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presented by

Stuart David Willis

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Doctoral degree in History

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VOLUME I

By

Stuart David Willis

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ABSTRACT

“LEFT TO THEMSELVES, THE CHEROKEE WOULD BECOME A PROSPEROUS, INDEPENDENT COMMONWELATH, AND WOULD NEVER SELL THEIR LANDS”: CHEROKEES, SLAVES AND MORAVIANS AT SPRINGPLACE MISSION, GEORGIA, 1799-1838

By

Stuart David Willis

This dissertation examines the responses of the Cherokee Nation and of Moravian Protestant missionaries working amongst them to the United States’ ‘civilization’ program in the early nineteenth-century. It draws upon the extensive records of the Brethren’s Springplace mission in northern Georgia to show that both the Cherokees and the Moravians used the program as an umbrella under which to pursue their own agendas. Each group only adopted those elements of ‘civilization’ that allowed them to further their own aims. Neither accepted the ethos driving the program, namely that Indigenous peoples needed to absorb white culture and worldviews wholesale to become acculturated ‘white Indians’ in order to function in the mainstream of American life. These actions undermined the fundamental beliefs that the ‘civilization’ program was grounded upon, and contributed to acculturation’s replacement with removal.

The Cherokee resisted acculturation by adopting only those elements of the ‘civilization’ program that would not undermine their own cultural identity. This meant that the literacy missionaries offered was welcomed, but their Christian religious message was not. Literacy would allow the Cherokee to function without disadvantage in the white world, by guarding them against fraud, but Christianity had no functional purpose for the Cherokee, and thus it was

rejected in favor of continued adherence to Indigenous beliefs and practices. Cherokee men such as James Vann also rejected the imposition of Western gender roles, and refused to take up the plow and get involved in agriculture, traditionally women's work amongst the Cherokee. Instead Vann and others like him adopted chattel slavery, allowing them to exchange the traditional Cherokee male pursuits of hunting and war for trade and business without being emasculated by having to adopt a traditionally feminine role in agriculture.

The Moravians also undermined the 'civilization' program by pursuing only the religious element with any enthusiasm. For the Brethren the religious realm was the only one that mattered, and the temporal world was immaterial. Thus the Moravians failed to challenge Cherokee men like James Vann for their failure to become farmers, as their earthly pursuits had no bearing upon their spiritual standing. The Brethren further undermined the 'civilization' program by undercutting the institution of slavery in the South. Despite the dictates of Count Zinzendorf that all Moravian missionaries should avoid involvement with 'political' issues in order to quietly pursue their religious goals, the Brethren's treatment of slaves, most notably their convert Jacob and Pleasant, the female slave bought for Springplace, served to undermine core Southern beliefs in the inherent inferiority of non-white peoples. Thus both the Cherokee and the Moravians pursued their own goals within the confines of the 'civilization' program, but neither was fully committed to its governing ethos of the inferiority of non-white peoples and the South's racial hierarchy.

For my parents

And

In loving memory of
my Grandmother

Helena Arden (1915-2000)

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Introduction

This dissertation examines the Cherokee response to the United States' 'civilization' program through the lens of the Moravian missions to the Cherokee in northern Georgia.[1] My research focuses on the Brethren's Springplace mission and its association with the Diamond Hill plantation of the Vann family. The Vann family's response to both the Moravians and to the government's 'civilization' program illustrates the variety of choices made by members of the Cherokee Nation. There was no consensus of opinion over what their response should be. Old Mother Vann and her daughters represented the more conservative elements of the Cherokee; her son James Vann was more progressive, but still rejected certain aspects of white culture in favor of retaining his Cherokee heritage, while James' wife Peggy achieved near complete acculturation by converting to Christianity, and suffered for it at the hands of her more conservative family members.

The dissertation also examines the way in which the Brethren's behavior at the Georgia missions served to undermine the federal civilization program to the Cherokee. The Moravians did this in two ways: first, via their lenient treatment of slaves, and, second, by their failure to challenge either James or Joseph Vann for their refusal to become directly involved in agricultural labor. The Brethren undermined the institution of slavery by denying the South's increasingly racist racial hierarchy, thus undermining the federal government's attempts to draw the Cherokee out of their 'primitive' state towards 'civilization.' The Moravians did this by being 'soft' slaveholders and offering religious equality for slaves, and Cherokees, who converted to Christianity. This small measure of equality granted to converts undercut the central tenet of both slavery and the 'civilization' program, namely that non-white peoples were inferior to white Americans.

---

[1] In Europe the Moravians were more commonly known as the United Brethren, from *Unitas Fratrum*, and in the Americas as the Moravians, after their place of origin. See chapter one for more details. I use the terms Moravian and Brethren interchangeably here.

Furthermore, as the Brethren's approach to conversion was based upon quietly imploring 'heathens' to repent their sins and seek the redemption of the Savior, rather than attempt to hector and harass unbelievers into conversion like the Baptists or Methodists, they undermined another central plank of the 'civilization' program. One of the primary claims of the program was that it aimed to turn primitive hunters into civilized farmers. Inherent in this changeover was a concomitant intellectual turn from Cherokee culture and beliefs to Euro-American ones. This involved transforming Cherokee men from hunters into farmers and Cherokee women from farmers into housewives and seamstresses, a reversal of traditional Indigenous gender roles. As the actions of the Vann men show, the Cherokee stoutly refused to accept those aspects of the 'civilization' program that attempted to extinguish Indigenous culture, and adopted only those which allowed the Cherokee to thrive in the increasingly white world that now surrounded them.

By utilizing the new materials made available by a renewed translation drive by the Moravian archives in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, the headquarters of the Brethren's missionary work in the South, I have been able to examine the 'civilization' debate amongst the Cherokee from a new perspective. The near four decades worth of records produced by the Springplace mission, and its associated branch station of Oochgeelogy, provide a unique insight into the evolution of Cherokee society in the forty years prior to their forced removal from the East, now described as the Cherokees' 'Trail of Tears.' The daily nature of the records kept by the Moravians, particularly the mission diaries, offers a unique long-term survey of life in the Cherokee Nation in the early decades of the nineteenth-century. By analyzing the interactions of the Brethren with the Cherokee, and the black slaves owned by both groups, it has been possible to evaluate Cherokee attitudes towards literacy, slavery, Christianity, and removal; in short, the whole 'civilizing' mission of the federal government. This is significant because no previous study has been able to examine daily interactions over such a sustained period. Other denominations made missions to the Cherokee, but were far more transitory in nature than those of the Moravians. While there is a significant body of historiography on the Brethren, the Cherokees, and slaves individually, that on the latter being particularly voluminous, there is virtually nothing on the interactions of these three groups together. My dissertation thus seeks to plug this gap in the existing historiography.

The records the Moravians kept have been underutilized because they were written in a form of German script that has been defunct for nearly 70 years. New and complete translations of these records allow a glimpse into the daily lives of the Brethren at the two missions in the heart of Cherokee territory. The daily diary format allows for the tracking and evolution of events within the Springplace community, and describes in detail the interactions of the Moravian missionaries with the Vann family, and the slaves that they both held. As a result, a more complete picture of the Cherokee Nation's attitude towards the federal government's 'civilization' program emerges, that shows how the Cherokee sought to replicate the structure of white southern plantation society, while still retaining core elements of their own culture, and yet stridently rejecting other aspects of white life, such as the Christian religion.

The Moravian Missions to the Cherokee

After two failed eighteenth-century attempts to found a mission to the Cherokee Nation the Brethren succeeded the third time, as the century drew to a close. The main mission station of Springplace (near modern-day Chatsworth, Georgia), opened in 1801 and here, they operated a church and, shortly afterwards, a school to teach Cherokee children, until early 1833. A second mission station at Oochgeelogy (modern-day Oothcaloga), thirty miles to the south of Springplace, and eight miles to the south of the Cherokee capital of New Echota, was opened in 1823. It too featured a school and continued until 1831. Both missions were lost in the post-1830 upheavals that followed the extension of Georgia law over the Cherokee Nation and the Indian Removal Act.

After being forced out of Springplace the Brethren's missionaries decamped to the home of their friend and supporter David McNair, still in Cherokee territory but just across the Georgia border into Tennessee. Here on the

Connesaga River the Moravians opened and operated another mission school that continued through August of 1836. From that point until September 1838 when the Cherokees were literally forced from the East in the event that came to be known as the 'Trail of Tears,' the Brethren maintained an itinerant mission amongst the Cherokee.

Initially, I had planned to study Cherokee slaveholding practices, as seen through the Moravian records. However, the comprehensive nature of the Brethren's archives, with daily diary entries supplemented by frequent correspondence and reports, allowed me to expand my study to include other aspects of the internal Cherokee debate on the United States' government's 'civilization' program. The Moravians were the first Protestant Church in the world, and predated even Martin Luther, then later established bases in Germany, Holland and Britain, and sent missionaries to form settlements across the globe. In order to facilitate the spread the Gospel the Moravian Church's spiritual re-founder, Count Zinzendorf, promulgated a rule that all of the Brethren's missionaries should bow to local custom in order to avoid controversy. In this way, Zinzendorf hoped the Moravians would not get drawn into any local disputes and could instead concentrate on their agenda of quietly saving souls.

As the Brethren's organization came to be world-wide in scope, this lead to several paradoxical situations, such as the parallel development of support, albeit undemonstrative, for the abolition of the slave trade and slavery by Moravians in Britain, and spiritual equality for slaves in Germany. Simultaneously, the Brethren's missionaries in North America and the Caribbean became slaveholders and plantation owners. Both situations saw the Moravians acquiesce to local practices and preferences to ingratiate themselves with local authorities in order to blend in and facilitate their work amongst the heathen. In my exploration of the relationship between the Cherokee Nation, the Moravians, and their respective slaves, I take advantage of the global nature of the Brethren's organization to adopt a more Atlantic approach to the subject, looking into the effect of contact with William Wilberforce, one of the 'Saints' of the abolitionist movement in Britain, and the subsequent Moravian role in Wilberforce's campaign to end slavery within the British Empire.

The divisions within the Cherokee Nation over the issue of slavery were ideological, mirroring those in the wider white population of the United States, and the Cherokee swiftly became the largest slaveholding Indigenous group in the American southeast. As the nineteenth century progressed the Cherokee also fissured into increasingly fervent pro- and anti-removal factions. There was, however, no definitive, clear-cut correlation between these emerging factions and the conservative and progressive wings of the Nation. Some slave-holding progressives sought to stay in the East, while others felt that this cause was doomed and the best way to protect Cherokee livelihoods was to move west. Equally, some traditionalists sought to remain on ancestral Cherokee lands in the East, and others looked to move west in order to seek a more peaceful life free from white interference. Thus, through an analysis of education and conversion, slavery, and finally the removal program, this dissertation examines the attitudes held by the Cherokee Nation towards the United States' civilization program in the early decades of the nineteenth century.

Chapter Overview

The first chapter of the dissertation offers an overview of the history of the Moravians from their origins as the first Protestant Church in early 15th century central Europe, to the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the Brethren founded the Springplace mission to the Cherokee in northern Georgia. Emphasis is placed on the Moravian's 'outsider' status and the level of persecution the Brethren faced in Europe for their sometimes controversial religious beliefs. Their migration from Moravia (in the modern day Czech Republic) to Germany in 1722, and their church's spiritual renewal five years later by the Saxon count Nicholas Zinzendorf is explored. Zinzendorf's focus on missionary work led, through personal and religious connections, to the beginnings of a worldwide missionary program that expanded out from its beginnings in Denmark's Caribbean territories, into British imperial holdings globally. Moravian expansion into North America is examined, with the purchase of the Wachovia tract in North Carolina in 1753 leading, half a century later, to the foundation of the Springplace mission to the Cherokee in northern Georgia.[2]

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[2] As noted in chapter one, the first Moravian settlement in what became the United States was in the newly founded colony of Georgia in 1735. However, this mission failed within a few years and the Brethren moved north and joined with fresh immigrants from Germany and England to found a settlement at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. Bethlehem remains, the headquarters of the Northern Province of the Moravian Church in America and was "the headquarters of the Moravian work in America in the 18th and 19th centuries," C. Daniel Crews & Richard Starbuck, *With Courage for the Future: The Story of the Moravian Church, Southern Province* (Winston-Salem, NC: Moravian Church in America, Southern Province, 2002), xxi.

Chapter two investigates the still somewhat murky emergence of the Cherokee Nation as a major Indigenous power in the American southeast. This followed the devastation caused to other, historically more powerful nations in the wake of Spanish exploration and conquest in the sixteenth century. The decimation of other tribes left the Cherokee as major powerbrokers between European settlers on the coast and inland tribes. The Cherokee also emerged as central players in the continent-spanning Anglo-French rivalry that ended with the French and Indian War of 1754-1763. The Cherokee then sided with the British during the War of Independence and the fallout of that decision, and their continued fight against American forces through until 1794, is described. The effects of the 'civilization' and removal programs are then analyzed, with an emphasis on how Cherokee society changed (for example, how traditional Cherokee gender relations became less balanced as patriarchal European practices were adopted). The origins of the growing factionalism within the Cherokee Nation are also explored.

The third chapter evaluates the Cherokee Nation's response to the federal government's 'civilization' program, and argues that the older historiography's portrayal of the issue as simply 'full-blood traditionalists' versus 'mixed-blood progressives' does not tell the full story. The chapter argues that all Cherokee were much more selective over which aspects of white culture they were willing to accept and adopt, and which they stridently rejected in favor of maintaining their own cultural traditions. The result was a process of continual Cherokee adaptation and change, but also one of Cherokee cultural resistance, continuity, and survival. The ways in which older forms of Cherokee community policing remained strong is illustrated, as is their use to harass and shame those individuals who were felt to have gone beyond necessary adaptation towards full acculturation.

This argument is explicated through an analysis of the aftermath of the murder, in 1809, of James Vann, the Brethren's patron amongst the Cherokees, and the conversion of his widow, Peggy, to Moravian Christianity a year later. In his will James Vann did not leave his property to his blood relations as traditional Cherokee inheritance practice dictated, nor did he abide by the Cherokee National Council's law, passed the same year, which stipulated wives and children should share a man's property. Vann instead asserted his individuality by leaving the bulk of his property to his favorite son, Joseph, and a minor share to his remaining wife Peggy. This sparked off nearly two decades of legal squabbling and harassment as Vann's blood family members sought to assert their traditional claims to his property over those of his wife and children. Peggy's conversion to Christianity the year after her husband's death sparked a similar campaign amongst Vann's family to pull her back from this rejection of Indian culture and to return Peggy to the Cherokee fold.

Both incidents demonstrate that traditional Cherokee culture was very much alive at the dawn of the nineteenth century and it was used to set the boundaries of acceptable community behavior. Traditional methods of community control enforced traditional Cherokee cultural values, and those individuals who were felt to have overstepped the bounds of what was an acceptable accommodation to white culture and progressed towards acculturation over accommodation, were harassed and ostracized in an attempt to bring them back to their own cultural traditions.

Chapter four analyzes how the issue of slavery became problematic for the Moravian Brethren, both worldwide and especially for the missionaries at Springplace. For Count Zinzendorf, and most other Moravian leaders in the eighteenth-century, slavery was a non-issue, as it related to the temporal, earthly status of slaves, and was of no importance to a missionary church whose only interest was in the conversion of the heathen to Christianity. The chapter looks at how practical attempts to proselytize amongst the slaves of the Danish and British West Indies from the early 1730s forced the Moravians to confront the issue of slavery and formulate a set of guidelines that outlined how the Brethren should approach the issue. Not wanting to offend the planters upon whom the progress of most mission work depended, Zinzendorf formulated a policy of complying with all established authority and not interfering with any ‘political’ matters, such as those between masters and slaves. The Moravians thus became, outwardly at least, pro-slavery, owning plantations and slaves (corporately) in the West Indies and elsewhere, in order to be able to proselytize amongst the slaves unmolested by the local authorities.

Elsewhere, however, the Moravians’ belief in the equality of believers before God meant that slaves were elected to positions of authority within the Brethren’s organization in Germany, and the Moravians also provided substantial information on slavery to the British Parliamentary enquiry into the slave trade in

1788. The British Moravians also established long-standing links to William Wilberforce and the information they, quietly, provided him with was very important for the success of Wilberforce's abolition campaign. This tendency to outwardly support slavery while inwardly undermining it was extended to the Moravians in North America. Thus the treatment of slaves in Salem, North Carolina, the center of the Southern Province of the Moravian Church (and thus 'overseer' of the Springplace mission), reveals an ambiguous position on slavery. It again illustrates outward compliance with all laws on slavery, while at the same time providing better treatment of slaves, giving those who converted to Christianity a measure of personal freedom and dignity unknown to most bondsmen in the American South.

This issue is then studied in microcosm in the form of the slave woman, Pleasant, who served at the Springplace mission from 1805 until her 'retirement' in 1829. During this time Pleasant was granted considerable latitude in her behavior and, despite frequent laments from the missionaries placed in control over her, never suffered a single incidence of physical punishment in her twenty-four years at Springplace. This chapter contends that the Moravians' treatment of Pleasant, and other slaves who were hired to work at the mission or on its lands, provided a stark contrast to the treatment of those slaves owned by the Cherokee, and most notably by James Vann in particular. The Brethren undercut their support for the institution of slavery through their lenient treatment of slaves, but also undercut their egalitarian message by only extending equality to those slaves who converted to Christianity, but then failed to manumit their converts, thus denying them true equality.

Chapter four also examines the way that Cherokee men like the Vanns utilized slave labor to subvert the 'civilization' program and maintain traditional Cherokee masculine gender roles. The Moravians failed to challenge either James or Joseph Vann for avoiding agricultural labor and thus undermined the Brethren's contribution to the 'civilization' program.

The fifth chapter investigates the financial distress of the Moravians, it focuses on their lack of money, compared to the abundant funding other denominations such as the ABCFM enjoyed. All of the Brethren's missions were expected to be at least partially self-sustaining, and the missionaries employed at them were all artisans and craftsmen first, and missionaries second. As such they were expected to build and maintain their own missions, and then also provide for themselves and those in their care via their own labors, without extensive financial assistance from their 'home' Church institutions. The Springplace mission, situated in the heart of Cherokee territory, 400 miles from the Brethren's Salem headquarters, was, however, always in financial distress. This was because the normal Moravian practice of mission development never took place in Georgia. Based on the Herrnhut model, the Brethren always sought to build a church first and then invite converts to come and live at the mission, slowly building a settlement community of believers. At Springplace, the Moravians gained only two converts in their first eighteen years.[3] Thus, due to the small number of missionaries stationed at Springplace, and the necessity of providing room and board for a number of Cherokee children who attended their school, the mission never became self-sustaining. As the missionaries had to do all the agricultural work as well as run the school and proselytize, there was never enough time to perform all the necessary tasks and never enough labor available to do them. This meant the missionaries at Springplace, and later Oochgeelogy constantly had to ask for assistance from Salem to pay for food or workers or materials that were needed to keep the schools and missions running.

This lack of financial resources is examined via the removal crisis of the 1830s. Here the Brethren were duped by a scheming lawyer (seeking a commission) into accepting compensation for their 'improvements' from monies set aside for the Cherokee Nation facing removal. The problems this created for the Moravians, as their acceptance of compensation was taken by some Cherokee to mean the Brethren supported removal, are thus investigated. Conversely, the Moravians' initial reluctance to accept compensation, or to take the oath of loyalty to the state of Georgia, were taken as failures to properly support the state and federal governments in their civilization efforts. As with slavery, then, the Brethren's efforts to remain politically neutral served only to undermine their relationship with both the Cherokee and state officials. Cherokee cultural continuity is again examined via reaction to the minority Treaty of New Echota which sealed Cherokee removal from the East. Here clan 'blood' revenge is shown to remain extant despite legislation outlawing it being in place for a generation.

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[3] These were Peggy Vann in 1810 and Charles Hicks in 1813. This drought was broken with five baptisms in 1819, two at Springplace, and three at the newly opened Oochgeelogy. From then on converts came regularly for the Moravians, if not in great numbers. See chapter three.

Use of terms

In the introduction to his study on the Cherokee's near neighbors, the Creek Nation, Claudio Saunt described 'assimilation' and 'tradition' in this way:

> The simple dichotomy they present does not reflect the real problems that Creeks confronted. Creeks did not choose between moving forward and moving backward, or between "white" or Creek cultures. Instead, they faced complicated questions about how they should rule themselves and what kind of economy they should pursue. These fundamental problems extended into all areas of Creek life. Changes in power and property posed difficult questions about Creek identity, aggravated long-standing tensions between women and men, and fomented controversy over the responsibility of individuals toward an inchoate Creek "nation."[4]

The same holds true for the Cherokee Nation. The choices the Cherokee faced were not strict dichotomies between full acculturation to white ways, or a rigid adherence to 'traditional' Cherokee customs. The goal was not complete assimilation into white culture or a complete rejection of it. The Cherokee, both as a Nation and individually, selectively chose to adopt aspects of white culture that would allow them, and especially their children, to accommodate to life in an increasingly white American world that threatened their homelands, encroachment they resisted. Broadly speaking, then, the Cherokee adopted only those aspects of white culture they felt necessary for success in the white world, and rejected those parts they considered unnecessary to that survival and success.

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[4] Claudio Saunt, *A New Order of Things: Property, Power, and the Transformation of the Creek Indians, 1733-1816* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 2.

