our Nation…[215]

The words of David Taucheechy stand as a clear testament to the earnest faithfulness of the Gambolds to their dedication to the mission at Springplace. The work of the Gambolds not only gained notoriety throughout the Cherokee Nation but also national status. On his tour through the

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[212] Ibid., 109.

[213] Rev. Schwarze, *Moravian Missions Among Southern Indian Tribes,* 110.

[214] Ibid., 110.

[215] Unpublished letter from David Taucheechy to the Gambolds at Springplace, November 1818. Courtesy: Chief Vann House State Historic Site.

southern states, it was of utmost importance that President James Monroe stopped at Springplace to view the work of the mission. Mrs. Gambold records in her diary on 25 May 1819 that "a young Mr. James Monroe came riding into [town] for he [wanted] to see and speak with Brother Gambold" regarding the success unfolding at the mission. "He (Monroe) expressed…happiness…honor[ing] the Cherokee country with a visit [and upon leaving] he wished Brother [and Sister] Gambold happiness and blessing."[216] "This and encouraging signs among the Cherokees themselves...prompted renewed interest in the mission."[217] Scholar Henry Steinhauer vividly recollected the mission along with Mr. and Mrs. Gambolds' efforts in his memoirs as follows:

> The Moravian mission at Springplace, on the borders of Georgia and South Carolina, in the country of the free Cherokee Indians, has now been conducted for some years now with unparalleled perseverance by Brother John Gambold, ably assisted by his wife, Sister Anna Rosina Gambold. They have kept school with ten or twelve Indian youths, who have, under their care, attained to a respectable degree of education. Three or four of them give hopes of having attained to a practical knowledge of the Truth and two, "Buck" and Leonard Hicks, will probably pursue their studies in the mission college in New England with a view to future usefulness among their countrymen.
> The indefatigable exertions of Brother Gambold and his wife are almost beyond credit. Besides providing food, raiment, shelter and fuel for themselves and their scholars, attending to the school daily, acting as advisers and physicians to the whole neighborhood, entertaining every visitor- and they are numerous who draw on their hospitality- writing letters, and on Sundays teaching, admonishing, etc., they find time, even, to oblige their friends in various ways.
> On my expressing a wish to see some of the botanical products of that country, Sister Gambold sent me, last autumn, between twelve and fourteen hundred specimens of dried plants, besides near a hundred packets of seeds, several minerals, specimens of all the Indian manufacturers of cane, etc., and a number of other curiosities, apologizing for not having done more as the season was unfavorable; whereas I should have thought the collecting of these a good half year's work for one person's undivided attention, under the most favorable circumstances. And yet this person, banished as she is from civilized society, cheerfully laboring year after year with scarcely any promise of success, yet

[216] McClinton, *The Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees, vol. 2, 1814-1821,* 289-290.

[217] Crews, *Faith and Tears,* 12.

> undauntedly persevering, was the first teacher in Bethlehem Young Ladies' Seminary, and seemed its main support by the excellent qualities of her mind and heart and her abilities natural and acquired. To any not devoted to the cause of God from the same principle, the sacrifice might appear almost too great; but not to one who loves Him because He first loved us.[218]

By November 1819, a new school and meeting house were dedicated in response to the growth experienced. Two more converts were baptized, bringing the total to five who had received God's blessings and forgiveness.[219] Extraordinary things were happening at Springplace, which led the Gambolds to hope for more help as they labored at the mission. More importantly, they continued to seek ways to build stronger connections between the two people groups that remained worlds apart.

By 1811, the mission became more financially burdensome, making the work for Mr. Gambold more of a challenge. Just when they were in need, Rev. Schwarze recorded that a Mr. Godfrey Gaga, a wealthy merchant of Philadelphia and member of the Moravian Church there, read of the successes of the mission at Springplace and at once acquired as to how he could help.[220] It was due to his donation of $100.00 that the mission was once again able to move forward without financial struggle.[221]

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[218] Unpublished excerpt from a memoir of Henry Steinhauer concerning the work of the Gambolds at Springplace. n/d. Courtesy: Chief Vann House State Historical Site. Henry Steinhauer was a distinguished scholar of literature and natural history from Fulneck, England. He was responsible for the training of candidates for the Moravian ministry.

[219] Crews, *Faith and Tears*, 12-13.

[220] Rev. Schwarze, *History of the Moravian Missions Among the Southern Indian Tribes of the United States, 116.*

[221] Ibid., 116.

All the while, the mission continued to grow more popular amongst the people of the Cherokee Nation. “At [that] time, the Chiefs sent a message to Brother Gambold [stating] that the missionaries might enlarge their fields as much as they wanted and could dwell in their land in perfect safety since the Indians were convinced they were here for the good of the Nation.”[222] It was in this news that the Moravians became at ease in the Cherokees’ world, for the news came at a time when the Natives were “growing more and more distrustful of the whites and their ambitions and were hedging about the residence of whites in the Nation with severe restrictions.”[223] This promise from the Cherokees sealed the relationships that had been built between the two people groups that would continue to carry on into the future.

Due to the success of the mission at Springplace, the prospect of a second mission came into the Gambolds’ view by 1819. With the Cherokee Nation’s capital approximately thirty miles south of Springplace, it became evident that much work was to be done after “several souls had been awakened, through children attending the Springplace school, [which caused] deep concern over the [Natives’] spiritual conditions who lived closer to the capitol, New Echota.”[224] Distraught by such a thought, William Hicks pled his case for the start of a second mission to the Cherokee in a letter of appeal to the Society in Salem stating:

[222] Ibid., 117.

[223] Ibid., 118.

[224] Ibid., 137.

Dear Friends, We take this opportunity to write to you about the settlement at Ooch-ge-lo-gy and the prospects for a mission and school here, which we conceive would be an advantage for usefulness to our rising generation. Besides, it will be the means of bringing some of our red brethren and sisters to our Lord and Saviour and without a doubt it will be a populous settlement near here in a short time. We trust that this plea will occupy your minds in your deliberations in sending some of the Brethren and Sisters who may live near to us to teach and instruct us, as some of us have already joined the Brethren's Society who now lives at this settlement. We deem it our duty to inform you that we have mentioned of these our wishes to the Chiefs in Council at our New Town, for we find difficulty to obtain suitable schoolmasters to instruct our children.
We might say much on this interesting subject but must refer you to the information of Brother Steiner who has visited our settlement and no doubt has formed his opinion on this place.
With much esteem and love, we remain yours affectionately.

William Hicks,
"Ridge X, (his mark)
"Waytee X, (his mark)[225]

[225] "Letter to the Directors of the Society in Salem" from Charles Hicks, February 1820. Courtesy: Whitfield-Murray Historical Society.

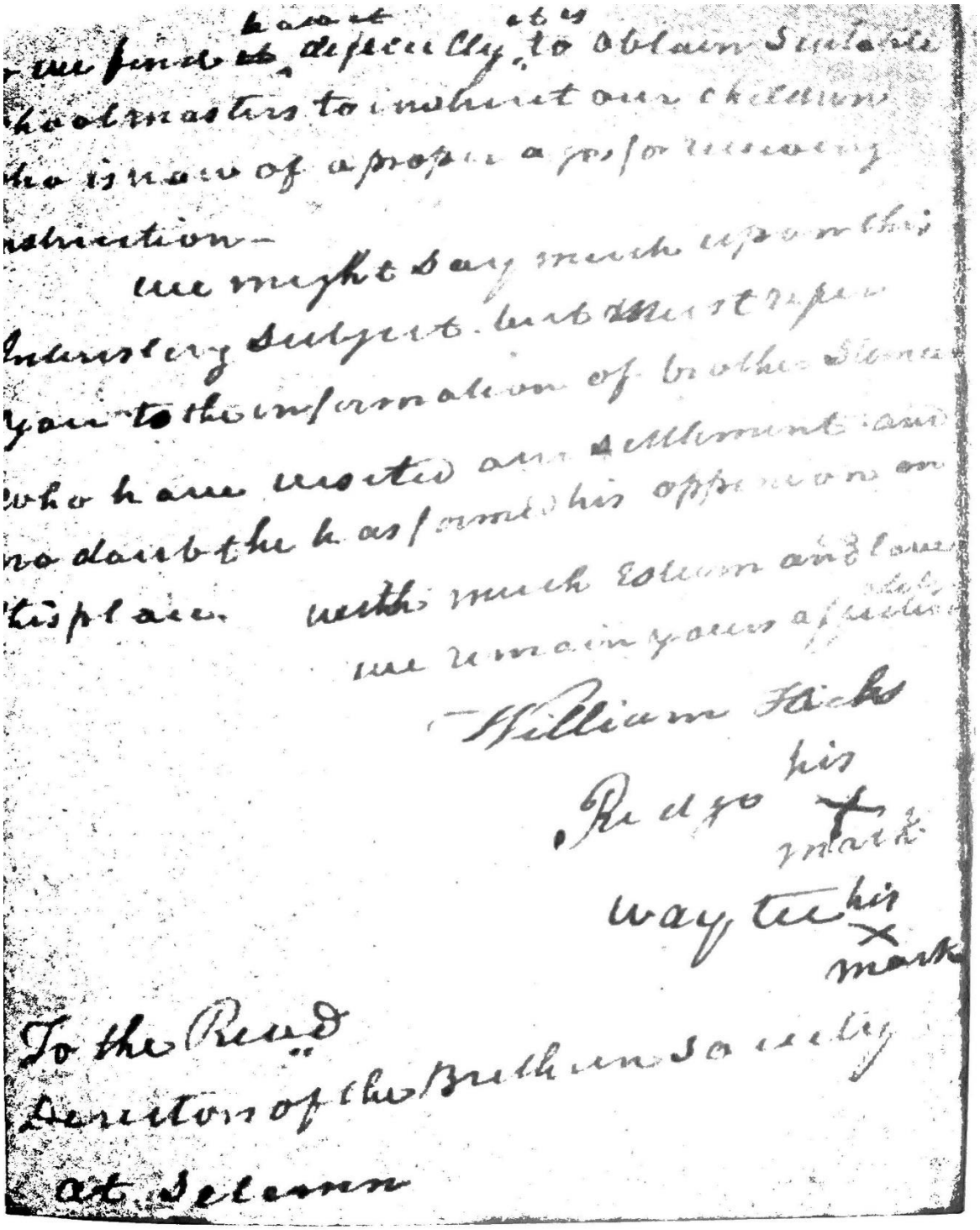

Figure 9: Above is an image of the original letter sent by William Hicks to the Society in Salem, February 1820. Courtesy: Whitfield-Murray Historical Society

Despite Mrs. Gambold's declining health, the Gambolds made plans to move to the Oochegelogy community following Bro. Hicks' acquisition of a "little place for a second mission station" near New Echota.[226] With the plans made for the Gambolds to move and start a second mission south of New Echota near the Oochgeology creek,[227] it was necessary to find new leadership for the mission at Springplace. According to the minutes of the Provincial Helfer Conference, held in Salem on Tuesday, April 18, 1820, the decision had been made for the replacement of Mr. and Mrs. Gambold. It was with great excitement when the news was obtained that "Br. Johann Renatus Schmidt received and accepted the call" to replace the Gambolds at Springplace.[228] With the arrival of the new missionaries at Springplace, and with the start of the new mission at Oochgeology by the Gambolds, 1820 proved to be a most productive and active year for the Moravians.

With the new mission at Oochgeology established, it became ever evident to Brother Gambold that Mrs. Gambold had grown rather stricken and gray. For the first time, while sitting at her bedside, "he could not much longer hold this earthly treasure- for such she had been to him, and the light of the mission."[229] Her will to continue the work of her Lord proved to be the driving force that kept her alive. It was until one day before her death that she continued to keep the Diary of Springplace to which the last entry would be entered on February 19, 1821: "[I] spoke very sincerely with the dear guests and through Major Ridge sent greetings to all our dear

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[226] Crews and Starbuck, *Records of the Moravians Among the Cherokee: The Anna Rosina Years, Part 3. Farewell to Sister Gambold, vol. 5 (1817-1821)*, 2340.

[227] Today the creek is spelled Oothcalooga

[228] Crews and Starbuck, *Records of the Moravians Among the Cherokee: The Anna Rosina Years, Part 3. Farewell to Sister Gambold, vol. 5 (1817-1821)*, 2510.

[229] Rev. Schwartze, *History of the Moravian Missions Among Southern Indian Tribes of the United States*, 143.

ones in Oothgeology. [I] sent word to them that, as weak as [I] was at the current time, it was still [my] wish to go to them if our dear Lord considers this good, because [I] love them all dearly."[230] Her last entry recorded continued to show her faithfulness to the work which the Lord had set before her, for she longed to continue to "fight the good fight and finish the race, for [she] had kept the faith"[231] for as "Brother Gambold held her in his arms, she passed over."[232]

Sadness consumed the entirety of the missions at both Oothgeology and Springplace, for Mrs. Gambold had served her Lord and Savior well and faithfully in Cherokee Territory since 1805. Bro. Gambold was so distraught that he failed to prepare a memoir for her. It is written in the Springplace Diary that:

> [they] had many visitors by Brethren and Sisters and friends, all of whom felt this loss deeply and shed many tears. [It was] then, before an attentive gathering of about one hundred people in the meetinghouse, Brother Schmidt gave an impressive talk about Revelation 7: 9-17. In conclusion, the gathering joined him as he fell on his knees. He thanked the Savior for all the blessings that He gave us through the service of this faithful servant of His and asked the Savior to give us grace to hold firmly to Him, His wounds, and merits, and to live in faith in His bloody death until we, like this blessed Sister, would also have the grace of seeing our Savior face to face. Then we accompanied…our dear Sister to her resting place in our new God's Acre and buried it next to… our dear blessed Sister Peggy Crutchfield (Vann), the "first fruit" from the Cherokee Nation."[233]

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[230] McClinton, *The Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees, vol. 2 (1814-1821)*, 406.

[231] The Holy Bible (KJV): 2 Timothy, 4:7.

[232] Rev. Schwarze, *History of the Moravian Missions Among Southern Indian Tribes of the United States*, 143.

[233] McClinton, *The Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees, vol. 2 (1814-1821)*, 407.

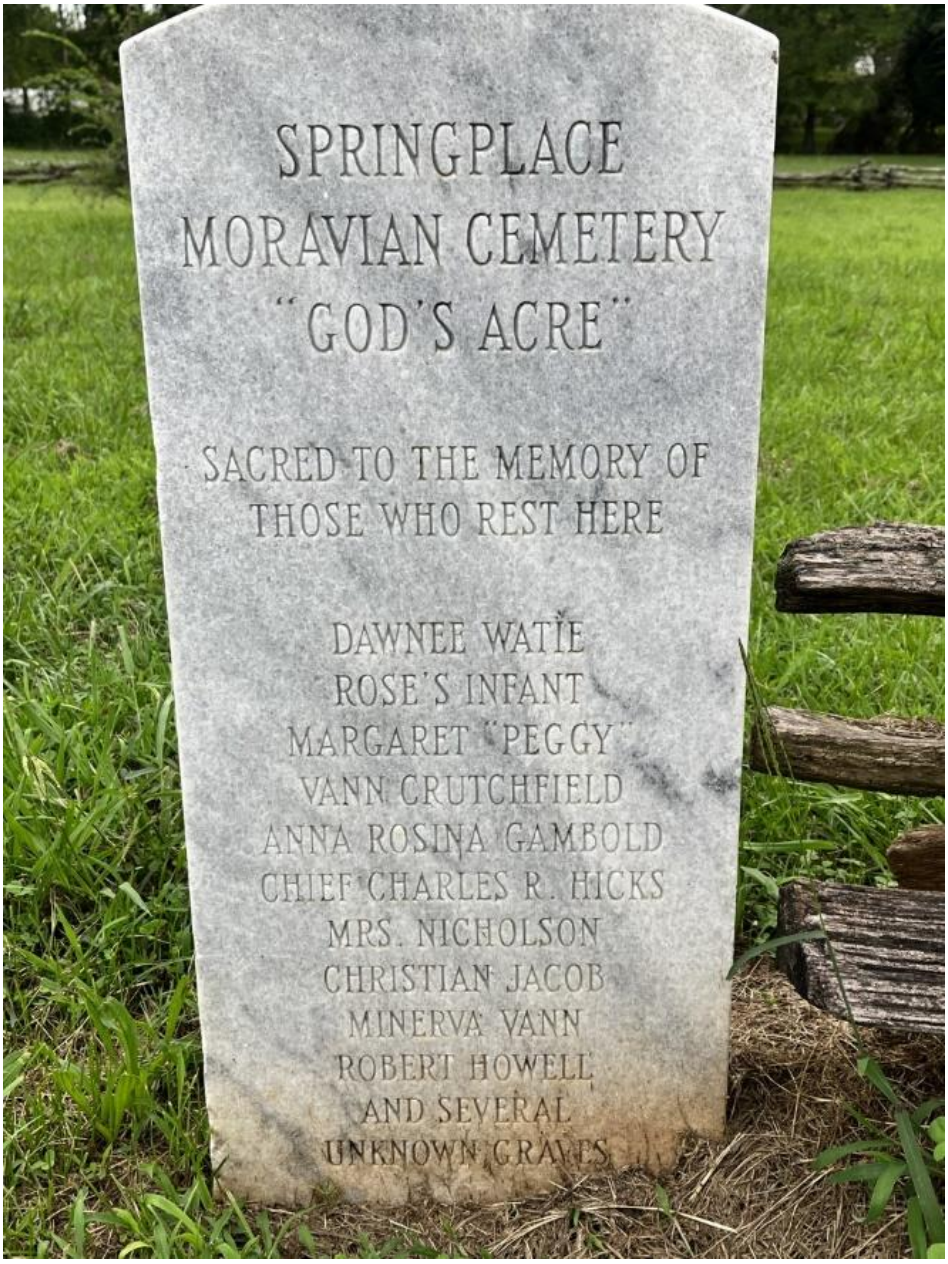

Figure 10: Image of grave marker located at God's Acre in present-day Spring Place, Georgia. Anna Rosina Gambold's name can be found recorded on the fifth line in the list.