This led to Cherokee cultural continuity despite the accommodations made to white culture.

As such I use 'adoption' and 'accommodation' to describe the actions of Cherokees in willingly accepting those aspects of white culture which changed their lives without undermining their traditions. 'Accommodation' describes those aspects of white culture which the Cherokees accepted, but only in order to persist in the white world. One example would be literacy. Many Cherokee were determined to learn English and mathematics in order to be able to trade successfully and avoid being cheated in their business dealings, but they also retained their own language and developed a written form of Cherokee as well. Thus English did not replace the Cherokee language, but supplemented it, which allowed the Cherokee to operate in the white American mainstream. Finally, I use 'acculturation' to describe the acceptance of those aspects of white culture by some Cherokees that were not directly related to the survival of the Cherokee people. Conversion to Christianity fell into this category, it was not necessary for success in the white mainstream, and it also meant the abandonment of traditional Cherokee beliefs.

Sources

My primary source material for this study was the voluminous documentation produced by the Moravians concerning the Cherokee missions in northern Georgia. The greatest part of this documentation was the daily Springplace Diary and letters from the various missionaries (including those from the Oochgeelogy missionaries for the years 1823-1831), and assorted other documents produced at the missions. The mission diary was intended to record the daily spiritual life of the mission, but also included other day-to-day details of life there.[5] In the correspondence the missionaries often gave a more personal view on events, and included their own opinions on issues facing the mission, as well as commentary on visitors to the mission and wider issues that they often did not intend to have become public. Thus while the topics covered in the two types of material often overlap, the diary provides the daily framework of events and the correspondence adds substantial detail on specific events.

As the Archie K. Davis Center, the archive for the Moravian Church, Southern Province, does not allow the copying of its records, this meant the materials had to be copied on site, producing just over a thousand pages of typed notes. This material was supplemented by Rowena McClinton's annotated version of the diary for the years 1805-1821. In addition the *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina* series, published in eleven volumes between 1922 and 1969 by the North Carolina Historical Commission (later renamed the Division of Archives and History and now called the Office of Archives and History), covers the span of Moravian settlement in the south from colonial times through to the

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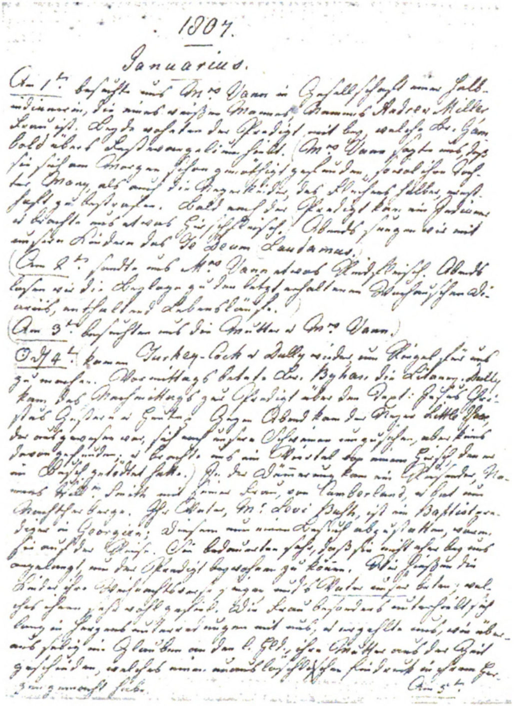
[5] Rowena McClinton established the authorship of the diary for the 'Gambold years' 1805-1821 thus: January 1- October 1, 1805, Gottlieb Byhan; October 1, 1805 - June 30, 1820, Anna Rosina Gambold, with the exception of April 1 - September 30, 1812, August 1 - November 2, 1813, and July 22 - October 31, 1816 when John Gambold took over from his wife. McClinton was unable to definitively establish the authorship of the diary from July 1, 1820 through December 31, 1821, *The Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees, Volume I, 1805-1813* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), xvi. Other authors are harder to identify. Assistant Salem archivist Richard Starbuck suggests a rotating authorship between Abraham Steiner, Dorothea (or perhaps Gottlieb) Byhan, John Gambold and Jacob Wohlfarth for the years 1801-1805 before Gottlieb Byhan took over in August 1804 until the arrival of Anna Rosina Gambold the following October. Email message to author, April 7, 2009. Although the exact author is unconfirmed at this point, it was always one of the missionaries or their wives who wrote. This is in keeping with the Brethren communal attitude, which saw the Diary as belonging to the 'Gemeine' or congregation, rather than to a single individual.



1807.

Januarius.

Figure 1: Sample of Anna Rosina Gambold's German script handwriting showing how she typically began the new Diary year; in this case 1807. Taken from Rowena McClinton, *The Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokee, Volume 1, 1805-1813* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), xvii.

Civil War. Drawing on all sources in the Moravian cannon, from diaries and minutes of meetings to the *Lebenslaufe* (Memoirs) of individual church members, the *Records* series includes material on Salem itself as well as the Springplace and Oochgeelogy missions to the Cherokee.

In addition to the primary source material at the Davis center in Winston-Salem, some additional materials were gathered at Moravian House, the archive for the Brethren's ongoing activity in England, at Muswell Hill, London. There I examined the *Periodical Accounts*, the in-house printed journal that came to replace the handwritten copies of letters and diaries that were sent around the world between the different Moravian communities to keep one another appraised of their activities, and which began publication in 1790.[6] Some quotations from *Periodical Accounts* were originally used in this work, but as the journal reprinted edited versions of manuscript material later consulted in Winston-Salem, most of these were replaced. Some additional material - most notably that which referred to the Brethren's connection to William Wilberforce - was also copied at Moravian House.

Translations

A large portion of the Moravian material is only now available in full. When the Brethren's Church was revived in Germany the Moravian missionaries wrote in German and used a form of script that fell out of use in 1941, thus even modern German speakers have considerable difficulty understanding it.[7] The American congregations in the Southern Province of the Moravian Church did not start the switch over to keeping records in English until the 1840s (the move was not complete until 1879),[8] and thus the records for the mission to the Cherokees are all in the defunct German script. The few exceptions are letters to or from government or state officials, and those Cherokee converts and other friendly individuals who wrote to the missionaries in English. There are also a few letters from the last few years of the mission in the 1830s, written by Heinrich Clauder and some of the other younger missionaries who were born and raised in America, which are wholly in English. Clauder noted the reason for this in 1836 when he stated: "I take the liberty to address you in the English language which I can do with more speed [and] in which I can perhaps express my sentiments better than in the language generally used in our correspondence, and to which more time and leisure is required than I now have at my command..."[9]

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[6] *Periodical Accounts relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren established among the Heathen* (London: Printed for the Brethren's Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, No. 10, Nevil's Court, Fetter Lane, 1790).

The first major translation of this material took place in the 1960s, when Carl Mauelshagen, a professor at the University of Georgia, produced an abridged version of the Springplace material.[10] Mauelshagen selected material from both the diary and correspondence, but included only material on topics which interested him and thus edited out a substantial amount of the daily life of the mission. Additional piecemeal work was done by a number of individuals linked to the Southern Province of the Moravian Church and its archives, and Old Salem, Inc, the company that overseas the restored town of Old Salem. These included Bishop Kenneth G. Hamilton, who translated and edited the *Minutes of the Mission Conference Held in Springplace* and published them in 1970,[11] and, most notably Elizabeth Marx who translated numerous letters and diary entries in the 1980s and early 1990s, which William G. McLoughlin drew on for some of his work on missionaries to the Cherokee.[12]

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[7] Christine Graef, writing about the translation work being done at the Moravian Historical Society in Nazareth, Pennsylvania, noted: "The papers are handwritten, in a variety of legible penmanship, with no standard spelling, no standard dialect and in an old German script that was discontinued about 1941." Graef, "Mission journals speak across the centuries," *indiancountrytoday.com*, August 27, 2003 (updated September 10, 2008), <http://www.indiancountrytoday.com/archive/28181079.html> (accessed October 25, 2005).

[8] Crews and Starbuck, *With Courage for the Future*, 808. An entry in the chronology for the Southern Province for 2 October, 1879 states: "The Provincial Elders Conference is the last to give up the German language in its minutes. Minutes of its next meeting on 13 November will be in English."

[9] Moravian Archives, Salem (MAS): Correspondence: Henry Clauder, Connesauga, TN, to Theodor Schulz, Salem, July 5, 1836.

Most recently, Rowena McClinton, a professor at Southern Illinois University, has produced a translation of the 'Gambold Diaries' (named after the missionary couple John and Anna Rosina Gambold), covering the period of 1805-1821 (the 1815-1817 section of the diary formed the basis of McClinton's dissertation), published in the summer of 2007.[13] The relative paucity of published material from the Springplace mission, however, has meant that as recently as 1998 Theda Perdue still made use of Mauelshagen's translation for her book on Cherokee women, and Tiya Miles was only able to consult the new translations for the years 1800-1810 for her 2005 work on Cherokee warrior Shoe Boots and his slave wife Doll.[14] The translation work remains incomplete, with the last few years of the correspondence still pending.[15]

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[10] Mauelshagen's translation was never published, but exists as a two-volume (1800-1818, 1819-1836) typed manuscript at the Georgia Historical Commission, Department of Natural Resources, in Atlanta. The work is entitled: "Moravian Mission Diaries, Murray County, GA," call number E99.C5 M79, and is listed as "photocopy of typescript." The Moravian Archives in Winston-Salem has a photocopied copy.

[11] Kenneth G. Hamilton, "Minutes of the Mission Conference Held in Springplace," *Atlanta Historical Bulletin* 15 (1970): 9-87, which covers the years 1802-1814; and Hamilton, "Minutes of the Mission Conference Held in Springplace," *Atlanta Historical Bulletin* 16 (1971): 31-57, which covers the year 1819. The mission conference differed from the diary and correspondence in that it was a meeting between all the ordained missionaries at Springplace in which they discussed issues relevant to mission business. These meetings thus involved topics that were not always covered in the other records.

[12] Marx's translations, which are available only in manuscript form at the Winston-Salem archive, were primarily used in McLoughlin's *Cherokees & Missionaries, 1789-1839* (1984, reprinted Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995).

Literature Review

As my dissertation seeks to compare and analyze the interactions of three groups - the Moravians, the Cherokee Nation, and black slaves - and as the Moravian material is only now starting to become readily available, it is not surprising that there is little comparable literature on this topic. There is, of course, a significant body of historiography on each group individually, that on slavery being particularly voluminous, but there is virtually nothing on interactions between the three groups specifically. Needless to say there is literature on the wider topic of white-Indian-slave relations, and more on relations between two of the groups, particularly Indian-white, and white-slave relations, with Indian-slave interactions significantly behind, though becoming more popular of late.

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[13] Rowena McClinton, *The Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees, Volume I, 1805-1813 and Volume II, 1814-1821* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007).

[14] Theda Perdue, *Cherokee Women: Gender and Cultural Change 1700 - 1835* (Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 1998). Tiya Miles, *Ties That Bind: The Story of an Afro-Cherokee Family in Slavery and Freedom* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 274.

[15] As such this dissertation is based on a complete translation of the Springplace diary, from the first official entry on December 16, 1801, through the last entry on September 12, 1836, the day the Clauders left the McNairs' and began their journey back to Salem (I took notes on the years 1801-1810 and 1822-1836, the gap being filled by McClinton's work). For the correspondence I have the complete set from the first letter written by Abraham Steiner from Tellico Blockhouse, the government factory at the confluence of the Holston and Tennessee Rivers in eastern Tennessee, on May 11, 1799, while on the Moravians' first scouting mission to the Cherokee, through to the end of 1830, the last year for which the archive has completed translations. The last letter is from Clauder in Oochgeelogy, dated December 6th, 1830. After that, as mentioned briefly above, there are a handful of letters, originally written in English and therefore not in need of translation, available for the years 1831-1835. Then, from 1836, Clauder and the other Moravians sent out to work amongst the Cherokee as itinerant preachers, and Miles Vogler, who was serving as a schoolmaster at the ABCFM's Brainerd School, all wrote in English. The last letter written from the East dates to 16 September, 1838, and was written by Vogler. Two final letters remain in the Cherokee files: the first from Herman Ruede is dated October 30, 1838 and is marked as being from the 'Cherokee Nation West' and the second from Vogler, dated December 16, 1838, from "Westdale, Cherokee Nation." This was the situation upon my last visit to the Salem archive in May 2008. When I enquired as to when the remaining correspondence might be translated Richard Starbuck, the assistant archivist, told me to "come back in five years..."

Some of the general literature that addresses all three groups includes Gary B. Nash's *Red, White & Black*, which surveys relations between the three titular groups as a whole in the colonial period of US history;[16] William S. Willis's article *Divide and Rule: Red, White, and Black in the Southeast*, which outlines relations in the Colonial period and concludes that whites played blacks and Indians off against one another in order to prevent the formation of an alliance to mount a unified attack on the white populace; [17] and William G. McLoughlin's *Red Indians, Black Slavery, and White Racism*. This article's main thesis is that Indians changed from their traditional formulations of slavery to a chattel version due to the influence of whites. McLoughlin, however, posits that the reason for this change was more insidious than the later economic necessity theories, instead accrediting it to "acquired racial prejudice or racism." [18] Later included in his anthology *The Cherokee Ghost Dance*, the piece fits with McLoughlin's wider interest in the Cherokee and the influence of missionaries amongst them.[19] In a similar vein James H. Merrell's "The Racial Education of the Catawba Indians," evaluates how the Catawba Nation came to adopt white European racist attitudes towards blacks. [20] Merrell concludes that the Catawba became racist as an adaptation to the changing world around them, and in response to how interactions between whites and blacks had changed over time. As white southern racial attitudes hardened and the Catawba became weaker as their numbers dwindled through disease they were marginalized and pushed ever closer to non-white status. Adopting white racism was thus, for the Catawba, a self-preservation technique, to show that they were not black, which the Catawba demonstrated by emphasizing their 'Indianness.'

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[16] Gary B. Nash, *Red, White & Black: The Peoples of Early North America,* 3rd ed. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1992).

[17] William S. Willis, "Divide and Rule: Red, White, and Black in the Southeast," *Journal of Negro History* 48, 3 (1963): 157-176.

More recent work includes that of Claudio Saunt on the Creek Nation. His first book, *A New Order of Things* traces the history of the Creek in their relations with whites in the period after the foundation of the colony of Georgia in 1733, through the end of the Creek War in 1816 and includes a discussion of slavery.[21] The 'new order' of the title refers to the changed economic system that overtook the Creek in the period. Saunt argues that the end of traditional farming methods and reduced opportunities for hunting caused by the encroachment of the white immigrant population forced the Creek into new methods of gaining a living. As was seen with the Cherokee, proximity to whites led to intermarriage – mainly with Scottish immigrants, leading to the rise of a Scots Creek faction – and the offspring of these unions straddled the cultures in a way that gave them insight into both and encouraged them to promote the adoption of European methods and trading. The result was increasing inequality within the Creek Nation as more mixed-bloods moved into cattle ranching, using black slaves, while most full-bloods resisted acculturation and became increasingly marginalized as the deerskin trade withered away. The use of slaves and the animosity between the races increased as unemployed hunters moved into slave catching, and animosity between the full-blood and mixed-blood factions increased, as traditionalist full-bloods still accepted blacks into their ranks as equals, while the mixed-bloods treated free blacks and slaves as contemptuously as white Southerners did. This factionalism was the cause of the 'Redstick' war of 1812-1814 and led to the separation of what became known as the Seminole Nation from the Creeks.

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[18] William G. McLoughlin, "Red Indians, Black Slavery and White Racism: America's Slaveholding Indians," *American Quarterly* 26, 4 (1974): 367-385; quote taken from 370.

[19] William G. McLoughlin, *The Cherokee Ghost Dance: Essays on the Southeastern Indians, 1789-1861*, (Mercer University Press, 1984). The anthology divides McLoughlin's articles into three sections: Cherokee Nationalism, Slavery, and Missionaries.

[20] James H. Merrell, "The Racial Education of the Catawba Indians", *Journal of Southern History* 50, 3, (1984): 363-384.

Saunt's second book, *Black, White, and Indian*, traces the history of five generations of the Grayson family from the early national period through the Civil

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[21] Claudio Saunt, *A New Order of Things: Property, Power, and the Transformation of the Creek Indians, 1733-1816* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

War.[22] The Grayson family contained both Creek and African-American members and divided over the issue of recognizing the African part of their heritage. The previously mentioned Tiya Miles, *Ties That Bind*, can also be included in this section, as it reconstructs the life of Doll, a black slave woman who was owned by, and later married to the Cherokee warrior Shoe Boots. Miles also looks at Shoe Boots' attempts to gain recognition for his children as citizens of the Cherokee Nation in the 1820s. Due to the paucity of archival material on the lives of Doll and Shoe Boots, Miles drew on other disciplines in order to try and fill some of the gaps in the record. Apart from drawing on the composite pictures of female slave life developed by scholars such as Deborah Gray White, Miles also drew on literature, particularly Toni Morrison's *Beloved*, and literary techniques, in order to try and get at the true, experiential meaning of life for a slave woman like Doll.[23]

More recently Miles has taken this multi-disciplinary approach further and edited, with Sharon P. Holland, *Crossing Waters, Crossing Worlds: The African Diaspora in Indian Country*.[24] The central purpose of the book, Miles writes, was to ask the question:

> What happens when key issues in African diasporic experience, such as migration, freedom, citizenship, belonging, peoplehood, and cultural retention and creation, and key issues in Native American experience, such as tribalism,

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[22] Claudio Saunt, *Black, White, and Indian: Race and the Unmaking of an American Family* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

[23] Deborah Gray White, *Ar'n't I a Woman? Female Slaves in the Plantation South* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co, 1985). Miles, *Ties That Bind*, xiv-xv, and 'Appendix I: Research Methods and Challenges.'

[24] Tiya Miles and Sharon P. Holland, eds., *Crossing Waters, Crossing Worlds: The African Diaspora in Indian Country* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006).

> protection of homelands, self-determination, political sovereignty, and cultural-spiritual preservation and renewal, converge?[25]

The collection uses a cross-disciplinary approach to try and recreate as far as possible the intersection of African and Native American life in the United States. The volume is split into two halves, the first of which is "primarily concerned with the themes of race, place, belonging, citizenship, and historical memory," while the second half is "particularly interested in explorations of presence, identity, and intimacy through narrative, performance, and visual art."[26] Contributions come from writers, attorneys, historians, ethnic, Native American, and literature studies scholars, visual and performance artists, and anthropologists to cover aspects of African American - Native American interaction from the early nineteenth-century up to the present day. Works such as this, and Miles' earlier book, point the way forward in studies of African American - Native American studies, by drawing on many disciplines in an attempt to provide a rounded interpretation of such intersections between peoples when the historical record is unable to because of lacunae in the archives. For my own work it may indicate a possible future direction, particularly in any attempt to flesh out the life of the slave woman Pleasant in Salem and at Springplace.

On the issue of Native Americans as slaveholders there has been considerable work over the years, including some studies looking specifically at the Cherokee, but for the most part the material is to be found in studies on other aspects of Native American or African American life. These works focus on such diverse subjects as black slavery;[27] Indian-white relations;[28] Indian-black relations;[29] individual tribal histories;[30] Indians as slaves to whites;[31] or regional studies that do not focus on any single racial or Native group.[32]

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[25] *Ibid.*, 4.

[26] *Ibid.*, 13.

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[27] See, *inter alia*, Peter H. Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1974).

[28] Annie Heloise Abel, *The American Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist*, (Cleveland: A.H. Clark, 1915), traces the diplomatic history of southeastern slaveholding Indians with the Confederacy during the Civil War; J. Leitch Wright Jr., *The Only Land They Knew: American Indians in the Old South*, (New York: Free Press, 1981), examines the history of southern Indians and their interactions with whites from first contact on, but which also includes a chapter on Indian-Black relations; Andrew K. Frank, *Creeks and Southerners: Biculturalism on the Early American Frontier* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), examines intermarriage between Creek women and white male traders during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; and James F. Brooks, *Captives & Cousins: Slavery, Kinship, and Community in the Southwest Borderlands* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), which ranges in time and space from Spanish colonial Mexico through New England whalers to the modern day, and includes a section focused on the legacy of slavery. One essay, Tiya Miles' "Uncle Tom was an Indian: Tracing the Red in Black Slavery" looks at slaves who had some Cherokee blood. See also Jane T. Merrit, *At the Crossroads: Indians & Empires on a Mid-Atlantic Frontier, 1700-1763* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), which looks at Native-White interactions in eighteenth-century Pennsylvania.

[29] The pioneer in this field was Kenneth Wiggins Porter, though his focus was on African-Americans on the frontier, particularly those amongst the Seminoles. Porter looks at the centrality of blacks to the Seminoles' resistance to removal and the role they played in the two wars they fought to resist it. *The Black Seminoles: History of a Freedom-Seeking People* (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 1996); *The Negro on the American Frontier* (New York: Arno Press, 1971) collects his journal articles, including some on the Seminole Wars. See also the works of Daniel F. Littlefield, Jr.: *Africans and Seminoles: From Removal to Emancipation* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1977); *The Cherokee Freedmen: From Emancipation to American Citizenship* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1978); *Africans and Creeks: From the Colonial Period to the Civil War* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1979); and *The Chickasaw Freedmen: A People Without a Country* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980). In all cases the focus is on African-Americans, not the Indian groups. See also Terry Strauss, ed., *Race, Roots & Relations: Native and African Americans* (Chicago: Albatross Press, 2005), which moves from historical times to the present; and Patrick Minges, ed., *Black Indian Slave Narratives* (Winston-Salem, NC: John F. Blair Publisher, 2004), which surveys the WPA slave narratives of the 1930s; and Wyatt F. Jeltz "The Relations of Negroes and Choctaw and Chickasaw Indians," *Journal of Negro History*, 33, 1, (1948): 24-37; Jeltz examines Native American slavery in the context of wider Indian-black relations and cites both Abel and Porter in his footnotes.

[30] Patricia Galloway, *Choctaw Genesis, 1500-1700* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995); Galloway uses archaeological and anthropological material to outline the subject. Leland Donald, *Aboriginal Slavery on the Northwest Coast of North America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), shows how indigenous slavery on the Pacific Coast differed from that in other regions of North America in that it was a heritable status and always had an

There are three articles focusing specifically on the issue of Native Americans as slaveholders. Martha Condray Searcy's "The Introduction of African Slavery into the Creek Indian Nation" is rather thin in terms of analysis of the institution of slavery itself, and focuses more on the cause of the introduction of slavery into the Creek Nation.[33] Searcy concludes that it was the deerskin trade with the British in the run up to the American Revolution that turned the Creek from non-acquisitive agriculturalists into property owners. In an economy based on hunting the Creeks had little use for the labor of slaves, but as they grew dependent on British trade goods cattle, horses, and slaves in particular came to be seen as much quicker routes to wealth.

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exploitative element, as illustrated by the 'potlach' ceremonies when slaves would be ritually executed to emphasize their master's wealth.

[31] Almon Wheeler Lauber, *Indian Slavery in Colonial Times within the Present Limits of the United States* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1913), after a short section on indigenous enslavement and enslavement of Indians by the French and Spanish, the bulk of the book examines Indian enslavement by the English. Rather dated. See also Donald, *Aboriginal Slavery on the Northwest Coast of North America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); and Allan Gallay, *The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670-1717* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002).

[32] Florida has been a focus of such studies: Jane Landers' *Black Society in Spanish Florida*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999) covers colonial Florida's history, through 1821; Larry Rivers' *Slavery in Florida: Territorial Days to Emancipation* (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 2000) continues the story through the time of American possession until Emancipation. See also David R. Colburn and Jane Landers, eds., *The African American Heritage of Florida* (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 1995), which includes essays by both Landers and Rivers, and which also discusses topics related to slavery in the state. Those for other areas include Daniel H. Usner, Jr. *Indians, Settlers and Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy: The Lower Mississippi Valley Before 1783* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992); and Gwendolyn Midlo Hall *Africans in Colonial Louisiana: The Development of Afro-Creole Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Baton Rouge: University of Louisiana Press, 1995).

[33] Martha Condray Searcy, "The Introduction of African Slavery into the Creek Indian Nation," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 66 (1982): 21-32.

Kathryn H. Braund's "The Creek Indians, Blacks, and Slavery" gives a more in-depth look at slavery amongst the Creek.[34] Braund expands upon Searcy's piece, stating the Creeks adopted chattel slavery as a result of increased interaction with Europeans. Traditional Creek slavery, which was not a heritable condition, ended with the Yamasee War of 1715, and black chattel slavery took its place as the Creeks attempted to survive in a new economic climate. As with Perdue and the Cherokee, noted below, the split between mixed- and full-blood Indians in the move toward slave ownership is emphasized.

Finally Michael Doran's "Negro Slaves of the Five Civilized Tribes" treats the Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Seminole Nations as a whole, though Doran does refer to specific Nations when giving examples of extremes within the group.[35] Concentrating on the period after Removal, Doran also uses the old mixed-blood versus full-blood dichotomy to show the differences between the slaveholders and non-slaveholders. Doran concludes that mixed-bloods used their slaves just as white southerners did, while full bloods, if they owned any slaves at all, used them only for subsistence, and did not exploit them for profit. While Doran does look at how the acquisition of slaves speeded the acculturation process, he does not analyze other ways in which the institution of chattel slavery affected Indian society, and concludes that it was transferred intact as an institution, with no changes, from its white parent model in the South.

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[34] Kathryn E. Holland Braund, "The Creek Indians, Blacks, and Slavery," *Journal of Southern History* 57, 4 (1991): 601-636.

[35] Michael Doran, "Negro Slaves of the Five Civilized Tribes," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 68, 3 (1978): 335-350.

The studies that look specifically at Cherokee slaveholding practices include R. Halliburton, Jr's *Red over Black: Black Slavery among the Cherokee Indians* which is now generally regarded as obsolete, having been written from the old, patriarchal perspective of Native Americans as mere adjuncts to white history.[36] Halliburton also espoused the traditional viewpoint that the introduction of slavery had a modernizing effect upon the Cherokee, and uses the outmoded categories of 'civilized' and 'primitive' to describe those Indians who were or were not slaveowners. Halliburton's second contention is that Cherokee slavery was not, as was commonly taken to be the case, less harsh than its white counterpart in the American South, and that slavery, for all intent and purposes, turned the Cherokee into Southerners.

The standard work on the issue is Theda Perdue's *Slavery and the Evolution of Cherokee Society, 1540-1866*, which sees the introduction of slavery to the Cherokee Nation not as a progressive and modernizing move, but a retrogressive one that caused disruption and degeneration.[37] Perdue concentrates on the divisions that chattel slavery caused between the "mixed-blood" slaveowners who were all but white in their attitudes and culture, and the traditional "full-blood" Cherokee who spurned slavery and all other accoutrements of white Anglo-American culture. Scholarly reaction at the time favored Perdue over Halliburton, a situation that is mirrored today by the fact that the former is still in print while the latter is now unavailable and has been for a number of years.[38]

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[36] R. Halliburton, Jr. *Red over Black: Black Slavery among the Cherokee Indians* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1977).

[37] Theda Perdue, *Slavery and the Evolution of Cherokee Society, 1540-1866* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1979).

No summary of the literature on this subject would be complete without a survey of the works of William G. McLoughlin. McLoughlin began his career as a religious historian before becoming interested in missionary work amongst the Cherokee in the early 1970s, and a stream of articles and books followed. The first, and most important for my study, was *Cherokees & Missionaries, 1789-1839* which evaluates Cherokee social, cultural, and political change through the lens of their interactions with white missionaries. McLoughlin looks at the work of the American Board of Commission for Foreign Missions (composed mainly of Calvinists and Presbyterians), the Methodists, the Baptists, and the Moravians. As already noted, much of the Moravian material had not been translated by the point at which McLoughlin was writing, and thus Elizabeth Marx at the Moravian archive in Winston-Salem provided translations for McLoughlin specifically for this work. For the most part, however, McLoughlin looks at the Moravians only at crucial junctures in Cherokee history for the sake of comparison with the other bigger and more widely known missionary groups whose records were more readily available in English. As such my work builds on this foundation and fleshes out many of the issues that McLoughlin addressed in much greater detail.

McLoughlin's other books on the Cherokee are *Cherokee Renaissance in the New Republic*, which explored the political, economic and cultural aspects through roughly the same period as that of *Cherokees & Missionaries*;[39] *Cherokee Ghost Dance and Other Essays on the Southeastern Indians*, which compiles his journal articles to that point along with some new material;[40] *Champions of the Cherokees: Evan and John B. Jones*, a dual biography of two Baptist missionaries amongst the Cherokee Nation;[41] *After the Trail of Tears: The Cherokees' Struggle for Sovereignty, 1839-1880*, which essentially continues the story for the next four decades once the Cherokee arrived in Indian Territory and through the Civil War;[42] and *The Cherokees and Christianity, 1794-1870: Essays on Acculturation and Cultural Persistence*, an anthology of articles, plus new work on the Keetoowah Society, a conservative group dedicated to reviving the traditional religious practices of the Cherokee.[43]

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[38] See also James H. Merrell's review of Halliburton and Perdue, *Reviews in American History* 7, 4 (1979): 509-514.

Finally, to look at the work emerging on the Moravians themselves, there are two main categories of study to consider. The first is translations of mission diaries and related materials. The most important for my study is Rowena McClinton's *Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokee* as noted above, which translates the mission diary of Anna Rosina and John Gambold at

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[39] William G. McLoughlin, *Cherokee Renascence in the New Republic* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986).

[40] For full citation see footnote 18 above.

[41] William G. McLoughlin, *Champions of the Cherokee: Evan and John B. Jones* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990).

[42] William G. McLoughlin, *After the Trail of Tears: The Cherokees' Struggle for Sovereignty, 1839-1880* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993).

[43] William G. McLoughlin, *The Cherokees and Christianity, 1794-1870: Essays on Acculturation and Cultural Persistence* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994).

Springplace, for the years 1805-1821.[44] Other works include *The Moravian Indian Mission on White River*, which translates the diary of the Brethren's mission to the Indians of the Indiana Territory of 1799 to 1806;[45] *The Moravian Mission Diaries of David Zeisberger 1772-1781*, recounting the Brethren's work amongst the Delaware in the Muskingum River Valley;[46] and *Thirty Thousand Miles with John Heckewelder*, which, as the title suggests, follows the travels of Moravian missionary Heckewelder between 1754 and 1813, from 1762 spent amongst the Delawares and Mahicans.[47] Also of interest are *David Zeisberger's History of the Northern American Indians*, which is an account, written 1779-1780, of the northeastern Indians of the United States as written by Moravian missionary Zeisberger, who ministered to Indians in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, and Canada for over fifty years;[48] and, *The Brainerd Journal: A Mission to the Cherokees, 1817-1823*, which is the mission diary of the ABCFM mission just across the Georgia-Tennessee border, with whom the Moravians at Springplace often corresponded and met with.[49]

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[44] See footnote 13 above.

[45] Lawrence Henry Gibson, ed., *The Moravian Indian Mission on White River: Diaries and Letters, May 5, 1799, to November 12, 1806* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1938).

[46] *The Moravian Mission Diaries of David Zeisberger 1772-1781*, eds. Herman Wellenreuther and Carola Wessel, trans. Julie Tomberlin Weber (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005).

[47] *Thirty Thousand Miles with John Heckewelder*, ed. Paul A. Wallace (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1958).

[48] *David Zeisberger's History of the Northern American Indians*, eds. Archer Butler Hulbert and William Nathaniel Schwarze (Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, 1910).

Two works on the Moravians and their relations with African-Americans should be mentioned. Both are the works of Jon F. Sensbach, and I have drawn on both extensively for my chapter on the slave woman Pleasant at the Springplace mission. They are *A Separate Canaan: The Making of an Afro-Moravian World in North Carolina, 1763-1840*, and *Rebecca's Revival: Creating Black Christianity in the Atlantic World.*[50] The former looks at the Brethren and slavery at their Salem, North Carolina base, and the latter at the role of African Americans in Moravian missions in the Caribbean, North America, and Europe. Finally, illuminating the world of the Moravians in Salem in comparison to their origins in Germany, is Elisabeth Sommer's *Serving Two Masters*, which shows the development of a sense of difference amongst the Brethren in North Carolina due to their location in America, and how this realization changed their relationship with Herrnhut, the parent community in Germany.[51]

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

[50] Jon F. Sensbach, *A Separate Canaan: The Making of an Afro-Moravian World in North Carolina, 1763-1840* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998) and *Rebecca's Revival: Creating Black Christianity in the Atlantic World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005).

[51] Elisabeth W. Sommer, *Serving Two Masters: Moravian Brethren in Germany and North Carolina, 1727-1801* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2000).

Chapter 1

The Moravian Brethren: An Introduction[52]

Writing in 1913 in the introduction to a history of the Moravians in England, the Right Reverend Handley Moule, Bishop of Durham, said of them: "All who know anything of Missionary history, know at least something of the glorious, while always unobtrusive, labours and victories of this wonderful community in the uttermost parts of the earth."[53] Edward Langton, in his *History of the Moravian Church* said: "From Bohemia and Moravia the story passes to Germany, then on to Denmark, Holland, England, North and South America, and to many distant parts of the world. The story of the History of the Moravian Church is, in fact, the story of the origin and development of the first international Protestant Church in the world."[54] However, as Count Zinzendorf, the Saxon noble responsible in large part for the revival of the Moravian Church in 1727, initially intended for them to remain part of the Lutheran denomination of Protestant Christianity, and their emphasis soon grew to be on ecumenical missionary work rather than the building of a 'home' church organization, a little background context is necessary.

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[52] As this chapter will explain, the name 'Moravians' was not adopted until later in Moravian history, in the mid-1720s, after the foundation of the Herrnhut community. I use 'Moravian' and the earlier term 'Brethren' (from *Unitas Fratrum*, the United Brethren) interchangeably. See Gillian Lindt Gollin, *Moravians in Two Worlds: A Study in Changing Communities* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), 1.

[53] From the Introduction to E.R. Hasse, *The Moravians* (London: National Council of Evangelical Free Churches), v-vi. Moule was Bishop of Durham in northern England, not Durham, North Carolina.

[54] Edward Langton, *History of the Moravian Church: The Story of the First International Protestant Church* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1956), 7.

By the time the Moravians came to northern Georgia to serve the Cherokee Nation at the beginning of the nineteenth century the Brethren had faced many trials in their recent history. They had, if anything, come closer to complete destruction than their native hosts. Both groups were pressured within their homelands to conform to another culture, one both alien and hostile to their own. Both were persecuted when they would not conform, and both, ultimately, were forced to move away from their homelands to avoid further mistreatment and persecution by the authorities. Equally, both groups tenaciously defended their own traditions and convictions despite the external pressures that they faced. However, both the Moravians and the Cherokee in the American Southeast were altered by the influence of the always encroaching white settlement around them. The Cherokee Nation faced encroachment onto their lands by white immigrants, and pressures to change their way of life to conform to that of their new white neighbors. The Brethren actively welcomed white immigrants as they looked to people the tract of land they had bought in backcountry North Carolina to establish their new settlement, but these German-raised Europeans came under just as much pressure to conform to the standards of their white American neighbors as the Cherokee did.

This chapter introduces the first part of this dual history, the rise of the *Unitas Fratrum*, the United Brethren, the first Protestant Church in Europe, and how they came to the United States to proselytize the 'heathen' natives in North America.[55]

Origins and Early History

The Moravian story begins in the once independent kingdoms of Moravia and Bohemia, now the modern-day Czech Republic, in central Europe.[56] Christianity arrived there in the early ninth century, but followed the Greek not Latin orthodoxy, and thus adherents faced pressure from the outset to conform to Roman Catholic forms. Prague was created a bishopric in 968 AD, and raised to an archbishopric in 1350 in attempts to fully impose Catholic norms, with the latter forcing the compliance of nobles at court in order to retain their positions. The foundation of the University of Prague in 1348, staffed by German and Italian clerics steeped in the Roman tradition, served only to push the adoption of Roman Catholic forms ever more strongly. For the less-elevated bulk of the population, however, the older and, as they saw it, purer and less corrupted form of service was quietly continued in private.

The precise origins of the Moravian Church can be traced to the career of John Huss, born c. 1373-75 to poor parents in the Bohemian village of Hussenez, near the small town of Prachatice, near the Bavarian border.[57] Huss, who was noted for his piety, attended Prague, took his Master's degree, and "rejoiced at the thought of becoming a priest."[58] He was duly ordained in 1400 and gave public lectures, and was noted as a great preacher. In 1401, Huss was made a dean of the faculty of philosophy at Prague, and became the rector of the university for about six months. In 1412, he was appointed preacher at the Chapel of the Holy Innocents of Bethlehem, which became associated with Huss and the later Hussite reform movement. The chapel was also intended as a place where the Bohemians could hear the gospel preached in their own language. Huss felt that the Catholic Church of his time was corrupt and served the needs of the nobility and not the masses. He also felt the Church unjust for not attempting to solve grave social and economic problems.[59] However, there was also a nationalistic edge to Huss' work, as the Bohemian church was increasingly under the sway of foreigners, so reform of the church took on two faces - curtailing foreign influence, and curtailing the abuses of the clergy.

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[55] The name the United Brethren led to the use of the derivatives 'the Unity' for the church itself, and 'the Brethren' for its membership.

[56] For a more in depth investigation of the Moravians from their foundation through the 17th century see C. Daniel Crews, *Faith Love Hope: A History of the Unitas Fratrum* (Winston-Salem, NC: Moravian Archives, 2008).

[57] Alternate spellings include Jan Huss or John Hus.

Huss' protests about the burning of the works of John Wycliffe, the English church reformer and critic of the Catholic Church, by the Archbishop of Prague in 1410, brought charges of heresy and a summons to Rome. Huss initially sent an advocate to argue in his place, but the advocate was jailed. Another trial was set, this time in Germany, and despite assurances of his safe conduct from the Pope, Huss was imprisoned upon his arrival in Constance for his heresy trial

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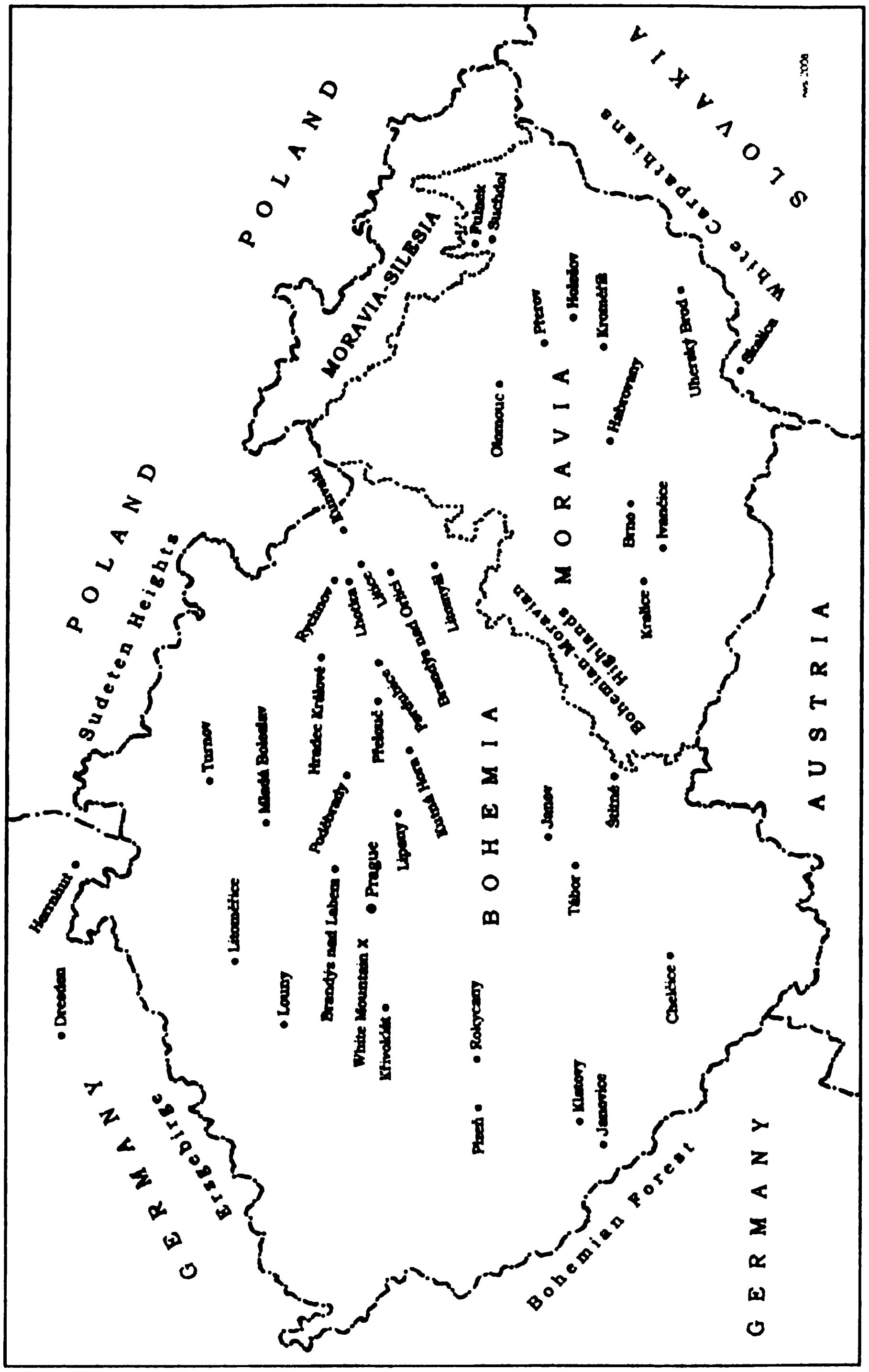
[58] Langton, *History of the Moravian Church*, 15.

[59] Gene Capps, *The Moravians and their Town of Salem* (Winston-Salem, NC: Old Salem Museums & Gardens, 2007. Originally published 1973), 1.