Figure 11: The image above is a landscape depiction of God's Acre in present-day Spring Place, Georgia. This is the final resting place of Anna Rosina Kleist Gambold. This spot sits at the eastern edge of what was the Sprinplace mission at the turn of the 19th century.

Following Mrs. Gambold's death, and at the suggestion of church leaders, Brother Gambold returned to Salem in November 1822. Upon arrival, he spoke of his grief as "indescribable," and rightfully so, for Mrs. Gambold proved throughout her life that she was "an unusual woman in mind and heart, [and] in wealth and talents and completeness of consideration."[234] John spent most of 1822 in Salem with his Brothers and Sisters in Christ, grieving his late wife. Although Brother Gambold grieved his loss, he never stopped thinking about the progress he and Anna had begun at Springplace. It was while John was in Salem that he continued to plan for the future of the mission at Oochgeology, and he presented sketches for new buildings at Springplace to the church council.[235] After marrying the widow Anna Maria Schultz, Brother Gambold, under conviction from the Holy Spirit, returned to Georgia in the spring of 1823 to continue the work he and Anna Rosina had begun back in 1805.[236]

Because the mission had been opened in 1821 before the passing of Anna Rosina, John and Maria Gambold moved back to Georgia to find that Oochgeology had already established itself amongst the community in which it was placed. It was commissioned that "Brother and Sister Gambold set up a school for girls" at the mission for the purpose of training them in the Gospel, and for the purpose of assimilation.[237] "Eight hundred dollars was sent from the Treasury of the United States for the purpose of the new school building at Oochgeology" and any other

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[234] Rev. Schwarze, *History of the Moravian Missions Among Southern Indian Tribes*, 171.

[235] Crews, *Faith and Tears*, 14-15.

[236] Ibid., 14.

[237] Crews and Starbuck, *Records of the Moravians Among the Cherokees: The Anna Rosina Years, Part 3, Farewell to Sister Gambold*, vol. 5, 1817-1821 (Tahlequah: Cherokee Heritage Press, 2013), 2509.

necessities needed for the establishment of the mission.[238] Although it was modeled after the mission at Springplace, Oochgeology was never intended to house a model farm or to provide vocational training for the students, for John McLoughlin noted that "all [of the Natives] came from highly acculturated families."[239] There at Oochgeology, it was Maria Gambold who took charge of the girls, while John tended to the boys. Their school was as thoroughly run as Anna Rosina's at Springplace, yet never grew to the size of the stature of the Springplace mission's school.

Reverend Schwarze recorded that the first service at Oochgeology was held on December 24, 1825.[240] He noted that the meeting "must have been commodious, for 100 people, mostly Indians, were present.[241] John Gambold was once again making history as he and his fellow Brethren at Oochgeology began ministering to and changing the lives of the Natives of the surrounding community. It should be noted that much of the first few months at Oochgeology were marked by, as Rev. Schwarze recalled, "sowing much and reaping none."[242] Due to the lack of success, the Brethren became weary as they worked to convert the Natives surrounding the mission. It was not until late in 1826 that the fruits of their labor would be harvested. After many months of labor, an aged Cherokee woman, considered to be over 80 years old, was "happily converted" as a result of the missionaries' outpouring of the Gospel. Rev. Schwarze recorded that she was baptized on February 25, 1827 "at a largely attended service in which was

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[238] Rev. Schwarze. *History of the Moravian Mission Among Southern Indian Tribes,* 161.

[239] McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries,* 147.

[240] Rev. Schwarze, *History of the Moravian Missions Among Southern Indian Tribes,* 162.

[241] Ibid., 162.

[242] Ibid., 163.

experienced a gracious outpouring of the Spirit of God."[243] It was upon this profession of faith in Christ that many more of the Cherokees surrounding the Oochgeology mission came to know the Lord.

Unfortunately, the mission at Oochgeology never became as successful in reaching the Cherokees as did the mission at Springplace; however, the Moravians continued their efforts at Oochgeology for the next several years. By 1827, both missions began to be shaken due to a "great restlessness" that had plagued the Cherokee Nation.[244] After years of faithful service to the Cherokee Nation, it was at Oochgeology on 7 November 1827 that Brother John Gambold died. Upon his death, the Council at Salem assigned Johann Renatus Schmidt and his wife to take Gambold's place at Oochgeology. The Byhans, who had pioneered the Springplace Mission prior to the arrival of John and Anna Rosina Gambold, returned to continue ministry to the Cherokees at Springplace. The members of the Springplace flock heartily welcomed the Byhans back although they so terribly missed Brother and Sister Gambold. Brother Byhan and his wife quickly won the affection of the Natives "and the work went forward under the smile of God."[245]

At the time of their return, the Byhans arrived in Springplace to find that the school had grown to 15 boys and 3 girls. This was a testament to the work that had continued at the mission following the departure of the Gambolds some eight years prior. It is also important to note that students from Springplace continued to yield promising results as they professed to have accepted the Gospel, for they "applied to Brother Byhan for Baptism and were accepted as

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[243] Ibid., 164-165.

[244] Crews, *Faith and Tears,* 15-16.

[245] Rev. Schwarze, *Moravian Missions Among Southern Indian Tribes,* 170.

candidates."[246] Rev. Schwarze wrote of one profound instance of conversion amongst the students in like manner:

> Moses, a scholar who had been taken from home for a while by his parents to help with the work, took violently ill and soon died, but not before he had thanked God in a childlike prayer for the blessing received at Springplace and begged the Lord to receive him, in Jesus' name.[247]

It was in such accord that the missionaries found delight as they continued to labor at Springplace for the glory of the Lord. As time continued to pass, other works of the mission continued to yield promising results, for former scholars returned to tell of the great works they had accomplished. It is told that one day, a company of Cherokee Light-horsemen rode up to the mission at Springplace to stop for a visit. It was with great pleasure that Brother Byhan recognized one of the riders to be George Hicks, one of the first scholars who had left the mission school during the Gambold years and had become Captain of the brigade.[248] Rev. Schwarze recalled the event in his memoirs and said that it was:

> with great joy, the missionaries welcomed home some of the old scholars [who had] returned from the [higher institute] mission school in Cornwall, Conn., where they had finished their course: Elias Boudinot, John Vann, John Ridge, and David Taucheechy. When the latter stepped into the house at Springplace, he broke down and wept aloud for joy! These boys had grown up into fine men and had become followers of Christ and each took a prominent part in religious or civil affairs of the Nation.[249]

It was due to visits such as these that the missionaries found renewed strength to carry on.

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[246] Ibid., 171.

[247] Rev. Schwarze, *Moravian Missions Among the Cherokees*, 171.

[248] Crews and Starbuck, *Records of the Moravians Among the Cherokees*, 2547.

[249] Rev. Schwarze, *Moravian Missions Among the Cherokees*, 172-173.

As the years continued, it remained consistent that more and more requests came for scholars to be accepted at the Springplace mission school. Because there was not enough room at the mission to house the number of scholars who were accepted into the school, many of the students were housed a short distance away on Vann's plantation. The stress of the increased number of souls present at the mission caused a burden on the supplies and infrastructure of the mission, however, the Brethren continued forward, trusting that God would continue to supply for the needs as His flock continued to increase. Brother Byhan recorded that the year 1824 proved God's blessing on the mission when He "laid a special blessing on the mission-garden and fields and they returned a large supply of vegetables…the cherry trees blossomed a second time in August and [the] fruit was gathered in due time!"[250]

Furthermore, the number of souls received into the Kingdom continued to multiply as a result of the revival that sprang up amongst the Cherokees. The Brethren had never before seen such a desire, by the Cherokees, to hear the Gospel as that which came in 1825. Both the mission at Springplace and Oochgeology received an overwhelming response to the Gospel from the Cherokees, and thus, were received for Baptism upon their professions of faith. Rev. Schwarze estimated that there were somewhere near 45 who made a profession of faith during the time of revival in 1825.[251] It was at this time of increased joy that the mission was visited by the Rev. Theodore Schultz, Administrator of the American Moravian Church, to which he wrote about his visit in a letter as recorded below:

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[250] Crews and Starbuck, *Records of the Moravians Among the Cherokees*, 2551.

[251] Rev. Schwarze, *Moravian Missions Among Southern Indian Tribes*, 175-176.

> [The] mission [at Springplace is] located 600 steps from the main road between Nashville and interior Georgia and barely three miles from the main Tennessee road, also leading to Georgia. A very healthful location, good soil, plenty of woods, good pasturage, and plenty of wonderful springs. The mission buildings are blockhouses, placed in a square, enclosing a yard. The church stands about 50 steps from the dwelling. The yard is very pretty with china trees, catalpa, cherry, peach, and apple trees. There is an orchard, in fine condition, in the midst of which lies the graveyard holding the graves of Margaret Ann Crutchfield and Anna Rosina Gambold.
> [I] am much impressed with the school and the… behaviors of the scholars! [They] are well advanced in reading, and most of them write a clear, legible hand. In arithmetic, several have advanced as far as long division. The school is opened with prayer and opens and closes with singing. Bible instruction is given regularly, once each week, and connection therewithin some English hymn-verses are learned, to be recited [the] next Sunday at the preaching service.
> Over the spiritual conditions of the mission at this time, [I[could not cease to make mention and to than God. The care exercised in the admission of new members and in the instruction which was given those who were to be received, in one way or another, showed everywhere in the walk and conversation of the Christian Indians…[The] effects of their conversion in their own homes and also in the homes of the unconverted which everywhere seemed to have felt the influence of higher, better things. There were clean homes and industrious housekeepers in them surrounded by happy families. Bibles and good books were in the majority of homes. Plantations were in better shape and industries, looms, mills, etc., were increasing. Charles Hicks, [a] Moravian brother from among the Cherokees… [assured me] that the missionaries had done untold good and held the respect of the whole Nation… as doors for the Gospel stood open everywhere. [My] main impression is of the greatness and readiness of the harvest and the crying need for more workers.[252]

As well, it was during his visit that Rev. Schultz recalled that he had the privilege to baptize one of the converts "on the last Sunday in April" before his return to Salem.[253] It is through Shultz's visit that the impact of the mission among the Cherokees is realized as the work continued forward from the Gambolds' years of service at Springplace.

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[252] Rev. Theodore Shultz to the Moravian Council at Salem, 19 March 1825.

[253] Ibid., 2.

Encouraging growth continued at the mission throughout the latter of the 1820s. The Natives continued to yearn for the dispersal of the Gospel, and conversions and Baptisms continued to occur, adding Cherokees to the Brethren's roster at Springplace. Church attendance was positively impacted, for the Natives showed "rapt attention when the Word of God was expounded."[254] Rev. Schwarze recorded that "at the close of 1829, a total of 64 [new] souls were connected to Springplace, of which… 40 were baptized adults in good church standing."[255] Indeed, the many encouraging indications experienced by the Brethren at Springplace "pointed to the brightest possible future for the mission if the Cherokee Nation could have remained undisturbed in their lands."[256]

However, the tides were about to turn for both the Moravians and the Cherokee Nation. Throughout the era of the 1820s, the Cherokees, according to McLoughlin, "began to see the virtue of adopting the religion of the "white man" along with his agricultural system [as a way of] obtain[ing] the "white man's" respect."[257] Seeking to please one another would be a fray in the patchwork that would eventually lead to corruption and the breakdown of a relationship that had been forged between two worlds at Springplace. The discovery of gold in Georgia in Cherokee territory would forever seal the Natives' fate to the 'white men,' for the 1830s "brought the most severe crisis of all to the Cherokee people, and to the Moravian missions amongst them."[258]

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[254] Rev. Schwarze, *Moravian Missions Among Southern Indian Tribes*, 183.

[255] Ibid., 184.

[256] Ibid., 184.

[257] McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries, 1789-1839*, 124.

[258]Crews, *Faith and Tears, 16-17.*

Chapter 5: "Weeping may endure for the night, but joy comes in the morning!"

By the fall of 1837, the Cherokees faced a most damming realization that led them through the halls of hell and back, forever sealing the fate of the Cherokee Nation in Georgia. Although the Ordinance of Congress, July 13, 1787, specified that "the utmost good faith [would] always be observed towards the Indians," it was obvious that the gold rush of 1829 changed Georgians' perspectives towards the Natives forevermore.[259] As more and more gold was being found, people's perspectives on what was truly important began to shift dramatically. Although gold was being found, the exact location of the gold was not clear, so the amount of land one had was significant because it meant more possibilities to find gold. The lust for land grew too strong for the white men, so they found favor in the highest power in the land, the President of the United States, President Andrew Jackson, as he used his position to his favor and he became a "friend to Georgia, [but] no friend to the Indians" readily agreeing to their forced removal in the spring of 1830 to allow the white men access to the Indians' land.[260] Thus, the greed for gold became a strong draw for Europeans as they began encroaching farther and farther

[259] Ordinance of Congress, July 13, 1787. https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/northwest-ordinance#:~:text=Officially%20titled%20%22An%20Ordinance%20for,under%20the%20Articles%20of%20Confederation.

[260] Kenneth Coleman, *A History of Georgia*, 2nd ed. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1991), 132.

into Cherokee territory. After seeing the impact that the Treaty of Indian Springs had on the Creek Nation as it removed the Natives from their homeland to the south, it became evident to the Cherokees that the same fate lay in their wake.[261] While this was where the story of Indian Removal ends, it is necessary to travel back from this point in time to understand why such a story begins. This story of betrayal found its roots in the heart of the Cherokee Nation at Springplace in the year 1830.

The 1830s in Cherokee history was a very unfortunate time, for this decade brought with it some of the "most severe crisis of all to the Cherokee people, and to the Moravian mission among them."[262] Unfortunately, even before the adoption of the United States Constitution in 1787, Georgia came into frequent collisions with the Cherokees on a regular basis, which usually resulted in wars over land. With the discovery of gold in 1829 in the foothills of the Appalachians, which at the time was a part of Cherokee country, the Natives landed in a deadly match with the Europeans as the white men sought to acquire such land for their personal use. It became clearer than ever that unity between the Indians and the Moravians would be the single most important factor that would save the Cherokees from removal.[263] As for the Moravians, the Brethren's religious convictions remained the driving force that kept them in support of the Cherokee as they fought to keep their ancestral lands in the eastern United States. However, because Count Zinzendorf's teachings encouraged the Moravians to be separated from the

[261] The Treaty of Indian Springs (1825), signed by Chief William McIntosh of the Creek Nation, was an agreement between the United States government and the Creek Nation where the Creeks agreed to cede all of their lands to Georgia and Alabama, moving the entirety of the nation west of the Mississippi River.

[262] Crews, *Faith and Tears*, 16.

[263] Grace Steel Woodward, *The Cherokees* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), 158.

political world, they became faced with a predicament concerning their support of the Cherokees as they battled to remain complacent in a hostile environment. When the time came to force the Moravian's hands, the missionaries had to choose to remain separated from all of the happenings regarding Indian Removal in order to reflect Count Zinzendorf's teachings and convictions. Although the Brethren took on a neutral stance regarding the removal policy as forced down by the United States government, their continued presence amongst the Cherokee at Springplace fulfilled the work of the mission as they remained active in the spiritual guidance of the Natives throughout the entirety of the dilemma. The Moravians found a way to be immersed with their Native friends in a way that still remained neutral and allowed them to use their talents through God in a way that furthered His kingdom, even in the adversity of His people.

Following the election of Andrew Jackson to the Presidency in 1828, federal policy regarding the assimilation of the Natives into European customs, values, and traditions quickly began to change due to Jackson's belief that "separation between whites and Indians offered the only chance for Indian survival."[264] Furthermore, because Georgia had signed a pact with the federal government in 1802 that promised to remove the Natives from the lands in the western frontier that were to be settled by Georgians, the rate at which the state was growing by 1829 forced the United States government to fulfill the obligation sooner than later.[265] Thus, by 1830, the winds of change began to blow as President Jackson and the Georgia legislature began to move upon a policy that would force the removal of the Cherokee people from their lands on the western frontier. By the end of the year, both the Indian Removal Act and the Georgia legislature

[264] H.W. Brands, *Andrew Jackson: His Life and Times* (New York: Doubleday, 2005), 311.

[265] Rev. Edmund Schwarze, *History of the Moravian Mission Among the Southern Indian Tribes of the United States* (Bethlehem: Times Publishing Company, 1923), 187.

would exert control over the Cherokee Nation, draining every ounce of hope that existed from future generations of Cherokees who wished to remain in their homeland for years to come. Georgia's "hatred laws," as declared by Professor Woodward in her book *The Cherokees*, completely dehumanized the Cherokee people, ultimately forcing the Moravians from their passive stance towards such policy.[266] In such a manner, the Brethren became "totally in sympathy with the Cherokees" as the Moravians began doing what they could to protest the government's actions.[267] Even though such protest ensued in support of the Cherokees, Jackson's plan for removal came to fruition by May of 1830 when he successfully won the support of the United States Congress in the passage of the Indian Removal Bill.[268] The new law "irked and disgusted the majority of Americans and a goodly number of Europeans" and forced them to protest against such action.[269] Angered over the passage of the bill, and seeking to appeal to their conscience, the Honorable Horace Everett, a member of the United States House of Representatives from Vermont, wrote to members of the Georgia delegation on May 19, 1830 saying:

> Sirs, this policy cannot come to good. It cannot, as it professes, elevate the Indians. It must and will depress, dishearten, and crush them. It is all unmingled, unmitigated evil. There is evil on the other side, but none commensurate with that of this compulsory removal. If they (the Indians) are willing after exploring the (new) country, to go, I am willing they should, and will join in making the appropriation. But while the laws exist, beneath which they cannot live, it is in vain to tell me they are willing to go. How do you know it?... Unlock the prison doors, and then you can tell…I adjure you, Sirs, to recede; there is no disgrace in it. Other states, more powerful than Georgia, have receded, on points where their honor and interests were equally involved.

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[266] Woodward, *The Cherokee*, 159.

[267] Crews, *Faith and Tears, 19.*

[268] Woodward, *The Cherokee*, 160.

[269] Ibid., 160-161

> Sirs, if Georgia will recede, she will do more for the Union, and more for herself, than if she could add to her domain the lands of all the Indians, though they were all paved with gold.
> The evil, Sirs, is enormous; the violence is extreme; the breach of public faith is deplorable; the inevitable suffering incalculable. Do not stain the fair name of the country: it has been justly said, it is in the keeping of Congress on the subject.[270]

However, no matter the public's opinion, Jackson continued to seek the removal of the Natives from their homeland in the southeast.