POLAND
POLAND
GERMANY
GERMANY
AUSTRIA
SLOVAKIA
BOHEMIA
MORAVIA
MORAVIA-SILESIA
Sudeten Heights
Erzgebirge
Bohemian Forest
Bohemian-Moravian Highlands
White Carpathians
Dresden
Herrnhut
Litoměřice
Louny
Turnov
Mladá Boleslav
Hradec Králové
Rychnov
Kunvald
Brandýs nad Labem
Prague
White Mountain x
Křivoklát
Lipany
Poděbrady
Přelouč
Pardubice
Kutná Hora
Brandýs nad Orlicí
Litomyšl
Rokycany
Plzeň
Klatovy
Janovice
Tábor
Chelčice
Olomouc
Přerov
Holešov
Kroměříž
Uherský Brod
Brno
Ivančice
Kralice
Fulnek
Suchdol

Modern-day Czech Republic, showing the three major divisions of Bohemia, Moravia, and Moravia-Silesia, with main sites connected with the history of the Unitas Fratrum.

Figure 2: The main sites of the Moravian Brethren in Bohemia-Moravia. The Herrnhut settlement on the land of Count Zinzendorf can be seen just across the border from Bohemia into Germany, near the border with Poland. Taken from C. Daniel Crew's *Faith Love Hope: A History of the Unitas Fratrum* (Winston-Salem, NC: Moravian Archives, 2008), frontispiece.

before the General Council.[60] Langton notes "the proceedings were a travesty of justice."[61] On July 6th, 1415 the trial saw Huss convicted of heresy and burnt at the stake.

After Huss' execution his followers carried on the battle for reform but split into competing factions which fought each other as well as Rome. When, by 1457, it became clear that there would be no reforms of the Catholic Church the Hussites formed a church fellowship amongst themselves in the village of Kunwald, near Lititz in Moravia, as 'the Brethren of the Law of Christ.' However, this name saw them mistaken for a new holy order, an impression and outcome they were opposed to, and they simplified their name to simply 'the Brethren'. Later, as they were joined by others, it changed again to 'The Unity of the Brethren' (*Unitas Fratrum*), or 'The United Brethren' (*Fratres Unitatis*). Just as this community attracted other like-minded individuals, so it attracted the attention of the Catholic Church and further persecution ensued, including torture and imprisonment, even when the Brethren fled from Moravia to Bohemia.

In 1467, realizing that they could not continue in this fashion, the Brethren selected nine of their number and by using the Lot chose three who would be consecrated as bishops of their own church.[62] Not being able to employ either

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[60] Constance is in southwestern Germany; modern German name: Konstanz.

[61] Langton, *History of the Moravian Church*, 23.

[62] The use of the Lot became synonymous with the Moravian Church. In this case, nine slips of paper with an affirmative, as well as three blanks, were used, and then each candidate had a slip drawn for them in response to the question of whether or not they should be one of those consecrated bishop. The slips were drawn by a young boy. The belief was that the Lord would influence which slip was chosen and thus the Lot represented God's will on any given issue it was used for. For more information, see Gollin, *Moravians in Two Worlds*, especially chapter three -

Catholics or members of other competing Protestant sects from Moravia to perform the consecrations, the Brethren sought out the Waldensian Church in Austria instead.[63] The first three Moravian bishops were consecrated in 1467 as a result, who then combined to consecrate a fourth on their return to Bohemia. This action also resulted in renewed persecution by the Archbishop of Prague, which continued until his death in 1471. Persecution tailed off for the next three decades until Pope Gregory VII renewed the attempt to eradicate the Brethren, culminating in the issuance of an edict in 1507 that began another round of persecution, imprisonment, torture, burnings and expulsions. This lasted another decade until the deaths of a number of the Moravians' more implacable enemies brought it to a close. Langton thus concludes: "At the beginning of the sixteenth century, and before Luther and Calvin had become generally known, it is claimed that in Bohemia and Moravia there were two hundred [Moravian] societies, regularly and fully constituted as Protestant churches."[64]

As the Brethren had been looking for a like-minded church to join with, they took great interest in the work of Martin Luther, and were in correspondence

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"The Use of the Lot," and Elizabeth W. Sommer, *Serving Two Masters: Moravian Brethren in Germany and North Carolina, 1727-1801* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2000), especially chapter 4 "Gambling with God: Revelation, Reason, and the Use of the Lot."

[63] The Waldenses were a group of dissenters from the Roman Catholic Church which arose circa 1170 in southern France. They were excommunicated in 1184.

[64] Langton, *History of the Moravian Church*, 39. Capps, writing later, claimed the Brethren had a membership of 200,000 in 400 congregations; Capps, *Moravians and their Town of Salem*, 1.

and generally on good terms with him from 1522 until his death in 1546.[65] The following year the so-called Smalcald War[66] ended with Protestant forces defeated, and the Brethren once again found themselves displaced. They fled, in 1548, variously to Poland and Prussia and often thrived, despite the persecution they faced. There followed a period of about 20 years in Poland that saw the union of the three main Protestant religions into a single Protestant church - the Lutherans, the Reformed or Calvinists, and the Brethren. Disputes, however, arose again by 1582, and the Lutherans split away in 1603. The Brethren and the Reformed Church, however, grew closer and at the synod of 1627 "became so united that from that time there has existed in Poland no difference between the two communions."[67]

After the exodus of 1548 mild persecution continued in Bohemia until a new king, Maximilian II came to the throne in 1558, who was favorably disposed towards Protestantism. This granted the Brethren a period of peace that allowed them to re-establish their congregations, re-open their churches and even to complete a new translation of the Bible into their native tongue, between 1579 and 1593. Many members of the Brethren who had fled Moravia returned home as a consequence.

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[65] The issue of church discipline remained something of a sticking point in relations, with the Lutherans being too lax for Moravian tastes.

[66] The Smalcald War was named after the league of princes and cities which favored Lutheranism over Catholicism, and culminated, with the decisive battle at Muehlberg in 1547, in victory for the Catholics.

[67] Langton, *History of the Moravian Church*, 46.

The Thirty Years' War and Moravian Decline

This period of tranquility came to an end in 1612 when the re-building Moravian Church had become "so large that it became a threat to the Roman Catholic Church."[68] Rome thus sought to put into execution the decrees of the Council of Trent against Protestants in general, and beginning with the Bohemians and Moravians in particular.[69] This latest round of persecution was the foundation for the Europe-wide conflagration that came to be known as the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648). All protestants were targeted, not just the Brethren; the first victims were ministers, then the nobility. Many fled to the surrounding countries - Saxony, Silesia, Brandenburg, Poland, Prussia, and Hungary, some even went as far as the Netherlands. Langton notes about 80,000 Brethren fled Bohemia and Moravia, mainly for Saxony and Upper Lusatia.[70] This was despite the fact that the commoners were watched to try and prevent their escape and to force them to apostatize and accept the Catholic religion.

As the Moravian historian J. Taylor Hamilton noted: "For the Ancient Unitas Fratrum the outcome of the terrific convulsions of the Thirty Years' War was the practical annihilation of its congregations in the twin lands of its birth."[71]

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[68] S. Scott Rohrer, *Hope's Promise: Religion and Acculturation in the Southern Backcountry* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2005), xxii.

[69] The Councils of Trent were held over three sessions, between 1545 and 1563. They refocused Catholic doctrine and set the Catholic agenda for the Counter-Reformation of the next two hundred years.

[70] Langton, *History of the Moravian Church*, 53-54.

[71] J. Taylor Hamilton, *A History of the Church Known as the Moravian Church, or the Unitas Fratrum, or the Unity of the Brethren, During the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (New York: AMS Press Inc, 1971. Reprint edition, originally published in 1900 in Bethlehem, PA), 1.

The Brethren went underground in Bohemia and Moravia and for almost a century the church existed secretly "as what is known as the "hidden seed.""[72] For the rest of the combatants, the Peace of Westphalia, in 1648, brought the war to a close and, Hamilton continues: "may briefly be described as...placing the Lutherans and Reformed and Roman Catholics practically on the same footing throughout the various dominions of Germany."[73]

Despite their continued underground existence the Brethren still faced problems, namely their highly scattered existence, and the issue of how to continue with the succession of their episcopacy when they could not operate openly. The matter became more urgent in 1658 with the death of Bishop Martin Gertich in Silesia, leaving the Brethren with only two surviving bishops. One was the leading figure among the Brethren during this period John Amos, called Comenius from his birthplace, Komna.[74] Comenius was the senior bishop of the Brethren from 1648 until his death in 1670, and had oversight of the Brethren in Bohemia and Moravia.[75] The other was John Buettner, bishop with oversight of the Brethren in Poland. Comenius and Buettner corresponded on the issue, worried that should either of them die, then the Brethren would not be able to maintain either the succession of properly ordained ministers, or continue the succession of bishops that dated back to 1467.[76] As both were elderly and unable to travel far (Comenius was in exile in England at this time, Buettner in Poland), they agreed that one of them could perform the service while the other sent confirmation in writing of their agreement.[77] With this settled Buettner called a synod in Poland to elect new bishops for each of the branches of the Brethren - that in Poland and that in Bohemia-Moravia.

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[72] Capps, *The Moravians and their Town of Salem*, 2.

[73] Hamilton, *History of the Church*, 1.

[74] Langton, *History of the Moravian Church*, 51. His birth-name was Jan Amos Komensky.

[75] Comenius died in exile in Amsterdam.

The men chosen were Nicolas Gertichius, court chaplain to the duke of Liegniz, for the congregations in Poland, and Petrus Figulus, surnamed Jablonsky, from Jablonne or Gabel, in Bohemia, for the Brethren in Bohemia and Moravia. They were duly consecrated bishops at the synod of Mielenczyn in Poland in 1662. Peter Jablonsky had been selected to succeed Comenius as senior bishop of the Brethren, but ended up pre-deceasing him in 1670. That same year Jablonsky's son, Daniel Ernest, was consecrated in his father's place. "It is through this same Daniel Jablonsky that the Brethren claim that their succession of bishops was transmitted to the Reconstituted Church when, at Berlin, in 1735, assisted by Christian Sitkovius, bishop of the Polish Brethren, David Nitschmann was consecrated bishop." [78]

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[76] Consecration of a bishop traditionally required the presence of at least two bishops to be valid.

[77] Langton notes that Comenius sent his 'co-elder' to act in his stead, and gave him full power of consecrating in writing, "which is said to have been the custom of the primitive Church when, in times of trouble, two or more bishops were unable to meet to consecrate a new bishop," *History of the Moravian Church*, 53.

[78] Langton, *History of the Moravian Church*, 53.

Count Zinzendorf

Nicholaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf was born into an aristocratic family in Dresden, on May 26, 1700. His father died within two months, and the son seemed to inherit his weak constitution and was a sickly child. Growing up in the relative isolation of a castle, with mainly pietistic adults for company, the young count developed a deeply religious precocity. However, Zinzendorf was still a count and therefore expected to rule, and a life in the church was simply not acceptable to his family or society, and thus he was kept from his religious calling until 1734. Sent to the university at Wittenberg (rather than Halle, a center for Pietism) to study law, Zinzendorf was always more interested in theology, and even tried to broker a peace between the bickering sects of Lutherans after the bicentennial of Luther's 95 theses in 1717. At the conclusion of his studies the young count was sent on a tour of Europe, intended to make him a more rounded man of the world, but instead his meetings with various churchmen, whose sincerity overshadowed their religious differences, set Zinzendorf more firmly on his ecumenically religious course later in life.

More travel only increased the count's religious convictions, at the same time that his family's resistance to his entering the church hardened at a concomitant rate, especially that of his grandmother and guardian, Baroness von Gersdorf. By 1721, according to Zinzendorf's biographer John Weinlick, the count had formulated an alternative to public service for his future: "he pictured himself as the owner and proprietor of a country estate which would also be a religious community encompassing employees, neighbors, and guests."[79]

The period 1722-1727, however, saw Zinzendorf as a somewhat ineffective public administrator in Dresden, due to his mind being more on spiritual than temporal matters. The count did, however, do certain things that shaped the future of the Moravians. The first was to buy the Berthelsdorf estate, close by Baroness Gersdorf's own Hennersdorf, in May of 1722. The second was to marry. Having considered the issue, Zinzendorf concluded that the only way he could do so was to pick a religiously like-minded mate. In consequence he married Countess Erdmuth Dorothea von Reuss, the sister of his best friend Henry, Count Reuss. Taking place on September 7th, 1722, the marriage set the pattern for future Moravian unions in that there was little romance, and it was "entered upon because of a common devotion to the service of Christ."[80] Thus a normal home life was sacrificed to duty to God, though Erdmuth's financial acumen helped keep the generously open-handed Count afloat.

It was between these two events that the first Moravian refugees made their way to Zinzendorf's Berthelsdorf estate, and were settled on unused land by the count's steward, John Heist, as we will note shortly. The death of the Baroness von Gersdorf in 1726 made Zinzendorf's exit from public life rather easier, and he took a leave of absence from his post just before Easter 1727, and

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[79] John R. Weinlick, *Count Zinzendorf: The Story of His Life and Leadership in the Renewed Moravian Church* (1956; reprint Winston-Salem, NC: The Moravian Church in America, 1980), 52.

[80] *Ibid*, 57.

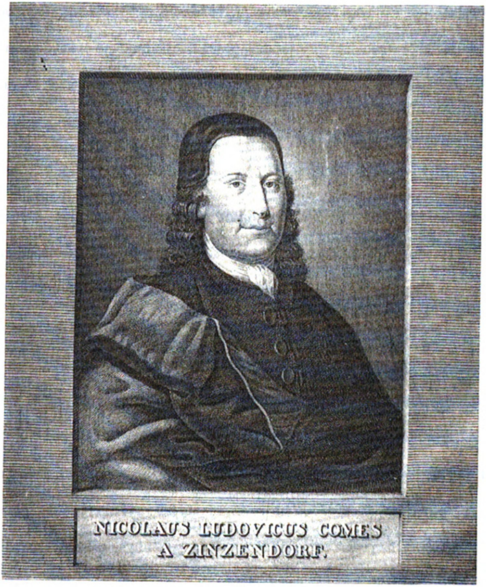
NICOLAUS LUDOVICUS COMES
A ZINZENDORF.

Figure 3: Count Nicholas Ludwig von Zinzendorf (1700-1760). Picture taken from S. Scott Rohrer, *Hope's Promise: Religion and Acculturation in the Southern Backcountry* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2005), xxiii.

made it permanent in 1731. June of 1727 saw the Count leave Dresden for good and move back to his Berthelsdorf estate with his wife and infant daughter Beningna, into their newly constructed manor house close by the neophyte Moravian settlement.[81]

The Foundation of Herrnhut

To show how the lives of the Moravians and Count Zinzendorf came to be so intimately intertwined it is necessary to briefly return to earlier times. The defeat of Protestant forces at the Battle of White Mountain ('Weissenberg') in 1620, early in the Thirty Years' War, had left the fate of the Moravians in the balance. Their situation grew more precarious as the Brethren scattered across Europe in the years that followed. This made maintaining their traditions difficult, and was dealt another serious blow by the death of Comenius, still in exile, in Amsterdam, in 1670. It was in this nebulous state that the Brethren limped on for the next half century. They did not, however, die out because, in J. Taylor Hamilton's memorable phrase, "the Brethren dared the stake and the dungeon, that they might serve God according to conscience and after their fathers' mode."[82]

The year 1715 saw a religious revival at Fulneck in Moravia (the site of Comenius' ministry), and Lititz in Bohemia. Central to the revival in Moravia was Christian David, born December 31st 1690 at Senftleben in Moravia. Raised

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[81] Benigna was the couple's second child, but their first, a son Christian Ernest, died within three months. In total eight of the count's twelve children would die in infancy, *ibid*, 64.

[82] Hamilton, *History of the Church*, 10.

Catholic, David converted to Protestantism and worked as a carpenter and spread the Gospel where he could. David met with many members of the Brethren on his travels in Moravia, particularly the five Neisser brothers, and they urged him to find the Brethren an asylum in a Protestant country. It was this that led David to the acquaintance of Count Zinzendorf, who, as noted above, had, in May 1722, bought his estate in Upper Lusatia. It was here, on the Count's land, that the Brethren found sanctuary. On 17th June 1722 Christian David, plus the Neisser brothers Augustin and James, felled the first tree for the first house at Herrnhut,[83] which was ready by October 7th. As noted above, Zinzendorf took little active part in the foundation of the settlement, as he did not return permanently to his estate until the end of 1727, by which time Herrnhut was home to 300 people.[84] After enduring more persecution at the hands of the Jesuits in Moravia, the three remaining Neisser brothers and their families took the gamble and followed in August of 1723 and joined the small community that had already sprung up at Herrnhut. This was a huge risk because they left behind all property that they could not carry and faced persecution by the authorities if caught, as emigrating was against Austrian law.[85]

Towards Christmas 1723 Christian David made the 200 mile pilgrimage back to Moravia, spreading news of the new settlement wherever he went. This persuaded various other Brethren to risk the journey and persecution by Catholic authorities to head for Herrnhut. "From this time onwards there was a steady stream of emigrants from Bohemia and Moravia, many of them under the lead of Christian David, who returned again and again for this purpose."[86] It was due to this exodus from their homeland, Gene Capps explains, that the Brethren became known by a different name. "Because so many of them had emigrated from Moravia, their church came to be known as the Moravian Church."[87]

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[83] The name Herrnhut translates as 'on the Lord's watch.' The name Herrnhut did not come into public use until 1724.

[84] Weinlick, *Count Zinzendorf*, 65.

[85] Bohemia and Moravia were part of the Habsburg's Austro-Hungarian empire at this time, and would remain so until after World War I.

Moving towards reconstituting the Ancient Unitas Fratrum

The 300-strong community that Zinzendorf found at Herrnhut upon his return to his estate in 1727 was one that was full of religious dissention, a situation in part caused by the count's decision to avoid setting any regulations for the settlement at the outset.[88] Zinzendorf did his best to mediate in the little time available to him away from his administrative duties, but tensions remained until Easter 1727 when it was agreed that the Herrnhut community would be a separate entity from the Lutheran parish of Berthelsdorf, and instead fall under Zinzendorf's direction. The decision was announced shortly after the count's release from administrative service in the spring of 1727. Zinzendorf then actively set to work on a new constitution for Herrnhut to direct its workings, and this was adopted on May 12, 1727.[89] Weinlick notes that Zinzendorf had constructed the constitution so well that it contributed to a surge in religious feeling that allowed denominational differences to be overcome, and August 13th saw a communion service in which the religious feelings were so strong that the date is celebrated to this day as marking the spiritual revival of the Moravian Church.[90]

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[86] Langton, *History of the Moravian Church*, 62.

[87] Capps, *The Moravians and their Town of Salem*, 2.

[88] The earliest settlers were followers of the older Bohemian-Moravian church, who were outwardly Roman Catholic in practice because of the persecution they faced. They were grateful to the count, who was Lutheran, but they did not wish to convert, as maintaining their 'Moravian' traditions had been the reason for their emigration in the first place. They were joined by Lutherans, Calvinists, and Schwenkfelders. The latter were the followers of Casper Schwenkfelder, a Silesian nobleman and contemporary of Luther who had disagreed on certain points of doctrine, and thus founded a sect of his own. The Schwenkfelders arrived in 1726 once they were no longer tolerated in neighboring Silesia. The situation was worsened by differences with the orthodox Lutheran parish of Berthelsdorf, of which Zinzendorf's estate was a part.

Zinzendorf made the move to set regulations to prevent the loss of the original Moravian Brethren from the community, and, "always an opponent of sectarianism,"[91] had stressed the need for avoiding schism when he had presented it. However, the count knew little of the history of the Ancient Moravian church, and few of the Brethren themselves knew much more. Shortly afterwards, however, when Zinzendorf was traveling in Zittau, he came across a copy of Comenius' 1660 work *Ratio Disciplinas*, the Latin version of the constitution of the Bohemian Brethren.[92] It was upon reading this work that Zinzendorf realized that the Brethren were not a sect, but a fully fledged church in their own right that predated Lutheranism. He also saw the similarity between the May 12th constitution that he had just drawn up for Herrnhut, and that of Comenius' for the original Bohemian Brethren. It was this that first encouraged Zinzendorf to consider reviving the church of the Unitas Fratrum through the Moravians at Herrnhut.

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[89] Weinlick notes there were two parts to it: one dealt with civic responsibilities - *Manorial Injunctions and Prohibitions* - and the other, drafted in the form of 42 statutes, their religious ones - *Brotherly Agreement of the Brethren from Bohemia and Moravia and Others, Binding Them to Walk According to the Apostolic Rule.*

[90] Weinlick, *Count Zinzendorf*, 77.

[91] *Ibid.*

[92] Comenius wrote the *Ratio Disciplinas* while in exile in England. Rohrer, *Hope's Promise*, xxii.

The final push to revive the Ancient Unity came from the need for ordained pastors to minister to Herrnhut, and also to the neophyte missions that began to spring up from the early 1730s. The success of the Herrnhut community drew increasing attention, and with it increased scrutiny, not least for the count's leadership of a religious community whilst a member of the laity. Zinzendorf sought to quiet this attention by being ordained, though circumvented his notoriety in Germany and the opposition to a noble becoming a member of the church by being examined and certified in Straslund, Sweden in April 1734, and by using one of his families lesser titles rather than that of count. In addition, as he still intended to remain within the Lutheran Church, Zinzendorf procured "a complete certificate of orthodoxy from the Lutheran point of view."[93] This came with certain exceptions made for some aspects of Moravian practice at Herrnhut that did not fully conform to the Lutheran Augsburg Confession of 1530.

Zinzendorf's return to Herrnhut in 1735 solved the problem of ordained ministers in that community, but not the issue of how to ordain others. The count was forcefully reminded of how pressing this need had become upon his return, when calls were received for more missionaries. The itinerant nature of the Brethren in this period, with Christian David at the forefront, led naturally into mission work abroad. Taking advantage of an opportunity that had arisen at the Danish court, the Moravians had sent out their first missionaries, to the Danish island of St. Thomas in the Caribbean in 1732, swiftly followed by more to Greenland later the same year.[94] When Zinzendorf returned to Herrnhut late in 1735 not only had the Brethren received requests for missionaries for Pennsylvania, Georgia and Surinam, but their first missionary had returned from St. Thomas with a converted African slave, Carmel Oly.[95]

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[93] Weinlick, *Count Zinzendorf*, 117.

To fill the need for someone to ordain the ministers necessary to serve the emerging mission congregations, Zinzendorf was finally convinced of the necessity of reviving the Ancient Unity of the Brethren. "The episcopate of the Unitas Fratrum was, at this time, represented by two men; Daniel Ernst Jablonsky...Court-preacher in Berlin, and Christian Sitkovius of Thorn, superintendent of the United Reform and Brethren's congregation in Poland."[96] Zinzendorf had been in correspondence with Jablonsky since 1729, and the latter had even suggested of his own accord the consecration of a new Moravian bishop in 1734. The count thus asked Jablonksy to do so now, and he readily agreed.

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[94] For more on the mission to Danish St. Thomas, see Jon Sensbach, *Rebecca's Revival: Creating Black Christianity in the Atlantic World* (Cambridge, MA; Harvard University Press, 2005), esp. chapters 1-6.

[95] Weinlick, *Count Zinzendorf,* 120. Sensbach, *Rebecca's Revival*, 54, notes the first convert was named Oly Carmichael, the reverse of Weinlick's interpretation. Sensbach also notes the child was baptized with the name of Joshua, and that Friedrich Martin, who served as a Moravian missionary on St. Thomas from 1736, was his godfather. In addition, Sensbach provides a copy of the portrait made of Martin and Oly, by Johann Valentin Haidt, though the date of 'c.1734' would appear erroneous as Martin did not arrive in St. Thomas until 1736, when Oly reached Herrnhut in 1735.

[96] G. Oliver Maynard, *The Moravian Church Among the Churches: Pioneer in the Oecumenical Task* (Barbados: Moravian Church, Eastern West Indies Province, 1982), 95.

Following the lead of Comenius and Buettner sixty years before, Sitkovius sent his consent in writing, and after a thorough examination by Jablonsky in Berlin, David Nitschmann, the carpenter, was consecrated a bishop of the Ancient Unitas Fratrum, which henceforth became known as the Renewed Moravian Church.

Missionary Beginnings

As noted briefly above, Moravian mission work abroad, as opposed to itinerancy within Europe, began in 1732. Its roots went back to Zinzendorf's schooldays in Halle, a center of Pietism, and a "notable feature" of which, according to Weinlick, was "its interest in foreign missions."[97] When the king of Denmark, Frederick IV, sought missionaries for his holdings in India he looked to Halle, and it duly provided the first two missionaries, who went to Tranquebar, in 1706.[98] It was a meeting with one of these two missionaries, on home leave in Halle in 1715, which first planted the idea of foreign mission work to convert the heathen in Zinzendorf's mind.

It was the Danish Pietist connection that led to the first Moravian mission in 1732. Zinzendorf traveled to Denmark for the coronation of his relative Christian IV in 1731, in hopes of securing some royal appointment that would leave him sufficient time to pursue his religious work as well.[99] As Christian had a full-time ministerial position in mind, and could not agree upon the lesser position that the Count was seeking, neither scheme came to fruition. For Zinzendorf, however, other contacts he made at the coronation opened the door to missionary work throughout the Danish empire. Aside from meeting dignitaries Zinzendorf also met Anthony Ulrich, the West Indian body servant of Count Laurwig of Copenhagen, a director of the Danish West India and Guinea Company.[100] "The man's tale of the spiritual destitution of his fellow Negroes on the plantations of his native St. Thomas struck a responsive chord in the count."[101] Zinzendorf also met two 'Eskimos' from another Danish outpost, Greenland. This rekindled the count's interest in Greenland for mission work that had been lit in 1727 when two Moravian emissaries to the Danish court had enquired particularly about the work of the Dane Hans Egede there. Whilst at the coronation, Zinzendorf received official word that Egede's mission had failed and was about to be abandoned.

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[97] Weinlick, *Count Zinzendorf*, 11.

[98] Tranquebar (or Trankebar) is the modern-day town of Tharangambadi in the Nagapattinam district of Tamil Nadu state in southeastern India, about 100 kilometers south of Pondicherry. The name Tranquebar comes from a Danish interpretation of the native Tamil name of Tarangambadi, which means "place of the signing waves." It was a Danish factory and port from 1620-1845.

The count returned to Herrnhut in July 1731 and talked so enthusiastically about missionary possibilities that he set off an explosion of missionary zeal amongst the community that was further fuelled by a visit from Ulrich himself. While Ulrich's address of July 29th noted that the conditions that the slaves lived under meant that any missionary going out to work amongst them would have to share their lot, thus "virtually becoming a slave himself" did put off several candidates, it did not deter all of them.[102] After a year of deliberation on the count's part and getting to know the candidates, Leonard Dober was selected by the Lot to go, accompanied by the future bishop David Nitschmann, though the latter returned after a few months. They had little money and were to support themselves by their trades of potter and carpenter respectively. They left Herrnhut on August 21st, spent a month breaking down opposition to their move in Copenhagen, and finally reached St. Thomas on December 13th, 1732. Volunteers also came forward for a mission to Greenland, and once again the Lot was used to select Matthew Stach, who was then accompanied by his cousin Christian Stach and the indefatigable Christian David. They left Herrnhut on January 19th, 1733, left Copenhagen April 10th, and arrived in Godthab in Greenland on May 20th.[103]

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[99] The exact relationship is unclear; Weinlick calls Christian a "distant relative" of Zinzendorf, *Count Zinzendorf*, 50.

[100] Sensbach, *Rebecca's Revival*, 49; Sensbach also notes that Anthony was also known as 'Anton'.

[101] Weinlick, *Count Zinzendorf*, 96.

These early missions were very much a learning experience for all involved as this was still a time when such work was virtually unknown amongst Protestants except for a "few scattered individuals residing in European colonial possessions."[104] Aside from the two Lutherans Halle sent to Tranquebar for

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[102] *Ibid*, 97-8. Sensbach, *Rebecca's Revival*, notes that Ulrich urged the missionaries to become slaves themselves in order to gain greater access to the slaves, though they discovered soon after their arrival on St. Thomas that white men were not allowed to become enslaved, 49, 50.

[103] The St. Thomas mission continues to this day. The Greenland mission continued until September 11, 1900 when it was turned over to the Danish state church, due to a lack of funds; "Moravians in Greenland" *This Month in Moravian History*, No. 27, January 2008, available at: <www.moravianchurcharchives.org/thismonth/08%20jan%20greenland.pdf> (accessed January 28, 2008).

[104] Weinlick, *Count Zinzendorf*, 11.

Frederick IV, the only other protestant missionaries prior to this point had been a few Quakers in the Massachusetts Bay colony in the mid-17th century. Historian Jon Sensbach notes that Zinzendorf and the Halle Pietists had been greatly influenced by the American Puritans such as Cotton Mather regarding the benefits of missions to indigenous or colonized peoples.

> Of particular fascination to Pietist leaders was John Eliot's mission to Indians in seventeenth-century Massachusetts, especially his use of techniques such as translating biblical texts into native languages, empowering native leaders to conduct prayer groups, and separating communities of native converts from the unconverted.[105]

Thus there was no well established template or plan of action for the Moravians to follow aside from that of the Puritans, and the first missionaries followed a set of "personal directives" from Zinzendorf himself. The count's biographer notes: "By the time of his death these instructions had set a pattern of mission theory and procedure which had proved itself so effective as to be continued."[106] Zinzendorf felt that Egede's mission to Greenland had erred in its approach by leading with theology rather than the Gospel. The Count believed that the native peoples did not need to be convinced of the existence of God, but that they were unaware that Jesus had died for their sins. He thus instructed the first Moravian missionaries to emphasize the role of Jesus as their Savior in their teachings.

A letter of 12th April, 1732, to a friend, an English missionary with the Society for Propagating the Gospel, written before Dober and Nitschmann had left for St. Thomas, expressed Zinzendorf's three basic beliefs concerning missionary work. First, the missionary should live humbly amongst the heathen and not in an exalted position above them. Second, they should lead with the Crucifixion; other issues such as the Creation and Fall of Man could be explained later. Lastly, the aim was not to convert whole nations, but merely those individuals who actively sought religious truth.[107] This kept the number of converts small, despite the many thousands that had come under the care of Moravian missionaries by the time of Zinzendorf's death in 1760. For example, "Frederick Martin in 1736 gained seven hundred converts in the West Indies but baptized only thirty."[108] Much of the reason for this was that at the time the first missionaries were preparing to leave Herrnhut, Zinzendorf had yet to revive the Ancient Unitas Fratrum, and still intended for the Moravian Church to disappear as a denomination, turning its converts over to the established churches.

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[105] Sensbach, *Rebecca's Revival*, 50.

[106] Weinlick, *Count Zinzendorf*, 99.

Aside from setting the theological aspects of the mission work, Zinzendorf also instituted several other rules that are important for our understanding of the later Cherokee missions. First Zinzendorf insisted that the missionaries should support themselves via their own labors, and not be supported by the home churches, even if they could have afforded it. The Count thought it important that the missionaries should earn their own livings "in order to teach the natives the

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[107] *Ibid*, 99-100. Weinlick does not give the English missionary's name, nor does he quote directly from the letter.

[108] *Ibid*, 100. This contradicts the research of Jon Sensbach, who notes in *Rebecca's Revival*, 83, that Friedrich Martin often staged mass baptisms, on one occasion, around 1741, baptizing 90 slaves in a single ceremony, 56 women and 34 men. One of the women was Anna, Anthony Ulrich's sister whom the Moravians had first tried to convert at the time of their arrival, eight years before (51). It would also seem to be contradicted by the information contained in Table I below.

NEGROES in the Danish Islands in the West Indies		
In St. Thomas, begun 1732	{1. In New Hernhut	1086
	{2. In Niesky	1397
In St. Croix, begun in 1733,	{In Friedensberg	180
	{In the Town	3489
In St. Jan, begun in 1741,	{1. In Bethany	483
	{2. in Emaus	355

NEGROES in the English Islands		
ANTIGUA begun in 1756,	{1. St. Johns	4148
	{2. Gracehill	1890
JAMAICA begun in 1754	{Carmel, Bogue, Mesopotamia, Elim	315
St. KITTS, begun in 1774	{Basseterre	147
BARBADOES, begun in 1765		20

NEGROES in Surinam		
1735	{Paramaribo and {about Sommelsdyk	300
		6820

INDIANS in North America, begun in 1740	
Pettquotting on Lake Erie, about	200

	INDIANS in South America, and free Negroes	
begun in 1740.	{Hope {Bambey	12

GREENLANDERS, begun in 1732		
a. New Hernhut	274	
b. Lichtenfels	332	
c. Lichtenau	285	891

ESQUIMAUX on the Coast of Labrador, begun in 1771		
a. Nain	21	
b. Okkak	31	
c. Hopedale	11	63
14976		

Table 1: The number of baptized in all Moravian Settlements at the end of 1788.

Taken from: *Periodical Accounts relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren established among the Heathen*, Volume 1 (London, Printed for the Brethren's Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, No. 10, Nevil's Court, Fetter Lane, 1790), 16.

dignity of labor."[109] In addition, he insisted that all missionaries strictly adhere to both the civil and ecclesiastical laws of the countries to which they were sent. Missionaries were particularly foresworn from any involvement in politics, or from getting involved in controversial issues like slavery. Finally, Zinzendorf insisted that a sense of self-effacement should accompany mission work, and as a result no missionary biographies were published in his lifetime. While diaries and letters were often copied, by hand, and passed on to other congregations for their spiritual edification, none were printed for general public consumption, meaning that few people were ever actually aware of the work of the Moravians in the mission field. Despite all these strictures there was never any lack of volunteers for mission work.

Moravian mission work expanded rapidly, July 1735 seeing ten more Brethren joining those already in St. Thomas. The following month three more Brethren left Herrnhut to begin work in Surinam, and another group left for Georgia in the fall. Others looked to working with the Lapps in northern Sweden and in Russia. The Surinam mission was such a success that the Moravians became well-known in Holland, much to Zinzendorf's discomfort, and an invitation to Amsterdam by the dowager princess of Orange in 1736 led not only to the establishment of a settlement at Zeist that remains the Moravian headquarters in Holland to this day, but also opened the way for a mission among the Hottentots of South Africa. After leaving Holland, Zinzendorf moved on to England, to discuss, amongst other things, the Moravian settlement in Georgia with the colony's trustees. Whilst there a "group interested in mission work among slaves persuaded Zinzendorf to take steps to send a missionary to South Carolina for that purpose," and one was duly dispatched in December of 1737.[110] This mission, across the river from Savannah, in Purrysburg, South Carolina, was begun in 1738 and "lasted several years." [111]

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[109] Weinlick, *Count Zinzendorf*, 100.

The extent of Moravian mission work in 1747, not quite fifteen years after they sent out their first missionary was shown when news of the death, in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, of Johannes (formally known as 'Tschoop' or Job), reach Zinzendorf in Herrnhag on March 15th. Johannes was the first convert of the Mahican Indians at Shekomeko, New York, to be baptized. To commemorate the event, and the worldwide scope of the Brethren's mission efforts, Zinzendorf commissioned a painting, now known as the *First Fruits*. The canvas, by John Valentine Haidt, depicts 21 individuals arrayed around Jesus and two angels, representing the first baptized members of the various Moravian mission stations around the world, who had since died and thus gone to join the Savior in heaven as the 'first fruits' of the Brethren's work.[112] The group includes: "The Mingrel, Thomas Mammucha," "Guly from Persia," "David the Armenian," "Sam, the Savage from Boston," "Thomas of the Hurons," "The Carolina Negro Johannes," "Francesco from Florida," and "The Hottentot Kibbodo" as well as a group of eight from the Danish West Indies, which included Oly Carmel, the first West Indian convert.[113]

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[110] Weinlick, *Count Zinzendorf*, 136. The South Carolina missionary was Peter Bohler; he left Herrnhut December 16, 1737 (139). Two members of the Georgia colony's trustees, including its prime mover James Oglethorpe, were members of the 'Associates of Dr. Bray for Founding Clerical Libraries and Supporting Negro Schools,' founded by Thomas Bray (who was also principal founder of the better known Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge), in 1724, to administer a bequest he had received for the conversion and education of slaves on British plantations. According to the philanthropist Thomas Coram it had been Bray who had originally suggested, in 1729, that a colony should be founded in America for released debtors and other members of London's poor and unemployed; Colin Podmore, *The Moravian Church in England, 1728-1760* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 11. The bequest was for nine hundred pounds, and left by one Abel Tassin, Sieur d'Allone, whom Bray met on a visit to Holland; David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998; originally published 1966), 212-214.

[111] Sensbach, *Rebecca's Revival*, 138.

By 1790 the Brethren had established their own in-house print journal, informally called the *Periodical Accounts*, and it had this to say about Moravian missionary endeavors:

> The Church of the United Brethren have, ever since the year 1732, been active in preaching the Gospel to different heathen nations; and though the attempts made in this view have in some parts been fruitless, yet, in general, God has blessed their feeble endeavours with unexpected success. There are at present one or more missions established in Greenland, in Labrador, in North America, among the Indians; in South America among the Free and Slave Negroes and Indians; and in Jamaica, Antigua, St. Kitt's, Barbadoes, and the three Danish Islands, St. Thomas, St. Croix, and St. Jan, among the slaves. Besides these settlements now in being, attempts were made in different parts of the East Indies, at the Cape of Good Hope, in Guinea, and among the Calmucks in Asia, which, through various circumstances, have hitherto been rendered fruitless. At the Cape of Good Hope, the Mission, began in 1737 among the Hottentots, was in a promising condition, when the Brethren were under the necessity of

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[112] No in-depth study of Haidt's work has yet been done. As such, there is some difference of opinion as to whether all those depicted are 'first fruits' or not. Weinlick notes: "The picture shows twenty-two converts from as many different racial and national groups, in native costume...Each of the individuals appearing...represents the first one of his or her tribe," *Count Zinzendorf*, 100. Sensbach, *Rebecca's Revival*, states there are 21 figures around Christ and: "Many of these figures were among the very first converts in their own country or mission field," 189. The Bethlehem Archive newsletter on the picture notes that Zinzendorf's original notes for the picture listed only 18 'first fruits,' which grew to 21 by the time of the actual painting, "Haidt's painting of the *First Fruits*, 1747," *This Month in Moravian History,* No. 7, March 2007, <http://www.moravianchurcharchives.org/documents/07marchfirstfruits.pdf> (accessed January 28,.2008). See also Garth A. Howland, "John Valentine Haidt: A Little Known Eighteenth Century Painter" in *Pennsylvania History*, 8 (1941): 304-313, which notes the Bethlehem copy of the 'First Fruits' on 311.

[113] Sensbach, *Rebecca's Revival*, 190-91; Sensbach reverses the name from the version quoted by Weinlick, as noted above in footnote 42.

> abandoning it in 1745...The Missions that flourish most at present, are those in Greenland, Antigua, and the Danish West India Islands.[114]

Thus while it can be seen that the Moravians had enjoyed considerable success, especially amongst the slaves of the West Indies and the natives in Greenland, the Brethren did not consider their missions to Native Americans in North America to be particularly successful. It is to the North American Moravian missions that we will now turn our attention.

Moravian Missions in North America

In early April 1735, as noted briefly above, Bishop August Gottlieb Spangenberg led a group of ten Moravians to Georgia. The Moravians had been granted a tract of 500 acres, as well as two dispensations: that they should have freedom of religion, and that they should be allowed to evangelize the Indians. The Georgia mission had a two-fold purpose in Zinzendorf's plans; first, it would act as a base from which they could preach the gospel to the Indians; second, it would enable the Brethren to establish a refuge for Moravians in the New World, should the background hum of discontent in official circles with the Brethren in Herrnhag ever solidify.[115] As the British crown tolerated Protestant dissenters, and the American colonies enjoyed freedom of religion, the Georgia community was an ideal option for an asylum for the Moravians should things go awry in

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[114] *Periodical Accounts relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren established among the Heathen* (London, Printed for the Brethren's Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, No. 10, Nevil's Court, Fetter Lane, 1790), 5. For a table noting the number of baptized converts in each settlement at the end of 1788, see Table I above.

[115] Zinzendorf himself was exiled from Saxony on three occasions, though each was brought to an end after further investigation. The Herrnhut community was also subject to three 'commissions of enquiry,' in 1732, 1736 and 1737. In each case it was given a clean bill of health as regards its religious orthodoxy. See Langton, *History of the Moravian Church*, Chapter XI, 'The Two Commissions of Enquiry: 1732 and 1736,' 82-90.

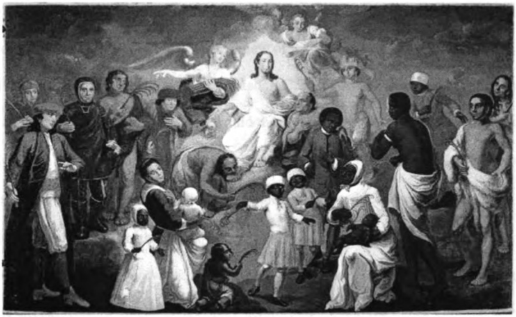

Figure 4: John Valentine Haidt (1700 - 1780) - *First Fruits*

This is the original 1747 version, created for Zinzendorf at the Herrnhag congregation in Germany. After the Herrnhag community was dissolved in 1753 the painting was moved to Zeist in Holland, where it remains. The painting was an instant success and Haidt produced further copies for the Moravian communities at Herrnhut and Neusalz, now both lost. Haidt also painted a new version for the Bethlehem settlement around 1760, which contained 25 'first fruits.' Another was made for the Brethrens mission on St. Thomas. In addition, the Moravian Archive in Herrnhut also has two additional copies of the picture by unknown artists.

Taken from: "Haidt's painting of the *First Fruits*, 1747," *This Month in Moravian History,* No. 7, March 2007, <http://www.moravianchurcharchives.org/documents/07marchfirstfruits.pdf> (Accessed January 28, 2008)

Europe. Zinzendorf's missionary cause could also find an outlet in Georgia as the colony's founder, James Oglethorpe, knew of a group of Lower Creek Indians, living near his camp, who were interested in Christianity and learning English. As Langton notes: "Hoping that they would there come into contact with the Indians, the Brethren resolved to undertake the mission."[116] The Georgia trustees therefore agreed to pay for the construction of a school at the Brethren's mission, named Irene, about a mile north of Savannah.[117]

The husband-and-wife team of Peter and Catharina Rose worked amongst the Creek, learning the language and teaching school, and the Creek children were quick to learn English. The Creek were so happy with the mission that they gave the Moravians a five acre plot which Peter Rose cleared for a garden and planted. The early years were therefore encouraging, and while it is unknown if there were any Creek converts at this point, there were 31 Moravians missionaries serving them by 1736.[118]

Georgia, however, had only been founded by the British in 1733 as a 'buffer zone' between the Spanish colonies in Florida and the more established British colonies in the Carolinas. As such Georgia was the boundary between two hostile and competing imperial powers and warfare constantly threatened the Moravian settlement. This finally broke out in 1739 with the War of Jenkins'

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[116] Langton, *History of the Moravian Church*, 86. See also Carl Mauelshagen and Gerald H. Davis, "The Moravians' Plan for a Mission Among the Creek Indians, 1803-1804," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 51, 3 (1967): 358-359.