Although it would still be some time before the actual removal of the Natives would begin, the passage of the Indian Removal Act marked the beginning of the end of the Cherokee Nation as it existed in the southeast in 1830. According to Dr. Grace Woodward, Jackson began to urge the Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Cherokee to sign treaties for removal.[271] By 1832, all but the Cherokees had signed a compact of removal with the United States government, for they continued to hold on to their "prized independence."[272] It was at these crossroads that the standing relationship between the Cherokees and the Moravians became of utmost importance, for the Cherokees' education, as received from Moravian missions such as the one at Springplace, came into play as the Legislative Council of the Cherokees convened at their capitol, New Echota, as they fervently fought against the United States government, as seen in the following resolution:

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[270] See: "Speech of Horace Everett in the House of Representatives of the United States, May 19, 1830, On the Bill for Removing the Indians from the East to the West Side of the Mississippi."

[271] Woodward, *The Cherokee*, 161.

[272] Ibid., 161.

> We have no desire to see the President on the business of entering into a treaty for exchange of lands…But we still ask him to protect us agreeable to [federal] treaties…provided for our protection. Inclination to remove from this land had no abiding place in our hearts, and when we move we shall move by the course of nature to sleep under this ground which the Great Spirit gave to our ancestors and which now covers them in their undisturbed repose.[273]

It became clear that the Cherokee were not going to be removed from their home without a fight. But rather than bend to the demands of Jackson's policy of removal, the Cherokees' education, provided by the Moravians, prepared them for a fight of the ages. This fight commenced as the Cherokee found themselves locked in a legal battle with the United States government as the Natives appeared before the Supreme Court in *Worcester v. Georgia* in 1831.

Contrary to traditions of old, this time the Cherokee sought to not fight for their rights through traditional warfare but chose instead to utilize the legal system of the United States in an effort to save their homeland. Taking their case before the Supreme Court, Samuel Worcester and Dr. Elizur Butler, two Moravian missionaries, argued that the Cherokee Nation was a foreign, independent nation to which Georgia law could not be extended over.[274] Therefore, they argued, that such laws were null and void and would be dismissed by the Cherokee people. However, in his ruling, Chief Justice John Marshall ruled that the Cherokee were, in fact, not of a foreign nation, which took away their rights to bring a lawsuit against the state of Georgia. Instead, Marshall labeled the Cherokee Nation as a "domestic dependent nation" which unfortunately threw the case out due to the Cherokees' inability to make gains against the state of Georgia.[275] Although Marshall dismissed the case on such issues pertaining to legal jargon, he

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[273] John Ross' papers, "Cherokee Delegation to Seneca Delegation, April 18, 1831.

[274] Matthew L. Sundquist, "Worcester v. Georgia: A Breakdown in the Separation of Powers," *American Indian Law Review 35,* no. 1 (2010), 241.

[275] Ibid., 244.

was adamant in his opinion of favoring the Cherokees' position on the subject and would be in favor of their case should the case be presented by a United States citizen.[276] The Cherokee were not willing to give up, which led them once again to call on the missionaries for help in their time of trouble.

Because the missionaries who worked amongst the Cherokee were not from Georgia, this gave them a clear opportunity at fighting on behalf of the Cherokee people before the Supreme Court. Due to a ruling from the Georgia legislature in 1830 that required "whites living on Cherokee lands…[to] take an oath to support and defend Georgia's constitution," the missionaries had finally found an open door through which they could stand their ground on behalf of the Cherokee against the state.[277] Because their religious convictions forbade them from taking an oath of allegiance to the state, Worcester and Dr. Butler were punished by imprisonment for refusing to obey such laws requiring the swearing of an oath of allegiance to the state. Despite their bleak situation, both Worcester and Dr. Butler refused to give in. Finally, in February 1832, the case once again appeared before Chief Justice John Marshall where Worcester and Dr. Butler were represented by William Wirt, "former attorney general of the United States."[278] This time, without hesitation, Chief Justice Marshall "held the treaty power supreme, declar[ing] the laws of Georgia over the Cherokee Nation null and void and ordered the

[276] Here, it should be noted that many of the Moravian missionaries remained citizens of their home countries. Concerning the contemporary generation of missionaries, it was not their intent to come to the United States seeking to establish a permanent residence; rather, they came to focus their efforts on ministering to the Natives. However, pertaining to *Worcester v. Georgia,* Samuel Worcester did qualify to represent the Cherokees since he was a U.S. citizen living amongst the Cherokees in their territory.

[277] Ibid., 240.

[278] William G. McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries, 1789-1839* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), 264-265.

immediate release of the two missionaries.[279] While such a victory should have called for great triumph, it proved to hold only fleeting joy. Although the Supreme Court had made its decision in declaring Georgia's Indian laws in defiance of the treaties of the United States, President Jackson would once again abuse his authority by refusing to uphold the ruling of the Supreme Court as he stated in reference to Chief Justice Marshall's ruling that "he made it…now let him enforce it."[280] "As Jackson saw it, removal of the Cherokees was in [the nation's] best interest. Of course, many white Georgians and others heading for the newly discovered gold fields knew it was in their own best interest too."[281] Unfortunately, greed that stemmed from the possibility of finding gold had such an impact on the white people in the area at the time that all reasoning of true humanity was lost on those in authority who could have stopped this from ever occurring.

Although President Jackson refused to uphold the decision of the Supreme Court in the ruling of the Indian Removal Act, the Cherokee continued to fight against the legislation through the following years. However, the aggression of the state of Georgia continued to mount, forcing Cherokee leadership to continue to move in the direction of defense against the state as they sought to remove the Cherokee from their land. It was on December the 27th, 1830 that a notice was served on the Governor and Attorney General of the state of Georgia, signed by the Principal Chief of the Cherokee, John Ross, that the Cherokee Nation would "move the Supreme Court of the United States…for an injunction to restrain the state of Georgia from executing and enforcing the laws of Georgia within the Cherokee territory as designated by the treaty between

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[279] Ibid., 265.

[280] Woodward, *The Cherokees*, 171.

[281] Crews, *Faith and Tears*, 19.

the United States and the Cherokee Nation."[282] It was under the jurisdiction of the Constitution of the United States that this case was heard by the Supreme Court, for such jurisdiction was given to the highest court in the land regarding such controversies concerning agreements between the Nation and foreign parties. The case was heard by the Supreme Court, but unfortunately, was denied such an injunction "on the ground that an Indian Tribe or Nation within the United States is not a Foreign State in the sense of the Constitution, and cannot maintain an action in the courts of the United States."[283] Upon their decision regarding the said treaty, a final treaty was then drafted between the two parties that released all of the lands owned "by the Cherokees east of the Mississippi, for the sum of $5,000,000."[284] This opened the floodgates of people who were willing to sacrifice whatever they needed to in order to find gold on the Cherokees' land, and nothing seemed to improve for the Natives as their fight against the white man continued to escalate. Finally, following much legal debate between Cherokee leadership and the United States government, the decision was made by the fall of 1833 when "between sixteen and seventeen thousand men, women and youths left [North Georgia] with a winter's journey of nearly half a year before them. [This,] the story of the removal of the Cherokees from their eastern homes, [became] one of the saddest stories on record."[285]

The year 1832 proved to be an incredibly volatile year for not only the Cherokee but also for the Brethren who were still holding out at Springplace in hopes that their steadfastness would

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[282] Schwarze, *History of the Moravian Missions Among the Southern Indian Tribes of the United States*, 189.

[283] Ibid., 189.

[284] Ibid., 190.

[285] Ibid., 190-191.

change the course of history that was being written for the Cherokee. Despite the chaos that had ensued around them, the missionaries stationed at Springplace continued in their day-to-day activities as they worked to minister to the Natives. According to Rev. Schwarze, a new "Miss Ruede took charge of the school and conducted it with much enthusiasm and marked success."[286] Conversions continued to be added to the fold, strengthening the mission in numbers. But as the year drew to a close, the days passed away, "and the enjoyment of the smiles of our Divine Lord within vanished, [for the year 1832] proved to be the last year at dear old Springplace!"[287] According to Reverend Crews, it was on "1 January 1833 when three [white] families showed up at Springplace demanding possession of the mission and its buildings."[288] The nightmare had truly begun for the missionaries at Springplace, and the inhabitants of Diamond Hill plantation could no longer avoid the impending conflict that would ensue on the mission's land as well. It was earlier in 1830 when Georgians became hungry for the gold that had been discovered in the hills of the Appalachian Mountains. To subside the cries of Georgians who wished to obtain such treasure that had been discovered on the Cherokees' land, Georgia passed a series of laws that sent surveyors into Cherokee country to divide the land into plots that would then be raffled off in a land lottery. Despite the efforts of the Cherokee leadership as mentioned in the aforementioned saga between the United States government and the Cherokee Nation, Georgians began making their way into Cherokee country to claim their 'prizes' from winning the land lottery by 1833. Despite the influx of white settlers into the Natives' territory, the Cherokees still

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[286] Schwarze, *History of the Moravian Missions Among the Southern Indian Tribes of the United States,* 200.

[287] Ibid., 201.

[288] Crews, *Faith and Tears,* 19.

refused to sign a treaty of removal that would forever remove them from their ancestral homeland in the southeastern United States.

Again, despite such aggressive efforts in fighting against removal, the Cherokee faced a final blow when in 1835, "a small group of mixed-blood chiefs, claiming to act for the whole of nation… met with Jackson's treaty commissioner, the Reverend John F. Schermerhorn, and signed the infamous Treaty of New Echota."[289]

[289] McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries, 1789-1839,* 309-310.

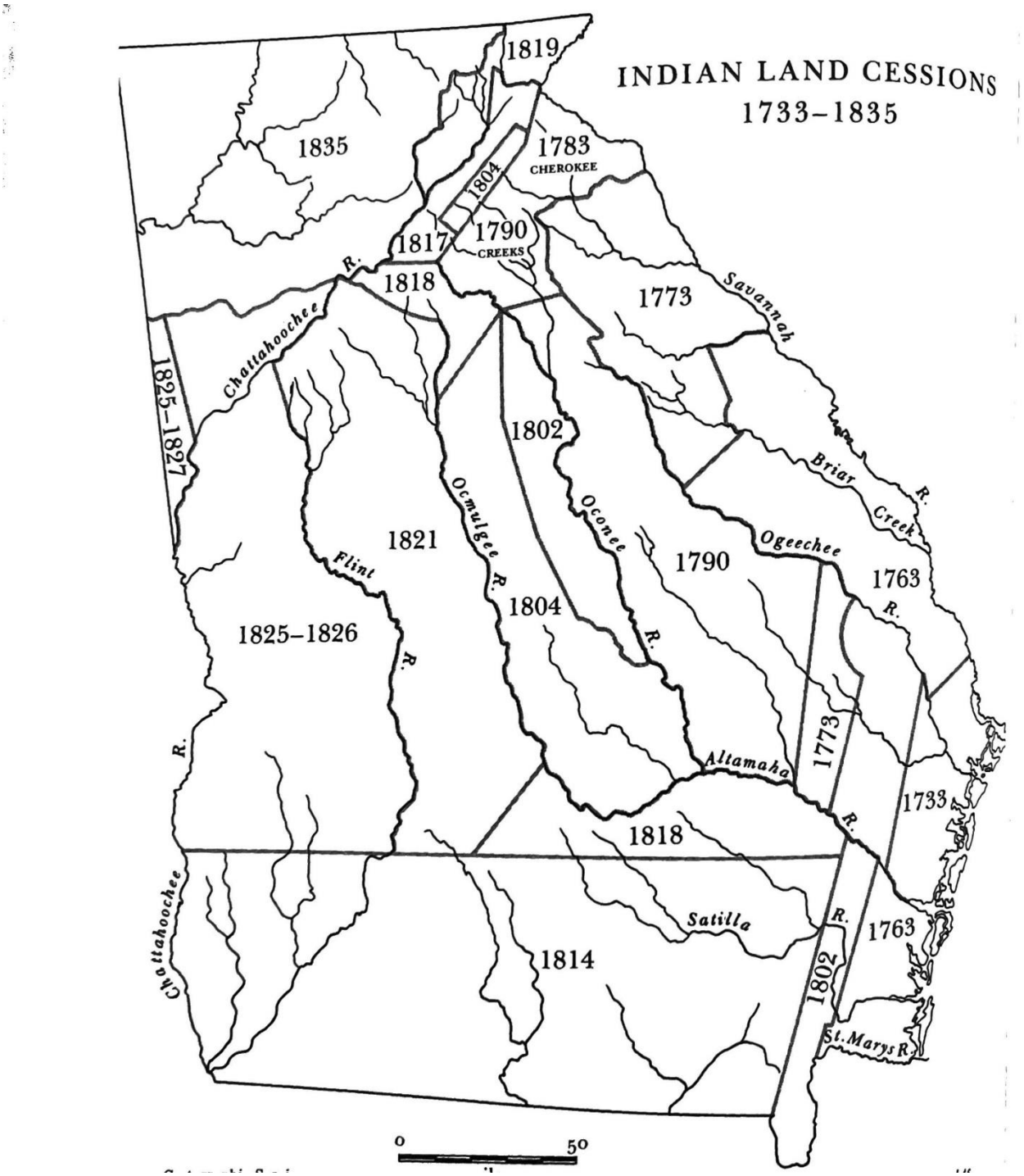

Figure 12: The above is a depiction of the Georgia land sessions that culminated with the Cherokee land sessions in 1835 with the Treaty of New Echota. Courtesy of the Whitfield-Murray Historical Society.

According to McLoughlin, this treaty sold the Cherokees' homeland for $5 million [as promised by Jackson,] as well as the United States agreeing to provide in exchange for it an equivalent tract of land in what is now the northeastern corner of Oklahoma."[290] Although the bulk of the Cherokee Nation disagreed with the Treaty, the Senate duly ratified it the following May, setting in motion a most crude journey that was taken by the Cherokees as they were, according to McLoughlin, exposed:

> to be taken by armed soldiers, dragged with all the insult of suffering of prisoners of war from house and home and everything of an earthly nature but the clothes they might have on- hurried at the point of bayonets to forts and then to filthy and polluted boats or goaded on by land to faint and die by the way.[291]

This, as described by Mcloughlin, was precisely what happened to the Cherokee following the ratification of the Treaty of New Echota in 1836 by the United States government, as they finally sent the army south to "compel removal."[292]

It was on January 1, 1833, that the effects of the Georgia land lottery went into full effect, for the winners showed up at Springplace to claim their "prizes." According to a mission diary entry dated January 1, 1833: "at 3 P.M., 20 people, in 5 wagons and carts appeared, and demanded possession of all the mission houses and property [however,] Bro. Clauder declined to surrender the place…"[293] This, as described in the diary, was the first instance of the many white people from Georgia who descended on the Cherokee Nation to claim the winnings that were awarded to them under the lottery system. It was most unfortunate to note that the Moravians

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[290] Ibid., 310.

[291] Ibid., 311.

[292] Ibid., 311-312.

[293] C. Daniel Crews & Richard W. Starbuck, *Records of the Moravians Among the Cherokees: March to Removal: Pt. 4 'They Shall Not Be Forsaken'* (Tahlequah: Cherokee National Press, 2019), 4367.

were among the first to be uprooted from their post in Springplace by the land lottery. Again, because of their passive nature regarding involvement in politics, the voices of the Moravians went largely unheard regarding removal. The chaos continued forward in January as more whites continued to descend upon Springplace, making demands for the property they had 'won' from the State. Bro. Clauder continued to describe the chaos in his diary entry on 23 February 1833:

> Toward evening [the] people became more and more insistent in their demands and finally made a forcible seizure of the station. They unloaded their wagons and occupied the schoolhouse, the scholars' house, the workshop, and one half of the dwelling. The party had brought plenty of whiskey along and when night came Springplace, where for many years each night had resounded the Indian children's sweet {song] of praise and the voices of the united prayer, echoed with the discordant sounds of drunkenness and revelry. They demanded the key to the church but [I] finally dissuaded them from entering the sanctuary.[294]

Over the next several weeks, Bro. Clauder continued to resist the attempts of the white intruders moving into the mission as they sought to claim the land they had won in the lottery. Despite his efforts to fend off the invaders, Bro. Clauder, along with the remaining missionaries who were stationed at Springplace, finally "resolved to vacate…to Captain David McNair's" just across the Tennessee border where they would occupy his farm until August of 1836.[295] Reverend Schwarze records in his account of the ousting that:

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[294] Moravian Springplace Mission, Diary, 23 February 1833.

[295] Ibid., 9 June 1836. Captain David McNair was an avid trader in Cherokee territory who was married to James Vann's daughter, Delilah. McNair had become good friends with the Moravians throughout their time spent on Vann's Diamond Hill plantation, for they taught many of the children from the surrounding areas at the school at Springplace.

> Before his departure, Clauder [gave] over the post office to a Mr. Bishop who promised to take care of it for him. The Indian Brethren were most helpful in getting things packed and put in order for moving, though they were sad at heart. Bro. Clauder was sad to have to abandon this time-honored spot where the first convert from the Cherokee tribe was baptized in 1810; where first the feet of them that brought glad tidings of great joy rested in their travel to this tribe of Indians and where so many prayers and tears had been offered to God and so many tokens of His goodness witnessed- this was a consideration far more painful than any amount of unrighteousness inflicted upon [them] by the miserable wretches around. But the Lord gave enlargement! Thus was Springplace abandoned as a mission station.[296]

Although Springplace was lost to the invasion of white settlers, the work of the missionaries did not cease. The farm of David McNair was in a favorable location just across the border into Tennessee, for many of the Natives had previously fled Springplace to the vicinity around McNair's farm. This new location placed the missionaries in the center of the newly established settlement of the Cherokees just north of the Tennessee border. Even though they had to abandon their dwelling at Springplace, McNair made sure the missionaries were "in very comfortable quarters."[297] The larger house on the plantation was made available to Bro. Clauder and his family for living, while "another little house on the premises was arranged to accommodate a school which Miss Ruede at once resumed."[298] Immediately, the missionaries began again to minister to the Cherokee people surrounding the settlement. Because the farm was not fit for a large number of visitors, the "Clauder's labors became of an itinerary nature, and the services were held in different homes, near and far."[299] The services were largely

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[296] Schwarze, *History of the Moravian Missions Among the Southern Indian Tribes of the United States*, 202.