[117] McClinton, *Moravian Springplace Mission*, 1, 10.

[118] *Ibid.*

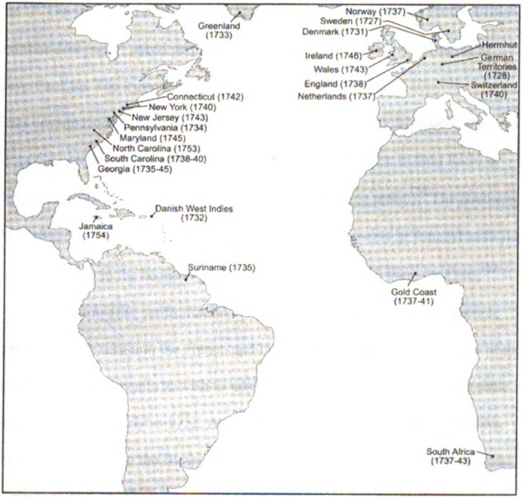
Greenland (1733)
Norway (1737)
Sweden (1727)
Denmark (1731)
Ireland (1746)
Wales (1743)
England (1738)
Netherlands (1737)
Herrnhut
German Territories (1728)
Switzerland (1740)
Connecticut (1742)
New York (1740)
New Jersey (1743)
Pennsylvania (1734)
Maryland (1745)
North Carolina (1753)
South Carolina (1738-40)
Georgia (1735-45)
Danish West Indies (1732)
Jamaica (1754)
Suriname (1735)
Gold Coast (1737-41)
South Africa (1737-43)

Figure 5: Moravian communities in the Atlantic world, 1727-1754. The map shows where the Brethren began missions or communities which became established, and the dates this happened. Those that failed immediately are not included, and dates are given for those that failed by 1754.

Taken from Aaron Spencer Fogleman, *Jesus is Female: Moravians and the Challenge of Radical Religion in Early America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 7.

Ear.[119] The Brethren refused to bear arms or enter military service for the British, and thus Zinzendorf asked permission for all but a few of the missionaries to leave Georgia. The trustees, however, wanted them all to leave.

Thus despite having only just recently freed up their property from debt, the Moravians reluctantly left their settlement rather than be false to their faith, as they were, at the time, conscientiously opposed to bearing arms.[120] The Brethren thus left Georgia and headed north to the German settlements in Pennsylvania just in time to assist in the beginning of the Moravian settlement there, in 1740.[121]

More imperial confrontation, this time between the British and French, that would later turn into the French and Indian War (1756-1763), led some of the Brethren in Pennsylvania to wish to take the Great Wagon Trail south and settle in North Carolina as early as 1752. Attacks from both Indians and colonists alike, the latter due again to the Brethrens' pacifist inclinations, as well as the prospect of cheaper land and the establishment of a community that could produce an income for the Moravians were all motivating factors. In fall 1752 Spangenberg led a small expedition to inspect some land in the territory of John Carteret, Earl of Granville, and Lord Proprietor of the northern section of North Carolina. Granville was anxious for his land to be settled and approached the Moravians about buying some of his property due to their honest and industrious reputation. The Brethren were looking for an unsettled tract of about 100,000 acres, and Zinzendorf duly bought 98,985 acres which he named Wachovia, as it reminded him of the meadows in *Wachau* on his ancestral estate in Austria.[122]

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[119] The War of Jenkins' Ear (1739-48) was the outcome of simmering Anglo-Spanish tensions in the Caribbean over various shipping incidents, including the alleged amputation of the aforesaid Captain Jenkins' ear in 1731. Disagreements over the exact borders of Georgia and the Carolinas were also involved. The conflict merged, by 1744, with the wider European War of the Austrian Succession, when France signed a compact with Spain against Britain. The failure of the French to provide as much support as hoped led the Spanish to seek peace in 1747, agreed the following year.

[120] Capps, *The Moravians and Their Town of Salem*, 3.

[121] The Moravians had visited the German settlements in Pennsylvania as early as 1736, and took over the land and interests of the Rev. George Whitfield, which included a school for blacks. Whitfield had called this settlement Nazareth. The Brethren were offered a second tract of land nearby in 1740, shortly after the refugees arrived from Georgia, and as their houses were unfinished at the time and they had to celebrate their first Christmas in the stable, they named this second settlement Bethlehem. Langton, *History of the Moravian Church*, 114.

The North Carolina settlement revived hopes of evangelizing amongst the Indians, the Cherokee now being the nearest Nation, but with the need to establish the Wachovia settlement and imperial conflict bleeding over from the French and Indian War into the American Revolution, nothing was done. However, five hundred Indians passed through Bethabara, the first of the Brethren's settlements in Wachovia, and in the 1760s Moravian minister John Etwein preached amongst the Creek and Cherokee in the vicinity of the Congaree, Saluda and Broad Rivers.[123] In 1772 Mattheus Stach told the Church's ruling body in Germany, the Unity Elders Conference (UEC) that he wanted to preach the Gospel to the Cherokee. The UEC replied that "it was regrettable that this had not yet been done in the nineteen years during which the Brethren had lived in North Carolina."[124] 1775 brought the opportunity to talk directly to the Cherokee when Chief Attakullakulla (named Little Carpenter by the British), passed through Salem, by then the main Moravian settlement in Wachovia, on his way to the Watauga settlements where he was due to take part in a treaty signing.[125] Through an interpreter Attakullakulla was asked if his people would like someone to come amongst them "to tell them about their Creator and Savior," to which the Chief replied that "if any one would come and teach a school for children they would be glad."[126] Attakullakulla's reply highlighted the Cherokees real reason for wanting missionaries to come amongst them, something which the Brethren failed to pick up on, as will be seen later.

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[122] McClinton, *Moravian Springplace Mission*, 1, 17.

[123] *Ibid.*

[124] Somner, *Serving Two Masters*, 167.

In 1783, with the Revolutionary War now safely over, the Moravians tried again and sent Martin Schneider to gather more information to help the Brethren make a more informed decision about establishing a Cherokee mission. Schneider spoke to the head chief, Tassel, asking if the Cherokee would like to hear about their lord and creator, and be willing to have to the Brethren come amongst them, stressing they would not be looking to take land or trade. Tassel noted that as all the chiefs were out hunting beaver a decision would have to wait until he could call a council, and thus Schneider had to return to Salem without an answer.[127]

This was the last Moravian attempt to reach the Cherokee until 1799. The previous year the Brethren read a report in a Knoxville newspaper that the Cherokee had told a member of the New York Missionary Society that the Nation would welcome missionaries amongst them.[128] The Moravian elders in Salem thus sent out Abraham Steiner and Christian Frederic de Schweinitz to investigate. Finding all the adult males away on the hunt when they arrived in October, the Brothers were told to return the following year for the annual Council they had just missed. The pair had more success in 1800 and the National Council granted the Moravians a trial to start a mission, with a provision that they start a school to teach Cherokee children literacy.[129] In 1801 the Moravians scouted for possible locations, and James Vann, a mixed-blood Cherokee trader provided his protection and helped them to purchase some buildings and cleared land from Robert Brown, a farmer, about two and a half miles from his own plantation, Diamond Hill, in northern Georgia.

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[125] This would be the Treaty of Sycamore Shoals, also known as Henderson's Purchase, where the Cherokee ceded about twenty million acres in Kansas and Tennessee to the British settlers in the Carolinas. See Chapter 2 for more on this.

[126] McClinton, *Moravian Springplace Mission*, 1, 18.

[127] *Ibid*, 18.

After a brief return to their Salem base, Jacob Wohlfarth and Gottlieb and Dorothea Byhan officially began work on 16th December 1801, with the first entry in the Spring Place diary.[130] It reads as follows:

> On the 16th of December, 1801 we came to our site, named Spring Place. We found that some of our things had been stolen. On the 17th we settled ourselves a little bit into our cabins, and in the evening we all fell on our knees. Br. Wohlfarth thanked the Saviour in prayer, that he has kept us in health and in peace and love on our journey. He asked the Saviour to give Brother and Sister Byhan courage and happiness, as they shared the news of His death and suffering with this nation, and as they make known to these people that the Saviour also died for them, and is prepared to take them as His children if they believe in Him. And if they don't see fruits right away, they shouldn't let their courage sink. Then we sang the Litany: "Es Segne Uns Gott unser Gott" [May

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[128] William G. McLoughlin, *Cherokees & Missionaries, 1789-1839* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), 36.

[129] *Ibid*, 46.

[130] *Ibid*, 47-48.

> God our God Bless Us] in preparation for the Lord's Supper to be held next Saturday evening, and we had an emotional heart-to-heart conversation.[131]

The stolen clothing and the difficulties in getting established were just a taste of what was still to come.

Germany, North Carolina, and Springplace

A note is also needed to explain the hierarchy and power structure of the Moravian Brethren. As their formal title, the Unity of the Brethren implies, the Moravians saw themselves as a collective, corporate whole rather than as individuals within a society, and thus the ruling ethos was one of group over individual. This is illustrated by the Brethren's term of self-identification, as the *Gemeine.* As Moravian historian Elisabeth Somner points out, *Gemeine* translates as either 'community' or 'congregation' but in the Moravian sense "it was both."[132] As such, each of the Brethren's settlements was both a self-contained religious community, but also part of the larger Moravian community of believers as well. Members of the *Gemeine* were expected to adhere to the regulations set by their Elders Council. Each *Gemeine* settlement had its own Elders Council that supervised local matters, but ultimately each local Elders Council answered to the Unity Elders Conference (UEC) in Germany. The UEC had oversight of those issues that affected all Moravian communities, and the local Elders Conferences their local issues. The local Conferences were expected to consult with the UEC over local issues that could affect the Brethren as a whole, and the UEC was expected to consult with the local conferences on issues that would affect the localities individually. The local *Gemeine* and the UEC were thus mutually dependent.

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[131] MAS: Diary, December 16, 1801.

[132] Somner, *Serving Two Masters*, xiv.

After Zinzendorf's death in 1760 the Brethren moved towards a more centralized form of governance. The Synod of 1769 established a 13 man council - the Unity Elders Conference - to govern the Brethren between synods. The UEC had three departments: the *Aufseher Collegium* to oversee civil matters, the *Helfer Collegium* to oversee spiritual life, and the *Vorsteher Collegium* to oversee financial matters. By the end of the eighteenth century a mission's department had been added.

Thus while the Wachovia settlement was watched over by the Salem Elders Conference, the Salem Elders reported to the UEC in Germany. A similar arrangement existed between the Springplace Mission to the Cherokee in northern Georgia and the Elders Conference in Salem. Thus the missionaries at Springplace reported to the Salem Elders in all things, and constantly wrote to them asking for advice on how to proceed in issues that affected the mission work amongst the Cherokee. The Salem Elders left the day to day running of Springplace to the missionaries there, but also set policy generally for the mission by deciding on which missionaries were to be posted there, what monies and supplies would be provided and used for and what form missionary activity should take.

The problem for the relationship between both Germany and North Carolina, and Salem and Springplace, was distance and the influence of the

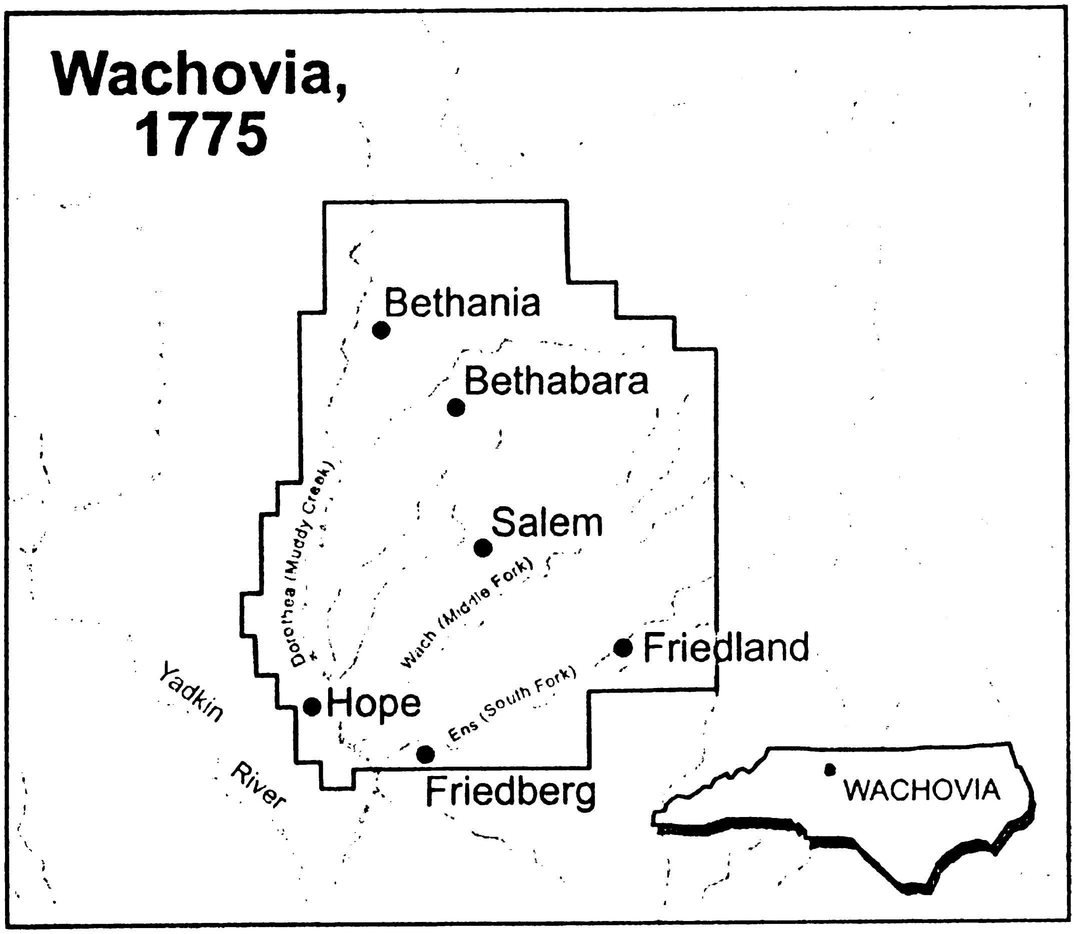
Wachovia, 1775
Bethania
Bethabara
Salem
Friedland
Hope
Friedberg
Dorothea (Muddy Creek)
Wach (Middle Fork)
Ens (South Fork)
Yadkin River
WACHOVIA

Figure 6: The position of Salem as the central town and focus of settlement in the Wachovia tract in North Carolina. Taken from S. Scott Rohrer, *Hope's Promise: Religion and Acculturation in the Southern Backcountry* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2005), xxvi.

surrounding community. As Moravian historian Somner notes, the Wachovia settlement in the backcountry of North Carolina "literally grew up with the new nation" of the United States.[133] While each *Gemeine* was intended to be a self-contained unit, independent of the wider community it lived amongst, it remained part of the wider Moravian community, and this sense of a worldwide community of the Brethren was maintained through constant correspondence, sharing of news, and communal worship, with each *Gemeine* celebrating the same festivals and studying the same texts on the same days.

Somner summarized the problem thus: "The years of interrupted communication and the simple fact of distance itself led the leadership in the Wachau to act more frequently as an independent unit" from the UEC in Germany.[134] The influence of backcountry white culture on the Wachovia community - what the UEC came to term the "American freedom" - saw the Salem Elders begin to feel alienated and different from their Brethren in Germany. This was especially true after the War of Independence, and by the Synod of 1801 the American Moravians were proposing changes to traditional practice, over issues of individual property rights and the use of the lot in marriage, to take cognizance of the different circumstances that the Brethren in America faced. These were finally conceded at the next synod, in 1818.

A similar situation existed between Salem and the Springplace mission. The distance between Salem and Springplace was about 400 miles, and the

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[133] Somner, *Serving Two Masters*, x.

[134] *Ibid*, 169.

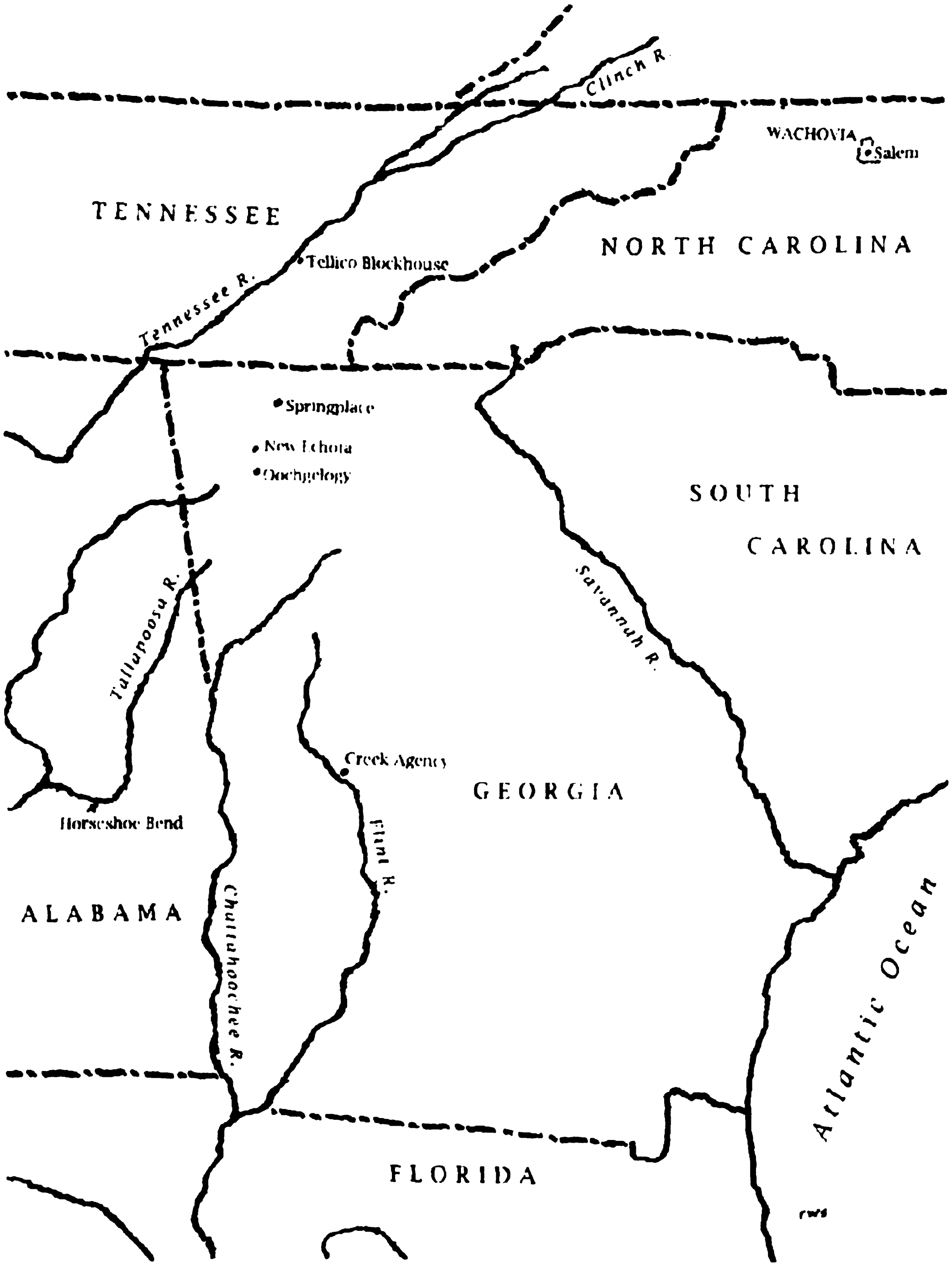
Clinch R.
WACHOVIA
Salem
TENNESSEE
Tellico Blockhouse
NORTH CAROLINA
Tennessee R.
Springplace
New Echota
Oochgelogy
SOUTH CAROLINA
Tallapoosa R.
Savannah R.
Creek Agency
GEORGIA
Horseshoe Bend
Flint R.
ALABAMA
Chattahoochee R.
Atlantic Ocean
FLORIDA
rws

Figure 7: The relative positions of the Wachovia tract in North Carolina and the Springplace mission to the Cherokee Nation in northern Georgia. The distance between them was about 400 miles. Taken from C. Daniel Crews & Richard Starbuck, *With Courage for the Future: The Story of the Moravian Church, Southern Province* (Winston-Salem, NC: Moravian Church in America, Southern Province, 2002) 193.

journey from one to the other could take several weeks, depending on the weather and hence the condition of the roads. The mail was no more certain, even once Springplace was established as the Post Office for that section of the Cherokee Nation. The Brethren stationed at Springplace often lamented the lack of news and correspondence they received from Salem, and how they often felt abandoned as a result. For example, John Gambold, writing in 1817 in expectation of the synod the following year, wondered if Salem's representative to the synod had found time to write to him before he left, as it has been 13 months since he had last received a letter from him. As such, Gambold noted that in their isolation it was easy to get discouraged if one did not hear supporting words from others.[135] The location of Springplace in the middle of the Cherokee Nation, intentionally far away from all and any white settlement, also contributed to a sense of differentiation from the life that their Brethren in Salem, never mind Germany, experienced. Salem thus came to feel distant and different from the German *Gemeine* and the Springplace missionaries came to feel distant and different from their parent *Gemeine* in North Carolina.