[297] Ibid., 204.

[298] Ibid., 204.

[299] Ibid., 205.

attended by the Cherokees as many sought salvation as a result of the world crumbling around them. Moreover, as a result of the Cherokee language being translated into a syllabary by this point in time, the work of the missionaries became easier as Scripture frequently came "from the press and was widely distributed and read, and Gospel tracts began a blessed ministry among the Indians."[300] While the world around them seemed promising, disheartening news continued to surface on the horizon. Time and time again, Bro. Clauder had been advised to move his congregation from southeast Tennessee, for the longer they remained, the harder their lot would be. Clauder refused to take sides on account that the United States continued to remain divided concerning the policy of Indian Removal. And it came to pass, just when removal of the Cherokees became certain as set forth by the Treaty of 1835, Rev. Schwarze wrote that "Captain McNair was obliged to ask Clauder to vacate his house and farm which he had…. placed at the disposal of the Moravian mission, rent free."[301] Desperate to save the make-shift mission that he had established, Clauder sought advice from the Cherokee Chief Council who had been caught up in the fight to save the Cherokees' way of life for the past several years. Despite consultation, it was decided that the Cherokees must move. It is recorded that "the last service was held on 28 August 1836, which was marked by deep sadness but, also, by calm trust in the Lord."[302] The missionaries once again began the arduous task of packing their belongings and preparing their fellow brethren for the long journey that lay ahead. Brother Clauder wrote to Salem in September of 1836 stating:

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[300] Ibid., 205-206.

[301] Ibid., 207.

[302] Moravian Springplace Mission, Diary, 28 August 1836.

> Our entire Indian congregation was now, in consequence of National affairs, in a dispersed condition. Those formerly residing within the limits of Georgia had shared our experience of 1833, by a violent removal, and were sojourning, in poverty and suffering, within the Tennessee limits. Their condition affected my soul more that I can describe. But they heard of the goodly inheritance laid up in heaven for God's children, they believed in a loved Jesus and held fast to their faith and were undismayed, though their earthly losses and sufferings were great.[303]

Their fate was now evident; they had to leave. Separated from their worldly belongings, the Cherokee set forth on a journey towards a land that promised to bring brighter days. Accepting that the Cherokee had lost the battle in the east, the Moravians began making preparations to minister to the prodigal children as they journeyed into the wilderness. William McLoughlin described the situation in such a manner: "The United States army had… entered the nation, and the Cherokees were ordered to prepare to emigrate. [The Principal Chiefs] had to concede. [The soldiers] told the Cherokees the struggle was over and received from the army commander permission to direct the eight-hundred-mile trek of 14,000 Cherokees to the west."[304] Although the Moravian missionaries did not physically accompany the Cherokees on the journey to the west, they prepared to once again minister to the Natives in their new land.

The road westward can be described as one of great pain and sorrow that the Cherokees endured. No one event "changed the course of nineteenth-century Cherokee history more profoundly than the forced migration" of the souls who endured such agony.[305] It was a most grueling journey that "over the years…became worn by many feet, white, red, and black, booted, moccasined, and bare" as the many thousands of Natives were forced from the east to the

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[303] Ibid., 4 September 1836.

[304] McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries, 1789-1839*, 319.

[305] Gregory Smithers, *The Cherokee Diaspora: An Indigenous History of Migration, Resettlement and Identity* (New Haven: Yale University Publishers, 2015), 93.

west."[306] While many of the Natives relocated at their own will, many remained reluctant and hoped that Cherokee leadership would prevail in victory over the United States government's wishes for removal. However, as patience grew short amongst the leadership of Georgia and the United States, forced removal became imminent when President Jackson ordered General Winfield Scott to the Cherokee territory in 1838 to remove the remainder of the Cherokee from their homeland. Ehle wrote that Scott "arrived at New Echota in early May, established headquarters, and converted the Council House into a barracks."[307] It was from New Echota that Scott would direct and supervise the removal of the remainder of the Cherokee from Northwest Georgia. On May 10, 1838, General Scott issued the following proclamation to the Cherokee who remained:

> Cherokees! The President of the United States has sent me, with a powerful army, to cause you, in obedience to the Treaty of 1835, to join that part of your people who are already established in prosperity, on the other side of the Mississippi. Unhappily, the two years which were allowed for the purpose, you have suffered to pass away without following, and without making any preparation to follow, and now, or by the time that this solemn address shall reach your distant settlement, the emigration must be commenced in haste, but, I hope, without disorder. I have no power, by granting a farther delay, to correct the error that you have committed. The full moon of May is already on the wane, and before another shall have passed away, every Cherokee man, woman, and child… must be in motion to join their brethren in the far west.
>
> My Friends! This is no sudden determination on part of the President, whom you and I must now obey. By the treaty, the emigration was to have been completed [by this time] and the President has constantly kept you warned, during the two years allowed, through all his officers and agents in this country, that the Treaty would be enforced.
>
> I am come to carry out that determination. My troops already occupy many positions in this country that you are to abandon, and thousands, and thousands are approaching, from every quarter, to render resistance and escape alike hopeless. All those troops, regular and militia, are your friends. Receive them and confide in them as such. Obey them when they tell you that you can remain no longer in this country. Soldiers are as kindhearted as brave, and the desire of

[306] John Ehle, *Trail of Tears: The Rise and Fall of the Cherokee Nation* (New York: Random House Publishers, 1988), 322.

[307] Ibid., 323.

> every one of us is to execute our painful duty in mercy. We are commanded by the President to act towards you in that spirit, and such is also the wish of the whole people in America.
> Chiefs, Bead-men, and Warriors! Will you, then, by resistance, compel us to resort to arms? God forbid! Or will you, by flight, seek to hide yourselves in mountains and forests, and thus oblige us to hunt you down? Remember that, in pursuit, it may be impossible to avoid conflicts. The blood of the white man, or the blood of the red man, may be spilt, and if spilt, however accidentally, it may be impossible for the discreet and humane among you, or among us to prevent a general war and carnage. Think of this, my Cherokee brethren! I am an old warrior and have been present at many a scene of slaughter; but spare me, I beseech you, the horror of witnessing the destruction of the Cherokee.
> Do not, I invite you, even wait for the close approach of the troops; but make such preparations for emigration as you can, and hasten to this place, the Ross' Landing, or to Gunter's Landing, were you all will be received in kindness by officers selected for the purpose. You will find food for all, and clothing for the destitute, at either of those places, and thence at your ease, and in comfort, be transported to your new homes according to the terms of the Treaty.
> This is the address of a warrior to warriors. May his entreaties be kindly received and may God of both prosper the Americans and Cherokees and preserve them long in peace and friendship with each other![308]

Throughout the operation, General Scott remained in charge of the roundup. While the task was considered brutal and disheartening for many of the soldiers, the job was still to be completed, in a "polite and kind" manner as suggested by Scott.[309] While many of the soldiers took pity on the Natives, it became obvious that many of the Georgia militia who oversaw the removal were apt to turn rogue against Scott's direction of an orderly removal, for many of them sought out gold and were, according to Ehle, "awaiting their portion of Cherokee land."[310] Such vindictiveness caused many of the Natives to become targets as the militiamen went to and from rounding the Cherokees up for removal. Ellinghaus provided the understanding that the historic policy that

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[308] General Winfield Scott: address, "Cherokees! The President," May 10, 1838. *Journal of Cherokee Studies 3*, vol, 3 (1978), 134-135.

[309] Ehle, *Trail of Tears: The Rise and Fall of the Cherokee Nation*, 326.

[310] Ibid., 327.

allowed for this type of treatment to even be considered was that which stated that, "Indian property must pass to whites; that Indian organization must be repressed and prevented; that Indian family life must be dismembered; that Indian cultures must be killed; and that Indians as a race must die."[311] In efforts to curb some of the violence associated with the greediness, Scott pleaded to the men from a Christian standpoint to "deal gently with [the] assignment," for many of the Natives had nothing to cling to but the clothes on their backs.[312]

As more and more Natives continued to be gathered up, the need for holding areas became evident to Scott when his troops became overwhelmed with the number of Cherokee men, women, and children who awaited westward travel. These camps, or stockades, were wretched, filthy places where the Natives were kept as they waited to be expedited west of the Mississippi. Due to the overwhelming influx of Natives, the operation quickly became inundated, leaving General Scott with no choice but to send large groups, mainly on foot, westward towards the new Indian territory that had been outlined in the Treaty of 1835. The first of the marches began at the onset of September 1838. The routes of the marches were invariably similar in nature as there was an intermingling of Cherokees who marched with friends and family as they trekked westward. While many of the Natives left behind their personal belongings, there were some instances where wagons were accessible to carry a "family's supplies, equipment, and clothing."[313] Professor Ehle described that:

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[311] Katherine Ellinghaus, *Blood Will Tell: Native Americans and Assimilation Policy* (Nebraska, 2017), 72.

[312] Ibid., 330.

[313] Ibid., 352.

> there was scarce room in the wagon(s) for the weary and the ill, once the sickness fell. Walking day after day was torture for the elderly, and the babies were weakened by the trip, too. The main enemy was not exertion, but disease, which chose the weaker Indians… and humbled them. Dysentery, diarrhea, head and chest colds were common. It was rare for any of the travelers not to have intestinal cramps and other pains, and the diet provided… was cheap and lacking in variety and nutrition. The campsites were not clean. The cooking utensils and bowls were wiped clean, in the Cherokee manner, but the wiping rag would become laden with grease and bits of bread and raw pork and become contaminated.
>
> Then too, there was the sun torturing the people by day. The cold of night caused their teeth to chatter, their tongues to stutter. Camp was whatever a family could arrange. Rarely was a shelter provided, except that the sick might be congregated in a church or school, placed on pallets on the floor in rows, little children on one side, the elderly on the other… shamans chanting, with a single white doctor making inspections, crouching beside each patient, asking a few questions in English, struggling to understand the Cherokee, doing a little for each person. The doctors were likely to fall ill, too, but they had to keep working anyway, and moving on. An Indian could pull out of one march, for a day or so, then join another, and many did. [Each march had] assigned policemen to keep internal order[.] [They] confiscated whiskey, received the food waiting at various stops and junctions, found water, ordered the slit trenches dug, the firewood gathered… [got] the cooking taken care of, the sick taken care of, [and] the blankets of the dying burned.[314]

This became the routine of each march as the Cherokees trudged across the west toward their new home. The journey was treacherous, for the unknowns awaited the marchers as they crossed the barred lands. As the people traveled, they made

> oceans of mud. Every wheel and hoof and footstep…made mud. The road was used by thousands… the feet of the people made a puddling out of the earth in the damp places, and the mud would splatter over everything, everyone. Then [the people] would come to a stream. The people would joyously cry out, several hundred people muddying the water; then a storm might break. Then and finally in winter the sleet and snow. So it was mud and rain and snow, slit trenches and firewood to be found somewhere, and a rabbit to be found somewhere, and puke and excrement of Indians, blacks, and whites.

[314] Ibid., 353.

> And death. Graves along the way. First was to go were the ones who might have died anyway. Many babies were expected to die, even at home, from one mystery or another, and the very old approached death daily in whatever place; but [the] sleet and mud and filth hastened the arrival.[315]

As time passed, the marches grew more treacherous for each passing party. The grief, pain, and agony cut deeper into the heart of the Cherokee Nation as the trail they traveled filled with the tears of those who sojourned for their new home in the west and mourned the home they lost in the east. Would the nation ever be made whole again? So were the thoughts of those who made the journey by foot from the eastern territory of the Cherokee Nation to their new home in Oklahoma. While the Cherokees were on their journey to that new home, the Moravians, too, were close behind as they planned to continue the work of the Lord that had begun at Springplace. Three Moravian missionaries, Miles Vogler, Gottlieb Hermann Ruede, and Johann Renatus Schmidt, "were not on the Trail of Tears, but… would welcome the exiles when they arrived in their new land."[316]

It is said in Grace Woodward's book, *The Cherokee*, that "upon [arrival] in the Cherokee Nation West…approximately thirteen thousand emigrants were issued subsistence rations" from the government.[317] Although the provisions were unfit for consumption, the desperation of the people led them to be grateful for anything that was given to them for their use. The new territory given to the Natives was carved out of the Louisiana Purchase that had been made from France years earlier in 1803. Because of its newness to the nation, the lack of knowledge of the region's characteristics provided little to no foundation for the Natives as they embarked on their

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[315] Ibid., 354.

[316] Crews, *Faith and Tears,* 22.

[317] Grace Woodward, *The Cherokees* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), 219.

journey into a new land. The reservation for the Cherokees that had been selected by Congress lay in the northeast corner of the territory and covered about 3800 square miles.

Rev. Schwarze recorded that the "Cherokee Reservation lay in a belt particularly rich for agriculture and [was] well-watered. The land [was] exceedingly fertile-the soil black-and [the] ground and climate well adapted for growing almost all kinds of grain, vegetables, and many fruits." [318] Upon arrival in the new territory, the Cherokees began seeking ways to make their new home as comparable to their former life as possible. Most familiar with the ways of the Moravians, who had already established themselves in the new territory, the Cherokee people sought to reestablish what they had lost in the east. Vogler, Reude, and Schmidt, the three missionaries who had been sent by the Moravians back in Salem, were "warmly received" by the Cherokee and others who had gone on ahead of those who arrived earlier in 1838.[319] The missionaries were a welcomed sight to the Cherokees for they found a stable foundation amongst the missionaries in a new environment as they sought to rebuild their lives in the new territory.

As new arrivals entered the territory, the "missionaries made inquiries at once about the Moravian Indian families [who had made the journey and was pleased that] the information [that they] received was most gratifying. They learned that the conduct of the [converts] on the long had been above reproach" which spoke to the success that had been experienced back in the east.[320] Compelled by such news, the missionaries at once began work to establish a mission in the new territory that would be capable of producing the same results as those experienced at Springplace. The Moravians set to work trying to find ways to put their new mission above and

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[318] Schwarze, *Moravian Missions Among Southern Indian Tribes*, 221.

[319] Crews, *Faith and Tears*, 23.

[320] Schwarze, *Moravian Missions Among Southern Indian Tribes, 223.*

beyond what their Springplace mission held for the Natives, and, in doing so, they found the usefulness of outreach through the written Word. In conjunction with the Presbyterian mission that was already established at Parkhill, the Moravian missionaries partnered with Samuel A. Worcester and Elias Boudinot, the Cherokee newspaperman, as they set up a printing press "to print in Sequoyah's syllabary."[321] This would prove to be the first step towards the establishment of a new mission capable of ministering to a wounded people who so desperately needed a savior. It was in October 1838 when the missionaries "ended their journey,"[322] for they had finally found the place on the Barren Fork of the Illinois River, "where a number of Cherokee Moravians had settled."[323] It was here that a new mission was established for the purpose of ministering to the exiled Cherokees.

Upon arrival at Barren Fork, the Moravian missionaries sought out a place for the establishment of their new mission to the Cherokees. They found refuge on a plantation that had been set aside for Chief George Hicks, who had not yet arrived in the new territory.[324] At the plantation, the missionaries immediately commenced their labors as they cleared approximately 10 acres of land to build and establish their settlement. By Christmas 1839, the Brethren had fully established themselves at the newly created mission and were ready to once again begin ministering to the Cherokees.[325] In his memoir, Rev. Schwarze indicated that Bro. Schmidt, who had only come to help establish the mission, at once departed for Salem once the mission was on

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[321] Crews, *Faith and Tears*, 23.

[322] Ibid., 23.

[323] Ibid., 23-24.

[324] Schwarze, *Moravian Missions Among Southern Indian Tribes*, 224.

[325] Ibid., 224.

its feet. However, due to their labors in constructing the mission at Barren Fork, "there were about 14 families around the Barren Fork [area] and the hunger for the Word of Life was most gratifying. [It was there that] Brethren Vogler and Ruede spent much time visiting the families within several miles of the mission."[326] Services began to be held in the mission cabin as the work of the Lord became evident throughout the entire region.

Soon after arrival, and in accordance with tradition, the Cherokees began to restructure themselves in resemblance to their previous government that they had back east. With both the Western and Eastern tribes of the Cherokee now together, it was necessary that they consider a holistic form regarding the formation of a new ruling body. According to Woodward, they began to build a government that would be "administered by three chiefs and a council."[327] Not far from the settlement that had been built at Barren Fork, in a rustic cabin house that had been built for the purpose of housing this new government, the "Cherokees elected chiefs, councilmen, judges of circuit and district courts, and eight-light horsemen to keep the peace."[328] They also divided the new territory into districts so that they could better help the people of each district as they established their roots in the new homeland.

Again, reverting to previous practice, the Cherokee people came together under this new government to provide experience and the expertise needed to build a new society in the west. The agrarian lifestyle that was favored led the Cherokees to live and work in a similar resemblance to the white man. The progress that began to take place was "epitomized by a fenced farm, good crops, pens full of fat hogs, a horse that could beat a neighbor's on a

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[326] Ibid., 227.

[327] Woodward, *The Cherokee*, 222.

[328] Ibid., 223.

racetrack, and a comfortable log cabin with the walls of its dog-trot hung with fancy bridles, spurs, saddles, guns, and the fishing and hunting equipment" that resembled a white frontiersman.[329]

While most of their time was devoted to achieving a lifestyle similar to what was known prior to the exodus, a small portion of the Natives' time was once again devoted to education and religion. Once again relying on the expertise of the Moravians, the Cherokees sent their children to the mission schools that were established in the vicinity to "learn how to read and write the Cherokee language," and while there, the Moravians were sure to continue to spread the Gospel by teaching the Scripture to the Cherokee children.[330]

Indeed, the tides were beginning to turn for the Natives who had been expelled from their homeland. But once again, as the summer months approached, the will and determination of the Natives at Barren Fork would be tested, for according to Rev. Schwarze:

> there was a great deal of sickness [that consumed the community]. At one time the three members of the mission family were down and not able to help one another. [They] were 14 miles from any doctor, and had no one to send. By and by, Dr. Butler, on his way home to Parkhill, [came by,] not knowing of [their] being sick. He kindly left medicine and directions [telling] how [they] should use it, [and] also told [them] not to eat beef nor use sweet milk…[They] improved slowly, after taking the medicine.
> It was a sad time of sickness and death with the Indians, many of whom still lived in tents, not having been able to build houses since their arrival in the Territory… and were, therefore, suffering from exposure [to the elements]. [Though,] thanks be to God, attendance upon the services increased when the sickness abated and the missionaries built an open shelter for a meetinghouse and organized a Sunday school with 16 scholars. The first accession to membership was Jesse, [who was] received by adult baptism after a good confession of faith. There was great rejoicing over this in the congregation and on the part of the missionaries.

[329] Ibid., 223-224.

[330] Woodward, *The Cherokees*, 222.

Only time would heal the wounds that were experienced in the summer of 1840, but it should be noted that once again, despite the odds being against them and the turmoil that ensued, the Cherokees persevered and continued forward as they rebuilt their lives in the west.

Key to the success of creating a new nation in the west was the Cherokees' establishment of their new capital, Tahlequah. "Set like a jewel among gently rolling hills, Tahlequah, like the capital of New Echota [in the east], was as nearly in the center of the Nation as seemed feasible… to the Cherokee leaders.[331] This location was chosen out of significance due to the leadership seeking to unite all of the Cherokee people as one solid nation. The location was also significant for it was "convenient both to [the] mission and [Sequoyah's] print shop" making it easily accessible for the missionaries' input, and for the conveyance of information to the public. It was at Tahlequah that the Cherokee formally adopted a new constitution, based on their original work, that embodied the spirit of both the eastern and western bands of Cherokees. As well, it was at this new capitol that the new council elected to send a representative to Washington, once again, to protest on behalf of the newly united Cherokee Nation. Elected as their representative, Chief John Ross would fight for the New Echota Treaty of 1835 to be repealed and to be replaced by one of more equal representation, as well as "to demand payments withheld by the government amounting to $800,000 [in reparation for] spoliation claims."[332]

Immediately following the adjournment of the Council in July, Ross left for Washington to argue on behalf of the Cherokees as they sought to vindicate some of the wrongdoings that had occurred during the Indian Removal period. Unfortunately for Ross, President Martin Van Buren and the council refused to recognize him as a representative to the Cherokees, for Martin

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[331] Woodward, *The Cherokees*, 229.

[332] Ibid., 229.

Van Buren "required that all signers of the New Echota treaty appear before the council and answer for their traitorous conduct."[333] This continued to be the wedge that divided the eastern and western tribes of the Cherokee. As Ross continued to be ignored by the President, it became evident that the western representatives, who also came from the newly established territory, would be well received by the President.

As the 26th Congress met in session, votes were finally cast in favor of the Cherokee Nation declaring that they were" a sovereign and independent people; that John Ross and his partisans would not be permitted to participate in their government except by conquest or by their consent" due to his signing of the New Echota treaty.[334] However, later in 1840, following Ross' return to Oklahoma, a House Committee on Indian Affairs met and sided with Ross and granted him and his party of Cherokee brethren immunity for the actions taken at New Echota in 1835. Moreover, President Van Buren "severely criticized the committee from withholding… the sum of $800,000 due to [the Cherokee]."[335] It was then, upon executive action by the President, that the Cherokees were to receive the reparations owed to them "should [they] agree to abandon the government recently set up… and acknowledge the [United States government] as the only valid government in the Cherokee Nation."[336] It was at this moment that the Cherokees realized that they would never again be the sovereign nation they once were before the Indian Removal crisis. John Howard Payne records the Cherokees' reactions to such news as the Chief Council met for the first time at Tahlequah in October 1840:

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[333] Ibid., 231.

[334] Woodward, *The Cherokees*, 231.

[335] Ibid., 232-233.

[336] Ibid., 233.

> In the last week of October all the people had all assembled, and the message of their Chief, after being presented to the committee… and the Council… was ordered to be produced before them. John Ross accordingly appeared at a sort of rustic forum set up in the open square, with the written message in his hand… The message was long, but perfectly temperate throughout. It commended the people for having shown so much moderation under their trials, and for having displayed their unanimity in a manner so unquestionable, as much entirely destroy the misconception under which the United States continue to withhold their dues. The chief explained that the Delegation to Washington had failed… because the Government there had been taught to consider the Cherokee nation as disunited; but he exhorted them not to lose patience, for the truth concerning them must speedily be known… He urged their attention to the subject of education, for which the Nation had ample funds in the hands of the President that had never been brought into use, although complaints arose on every side of the want of schools. He referred to the numerous subjects which still call loudly for adjustment with the United States; and among them, the unsettled claim for the balance of the Emigration expense, that so many of the people are interested in so deeply. He exhorted them…. To continue more scrupulously observant than ever of all their treaty obligations, as the surest means of securing a punctilious regard for their own rights in return. He reminded the people, incidentally, that he himself was… interested in the Emigration claim in common with them- having enrolled himself, like the rest; and that he and his family had made the journey under a conductor of his own appointment, and without being in any way a sharer in the emoluments…
> The multitude appeared highly pleased with the Principal Chief's address. It was followed by speeches among them, and the whole would up with a series of resolutions which were adopted unanimously and enthusiastically.[337]

The result of the efforts of John Ross and the other leaders of the Cherokees was a new treaty being signed on August 6, 1846, in Washington, which

> decreed that the lands in the Cherokee Nation were for the use and occupancy of all the Cherokees; provided for the adjudication of all Cherokee claims as well as the adjustment of other unsettled matters; extended amnesty to fugitives accused of minor and major crimes, provided they return to the Nation by December 1, 1846; provided for the protection by[law of all the inhabitants in the Nation; guaranteed every Cherokee a trial by jury; and promised to reimburse the Nation for sums unfairly deducted by the United States government from the $5,000,000

[337] Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1934), 314.

> owed to the Cherokees in payment for the Eastern lands. And, to smooth the ruffled feathers of members of the Treaty party, the Treaty of 1846 stipulated that member of the latter party were to receive $115,000 for all their losses…"[338]

While this was a starting point, the United States government would never be able to repay for the sin of the Indian Removal Act that had caused a nation and its people to be broken apart. And now that the rivalry between the Cherokee parties was nearing its end, it became evident to the Moravians that it was the Cherokees' ability to peacefully settle their differences. Thus, the time was never more prime to once again minister among the Natives under the new leadership and Principal Chief John Ross, who longed to see the Cherokee Nation excel to new heights.

As preparations began to move forward in ministering to the Natives, it became clear that the Barren Fork region, settled by the Moravians in 1838, had become an "unhealthy location," and therefore, several of the Moravian families had made plans to move away.[339] Rev. Schwarze recalled that:

> [the missionaries] accordingly made the necessary arrangements [with the Cherokees], after a suitable location had been selected, and [thus] commenced their journey. Brother Herman undertook to drive a two-horse wagon with most of [their] trunks and what little bedding [they] had.
> The first day [they] made good headway, and got into comfortable quarters for the night. The next day it was cloudy and rained some. Brother Herman traveled ahead in the wagon… in a rather comfortable plight. [The missionaries] stopped in the prairie and bought some ginger-cakes which tasted very good, as [they] had seen none since coming to the country. Brother Herman drove on and got considerably ahead and [they did not] see any more of him until they arrived at Brother George Hicks'.
> When [they] finally got through the prairie, one of their horses got sick… They stopped to rest the horse, but he seemed to get worse instead of better, so Brother Herman set out in the woods to see if he could find help. He finally came to a sawmill where he got something to give to the horse, but nothing would do any good and he died soon after. [The missionaries] had few provisions along the way to appease [their] hunger other than what an old black woman and the Cherokees had provided prior to departure.

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[338] Woodward, *The Cherokees, 236-237.*

[339] Crews, *Faith and Tears,* 24.

> The day after [their] arrival, Brother Herman and Brother Hicks went to Mr. Thompson's to confer about the place for a house, and found a small log cabin about one mile from Mr. Thompson's which afterwards became the mission house. Mr. Thompson was a white man who had married a half-breed woman… They had a large family of children and were, therefore, anxious for a school. It was agreed upon that the cabin should be made habitable, and, so, [they] were to move in as soon as possible… The Thompson's were well-to-do people and helped [the missionaries] with the many things they were in need of, and were also offered to assist with the building and other work. There were full-blooded Indians living in the neighborhood, but none quite near.[340]

The new station at Beattie's Prairie was about 40 miles north of Barren Fork. It was here that the missionaries would begin anew as they ministered to a reestablished Cherokee Nation in the western frontier. It was here that the Cherokee Nation "enjoyed a golden era of prosperity and progress unsurpassed by its territorial neighbors."[341] It was also here that the labors of the Moravians once again began to change a nation for the betterment of society through efforts in education, agriculture, ministry, and social structure. It was at New Springplace, as it was to be called, that a renewed passion would be the driving force that would re-establish the bond between the two people groups that was created at the mission's birthplace in Sprinplace, Georgia.

As well, it can be said that Cherokee progress can be attributed to efforts made by the new leadership of the Nation in conjunction with the Moravian's efforts. Under the leadership of Chief John Ross, an intertribal meeting, or the Grand Council, met in June of 1843 to once and for all settle intertribal disagreements that continued to exist in the Nation. "Termed by Indian leaders as the most important Indian council ever held on the American continent, the Grand

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[340] Schwarze, *Moravian Mission Among Southern Indian Tribes,* 230-231.

[341] Woodward, *The Cherokees*, 238.

Council voted to settle intertrial differences by law instead of by bloodshed."[342] This essentially promoted the future generations of Cherokees, for never again would disagreements within the Nation harm the well-being of its people. This set the stage for the Moravians' long-term plans for ministering to the Cherokees, and New Springplace would be the outlet in which the missionaries would fulfill their great commission.

[342] Ibid., 239.

Chapter 6: We Have Passed Over the Jordan, and now, Canaan Land is Just in Sight

With the decline of the Moravian establishment at Barren Fork at hand, it was necessary for Moravian leaders to seek out a newer, healthier environment in which the Brethren could once again thrive in their efforts to minister to the re-established Cherokee Nation. So, located only about 40 miles to the north, in close proximity to current-day Little Rock, Arkansas, the missionaries found their Canaan Land as they "arrived at Beattie's Prairie, October 4, 1841."[343] This, according to Rev. Schwarze, was the "first wonderful experience [they had] of seeing and riding over the great prairie," and such would be the joy that would continue to consume the missionaries as they had finally found a permanent place to minister to the Natives since leaving Georgia in 1839.[344] There was much to be thankful for, for both the Cherokees and Moravians would once again be reunited as they built a community of harmony at the place they began to call home.

Quite quickly, it became evident that the new settlement at Beattie's Prairie had several advantages over the languished station back at Barren Fork. Upon arrival, the Brethren began their journey of founding the station by "repairing the dwelling and school-houses in preparation for winter."[345] This was proof that the missionaries were eager to begin work at their newly established station for they were looking ahead to cold, potentially long winters and wanted to ensure their work was not interrupted by the inevitable seasonal change. Rev. Schwarze recorded

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[343] Rev. Edmund Schwarze, *Moravian Missions Among Southern Indian Tribes*, 235.

[344] Ibid., 235.

[345] Ibid., 237.

that upon completion of the "necessary dwellings," the missionaries, urged by the eagerness of the Cherokees to resume their schooling, began once again to focus their attention on devotion to the Cherokees' education.[346] Due to the overwhelming response to the Brethren's efforts at the school, it became necessary, according to Dr. Crews, that a "combination of school and chapel, and a second school, for girls," be built to accommodate the overwhelming response to the missionaries' work in educating the Natives at Beattie's Prairie.[347] By the close of the year, it was recorded that a "total of 72 souls in the care of the Moravian mission among the Cherokees at Beattie's Prairie" had found favor in the eyes of God.[348] It was in this favor that the Brethren began seeking ways in which to minister to the communities surrounding Beattie's Prairie. In such a manner, and with the blessing of Chief Ross, the Brethren were once again on the move as they sought to carry the Gospel near and far amongst the Cherokees. It was at this time that the operations at Spring Creek, a settlement just a few miles to the south of Beattie's Prairie, began operation in 1842 in conjunction with the ongoing efforts at Beattie's Prairie in order to more rapidly and more effectively minister across the lands.

It was in late spring of 1842 that the Moravians officially began overseeing the work at Spring Creek. Upon the Brethren's arrival, it was evident that discouragement amongst the Natives filled the air because, unlike the mission at Beattie's Prairie, there lacked a school "because no National District School had been allotted them and according to the Cherokee law, no denominational school could be established [there] without the sanction of the [Chief]

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[346] Ibid., 237.

[347] C. Daniel Crews, *Faith and Tears,* 24.

[348] Rev. Schwarze, *Moravian Missions Among the Southern Indian Tribes,* 237.

Council."[349] In disgust of such a policy that had been placed upon the Spring Creek station, the Brethren, at once, appealed the decision to prohibit the creation of a school to high Cherokee Chief John Ross. Chief Ross reportedly wrote to the Moravians in reply saying that "if [the] Brethren [were to] begin a school, the move would wholeheartedly have his approbation and [that] he would work for the sanctioning of the school by the next Council."[350] At the next council meeting, Ross spoke on behalf of the Brethren and said: "Above all, I am anxious that the Council should have this opportunity to correct its mistaken policy in regard to the best intentions of our dear friends, the Moravians, whose devotedness to the true welfare of the Cherokees has been uniform and steadfast."[351] It was upon this recommendation by Chief Ross that provisions were made for a change in policy that allowed the Moravians to officially establish a school at Spring Creek. In response to the news, and with great excitement, the Moravians worked with great diligence to erect a school and meetinghouse, within weeks, that stood as a central hub to the community at Spring Creek.

[349] Ibid., 238.

[350] C. Daniel Crews & Richard W. Starbuck, *Records of the Moravians Among the Cherokees: March to Removal: Pt. 4 'They Shall Not Be Forsaken'* (Tahlequah: Cherokee National Press, 2019), 4467.

[351] Ibid., 4473.

Figure 13: The image above is a photo of the schoolhouse/meetinghouse that was first built at the New Springplace mission. Image courtesy of Chief Vann House State Historic Site, Murray County, Georgia.

The first meeting was held in the new Spring Creek meetinghouse on 11 September 1842.[352] Rev. Schwarze recorded that "a very earnest and happy congregation gathered" to give thanks for the new mission that had been established.[353] During the meeting, "Bro. Vogler preached from the 73rd Psalm…[and] after a short intermission, the Lord's Supper was observed with 11 guests."[354] It was at this inaugural meeting that the Brethren would elect to name the new station, "New Springplace," in "remembrance of the old mission in Georgia."[355] The mission at New Springplace began to thrive. In charge of the operations at New Springplace, Brother Bishop, who had been sent from Salem to oversee the startup of New Springplace, wrote to the Council of the Brethren at Salem reporting that:

> the school… commenced on Monday, the 19th, when we made the beginning of our new labor with 21 Cherokee boys and girls, only two speaking English, and one or two have been in a school for a few months, but mostly entirely ignorant of English. They learn rapidly and it becomes more and more interesting to them. [The] children are not accustomed to being under any restraint, and if school does not interest them they will stay at home and parents do not have authority or do not exercise it. If only we can keep up their spirit and make learning pleasant! Brother Reude is a fine teacher and has had some experiences. I, therefore, am very willing to be assistant only and often have need to cry for patience and a cheerful heart and mind in this work in which I surely never have engaged to gratify my own pleasure or desire, but simply to do the will of Him!
> I suppose it will be satisfactory… to hear some report from the culinary department. Biscuit and cornbread is the bread we commonly make… We bake with pearlash. Potatoes and some rice is all we have to boil, and pickled pork to fry. Coffee, we put in a bag and pour boiling water over it, in this way it needs no clarifying.

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[352] Rev. Schwarze, *Moravian Missions Amongst Southern Indian Tribes,* 237.

[353] Ibid., 237.

[354] Ibid., 238.

[355] Ibid., 238.

> We get one quart of milk daily from W. Henry's and the children bring it when they come to school. Soap, we are to receive from our Cherokee Sister, Agatha Sanders, in exchange for soap grease. She also does our washing and necessary mending as well as she can. Formerly, she lived in the family… at Oochgeology and speaks some English.[356]

Indeed, the mission at New Springplace was flourishing due to the efforts of Bro. Bishop and his missionary brethren who were at his side. In addition to the meetinghouse and schoolhouse that had been established, instructions from Salem arrived for a new house to be built to serve as the residence for the missionaries residing on site. However, it was written that progress was slow on the building for "persistent attacks of fever" continued to plague the Brethren as the year continued.[357] To combat the fever, the missionaries "used a homemade decoction of dogwood bark, cherry bark, and Cayenne" to subside the symptoms. [358] According to Rev. Schwarze, Bro. Bishop prayed, after the attacks of the fever, that the Lord "would have mercy on [them] and grant [them] the precious boon of health!"[359] It was with thanksgiving that soon the enemy would depart the mission and work would resume on the construction of the house that was to become the headquarters for the missionaries established at New Springplace.

The services at New Springplace were held with much enthusiasm, for there were many Natives who began taking part due to their newfound conversion. Neighborhood prayer meetings became prevalent as the Indian members of the community surrounding New Springplace sought to discover the meaning of the commotion that surrounded the mission.

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[356] C. Daniel Crews & Richard W. Starbuck, *Records of the Moravians Among the Cherokees,* 4473.

[357] Rev. Schwarze, *Moravian Missions Amongst Southern Indian Tribes,* 239.

[358] Ibid., 239.

[359] Ibid., 240.

In Bro. Bishop's family, "one or two Indian children at a time, usually orphans, [began] enjoying the comforts and advantages of good, Christian homes."[360] As well, according to Rev. Schwarze, upon the success experienced throughout the year 1845 at the mission, Brother Bishop "was privileged to perform his first baptism [at the mission] when the Indian sister, Sarah Naomi, joyfully confessed her Saviour."[361] Undeniably, the Cherokees enjoyed a time of prosperity at New Springplace as the Moravians sought to rebuild what they had lost in the east. Time would only tell of the success that continued to surpass the excitement that had begun in Georgia.