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[135] MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to Brother Peter, Salem, October 17, 1817. Hardly a letter went from Springplace to Salem in 1811 without a lament as to the lack of mail they had received in return. On another occasion John Gambold noted that they had received a letter dated April 13, 1811 on December 7, 1812, MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to Jacob and Lisette Van Vleck, Salem, January 4, 1813. Three years later a letter of March 25 arrived on October 4, MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to Brother Simon, Salem, October 21, 1816.

Chapter 2

The Cherokee Nation: An Introduction

As noted in my introductory chapter on the Moravian Brethren, the Cherokee Nation faced great challenges in the early decades of the nineteenth century, but, as was the case with the Moravians, these challenges were ongoing rather than a new phenomenon. Cherokee society and culture had evolved a half millennium before the arrival of Spanish explorers, French traders, and British settlers. Problems for Indians happened long before the new and expanding American nation became one of the greatest threats the Cherokee people faced. The arrival of Europeans and subsequent interactions with the United States lead to further change and adaptation in Native culture; for the Cherokee this was just another phase in a centuries long period of social evolution. The emergence of the Cherokee Nation was a major force in the Indigenous southeast and therefore before we move on to the more specific issues facing the Nation in the early decades of the nineteenth century this chapter focuses on the earlier history of the Cherokee.

Origins and Early History

The exact origin of the people who came to be known as the Cherokee Nation is unknown, and woven into the debate between competing theories over when and how humankind originated or first entered into North America.[136] As the Cherokee speak an Iroquoian language the linguistic evidence suggests that they lived in the American northeast in the pre-contact period. Their nearest linguistic relations were the Iroquoian peoples of the Great Lakes - the Mohawks, Oneidas, Senecas, Onondagas, and Cayugas. By contrast, in the southeast of the country, on what became known as the Cherokees' traditional lands by the time of first contact, the other native groups that surrounded the Cherokee "were mostly Muskogean speakers, though there were also some Siouan, some Tunican, some Algonquian, and others."[137] Traditions among both the Cherokee and Delaware nations support the theory that a major war separated the Cherokee from the other Iroquoian tribes and led to the Cherokees' migration southward.[138] Exactly when this move took place is unclear.[139] Theda Perdue notes that archaeologists believed that the Cherokees' ancestors had lived in the fertile valleys of the southern Appalachians since around 1000 A.D, while Sarah Hill comments that the Cherokee arrived there "at least several hundred - and perhaps more than a thousand - years ago."[140]

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[136] For more on this debate see, *inter alia*, Charles Hudson, *The Southeastern Indians* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1976), especially Chapter 2, "Prehistory and Early History;" Thomas D. Dillehay, *The Settlement of the Americas: A New Prehistory* (New York: Basic Books, 2000); Charles C. Mann, *1491: New Revelations of the Americas Before Columbus* (New York: Vintage Books, 2005); and "North American Prehistory: An Outline," in Guy Gibbon, ed., *Archaeology of Prehistoric Native America: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc. 1998), xvi-xix.

[137] Robert J. Conley, *The Cherokee Nation* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 5.

[138] The Delaware were another nation whose traditional lands were in the northeast at the time of first contact, though they were also later pushed westward. In addition Conley also notes a competing theory, based on oral tradition among the Nighthawk Keetoowah Cherokees of Oklahoma, which originally had the Cherokee living on an island off the coast of South America. Attacks by other tribes forced the Cherokee to flee northward, and they eventually ended up in the northeast. There is some evidence for this theory, namely the double-weave style of basket-making that is unique to the Cherokee in North America, but which is relatively common in South America. Conley, *Cherokee Nation*, 5-6.

[139] Theda Perdue and Michael D. Green, *The Cherokee Nation and the Trail of Tears* (New York: Viking, 2007), 9, notes that "linguists think that the Cherokees split off from northern Iroquois people at least thirty-five hundred years ago." See also Floyd G. Lounsbury, "Iroquois-

Archaeological evidence now suggests that the Cherokee Nation that greeted Spanish explorers in the mid-sixteenth century had developed as a part of the Mississippian cultural tradition and the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex.[141] Interaction between different cultural phases in different areas led to the development of distinct settlement regions in the Cherokee Nation by the time of first contact. Archaeologist Roy Dickens Jr., states:

> [I]t now seems that three subregional developments - Piedmont, Ridge and Valley, and Blue Ridge - of the South Appalachian Mississippian tradition were important in the evolution of Cherokee culture. These developments, which began around A.D. 1000, included the Etowah/Wilbanks-Lamar, Hiwassee Island-Dallas, and Pisgah-Qualla phases. Through time there was an interaction between these phases, and some important traits were introduced from the outside, but a measure of regional distinctiveness was maintained and was reflected in the Lower, Overhill, and Middle divisions of the Cherokee towns in the eighteenth century.[142]

Cherokee Linguistic Relations," *Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 180, Symposium on Cherokee and Iroquois Culture*, (U.S. Government Printing Office Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1961): 9-17; Lounsbury notes linguistic evidence suggests the split came "around 3,500 to 3,800 years" ago, 11.

[140] Theda Perdue, *Cherokee Women: Gender and Cultural Change 1700-1835* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 13; Sarah H. Hill, *Weaving New Worlds: Southeastern Cherokee Women and Their Basketry* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 64.

[141] See "Mississippian Culture," 533, and "Southeastern Ceremonial Complex," 779-781, in Gibbon, ed., *Archaeology of Prehistoric Native America.*

[142] Roy S. Dickens Jr., "The Origins and Development of Cherokee Culture," in Duane H. King (ed.), *The Cherokee Indian Nation* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1979), 28. For another overview of the evolution of ideas on the development of Cherokee culture see Joffre L. Coe, "Cherokee Archeology," *Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 180, Symposium on Cherokee and Iroquois Culture* (U.S. Government Printing Office Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1961): 51-60. See also Roy S. Dickens Jr., *Cherokee Prehistory: The Pisgah Phase in the Appalachian Summit Region* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1976); Charles Hudson, *The Southeastern Indians* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1976), especially

In the summer of 1540 a Spanish exploratory mission spent six days visiting the town of Itaba, now known to be the ancient Etowah site, first occupied around A.D. 950.[143]

At the time of this first contact with European peoples the Cherokees occupied about 40,000 square miles of land that included parts of eight present states: the Carolinas, the Virginias, Kentucky, Tennessee, Georgia, and Alabama.[144] Their territory, however, had not always been so extensive, and the coming of Europeans actually provided them with an opportunity to expand out from their strongholds in the Appalachian Mountains, as other historically larger and more powerful native groups died out. Archaeological evidence from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries shows destabilization in the area west of the Cherokees' core lands, and "point[s] toward a period of settlement abandonment in the interior basins during the 1500s. Similarly, to the north along the mid-course of the Ohio, another population, the Fort Ancient people, lost cohesion and splintered into smaller less-organized groups during the same time."[145] As these interior tribes faded away, the Cherokees were able to expand inland and extend their territorial boundaries.

Chapter 2, "Prehistory and Early History;" David G. Moore (Assembler), *The Conference on Cherokee Prehistory* (Swannanoa, North Carolina: Warren Wilson College, 1986); James A. Brown, "The Archaeology of Ancient Religion in the Eastern Woodlands," in *Annual Review of Anthropology* 26 (1997): 465-485; and "Etowah" 264-265, and "Warren Wilson Site" 871-872, in Gibbon, ed., *Archaeology of Prehistoric Native America.*

[143] Gibbon, ed., *Archaeology of Prehistoric Native America*, 264.

[144] Frederick Hoxie (ed.), *Encyclopedia of North American Indians* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1996), 105.

[145] Tom Hatley, *The Dividing Paths: Cherokees and South Carolinians through the Revolutionary Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 5.

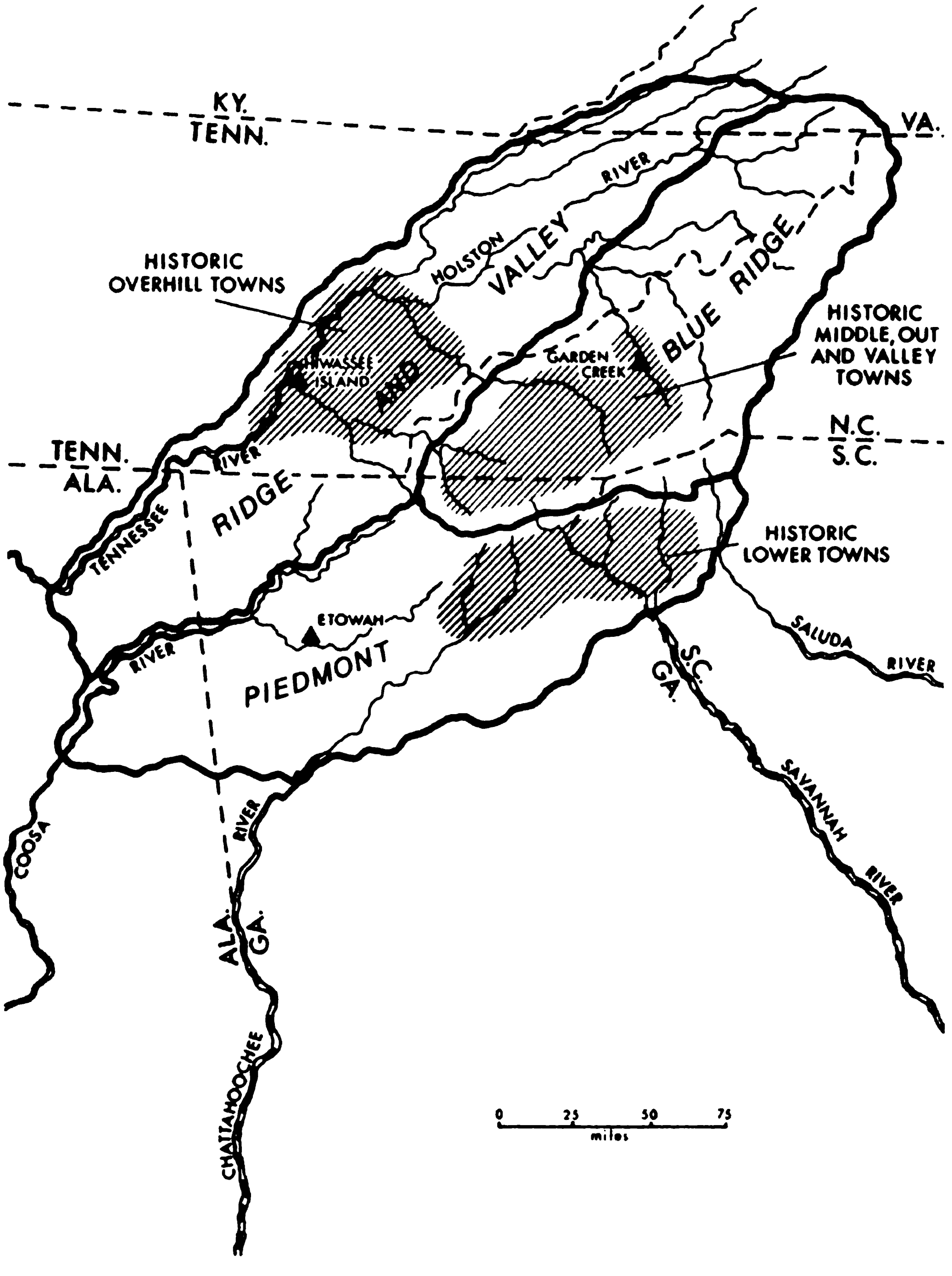
KY.
TENN.
VA.
HISTORIC OVERHILL TOWNS
HOLSTON RIVER
VALLEY AND RIDGE
BLUE RIDGE
HIWASSEE ISLAND
GARDEN CREEK
HISTORIC MIDDLE, OUT AND VALLEY TOWNS
N.C.
S.C.
TENN.
ALA.
TENNESSEE RIVER
HISTORIC LOWER TOWNS
ETOWAH
PIEDMONT
RIVER
SALUDA RIVER
S.C.
GA.
SAVANNAH RIVER
COOSA
RIVER
ALA.
GA.
CHATTAHOOCHEE
0
25
50
75
miles

Figure 8: Traditional settlement divisions within the Cherokee Nation. Taken from Roy S. Dickens Jr., "The Origins and Development of Cherokee Culture," in Duane H. King (ed.), *The Cherokee Indian Nation* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1979), 10.

	PIEDMONT Historic Lower Cherokee	RIDGE-AND-VALLEY Historic Overhill Cherokee	BLUE RIDGE Historic Middle Cherokee
1838 A.D.			
	Late Lamar Variants	Overhill	Late Qualla
1650 A.D.			
	Early Lamar	Late Dallas	Early Qualla
1450 A.D.			
	Late Etowah/Wilbanks	Early Dallas	Late Pisgah
1250 A.D.			
	Early Etowah	Hiwassee Island	Early Pisgah
1000 A.D.			

Table 2: Archaeological phases of the development of the Cherokee tradition, A.D. 1000 - 1838; taken from Roy S. Dickens Jr., "The Origins and Development of Cherokee Culture," in Duane H. King (ed.), *The Cherokee Indian Nation* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1979), 12.

The coming of Europeans to North America introduced many diseases into the environment that Native American peoples had never had contact with before and thus lacked natural immunity. The Spanish *entradas* of Hernando De Soto in 1540 and Juan Pardo in 1567 both introduced additional pathogens which further decimated native populations.[146] As a result the "once-powerful neighbors of the Cherokees disappeared into the centrifugal world of the new colonial era."[147] The De Soto expedition landed in Tampa Bay in 1539, and fought its way up the East Coast with an army of 600 men, entering Cherokee country in May, 1540. De Soto enslaved several hundred other Native Americans along the way to act as his bearers. The Cherokee quickly realized De Soto's goal - gold - and managed to usher him through their territory fairly quickly when none was forthcoming. Juan Pardo's expedition followed in 1567, but after his departure the Cherokee "enjoyed more than a century with no significant European contact."[148] While the Cherokees did not escape the pathogenic devastation completely, their relative small-size compared to their early sixteenth century neighbors meant that their villages were not on the direct line of Pardo's march. "Thus in the wake of the *entradas*, the Cherokees emerged unsteadily from their small, high-mountain settlements, by default a more powerful tribe than they had been in these twilight years."[149]

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[146] 'Entrada' translates from the Spanish as 'access' or 'entry.' For more on the Juan Pardo *entrada* see Charles Hudson, *The Juan Pardo Expeditions: Exploration of the Carolinas and Tennessee, 1566-1568* (Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990).

[147] Hatley, *Dividing Paths*, 5.

[148] Harvey Markowitz (consulting editor), *American Indians* (Pasadena, California: Salem Press Inc, 1995), Volume 1 – Abenaki – Hayes, Ira Hamilton, 152.

It was also from De Soto that the Cherokee ultimately got their name. The early Cherokee called themselves *Ani-Yun-Wiya*, which means "principal people." Reinforcing the idea that the Cherokee had moved south from a different language area, neighboring tribes from Muskogean language groups called them *Chilikee*, or "people of a different speech." The chroniclers of Hernan De Soto in 1540 called the area Chalique. "Cherokee" is thus an Anglicized form of these last two names.[150]

The Cherokee moved downriver from their mountain homes to occupy lands formerly held by the Creek, a rival nation with whom they alternated between warfare and kinship. Many of the village names give evidence of Creek names with Cherokee pronunciation, for example, Chilhowee or Citico. As archaeologist Marvin T. Smith notes, "Major [Creek] chiefdoms...documented by De Soto, had virtually disappeared or become relatively minor towns (or groups of towns) in the Creek Confederacy by the eighteenth century." This meant that "northwestern Georgia and much of eastern Tennessee were depopulated, allowing the movement of Cherokee speakers into the area during the late seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries."[151] The Cherokee were thus amongst that group of Indigenous peoples who appeared much stronger in the eighteenth-century than one would have expected from the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century archaeological record.

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[149] Hatley, *Dividing Paths*, 5.

[150] Markovitz, *American Indians*, 152. H.W. Brands, *Andrew Jackson: His Life and Times* (New York: Doubleday, 2005), 84 notes that De Soto picked up the name 'Chilakee' ("other people") from the Cherokees neighbors.

The century of peace the Cherokee enjoyed following Pardo's departure ended when the English began to colonize the Carolina coast in 1670 and contact with Europeans had the same results as previous encounters. A smallpox epidemic in 1697 had a devastating effect on the Cherokee, who were, at that point, just starting to appear on the western edge of English perceptions.[152] Eighteenth-century writers noted the death toll: John Lawson felt the Cherokee population was less than one sixth what it had been, while Mark Catesby, whose information concerned the piedmont and foothills next to the Cherokee towns, noted the devastation and attributed it to the "vices and distempers of the Old World," and stated "It is generally believed" that the southern tribes "were at first 4 or 6 times as numerous as they are now." [153] When the English settlers made estimates of the native population in 1715, they thought that the three Cherokee town groupings held just over eleven thousand men, women and children.[154] Peter Wood's population estimates for the Southeast saw the Cherokees drop from about 32,000 in 1685 to about 16,000 in 1700, and continue to drift down to a low of 7,200 by 1760. A brief recovery to 8,500 by the time of the outbreak of the American War of Independence was reversed by Cherokee participation in that conflict, and in 1790 Wood estimates their population stood at only 7,500.[155] Whichever estimate one accepts, it is clear that the death toll from disease decimated the Cherokee population in the years after contact with the British, and that warfare increased it further, leaving the Cherokee a fraction of the population they had been only a century before.

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[151] Marvin T. Smith, "Aboriginal Population Movements in the Early Historic Period Interior Southeast," in Gregory A. Waselkov, Peter H. Wood and Tom Hatley, eds., *Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast*, (1989: Revised and Expanded Edition, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 43-56. Quotations are taken from 53.

[152] Perdue, *Cherokee Nation and the Trail of Tears*, 11, notes that 1697 was the first documented epidemic, though there may have been others earlier. See also Paul Kelton, "The Great Southeastern Smallpox Epidemic, 1696-1700: The Region's First Major Epidemic?," in Robbie Etheridge and Charles Hudson (eds), *The Transformation of the Southeastern Indians, 1540-1670* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2002), 21-37.

[153] Hatley, *Dividing Paths*, 6-7; Hoxie, *Encyclopedia*, estimates the population at about 22,000 at the point of first contact, 105; Markovitz, *American Indians*, estimates the figure at 25,000, 152; Hill, *Weaving New Worlds*, puts the figure at 30,000-35,000, and the losses at one half to three quarters of the population, 67.

Despite such population losses the Cherokee Nation at this time still occupied the greatest extent of territory during the historic era. This expanded territory came to be seen as the 'traditional' Cherokee homelands because these were the lands the Cherokee occupied when they first experienced concerted, long-term contact with Europeans. Sarah Hill notes that, as the Cherokee established their settlements along mountain waterways, they "claimed adjacent lands for hunting. Their territory ultimately exceeded 124,000 square miles, with northern limits from the Kanawha River west to the Ohio and southern limits from the Wateree and Santee west to the Savannah and Chattahoochee Rivers."[156]

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[154] Hill, *Weaving New Worlds*, 67

[155] Peter H. Wood, "The Changing Population of the Colonial South: An Overview by Race and Region, 1685-1790," in Waselkov *et al*, eds., *Powhatan's Mantle*, 57-132. Population figures are taken from the table on page 60.

[156] Hill, *Weaving New Worlds*, 7.

Thus, even as the Cherokee population was shrinking, the territory they claimed control over was growing.

The major Cherokee settlements at the beginning of the eighteenth century can be categorized into three basic groupings. The Lower Towns were situated along the Tugaloo River in northeastern Georgia, and the Keowee River in northwest South Carolina; the Middle-Valley towns were in western North Carolina, along the Nottely River, the upper Hiwassee River, and the Valley River; and, finally, the Overhill towns, which, as their name implies, were across the mountains in eastern Tennessee, located around the Little Tennessee River, the Tellico River, the lower Hiwassee River, and the headwaters of the Tennessee River.[157]

Cherokee Life and Culture [158]

The first thing to note about Cherokee culture and beliefs is that they were not static and unchanging. As noted above from archaeological evidence for the five hundred years of Cherokee history before European contact, there was considerable change in life ways over time, so the eighteenth-century Cherokee world was a very different place to that of the sixteenth. Just as the traditionally powerful, centralized nations in the southeast fell with the coming of the Spanish, so did their hierarchical and coercive forms of government. The Cherokee who emerged more dominant into the post-*entrada* landscape adopted a new form of

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[157] Markovitz, *American Indians*, 152.

[158] My exposition in this section is influenced by, and draws heavily upon, Theda Perdue's book *Cherokee Women: Gender and Cultural Change, 1700-1835* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998).