Work continued forward, for the Cherokees at New Springplace, in now modern-day Oklahoma, as the Natives and Brethren continued to build relationships amongst one another. It was still evident that education was the key to assimilating the Cherokees into modern society. So, with the support of the Brethren back at Salem, Brother Bishop proceeded to expand the mission's education outreach throughout the community, for it was thought that eventually, one day, the Cherokee children who were to attend the schools could possibly be the next missionary to minister to his or her own people. Once again, with the hopes of enlarging the mission by adding to the education program already in place, Brother Bishop called upon the Elders at Salem to send reinforcements to New Springplace in order to meet the demands for additional missionaries needed on the grounds. Finally, in May of 1847, the much-needed help arrived in the form of husband and wife, Jack and Mary Mack.[362]

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[360] Ibid., 242.

[361] Ibid., 243.

[362] Crews, *Faith and Tears,* 27.

The Macks brought with them to New Springplace their two children who were warmly welcomed by the Native children of the mission. The evidence of their commitment to the New Springplace mission was made evident by the fact that they spent the next thirty years at New Springplace, not returning to Salem once for a furlough period.[363] The impact of the Macks' arrival at New Springplace was immediately apparent for the "spiritual life among the young people became manifest" within the first year of their service.[364] Before their arrival, the young Native population of the community seemed careless and indifferent, but following the insertion of Jack and Mary Mack into the equation, the young people of New Springplace began to become more earnest and attentive in their acceptance of the Gospel, and many became saved! It was clear that the introduction of these two missionaries into their already-established mission was vital to pushing the work with their youth to new heights. The results of their efforts were manifested throughout the years as more and more came to receive Christ as their savior, and many others grew up to inspire and teach their counterparts who had not yet grown to love the missionaries' work.

By this time, New Springplace was in desperate need of a new teacher, for the school community had doubled in size since the start of the mission. Fortunately, Brother Alanson Welfare of Salem, a trained educator, and devout Christian, was seeking placement in a mission for the purpose of ministering to the Natives. Due to his earlier travels to the old mission in Georgia where he was acquainted with the Cherokee, he became a prime candidate for placement among the Natives at their new establishment in Indian Territory.[365]

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[363] Ibid., 27.

[364] Rev. Schwarze, *Moravian Missions Among Southern Indian Tribes*, 246.

[365] Ibid., 248.

Upon being confronted with the situation that was unfolding at New Springplace, Brother Welfare immediately heeded the call and began his journey to Oklahoma on August 24, 1847 "in company with some men who were going to Iowa."[366] It was later in that same year that Welfare would arrive in New Springplace where he was welcomed by the Brethren with open arms. Immediately, his work began as he became an educational leader in the community and started working with the younger generations as well as the old. Through the work, he accomplished, in no small feat, teaching the Cherokee children reading, writing, and arithmetic, and he also utilized the opportunity to teach the Bible, which would leave a lasting impact on the children's lives as they continued towards adulthood.

By 1848, the mission was in full swing. The need for a new, larger church became evident as the number of believers continued to multiply. The Brethren immediately began working on the construction of the new building with a push for the completion of the structure always at hand. February 11, 1848, was the day that many "Cherokee Brethren began the hauling of stone for the foundation."[367] Previously, the men of the community had worked for many months cutting and preparing the timber for this occasion. "[The] shingle blocks were cut February 16… [and] on March 9th, [the] masons began working on the foundation."[368] By the end of March, the men had completed the laying of the sills, and the framework for the building was raised. By mid-April, the bricks for the fireplace were complete, for they had been handmade at the kiln that had been built at New Springplace.[369]

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[366] Crews, *Faith and Tears*, 28.

[367] Rev. Schwarze, *Moravian Missions Among Southern Indian Tribes*, 249.

[368] Ibid., 249.

[369] Ibid., 250.

Rev. Schwarze recalled that by the close of 1847, the church structure had been completed, and the community was full of excitement for the work that was done.[370]

1849 proved to be the most promising year for the mission at New Springplace. The missionaries witnessed a miraculous event as the time came when the new church building would be consecrated. Rev. Schwarze recalled the event in the following manner:

> On Saturday before the day of consecration, two preparatory services were held by Brother Bishop with a discourse at each and a Lovefeast at early candlelight… Brother and Sister Bishop had prepared coffee and buns for over one hundred, and their supplies were just sufficient to serve the congregation. Sunday dawned beautiful, and a real Lord's Day it was for the Cherokee mission!... At the first service, Brother Bishop gave a condensed review of Moravian missions among the Cherokees from the beginning on the Savannah River, Georgia in 1735, and stated that thirty years ago, the meeting-house at old Springplace, Cherokee Nation, Georgia, had been consecrated. Bishop then preached on the text: 'But will God in very deed dwell with men on the earth? Behold, heaven and the heaven of heavens cannot contain thee; how much less this house which I have built!' Then, he pronounced the words of consecration and prayer, followed by Bro. Mack and a Cherokee Brother. The second service was held by Brother Mack, who preached the dedicatory sermon. Thereupon, two adults, husband and wife, were baptized… The celebration of the Holy Communion brought this blessed day to a fitting close."[371]

With the addition of the new church, the congregation continued to grow, and preaching was maintained by Brother Bishop throughout the remainder of 1849. As a result of the continued outreach, the Cherokee brethren also began to maintain a weekly cottage meeting, which proved to be beneficial to their understanding of the Scriptures. In all, the events of 1849 resulted in six adults being added to the flock, making for "a total of 78 souls in the care of New Sprinplace."[372]

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[370] Ibid., 250.

[371] Ibid., 253.

[372] Ibid., 254.

Due to the amount of success experienced at the mission, church leaders at Salem continued to support the work of the missionaries at New Springplace. Upon a recommendation by George Frederic Bahnson, the new southern president of the Moravian Society, a petition was made to the Church Council that support had to be continued for the efforts at New Springplace. Thus, in an effort to support the missionaries at New Springplace, Bahnson ordered "Cherokee translations of some of the Moravian liturgies [be] printed."[373] Likewise, additional schoolhouses and personnel were to be appointed for the purpose of the continued education of the Cherokee in the new Indian Territory. It was due to these added provisions that the work among the Cherokee by the Brethren became the largest expense for the Moravian Church by the mid-1800s.[374] However, the successes that were experienced at New Springplace largely outweighed the costs associated with production; therefore, the Moravians remained committed to the work they had begun at old Springplace, Georgia. It was evident that the Cherokee Nation was basking in success by the year 1860. And even though the United States was bitterly divided between the North and the South, the Cherokee Nation remained untouched by the calamity. "Chief Ross and the Cherokee council in 1859 did not feel that if Civil War, as portended, broke out in the United States, it would touch even the rim of the Cherokee Nation."[375] Likewise, the Moravians were sure that the crisis would pass over New Springplace, but as the darkness began to ascend over the whole of the Nation, so, too, were the Cherokees consumed by hatred and fear.

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[373] Crews, *Faith and Tears*, 30-31.

[374] Ibid., 31.

[375] Woodward, *The Cherokees*, 252.

Although it was the wishes of both the Moravians and the Cherokees that the Civil War pass by, it became imminent in the years leading up to the conflict that leaders from both the Confederacy and the Union had set their eyes on the Cherokee Nation, as well as the other Four Civilized Tribes' ability to support their efforts at the onset of war. By this time, most of the Natives had been somewhat "civilized" into European ways. And even though the Cherokee, along with the other Civilized Tribes, had formed an identity of their own by creating sovereign nations amongst themselves, both the Confederacy and the Union vied for their support as the political and social structures of the Union began splitting in two concerning the issue of slavery as the time leading to the war grew near.

In the years leading up to the Civil War, the Confederate states' attention became focused on the Indian Territory in the West due to their need to expand the slave territory. Although Confederates' plan was made null and void by legislation such as the Kansas-Nebraska Act (1840), which prohibited the expansion of slavery by creating two new territories and expanding popular sovereignty to the newly established territories, they continued on a path towards autonomy in which they would find themselves free from the bonds of United States law. By the end of 1860, with South Carolina's decision to secede from the Union, once again the Confederates sought to expand their influence over the Natives in the West as they worked to expand their western boundaries now that they had formed themselves under a new flag free from the oppression of United States law.

The years 1860 and 1861 were characterized by "great excitement and disturbances amongst the Cherokees."[376] The bitterness and hatred that drove a wedge between the North and the South extended throughout the entirety of the nation. In 1860, with the threat of war looming

[376] Rev. Schwarze, *Moravian Missions Among Southern Indian Tribes*, 283.

in the background, Chief Ross, "at seventy years of age, undertook to keep the Cherokee tribe- and all the territorial tribes, for that matter- neutral."[377] He, along with other Native tribal leaders "were reluctant to take sides and risk severing those treaty obligations" that had been made between the Indian nations and the United States government that had provided them with the new Indian Territory that they now occupied.[378] Though, as fear and turmoil grew amongst the people across the country, this task became more and more arduous as time passed. With the South bracing for war with the north, the leaders of the southern states began seeking recruits to support them in their war efforts. Due to their hearty track record of success in battle, the Cherokees became a prime target for southern sympathizers.

Although pressure continued to mount as the South sought to support their cause in the war between the states, Chief Ross continued to not be "easily won."[379] He sternly told his people at a Chief Council meeting in October 1860 that "Our duty is to stand by our rights, allow no interference in our internal affairs from any source, comply with all our engagements, and rely upon [the] Union for justice and protection."[380] It was with these words that Ross, with the support of the Moravian Brethren, continued to urge his people to remain neutral in the situation. Ross' message was sent with urgency across the entire Cherokee Nation, advocating for the Cherokees to avoid any contact with southern sympathizers for fear that they may be won over by false hope.

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[377] Woodward, *The Cherokees*, 253.

[378] Troy Smith. "Nations Colliding: The Civil War Comes to Indian Territory," *Civil War History 59*, no. 3 (2013): 284.

[379] Ibid., 253.

[380] John Ross to the National Chief Council, October 4, 1860 (University of Oklahoma, Division of Manuscripts, Cherokee Papers)

Quicky, though, the tides began to turn as southern sympathy invaded the Cherokee Nation. Soon, Chief Ross, other leaders of the Cherokee Nation, and the Moravian Brethren would be faced with a battle that would shake the foundations of the Cherokee Nation, all because of the Cherokees' need to belong.

As 1861 approached, the Cherokee Nation found itself in a battle to remain united as the world around them became filled with division and fear. Because many of the Indians who resided in the Cherokee Territory were wealthy slave owners, it was natural for the division that was occurring on the outside of the Cherokee Nation to creep inside for the slave-owning Cherokees refused to dispose of their rights to own slaves. This division became the wedge that would separate the Cherokee Nation as war loomed in the distance. By August 1861, the Cherokees, along with Chief Ross, who was a slave owner himself, chose to "change his views and determined, like the large majority, to ally himself with the Confederacy."[381] Likewise, the opposing party attached itself to the Union cause leaving the Cherokee Nation broken. Rev. Schwarze recorded that the:

> country became swarmed with soldiers. Thousands of men camped in the neighborhood of [the] mission premises. The armies of the North and South alternatively ravaged the Territory, [and] the Cherokees being divided among themselves [offered] neither safety for… life nor property. Houses and mills were destroyed [throughout the Territory, and] cattle and stock were stolen and killed.[382]

This became the common scene that consumed the Cherokee Nation as the Civil War raged on in the West.

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[381] Rev. Schwarze, *Moravian Missions Among Southern Indian Tribes*, 283.

[382] Ibid., 284.

The Civil War was also to blame for the disaster that was brought to the Moravian mission at New Springplace. The confusion that spread among the Cherokees opened the door for bands of lawless Indians to converge upon the mission, making it impossible to effectively minister to the community. Throughout 1861, the missionaries and converts were in constant worry and filled with anxiety, for they knew not what was to come next. Thankfully, during the first half of 1862, "the Cherokee country seemed to grow quieter and the missionaries wrote to Salem that the pressure of the war had relaxed somewhat and they were beginning to breathe more freely."[383] This reassured the Natives that freedom would be for but only a season, for the thunder of war loomed in the distance but crept closer and closer to the mission each day.

The action that the missionaries had so dreaded seeing come arrived by September 1862. On the 2nd, a fatal blow struck the mission at New Springplace, for a band of 40 horsemen "belonging to the federal side" showed up at the mission seeking to snuff out Natives who were supporting the Confederate cause. The event was recorded in a letter written by D. E. Ward, a child of parishioners Mr. and Mrs. Ward of the mission, to Salem months after the occurrence:

> At about 4 o'clock P.M., Sept. 2nd, 1862, my father, as was his custom, saddled his horse preparatory to going after the milch cows. He stood fully a minute before mounting, as though he had a presentiment of what was to happen. I noticed him closely, for I longed to go with him, but had been refused. Then, with a jump, he vaulted into the saddle and started toward the creek with a brisk gait. He seemed hardly to have gotten out of sight before we heard a volley of musketry and in less than five minutes, 20 Indians had surrounded the house, painted to disguise their features. They proceeded at once to rob the house, led by one whose form I seemed to recognize. He seemed familiar with every place valuables were kept. After he had gotten what booty he wanted, he came to the door- (we were all huddled together on the back porch)- and in Cherokee told my mother to make ready to go with them. I recognized his voice and told mother that it was Jesse Henry.

[383] Ibid., 286.

> She then also recognized him… My mother after being carried away, was released about 20 miles from home, and was absent that night, the next day, the next night and until late in the afternoon of the day following, during which time she had nothing to eat, was lost in the forest, and had to carry my two brothers, who were twin babies three months old. The Indians would not permit Lucinda (our servant girl) to accompany her."[384]

Scenes such as this began to unfold throughout the Cherokee Territory. The New Springplace mission was greatly damaged throughout the course of the Civil War. The Bishops were forced to vacate the mission and they returned to Bethlehem, Pennsylvania where they would remain in exile until the end of the War. So, too, did the Macks leave, and they would reside in Missouri for the duration of the War all the while longing to return to the mission that they were forced to abandon. As for the Cherokees who remained at the mission, all the missionaries could do was offer them prayer during such a time of great divide.[385] It was at this crossroads that the missionaries thought that their journey on mission with the Cherokees had ended as it had so many years ago back in Georgia. It would not be until the close of the War that the Church leaders in Salem would authorize reentry by the missionaries back into Cherokee Territory in the West. The heartbreak would only continue, for when the missionaries arrived back at New Springplace following the War, all had been lost.

Upon return to the mission, the Macks found the structures destroyed and looted. Bro. Mack the following in a letter to the Elders at Salem:

> Leaving Springfield (Missouri) June 29, I traveled as far as Bentonville in Arkansas, and from thence, partly on foot, partly on horseback, reaching the borders of the Cherokee Territory on July 2, and two days later, the former station at Springplace now lying-in ruins. At the sight of my old home I was deeply grieved. Church, houses, and stables and even the fences and hedges had fallen a prey to the flames.

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[384] D.E. Ward to the Council at Salem (June 3, 1863).

[385] Crews, *Faith and Tears*, 32.

> Riding to the place where our dwelling had stood, the sight of the few remaining ruins recalled to my remembrance the many sights and prayers on behalf of our Cherokees which had ascended to this spot to the Throne of Grace. I turned towards the ruins of the little church which I had built almost entirely of my own hands and quite at the expense of the Indians, who had most readily contributed what they were able- a heap of ashes was all that remained. With a heavy heart I bent my steps towards the burial ground and rested for a time among the graves of the departed.
> The next day I surveyed more of the damage and found almost every house destroyed or burnt down., but at the mission itself, four families were [still] living. Men, women and children hastened to welcome me, gave me hearty hand-shakes, and I felt very happy to converse once more with my people in the Cherokee language.[386]

Through all of the disaster, Brother Mack still found a shining star in the midst of the rubble. There at New Springplace, the Macks discovered a small community of believers who were filled with joy and excitement as they saw the Macks come into sight. The Cherokees who had persevered through the storm were eager and willing to do whatever was necessary to rebuild what had been lost. It was at this crossroads that the missionaries had to make a decision-were they to give up and move on or were they to take the goodness that God had provided and rebuild on the foundations that had been so steadfastly laid at New Springplace?
The decision to be made was clear. Without hesitation, the Macks once again began to create a world of sanctity for their Cherokee brethren who so longed to regain their belongings post-war.

By 1865, the Confederate States had surrendered, along with their Native counterparts. It became evident, due to their misgivings towards the United States throughout the war, that the Indian Nations would be "left without any treaty whatsoever," and that the United States was "empowered to enter into new treaties" moving into the future.[387] From the beginning, it was evident that the Natives would have to agree to the abolishment of slavery from their nations, as

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[386] Brother Edward Mack to the Elders at Salem (letter), August 3, 1866.

[387] Troy Smith, "Nations Colliding…", 315.

well as for "involuntary servitude [to] never exist in the tribe or nation, except in punishment of crime."[388] It was at this crossroads that decisions had to be made that would forever restructure the Cherokee Nation. The change would come swiftly, for the need to reorganize the Union into one united nation was at hand.

The Treaty of 1866 between the United States and the Cherokee people brought peace and understanding between the two entities. The treaty allowed for progress and development to be made towards the civilization of the Cherokee Nation, as well as to redraw the "boundary lines of the Nation."[389] In a meeting with the Chief Council on November 26, 1866, Chief Ross commended the resolution by saying to his people:

> You have been called together… for the purpose of making known to you the provisions of the treaty, concluded at Washington on the 19th day of July last, and of obtaining your ratification of certain amendments to the constitution of the Nation which seem to be required, in part, by the treaty… For the first time for more than five years [our] people are assembled in general convention. For the first time since the war have you all met as friends and brothers. I most devoutly than the Great Ruler of the Universe that it is my privilege to address you as one people. I thank Him that amidst the carnage, the horror and the desolation of those long, dark years of conflict, we have not been swept entirely off the face of the earth.
> Cherokees! If you firmly resolve to become one people, you will become one people… We are all possessors of a common inheritance so let us enjoy it… Let us look forward to the pleasing landscape of the future… and not back upon the dark valley of the past, with its lost friends, blighted hopes and sad and fearful associations… Never did we have more to live for, to labor for, and to gain!
> Let the young men of this nation remember that idleness leads to poverty, to dissipation, to strife, to violence, to murder, to the gallows… [and] that industry is honorable and leads to contentment, to competence, to success, and distinction. Although there are many sad and silent hearthstones, not all the first born in the land have been smitten.

[388] Ibid., 315.

[389] Woodward, *The Cherokees*, 306.

> There are still many children left. There must be educated… and for that task, we look to our beloved brethren. The means of a common school education in the English language… are within the reach of nearly, if not quite, all the children of the country. We cannot stand still! We must go forward [not] backward![390]

It was under such blessing and provisions made by the Treaty of 1866 that Brother and Sister Mack set about rebuilding the mission at New Springplace. They first began by reopening the schoolhouse in support of the provisions made by the treaty. It was to this manner of duty that the Cherokees were most familiar with the Moravians, for they had ministered to the Cherokee for several decades to this point through education. Although the task at first proved difficult because the majority of the residents at New Springplace had been scattered to and fro as a result of the war, there seemed to be a shining light in the distance as the missionaries began to once again call upon the Elders of the Church for support in their efforts. The activity amongst the Cherokees at New Springplace continued to improve as support from Salem increased, and in hopes of improving relations with the Natives, "the finances of the mission were aided in December 1868 when the United States government voted $3,279.69 as reimbursement for the damages to the mission property during the war."[391]

As the work at the mission began to prosper once again, there arose a need for more personnel to work. Once again, the Elders at Salem answered the call by sending Brother Wesley Spaugh to teach at the make-shift school that had been erected for the purpose of ministering to the Cherokee families who had remained after the destruction caused by the war. Soon, provisions would be made to build a more permanent school building, and Brother Spaugh

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[390] Mrs. William Ross, ed., *The Life and Times and Times of the Honorable William P. Ross of the Cherokee Nation* (Fort Smith, 1893), 55-57.

[391] Crews, *Faith and Tears*, 35.

would be reimbursed by the Church for his sacrifice made while teaching and ministering to the Cherokee at the school.

The next task that Brother Mack faced was to find an acceptable preacher for the mission. While all of the Brethren were capable of witnessing to the lost, it was necessary for an ordained minister of the Moravian faith to be present to conduct the ritualistic services that would be coming in the near future. The man chosen for the job, upon the recommendation of Brother Mack, was Samuel Smith.[392] Although Smith was employed as a Methodist minister in the nearby Cherokee capitol of Tahlequah, it was of customary tradition for other denominations to work closely with the Moravians, for they were said to have "understood the Cherokee" to a further extent than others of the faith.[393] It was, therefore, decided that Brother Smith be appointed to the mission at New Springplace to serve as the official minister to the Cherokees at New Springplace, for he was said to have found "his right niche there."[394]

Shortly after the re-establishment of the mission at New Springplace, upon conditions faced by his failing health, Brother Mack officially retired from service after 30 years of service in the field. Rev. Schwarze recorded that one of Mack's last good deeds he provided to the Cherokees at New Springplace came in 1875 when the crops in that year failed due to extreme drought. Due to Brother Mack's ability to make arrangements with some of the merchants in the area, the Cherokees at the mission were afforded "a total amount of 40,000 lbs. of provisions

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[392] Ibid., 36.

[393] C. Daniel Crews & Richard W. Starbuck, *Records of the Moravians Among the Cherokees,* 4462-4464.

[394] Crews, *Faith and Tears,* 39.

until the next annuity would be paid, which amounted to about $10.00 per head."[395] This final act of selflessness is a testament to the faithfulness of Brother and Sister Mack as they ministered among the Cherokees throughout the Territory for the duration of his time devoted to the Lord.

New Springplace continued forward in success following the retirement of Brother and Sister Mack. The transfer of leadership continued through its lineage upon the recommendation of the Moravian Council in Salem. However, a National School had been built near the mission, so there came a time when there was no longer a need for a school to stand alone apart from the school system that had been established within Cherokee Territory. The weakness associated with the Moravian work amongst the Natives at New Springplace can be attributed "largely, to the distance between the home base [in Salem] and the fact that [the missionaries] were operating in the field on the plan of a foreign mission while other churches were settling down to well-organized frontier home mission activity along denominational lines and were pushing their schools."[396] Because of this, the Moravian influence at New Springplace continued to diminish until, in 1899, the Moravian Church voted to officially withdraw their support from the mission, but the mission members who were still present at New Springplace remained.[397] Efforts were made to continue their work amongst the Cherokees, but the more local, permanent religious organizations that continued to move into the area provided the Cherokees with a variety of opportunities-more than what the missionaries who remained at New Springplace could offer without the financial support of the Church. Eventually, the missionaries at New Springplace would succumb to the undeniable fact that they were no longer effective in their ministry to the

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[395] Rev. Schwarze, *Moravian Missions Among Southern Indian Tribes*, 297.

[396] Ibid., 303.

[397] Crews, *Faith and Tears*, 43.

Cherokees. Thus, by 1902, and in extreme disrepair, the United Danish Evangelical Church "assumed care for New Springplace as a mission."[398] Dr. Crews reported that upon the transfer of the mission to the Danish, "the mission was renamed 'Oaks,'… and continued on under the leadership of the Ebenezer Lutheran Church in America."[399] Although the Moravians were gone, their legacy still remained, for the spiritual bonds and relationships that had begun at old Springplace, Georgia nearly one hundred years prior continued to influence the Cherokees at the end of their journey amongst them.

[398] Ibid., 43.

[399] Ibid., 43-44.

Chapter 7:

Conclusion: Answering the Questions: "Why them? What now?"

As time passed from the years the Moravians spent living amongst the Cherokees and teaching them about our Lord, Jesus Christ, the influence that the Moravians had on the Cherokee culture, decisions, and relationships that spanned the test of time is undeniable. Little work has been documented to try to fully understand the Springplace mission in Georgia and the work that was accomplished there, yet the results of such an encounter between two people groups had an effect that has stood the test of time. So much of what happened between the Cherokees of the northwest Georgia region and the Moravians who cared enough to step out of their comfort zones changed the course of history in so many ways.

The Moravian movement in the southeastern United States stemmed from its headquarters in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, where the Brethren began serving the Natives in the Southern Province of the Moravian Church. Although the Brethren were making an impact throughout the local community in and around Winston-Salem, they knew their mission field lay much deeper within Cherokee territory where they believed they would build stronger relationships for the purposes of growing their ministry into the Native people's way of life. As time progressed, the path grew clearer to which they would travel, and they found themselves in the heart of the Cherokee Nation at Diamond Hill Plantation in Springplace, Georgia by the turn of the 19th century. When the opportunity to minister to a Native people became available in Georgia, it was received excitedly by the missionaries who attempted to establish a connection with the Natives through the influence left behind by Count Zinzendorf in a time when so little attention was paid to the Cherokee people. At that time, very little deliberate interaction occurred

between the Cherokee people and the white men and women who also lived in the Springplace, area due to the drastic differences between the two people groups. Comparatively, the Natives were very different from their white counterparts, and very few chose to find a common ground of acceptance until the desires established by Zinzendorf in 18th century Europe lit a fire in the hearts of the Moravian missionaries, yet still so few saw the vision of what this relationship could become. When the missionaries first established their station at Springplace, Georgia, they could not see what the future would hold, but chose to forge ahead anyway; they knew the potential that was waiting to be unlocked far outweighed the risks they took in order to try to bring their vision to fruition. It became clear through the many moments of uncertainty and despair that the mission was much more needed than first predicted. Unfortunately, the mission's start was not an easy one, and it took a while for the Cherokees to believe that the Moravians were there for righteous and good reasons.

Until James Vann and his family opened their doors to the Moravians at the turn of the 19th century, the Cherokee people were very unsure about the reason for the Moravians' mission in their area and did not seem to trust the supposed intentions of the mission being there. If James Vann had not accepted the Moravian missionaries, this story could have ended much differently; however, he saw the bigger picture and knew that providing his heirs with the opportunity to learn the ways of the white man was much more profitable for them in the long run. When the Moravians tried to find a way to enter into the Cherokee's world on their own merit, it was more difficult than they first imagined it would be, but by the Grace of God, the Moravians were able to connect to the Natives through the thing that made them most alike: hard work. The Moravians chose to work alongside the Cherokees once James Vann and, eventually, his son Joseph Vann as well, allowed them the opportunity to do so.

This choice to work as part of the Natives' efforts to yield crops and tend to the land gained the Moravian's trust, for, as the Bible instructs God's people: "Behold, how good and pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity!"[400] By choosing to dwell amongst the Cherokees and unify them in a common bond and a common purpose, the Moravians finally felled a wall that had been built from mistrust and unwarranted ambitions from people who intended ill will towards the Cherokees. Demonstrating how much they cared about the Cherokees' way of life and generationally bound culture-based attributes were pivotal in proving to the Cherokees that the Moravians truly wanted to see them thrive, just through God's own heart.

Although many wonderful things sprang from the work the missionaries were accomplishing, some of the more significant and notable historical accounts that grew from the work were the relationships that were forged among the Cherokees and the Moravians. The greatest relationship forged between the Moravian missionaries and the Cherokees was that that grew from the efforts of John and Anna Rosina Gambold, the missionaries of the original Springplace mission, where the journey of the mission began in Springplace in 1801. John and Anna Gambold saw how imperative it was for the Native people to see them as a help, not a threat. Even with the influence and support of James and Joseph Vann, the mission would not be sustainable if the missionaries who served the Cherokees had a mindset that was too selfishly driven. If the missionaries only pushed their way of life and the way they wanted to see things accomplished by the Natives, they would have been shut out much like their predecessors before them. The Gambolds knew that integrating their time ministering into teaching the Natives ways to farm and tend to the livestock that were more like the white man (which the United States government deemed a necessity for assimilation at that time) was essential to the invested

[400] Holy Bible, Psalms 131:1 (KJV).

interest of the Vann family and other chiefdoms, but they had one more vital piece to their mission that made it stand out above the rest: education. The Gambolds, along with Chief Vann, and other leaders of the Cherokee Nation, believed that a solid educational foundation would take one farther than anything else, and the fruits of their labors were vast as the years passed. The very fact that the missionaries were willing to offer this level of education to the Natives solidified the message the missionaries were trying to convey to them and drove the essence of the mission, cementing it as a mission that would influence generations for years to come. Additionally, the missionaries taught the Cherokees how to read and write in the "white man's" custom, and in doing so, this continued to serve the Natives in relationships built within the United States even in today's society. By being able to read and write in the ways of the "white man", the Cherokee people were able to communicate with those people who would choose to do them harm in an effort to stop the progress that no one would be able to revoke. This ability made the Natives more understandable to the American people who did not coincide with them as often as the Moravian missionaries did, and it allowed for conversations to be had that otherwise may not have been. All things considered, it was clear that the Natives tried to step into their newfound roles of converting people as efficiently as possible, but some things would prove to never change, including ill will formed from greed. As time passed, and life was not fair to the Natives, this work of teaching them as much about reading and writing and other means of work was continued in the New Springplace mission that would be formed following the removal of the Cherokees from their land and homes.

Although the Moravians sought to work amongst the Cherokees in an effort to Christianize a "heathen" group of people, assimilative measures always remained the goal of external governmental forces that allowed such interaction between the Moravians and the Cherokees to occur in the first place. It was evident from the beginning that procedures taken by Washington and other early United States government leaders to assimilate the Natives into Euro-centered customs played an integral part in the inner workings of the Moravians' long-term goals when working amongst the Cherokees. This, after all, became the metaphorical "glue" that sealed the deal between Zinzendorf and American leaders in the beginning stages when the Moravians sought to minister amongst the Natives.

Even with all of the work they had completed, the Moravian missionaries were not fairly matched against the United States government. As the Americans' need for westward expansion became ever-so-strong during the mid-to latter part of the 19th century, the well-being and best interests of the Natives took a backseat as greed, lust, and determination led the United States westward with little regard given towards the Natives' property, customs, life, or cultural relevance. As the 19th century moved forward, the Cherokees began to face the wrath of such expansion policies of the United States government despite the Moravians' efforts to intervene on their behalf. Ultimately, the land cession treaties that began to trickle down from Washington in the early 19th century set in motion a series of events that would ultimately lead to the diminishment of a culture that had existed in the East since before the arrival of the Europeans in the mid-16th century. Such morbid land policies as devised by the United States government at the time forced the Moravians to face a challenge like no others they had faced since arriving in the New World. Despite the tremendous labors that missionaries like John and Anna Rosina Gambold faced while amongst the Natives at Springplace, the Europeans' greed and lust

overcame the relationships that had been forged between the missionaries and the Cherokees in northwest Georgia as the white men trampled across Cherokee territory in hopes of fulfilling their dreams of expansion.

Soon, the Moravians found themselves faced with an impossible situation in which all of the work they had tried so hard to amount to real change was about to possibly be destroyed because of the desires of the white man driven by the vision of greed. When gold was found in the hills of Georgia, too many of the wrong people found this as an opportunity to fulfill the greed that plagued the hearts of the wicked. The people whose land surrounded that of the Cherokees became more and more enthralled with the idea of gold being on the Cherokee's land-including that upon which the Moravian mission stood-that very little could stop what soon would be known as "The Trail of Tears." A dark time in American history, the Cherokees were driven from their homes and land and forced to march a trail so long and so relentlessly unforgiving that too many Natives lost their lives during the march to their "new homes." John G. Burnett, a veteran of the United States Cavalry, recounts the events fifty years later in 1890 as recorded below:

> The removal of the Cherokee Indians from their life long homes in the year 1838 found me a young man in the prime of life and a private soldier in the American Army. Being acquainted with many of the Indians and able to fluently speak their language, I was sent as interpreter into the Smokey Mountain Country in May, 1838, and witnessed the execution of the most brutal order in the History of American Warfare. I saw the helpless Cherokees arrested and dragged from their homes, and driven at the bayonet point into the stockades. And in the chill of a drizzling rain on an October morning I saw them loaded like cattle or sheep into six hundred and forty-five wagons and started toward the west.
> One can never forget the sadness and solemnity of that morning. Chief John Ross led in prayer and when the bugle sounded and the wagon started rolling many of the children rose to their feet and waved their little hands good-by to their mountain homes, knowing they were leaving them forever. Many of these helpless people did not have blankets and many of them had been driven from home barefooted…

> The long painful journey to the west ended March 26th, 1839, with four-thousand silent graves reaching from the foothills of the Smoky Mountains to what is known as Indian territory in the West. And covetousness on the part of the white race was the cause of all that the Cherokees had to suffer…[401]

This painful journey was preventable, but the white men and women surrounding the Cherokees' land believed that the Cherokee had gold on their territory and wanted that gold for themselves. Instead of waging a traditional war against the Cherokee in order to fight for their land, the white men and women took to the government to fight a different type of battle and waged a war that the Cherokee did not have the ability to win. By forcing the Natives to travel on a journey that was almost too much for so many of the Natives, and could have dispelled complete doom for their people, the government was able to create new heights of complications for the Cherokee. Burnett continued by commenting:

> The doom of the Cherokee was sealed, Washington, D.C. had decreed that they must be driven West, and their lands given to the white man, and in May 1838 an Army of four thousand regulars, and three thousand volunteer soldiers under command of General Winfield Scott, marched into the Indian country and wrote the blackest chapter on the pages of American History…
> Murder is murder and somebody must answer, somebody must explain the streams of blood that flowed in the Indian country in the summer of 1838. Somebody must explain the four-thousand silent graves that mark the trail of the Cherokees to their exile. I wish I could forget it all, but the picture of six-hundred and forty-five wagons lumbering over the frozen ground with their Cargo of suffering humanity still lingers in my memory.[402]

The Moravians who lived with the Cherokees at the mission wanted desperately to help the Natives but found themselves placed between a rock and a hard place in that they were forced to make a decision that they never should have had to make. Although the Moravians wanted desperately to do more politically for their newfound friends, the teachings of Count Zinzendorf supported neutrality in governmental affairs, so the Moravians were severely

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[401] Ehle, *Trail of Tears: Rise and Fall of the Cherokee Nation*, 393.

[402] Ibid., 394.

unmatched by the United States government when all of the turmoil began. Even still, the Moravians knew that without making an effort to right the wrongs this march would produce, the labor they had known for decades prior would be in vain as the Cherokee's spirits would be truly broken. To that end, they chose to follow the Cherokees and began a new mission in their new home with those who survived such a perilous journey when they reached their final destination. Though nothing could bring back the loved ones they lost along the way, the comfort of seeing them again after death was enough for those among the Cherokees who gave their heart to God through the toils of the Moravian missionaries. Upon realizing this and the inevitable possibility of the end being near for so many, a number of the Natives were added to the church's number, causing a time of rejoicing after so much heartache.

As the years followed, the work of the Moravians through their mission did not get much easier, but the results that came from their desires to serve the Natives far outweighed the costs. The Moravians continued to see growth in their missions and faithfulness in the Cherokee people they served. Even when so many horrible things were happening around them, the Moravians kept their desire to serve God by serving others held steadfastly in their hearts and chose to do as much as they could for the Natives that they were able to witness to. With all of the work and effort on the part of the missionaries, the long-term sustainability of the work they had produced began to be weighed against possible outcomes, and it soon became clear that "dedicated as had been the missionaries' efforts, the real need was to train Native workers to minister to their own people."[403] Towards the end of the mission's life, the Moravians began training and teaching the Natives so that they could train and teach each other, even without the mission being active.

[403] Crews, *Faith and Tears*, 42.

This work became imperative to the sustainment of the work that had been done when the mission was moved to Oklahoma, following the time period of Indian Removal and "The Trail of Tears." In moving to Oklahoma, the mission was too far away for the original missionary headquarters of the Southern Providence of the Moravian Church in Winston Salem, North Carolina to continue in their supportive efforts of the mission's work. Because of this, the Cherokees had to become more self-reliant in their abilities to minister to and educate themselves. Thus, the work of the latter missionaries' focus became a shift towards self-sufficiency for the Natives over that of the Cherokees' reliance on the missionaries who lived among them to carry the cross set before them.

Moreover, as time continued to drone on for the Cherokees and the missionaries who strove so diligently to make a difference in the outcomes of their lives, it was evident that the missions that were previously established could not maintain themselves forever. Either due to financial strain, lack of volunteers for various reasons, etc., the mission would have to live on through the legacy it provided its people through the Natives they encountered and influenced along the way. When the mission's life as the Moravians and Cherokees knew it was coming to an end, the Moravians began to finally see the fruits of their labor through the generations that stemmed from their earlier encounters at the Springplace mission, and they knew that the endeavors they pursued while serving those people made a difference in so many lives and was enough to sustain itself throughout the ages. However, one major piece to the work that was accomplished at Springplace and the Moravian missions is that the Cherokee people were able to maintain their culture and way of life even after integrating so much of the Christ-centered religion into their daily walk and even after experiencing everything they did through the "Trail

of Tears" and other means. This realization speaks volumes regarding the way that the Moravian missionaries chose to interact and minister to these Native people.

With so little being written and produced regarding the work the Moravians did in Springplace, Georgia, it begs the question why study the Moravian's work at all? The answer lies in the questions that follow such an inquiry: "Why them? and "What now?" When John Hus was preaching and leading the Bohemian Reformation in Europe during the 14th century, he was burned at the stake for promoting Protestant ideals to people who were immersed in a Catholic-centered world. He believed that what would turn into the Moravian way of thinking was a better existence for people than that who practiced under Catholicism's dominion, but he believed during a historical time and place that did not accept his preaching and teachings and so he, therefore, lost his life as a result. When this occurred, the Moravians went into hiding, but they never stopped practicing their beliefs with anyone willing to listen. This caught the attention of Count Nikolaus von Zinzendorf, a government official for Bohemia, who took great interest in religious works and opened his estate for the sake of inviting the Moravians in so he could promote his greatest gift to the world: mission work. Count Zinzendorf, therefore, became what he is known for today as the "father of the modern-day Moravian church." Today's idea of missionary work and the way it is performed can be traced from the Moravian missionaries who were developed under Zinzendorf's leadership. It was easier for the Moravians to stay in their lane and way of life and not worry about the livelihood of such a Native people, yet through the history that was produced before them from the desires of Count Zinzendorf to the Cherokee people who still live today, a vision that could not be diminished fought to stay alive, driving those handling it to push the boundaries of what many thought could never be done.

When one looks back on the history of the Cherokee Indians, the work performed by the missionaries at the Moravian missions is undeniable. The assimilation into the "white man's" culture made life much easier for the Indians, and it was made possible by the Moravian missions that allowed for that type of interaction and progress to happen during the time. Missionaries such as John and Anna Rosina Gambold left a lasting legacy with these Natives who wanted to have a better life when the world as they knew it changed forever when they were challenged by the white men who arrived on their lands. For example, Anna Rosina Gambold was renowned for her work in botany, and she chose to transfer that knowledge to the Natives as she taught them ways to better use their surroundings. In doing so, she bettered their lives and the lives of their future generations when she used this as a focus while ministering to them on the Vann's farmland. John Gambold, her husband, also had a hand in bettering the Natives' lives beyond spiritual means in that he was able to teach the Natives farming techniques while serving at the plantation. The Gambolds were able to find "common ground" with the Natives, which allowed them to live more easily amongst them. Aside from the farming techniques and botany-inspired ways of maintaining the land, teaching the Cherokee Indians how to read and write the "white man's" language in a time period in which they could not do either very well, brought those Natives into modern culture. These things were a foundation for the survival of not only the missionaries and the ministry that sprang out of Springplace, Georgia, but they were also the beginning of the Natives finding ways to integrate their way of life with that of the "white man" and change the path the generations of lives that followed their initial interactions with the missionaries would have to take.

Interestingly, it was the focus on how to assimilate the two very different people groups into the same area that made the ministry that was driven by the Moravians so successful at Springplace. Similar missions had been attempted by the Moravians and other denominations that were significantly unsuccessful because those missionaries tried to push their spiritual agenda on a people in a way that simultaneously tried to take over the Natives' way of life in all aspects of their well-being. For example, another Moravian mission that attempted (albeit unsuccessful) to make a stay in other Indian tribes, such as the Creek Indians in Savannah, Georgia, ceased to exist very shortly after its establishment, mostly due to the lack of the missionaries' failure to cultivate a cultural bond between the two people groups.

The Creek mission was the first official mission of the Moravians that was established in Georgia, and it was only given the chance to start in the area because of James Oglethorpe's (the Founder of Georgia) choosing to allow it to come to fruition. This choice was heavily influenced by the "desire among the Creeks for a mission." [404]However, the impact it was making on the Creek Indians of the time was scarcely seen. Not long after its establishment, this mission fell apart when it was faced with a decision that was politically fueled and was never reported as growing back when it had a chance to try again to make its mark. Count Zinzendorf's teachings made it explicitly clear that the missionaries were not to get involved in political matters, so when "war clouds began to gather in the fall of 1739, and [Creek leader] Tomochichi died in October of that year," the Moravians refused to get involved in the conflict between the British and the Spanish, leaving their mission to grind to a halt."[405]

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[404] McClinton, *The Moravian Springplace Mission Among the Cherokees*, 10.

[405] Ibid., 10.

"[Count] Zinzendorf asked permission for the Moravians, except for a few missionaries, to leave. The trustees [however] wanted all to leave and none to remain."[406]

It was the death knell for the Moravian settlement" amongst the Creek.[407] Instead, the truest success story of the Moravians and their interaction with the Natives is the one that was found at Springplace. It is important to acknowledge the fact that the Moravians in Springplace faced a similar political decision and again chose to remain neutral and out of conflict, but in doing so, they were able to maintain their established ties with the Natives and continue their work in a new mission following the horrific things that would happen as a result of gold being found in Georgia. This was as strong a testament as any that the Moravian missionaries in Springplace were different from those in other locations or who preceded them in their work.

So, as time passed, and historical events began to try to harm the mission's work, it was the foundation laid by the Gambolds that allowed for permanent, positive, and generationally sustainable change to take place in the Natives' lives. Although the Moravians did not accompany the Cherokees on the most perilous journey during their existence in the East, the Trail of Tears, it can be said that their willingness to "accommodate new ideas and [to] reshape their culture in order to survive and prosper" in a new world set the missionaries apart from any other denomination who so tried to reach the Natives.[408] McClinton noted that "even though the Moravians lost the Cherokees' trust temporarily [as they were being moved from one location to the next,] the missionaries never lost sight of their focus, which was to stay involved for some

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[406] Rev. Edmund Schwarze, *History of the Moravian Missions Amongst Southern Indian Tribes*, 26.

[407] McClinton, *The Moravian Mission Amongst the Cherokees at Springplace,* 11.

[408] Ibid., 541.

time to come.[409] And, as the evidence has shown throughout this study, the Moravians did just that. Through thick and thin, bad times and good times, the Moravians remained committed to the success and spiritual well-being of the Cherokees until their final hours of ministry once the Cherokees had become immersed in their new surroundings in the new Indian Territory.

A commonly used phrase that is used to inspire people to do well in their efforts is to remind them to be in "the right place, at the right time, in the right uniform." The history behind the Moravian mission as detailed in this dissertation is a direct example of what can happen when one abides by this motto. The right visions traveled through history, and the right people, at the right time, in the right place made all the difference. Without the Moravians on a mission with God, the Cherokee people could have turned out much differently, leaving behind them a wake of different histories that could have wiped them out as a people entirely. Because the Moravians chose to step out and bring their knowledge and their stories to the Cherokees, a number of Natives received Christ as their Savior and, in doing so, saved their lives in more ways than one due to the time period through which they lived. These developments answer the question of "So what?" in that so many lives could have been lost without the efforts made by the Moravian missionaries to minister to a people who rejected them at almost every stage of the mission's efforts. The cost of a life is priceless, regardless of the differences that life brings to an area that is not ready to receive it, and the Moravians knew the long-term effects that could result from the care they took in their interactions with the Cherokee people. The Moravians' labor of love did not come without heartache and conflict, but it certainly left incredible markers on the Natives they touched. An account from George W. Featherstonhaugh, an English gentleman who

[409] Ibid., 541-542.

was a geologist passing through the Moravian/Cherokee territory during his travels in 1837 recounted:

> *August 5,* --The voices of the Cherokees already at morning worship awoke me at dawn of the day, and dressing myself hastily, I went to the Council-house. Great numbers of them were assembled, and Mr. Jones, the Missionary, read out verses in the English language from the New Testament, which Bushy-head, with a singularly senatorial voice and sonorous accent, immediately rendered to the people in the Cherokee tongue, emitting a deep grunting sound at the end of every verse, resembling the hard breathing of a man chopping trees down, the meaning of which I was given to understand was to call their attention to the proposition conveyed by the passage. This I was told is an universal practice also in Cherokee oratory. When they sang, a line or two of a hymn printed in the Cherokee language was given out, each one having a hymn book in his hand, and I certainly never saw any congregation engaged more apparently in sincere devotion.
> This spectacle insensibly led me into reflection upon the opinion which is so generally entertained of its being impossible to civilize the Indians in our sense of the word. Here is a remarkable instance which seems to furnish a conclusive answer to skepticism on this point.[410]

This level of clear influence is undeniable, and stories like this hold a true testament to what the missionaries were capable of doing for the Natives. They were able to find ways to attach themselves to the already-established Native ways of conducting life and assimilate the ways of the white man into their way of life. After observing the service between the Cherokees and the missionaries, Featherstonhaugh made the following observation regarding the indications the interactions he observed seem to provide:

> A whole Indian nation abandons the pagan practices of their ancestors, adopts the Christian religion, uses books printed in their own language, submits to the government of their elders, builds houses and temples of worship, relies upon agriculture for their support, and produces men of great ability to rule over them, and to whom they give a willing obedience. Are not these the great principles of civilization? They are driven from their religious and social state then, not because they cannot be civilized, but because a pseudo set of civilized beings, who are too strong for them, want their possessions![411]

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[410] Ehle, *The Rise and Fall of the Cherokee Nation, 314-315.*

[411] Ibid., 315.

Featherstonhaugh knew even from this brief encounter that the lives of the Natives would be forever changed because of their interactions with the Moravians. In a sense, the mission that began as a way to reach an untouched people group eventually grew into a way of helping those same people (the Natives) assimilate into a new culture and left its mark for both goals to be accomplished was something of a marvel in the history of both the life story of the Moravians and the life story of the Cherokees.

Historians today hold the story of the Cherokee people in Springplace, Georgia with such regard because of the work that was accomplished through the Moravian mission. The diaries left behind from the mission tell a story of the missionaries and the work they did to bring about a new age where much bloodshed and a lack of brotherhood existed. One person's vision can truly shape history, but what one chooses to do with that power makes all of the difference. In consideration of this, the question of "What now?" arose concerning the story of such a miraculous meeting between two cultural worlds that occurred at Springplace. Now that light has been shed on the labor of the Moravian mission in Springplace, Georgia between the years 1801 and 1830 (when the mission fell due to the United States government's response to Indian removal) as well as the missions that were established as a direct result of the work at that mission, little is left to review in the way of the Springplace mission. However, the teachings of the Moravians can still be seen in Cherokee circles today, as they have assimilated into European culture in the United States. One major influence that this historical interaction has had on the Natives is the ability to speak and write in the ways of the white man, which has afforded them many more opportunities than would have potentially been presented. An example of this would be the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act which was created to "[provide] a chance for people who had missed out on enrollment and allotment, or who were descendants of enrollees not resident

on a reservation, to be officially declared Indian."[412] This Act stemmed from the late realization that the General Allotment Act that had been its predecessor was not successful in solving the supposed issues the states faced after the transpiration and, eventually, the subsequent backlash that developed from the Trail of Tears. To that end, it was clear that:

> [t]he new policy largely represented the vision of one man, John Collier, the newly appointed commissioner of Indian Affairs. Collier's philosophy was rooted in the Progressive reaction to immigration and urban life…Most scholars agree that Collier's promotion of Indian culture originated in a deep romanticism. Underlying the 1934 act was the desire to resurrect and retain Native American culture, promote tribal government, and halt the effort to assimilate Indians into the white mainstream. Collier told a House of Representatives committee in 1935 that "only sheer fanaticism would decide the further destruction of Indian languages, crafts, poetry, music, ritual, philosophy, and religion.[413]

It was made clear that Collier had every intention of maintaining the Native American's culture and way of life in hopes that it would be passed down from generation to generation as the Natives' population was growing to reconstruct what had been lost during all the adversity they had faced. What made the mission stand alone as a growth place for God's people also gained its attention in a positive light from the Natives, and the similarities between the two people groups that were flushed out from the interactions spurred at the mission were the things that kept these two different people groups as close to each other as they could be. The Moravians and Natives chose to work together to find a way to make their new way of life in social work in a way that would benefit both parties, and many good things came from that deliberate way of thinking.

Another piece to this historical timeline that could warrant further analysis is the influence associated with the reading and writing that was taught at the Springplace mission and the influence this education on the students who attended the school, especially the females at the

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[412] Ellinghaus, *Blood Will Tell: Native Americans and Assimilation Policy*, 71.

[413] Ibid., 72

school who traditionally did not have much say on the overall aspects of the tribe's decisions. One brief work accomplished by Amanda Moulder indicated that:

> By adapting English-language literacy in Cherokee territory and using what they learned at the mission school to serve the needs of their communities, Cherokee female students at [the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions] schools were aiding their people. They used the outsider tools of a patriarchal society to retain power as women. In this sense, missionary efforts to depoliticize Cherokee women's roles failed, as Cherokee women took these tools and indigenized them. That is, they used English-language literacy for Cherokee political purposes and to preserve Cherokee communal values.[414]

Although this part of the legacy left behind by the Moravians was not a focus of this dissertation, in looking forward to the future of what may be derived from what was learned through this study, the progress developed through the work of the Native men and women who were directly tied to the Natives who learned the white man's language and ways of writing and speaking can be traced back to the diligence of missions, such as the Springplace Mission, that afforded such opportunities to the students it touched. Although the opportunity to minister and spread the Gospel to untouched people groups was at the forefront of the missionaries' minds, it was also just as apparent that the missionaries wanted the Natives to not only survive in their lives but also thrive in the new society they would find themselves in. The significance behind the way all of this played out for the missions is striking as well in that some scholars today have argued that the allowance of the Natives to attend these schools at the missions was, in its own way, a form of disempowerment for the Native children. In some ways, this logic could be argued, but the evidence that has been recovered regarding such successful missions as Springplace has defended the opposite to this end. For example, in George Tinker's book,

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[414] Amanda Maulder, "Cherokee Practice, Missionary Intentions: Literacy Learning Among Early Nineteenth-Century Cherokee Women," *College Composition and Communication 63*, no. 1 (September, 2011), 76.

Missionary Conquest, Tinker relies on several case studies to show how missionary work amongst Natives has been criticized as a form of genocide against the Cherokee culture yet explains that if all of the Cherokees were completely converted through this process, there would be no need for additional missions to continue the work as they still are today.[415] As Moulder also realized,

> Even as eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century missionaries and school-teachers sought to assimilate Cherokee women into Euro-American culture by promoting patriarchy in their curricula, Cherokee women's political involvement within their nation endured into the nineteenth century, manifested through writing.[416]

With the onslaught of attention being brought onto missions such as the one in Springplace as locations to "re-educate" the Natives, if the missionaries were not diligent in their mission, that is all that would have come from the missions that were established. Thankfully, the continuation of the history that has been produced throughout the years has made it very clear that the project of assimilation set in motion by the United States as it applied to the Natives did not cause the Natives to deconstruct their way of being entirely but rather enhance it using the things they learned of the white man's way of being. Moulder has pointed out in that the intention of the missionaries was to actually keep the familial structures that the Natives were accustomed to so that they would be passed down through the generational ties that bound them together as a people. As time passed, however, Moulder points out that "The survival of the Cherokee people was tied to the power of Cherokee women's rhetoric."[417] By focusing on what could be gleaned and brought back to the people who were uneducated in their tribes as they

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[415] George Tinker, *Missionary Conquest, the Gospel and Native American Cultural Genocide* (Minneapolis Fortress Press 1993), 151.

[416] Amanda Moulder, "Cherokee Practice, Missionary Intentions: Literacy Learning Among Early Nineteenth-Century Cherokee Women," 76.

[417] Ibid., 76.

learned it, the students of the school, most predominantly the women, were aiding their people for long-term success. It is important to recognize that in speaking to the strength that literacy integration gave to the Natives, the process of literacy acquisition is one of adaptation. Truly acquiring the skills that being literate can bring is a task that can be daunting or undervalued, depending on where one chooses to look. When the Cherokee removal process began in American history, it had an effect on the literacy piece that had been a focus of the missions for generations, and it was left to the Natives to determine whether or not they were to continue their work and learning when the New Springplace was established in its new location in the new Indian Territory. The Cherokee's history indicates that they chose to not participate fully in the new American society that was forming around them but instead focused on maintaining a sense of freedom amidst a time of turmoil that had consumed the environment around them.

The lessons learned at the Moravian missions encompassed much more than becoming literate through education, and that is what made it successful in its integration into the Native's way of life. It was not the intention of the Moravian missionaries to destroy the Natives' way of life or uproot their heritage in any way, but rather to promote it to a higher level complete with God's existence in their lives.

The work that was accomplished through the Moravian missions did this goal justice, and it proved that assimilation was possible as far as the Natives were concerned. But to this day, the Cherokees remain a proud and noble people whose history with the Moravians is one that is looked on fondly as a time of change and renewal. Unfortunately, all good things come to an end, and the Moravian missions could not continue to be sustained for reasons unrelated to the mission's success. Therefore, over the years, the Moravian congregations have dwindled, distributing the work of these missions from the Moravians to other various denominations.

Several missions have dipped their spiritual hands into the lives of the Cherokees since the establishment of the Moravian mission at Springplace, but none have yielded a greater gain than the missionaries who worked and lived among the Cherokees on the plantation at Diamond Hill.

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