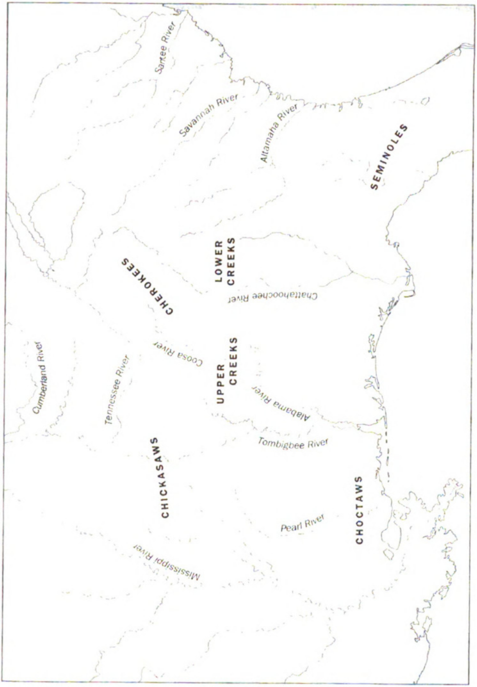
Santee River
Savannah River
Altamaha River
SEMINOLES
LOWER CREEKS
CHEROKEES
Chattahoochee River
Coosa River
UPPER CREEKS
Alabama River
Cumberland River
Tennessee River
Tombigbee River
CHICKASAWS
CHOCTAWS
Pearl River
Mississippi River

Figure 9: The major tribes in relation to the Cherokee Nation circa 1780s - 1830s. Taken from Tiya Miles, *The Ties That Bind: The Story of an Afro-Cherokee Family in Slavery and Freedom* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 10.

social organization. Perdue notes: “Towns, clans, and matrilineages became the basis for social organization, and a relatively egalitarian government by council replaced elite rule.”[159] The essence of the new Cherokee order was balance - harmony between contrasting elements, be it women and men, summer and winter, day and night, or plants and animals. Each half of the equation had a specific role to play, and this meant there was no hierarchy and thus no coercive power, everything was based upon consensus and harmony - balance achieved by parity between the elements. If either of the elements failed to perform its part of the equation, or was prevented from doing so, then the cosmic balance was upset and disharmony was the result.

The basic social division in Cherokee society was the clan, of which there were seven by the historical period: *Aniwahiya* (wolf), *Anikawi* (deer), *Anidjiska* (bird), *Aniwodi* (paint), *Anisahoni* (probably ‘blue’), *Anigotigewi* (probably ‘wild potato’), and *Anigilohi* (probably ‘twister’).[160] Clan membership gave the Cherokee their identity, and without it an individual had literally no standing in Cherokee society. Kin relations, traced through the maternal, not paternal line, dictated behavior towards others, not only within but also between clans, and kinship relations were similarly the basis of the terminology that the Cherokee used to describe their relations to whites and others. Perdue notes: “The Cherokees based distinctions within clans on generation and gender and applied the same familial names to all those of roughly the same age and sex; wherever Cherokees traveled, therefore, they encountered parents and grandparents, brothers and sisters."[161] A white trader or soldier being referred to as a 'brother' was thus not just being addressed in a quaint native way, but in a form indicative of specific kin ties and obligations. This was why early traders faced such danger, because they had no standing in the clan system and thus no kinship. This meant not only that the Cherokee were unsure of how to act towards them, as they did not have any kinship status that dictated their treatment, but also because the Cherokees "may have regarded an individual without kin ties as something less than a person."[162]

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[159] *Ibid.*

[160] *Ibid.*, 42. Perdue also notes there may have been more clans, but only seven were extant by the historic period. Markovitz lists the seven clans slightly differently: Deer, Wolf, Long Hair, Red Paint, Blue, Bird and Wild Potatoes, *American Indians*, 152; as does McClinton: Wolf, Bird, Deer, Paint, Long Hair, Blind Savannah, and Holly, *Moravian Springplace Mission*, I, 28.

Another feature of Cherokee life that differed greatly from white settler societies was the fact that descent was traced through the mother's bloodline, and not that of the father, as was Euro-American practice. Cherokees traced kinship and membership in clans through their mothers. Hence: "Blood relatives included siblings, the maternal grandmother (mother's grandmother), maternal uncles (mother's brothers), and maternal aunts (mother's sisters). The children of mother's sisters were kin, but those of mother's brothers were not. Children were not blood relatives of their father or grandfather; a father was not related to his children by blood."[163] As a result, women controlled Cherokee households, and when a man married he went to live in his wife's household, the wife usually living with her other female relatives - mother, grandmother, sisters, and aunts, plus unmarried brothers. Nor did marriage make Cherokee men a member of their wife's clan, although any children of their union would be, as only direct blood kinship conferred clan membership. In short, women controlled access to clan membership and through that an individual's 'personhood' and status within Cherokee society.

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[161] Perdue, *Cherokee Women*, 46. As will be seen later, this caused the missionaries at Springplace considerable difficulties when they tried to establish the exact nature of the relationship between the children placed in their school and the various Cherokee who came to visit them.

[162] *Ibid*, 49. It was also for this reason that black slaves initially had such an ambiguous position within Cherokee society. See also Perdue, *Slavery and the Evolution of Cherokee Society, 1540-1866* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1979), especially Chapter 1, "Aboriginal Cherokee Bondage" for a discussion on this topic.

Marriage within a clan was not allowed, and was usually contracted to a member of an uncle's clan. Unions existed as long as both partners wished them to continue, and were dissolved if one partner wished it so. When a spouse died the survivor usually took a close relative of the deceased as their new partner. "No evidence for multiple husbands exists (although some women changed husbands frequently), but the marriage of a man to more than one woman was relatively common," Perdue notes. "Practicality encouraged men to marry women of the same lineage, often sisters. That way, the husband only had to reside in one household rather than divide his time between the lineages of unrelated wives."[164] In the event of a separation, the husband returned to the household of his mother or sister, and had little option but to go if his wife wished him to. Children always stayed with the mother, or her kinsmen, as they were not related by blood to the father under the matrilineal system.

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[163] *Ibid*, 42. See my chapter three, on James Vann's will, for more on this subject.

[164] Perdue, *Cherokee Women*, 44. MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to Charles Gotthold Reichel, Salem, September 15, 1810; in this letter Gambold explained: "It is the custom in the whole Nation that women always keep their family [maiden] names, e.g. James Vann's sisters, even though each has already had 5-6 husbands, are usually called Jenny and Nancy, etc., which is really also necessary for many Indian women, because of the frequent changing of husbands, would get together a really long catalogue of names and the same name could easily be common to a whole string of women."

There are many examples of polygamous marriages amongst the Cherokees in the Moravian records. Prominent amongst them is that of James Vann to the sisters Peggy and Polly Scott, to be examined in greater depth in chapter three. Vann may also have been married to Peggy and Polly's older sister Elizabeth (or Betsy) as well, though he may have left her before marrying her two younger sisters.[165] Other examples include James and Peggy Vann's son, Joseph, who also took two wives, Jenny and Polly.[166] The issue of polygamy amongst their congregation caused the Brethren much worry. James and Joseph Vann never showed any interest in the Moravians' teachings, and thus were unaffected by the Brethren's 'civilizing' impulses towards ending polygamy. Those men who wished to join the congregation, however, were pushed towards ending the practice and becoming monogamous. However, the recognition that forcing husbands to choose which of multiple wives to retain often caused upset and hardship for all concerned, as well as dishonor to the abandoned wife's clan, led the Moravians to a compromise.

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[165] While it was certain that James Vann was married to both Peggy and Polly Scott in 1801, Polly had left him by 1805. Vann was also married to a woman named Elizabeth, or Betsy, in the 1790s, and may well have married Peggy and Polly before he left Elizabeth (as he had a son, Joseph, with Peggy in 1798). As to whether Elizabeth was Peggy and Polly's older sister is unclear. See my chapter three for full details.

[166] See, *inter alia*, MAS: Diary, December 18, 1827: "Generally Mr. Joseph Vann is extremely friendly towards us, as are both of his wives;" MAS: Diary, Sunday, June 1, 1834: ""I had spent the night at Vann's, and was happy to see that both Mrs. Vanns were preparing to go along to the services."

In the end the missionaries, in consultation with the Elders in Salem, settled on a policy of allowing converts who already had multiple wives to retain them, but instructed new, unmarried recruits to take only one wife. An example of the former is Canaquiaua who, along with one his wives, Waly, was baptized by the Moravians in 1826.[167] Four years later, however, the Brethren noted that Canaquiaua, now baptized as Samuel, lived "very disharmoniously with one of his wives - it is known that he has two."[168] One example of a younger Cherokee who was less happy with only one wife was Nathan Wolf Hicks, son of Moravian patron Charles Hicks.[169] While Nathan himself was not a convert, his father, Charles, was one of the Moravians' strongest supporters, with significant ties to the mission. In addition to being uncle to the Brethrens first convert, Margaret Ann 'Peggy' Vann, several of his children attended the Moravian school over the years. Hicks also became the second Cherokee convert baptized by the Moravians, as Charles Renatus, on April 16th, 1813. A year after Nathan's marriage to Alice Shorey,[170] one of the Brethren's former schoolchildren, it was noted, despite the birth and baptism of their first child, that the couple were having marital difficulties. John Gambold was blunt in ascribing the cause to Nathan, who he stated “is a pagan in his way of thinking.” Nathan leaned more towards traditional Cherokee ways than his Christian father and was thus particularly aggrieved by only being allowed one wife. He felt that multiple partners would give him more freedom, though the Moravians felt this was merely “sinful lust.” Thus while Nathan had only one wife, Alice, Gambold noted that he “chases diligently after others.”[171] The issue was later addressed by the Cherokee themselves in 1820, when a law “recommended” the end of the practice. This law was amended five years later, when polygamy was prohibited. However, as McLoughlin notes, no penalty was attached to the law, and thus it is likely that it was intended to be prescriptive, not punitive.[172]

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[167] MAS: Diary, Sunday, August 13, 1826. Canaquiaua was baptized Samuel, and Waly as Maria Magdalena.

[168] MAS: Correspondence, Gottlieb Byhan, Springplace, to Theodor Schulz, Salem, August 14, 1830.

[169] Charles Hicks became treasurer of the Cherokee Nation in 1813, was named second principal chief in 1817, and became principal chief shortly before he died in 1827.

[170] Alice (or Elsy or Eley) was daughter of the late Cherokee chief William Shorey ("a pagan but a very righteous man" MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to Jacob Van Vleck, Salem, August 30, 1813). Alice entered the school in 1809 and stayed for two years and became a favorite of the missionaries, Gambold describing her as "our former guardian-daughter" upon her marriage to Nathan the year after she left; McClinton, *Moravian Springplace Mission,* 1, 486, diary entry for April 16, 1812.

Returning to the role of clans in Cherokee life, they also played an important role in other forms of societal control and discipline. The taboo against marriage within one’s clan has already been mentioned, but kinship also had a role in controlling sexual relations more generally. Traditional mores saw the Cherokee allow their youth fairly extensive latitude for sexual experimentation before they ‘settled down’ with a partner, or partners, of their choice. However, the social taboo against excessive experimentation, as well as adultery, was enforced via clan pressure to conform to acceptable Cherokee norms. The clan also had exclusive control of justice, for which the rule was simple and direct: mirror-image retribution, quite literally an eye for an eye. Whatever harm was inflicted, be it a scratch or murder, intentionally or otherwise, the same injury was exacted upon the perpetrator or a comparable member of their clan. Either was considered acceptable because of the kinship system's classification of siblings as being of the same status.

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[171] MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to Jacob Van Vleck, Salem, August 30, 1813.

[172] McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries*, 217.

The members of the injured or deceased member's clan had the responsibility for exacting revenge. Thus, when James Vann shot his brother-in-law John Falling in a duel, and fled to the Creek to escape retribution from Falling's clan, the rest of Vann's clan was at risk to settle the blood debt.[173] Vann's mother was especially concerned for her daughter Nancy Vann, as she was the closest corresponding clan-member eligible to settle the debt.[174] Once the injured clan had exacted their revenge upon a member of the offending clan, then the matter was considered closed - balance had been restored. In this way, most war parties were made up of clan members going on small-scale raids to avenge injuries to fellow clan-members, and settle the 'cry blood.' It seems, however, that the Vann clan avoided any retribution for his actions, as James Vann's own murder in 1809 was related to an incident that occurred while he was on patrol with the Cherokee Lighthorse, and thus unrelated to Falling's death. Nor were any of Vann's relatives killed in retaliation for Falling's murder.[175]

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[173] MAS: Diary, May 15, 1806. This entry notes: "The Negroes and Indians are afraid to go there [Falling's house] because they fear for their lives. One of Mr. Vann's Negroes, Little Isaac, was actually in danger of his life today when he went out to look around for the deceased man, as he was instructed to do. He found him in exactly the same place where he had fallen, and a number of Indians were standing around. One of them aimed a shotgun at him as soon as he saw him. He realized this immediately and turned his horse and rode away."

[174] MAS: Correspondence, John and Anna Rosina Gambold (written by Anna Rosina), Springplace, to Rev. Christian Lewis Benzien, Salem, Pentecost, Sunday, May 25, 1806.

Perhaps the single area where the Cherokee concept of balance and harmony between the elements caused the greatest amount of consternation and misunderstanding on the part of whites was agriculture. Under the Cherokee system, women raised and were responsible for the crops, and men were responsible for providing meat, through hunting and fishing. While the two roles were not entirely exclusive, and both genders did occasionally assist the other, they did so only in highly prescribed ways. Cherokee men did help their women with the fieldwork, but only in the most strenuous activities, such as clearing fields and planting. Women did on occasion accompany their husbands on hunting trips, but restricted their activities to gathering wood, preparing food, and processing skins for trade.[176] Women thus tended and harvested the crops, and men did not help them in this, instead resting during the summer. By contrast, in the winter, the men left the villages for several months at a time and hunted for game. The fact that Cherokee women were willing to accept this somewhat inequitable division of labor is probably because they controlled the produce of their own labor through the matrilineal system. [177]

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[175] Although it was not until 1808 that the Cherokee Council was able to persuade the elders of the seven Cherokee clans to abolish the law of blood revenge some chiefs had realized as early as 1802 that it was "disadvantageous to the tribe," McLoughlin, *Cherokees & Missionaries*, 24, 75. McLoughlin also notes that this same law "ostensibly freed the lighthorse from clan retaliation in any death that occurred in the line of duty, [but] there was no certainty that the clans would always observe this, and there are many cases when they did not," McLoughlin, *Cherokee Ghost Dance*, 71, footnote 68.

[176] Braund notes for the Cherokee's neighbors the Creek: "Unless there was danger from enemy war parties, women, with children in tow, usually accompanied their husbands on most hunting expeditions." Furthermore, while they did the cooking and looked after the children while their husbands were out hunting, it was the women who "butchered the carcasses, smoked the meat, and processed the deerskins for home consumption and trade." Kathryn E. Holland Braund, *Deerskins & Duffels: The Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America, 1685-1815* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), 67, 68; see also 131-132. Creek women would also perform the same tasks when married to white traders, 83-84.

This separation of roles is explained in a Cherokee myth recorded by the anthropologist James Mooney in the nineteenth century.[178] A hunter, Kana'ti, and his wife, Selu, lived by a river with their young son and his playmate, a mysterious child from the river they named 'Wild boy.' Curious as to where their food came from, the two boys followed Kana'ti into the woods one day and saw him let a deer out of a hole in the ground, which he then shot with an arrow. Wishing to emulate Kana'ti the boys went back later to try and shoot a deer of their own, but in their excitement and inexperience let all the game out of the hole instead. As a result, ever since, Cherokee men have had to hunt through the forests in order to find game for their families.

When the two boys got home they were hungry, so Selu went out to get them some corn and beans. Still curious, the boys followed Selu and saw her rub her stomach and arm-pits to produce the corn and beans. The boys assumed that Selu must be a witch if she did this, so determined to kill her. Selu read their thoughts and when they came to kill her gave them instructions as to what to do with her body so that they would have corn after she was gone. The boys killed Selu, but grew tired and thus did not carry out her instructions fully. As a result, corn grew, but only slowly and needed to be tended, and could only be harvested twice a year and only grew in certain places, rather than everywhere. After learning what they had done Kana'ti left the two boys, to go in search of Selu. After many adventures the two boys found Kana'ti and Selu living together in harmony in the sky. The story thus not only emphasizes that men hunt to produce meat, and women grow the corn, but also the balance that is necessary between the two forms of production in order for a harmonious - and well-fed - life.[179]

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[177] Perdue, *Cherokee Women*, 24.

[178] James Mooney, "Kana'ti and Selu: Origin of Corn and Game," in *Myths of the Cherokee* (New York: Dover Publications, 1995), 242-249. Originally published in the *Nineteenth Annual Report*, Bureau of American Ethnology (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1900), 142-149.

This was why the Cherokee found the civilization program so alien, it would require them to re-order gender relations in their agricultural practices. Women, who had previously been the primary agricultural producers, would now be restricted to the home - one they no longer owned or were considered master of. Cherokee men would have to abandon hunting and take up 'women's work' by plowing the fields and raising crops. If the white civilization program was to be a success, then, the Cherokee would have had to abandon all that had made them Cherokee and turn their world completely upside down.

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[179] There is much debate as to the actual antiquity of such creation myths. Many Indigenous origin and creation myths purported to have been handed down from time immemorial have overt elements of Biblical stories woven into them. The argument put forward by Mooney - *Myths of the Cherokees*, part IV "Stories and Storytellers" 229-238, especially 235 - and others is that such myths are altogether more recent in origin, created to help Indigenous peoples justify their place in the world after they were brought into contact with black Africans and white Euro-Americans. This explains why numerous cosmogonic myths include references to the creation of red, white and black men, even though there had been no contact between them until after 1620 in the Americas. See McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Christianity,* chapter 6, "Christianity and Racism: Cherokee Responses to the Debate over Indian Origins, 1760-1860," particularly 149, and chapter 7, "Fractured Myths: The Cherokees' Use of Christianity," particularly 153, and 161-162; McLoughlin, *Cherokee Ghost Dance,* chapter 8, "African Sources of American Indian Creation Myths," for the same issue looking at African interpolations; and Catherine L. Albanese, "Exploring Regional Religion: A Case Study of the Cherokee," *History of Religions* 23 (1984): 344-371. Here Albanese suggests that the killing of Selu has elements of the idea of godly sacrifice in order to save the people. From this perspective Selu can be seen as a Christ-like figure.

The Pre-Revolutionary Eighteenth-Century

This period saw the Cherokee face a growing number of challenges, mainly resulting from the increasing encroachment of Europeans into their territory. The first decade and a half saw little by way of direct contact between the Cherokee and English settlers on the coast, as other native groups occupied the lands between them and thus served as both a buffer zone and trade intermediaries. White encroachment onto Yamassee hunting grounds, which produced the deerskins that were the Yamasees' major trade item, brought this exchange process to an end. The Yamassee War of 1715 - 1717 witnessed a Creek/Yamassee alliance that ended when the intermediary tribes between the English on the coast and the Cherokee were dramatically reduced in number. When trade resumed the exchange process shifted west towards interior tribes like the Cherokee.

Over the next thirty years the Cherokee saw their numbers depleted by consistent small-scale warfare with traditional enemies, including the Creek to the south and the nations of the Iroquois League to the north. The Cherokee also lost more people to disease, with smallpox epidemics in 1738, 1760, and 1784 killing thousands.[180] The 1738 outbreak was particularly bad and towns and settlements were abandoned, often to avoid the disease. Setting the pattern for the next century, however, the greatest loss of territory came in the form of cessions to white settlers demanding native lands for expansion. For example, between 1721 and 1755 the Cherokee ceded over eleven thousand square miles to South Carolina.[181]

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[180] Hill, *Weaving New Worlds*, 74.

The Cherokee also found themselves at the center of a contest for trade and as a source for military allies; they confronted demands by the French to the west, and by the English colonies on the coast. For the Carolinas and Virginia the Cherokee represented a gateway to the west, for the French, a path to the ocean. Thus over and above trade interests, both the French and the English colonies saw the Cherokee not only as a market but also as an advantageous military ally and a gateway to expanded territory and power in North America. This imperial competition spilled over into open warfare in 1754, in the Seven Years War, a conflict known more widely in North America as the French and Indian War. Based on a 1730 treaty, the Cherokee entered into a military alliance with the British that was as mutually reluctant and clouded by doubt and suspicion as their trade partnership was, their reluctance based on lingering memories of the Yamassee War.[182] Most of the fighting took place in the Great Lakes and northeast, and the only fighting the Cherokee saw came when they reluctantly sent a party of warriors northward in 1758 to support a British raid. The distrust

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[181] Hill, *Weaving New Worlds*, 74. There were over three dozen land cessions by the Cherokee to first the British, then the Americans, between 1721 and 1835 that finally saw all their traditional lands alienated and sold or ceded to white settlers, Hoxie, *Encyclopedia of North American Indians*, 105. Perdue & Green, *Cherokee Nation and the Trail of Tears*, 17, notes that there were nine treaties between 1721 and 1777, which saw the Cherokee cede "approximately half of their land to the English."

[182] Cherokee military alliances with Britain sometimes followed traditional patterns, sometimes not. The French had forged alliances with traditional Cherokee enemies the Choctaw and Shawnee, thus the Cherokee sided with the British. However, the British also made an alliance with the Iroquois, forcing the Cherokee to suspend traditional enmities to go along with British wishes; Perdue, *Cherokee Women*, 89, 91.

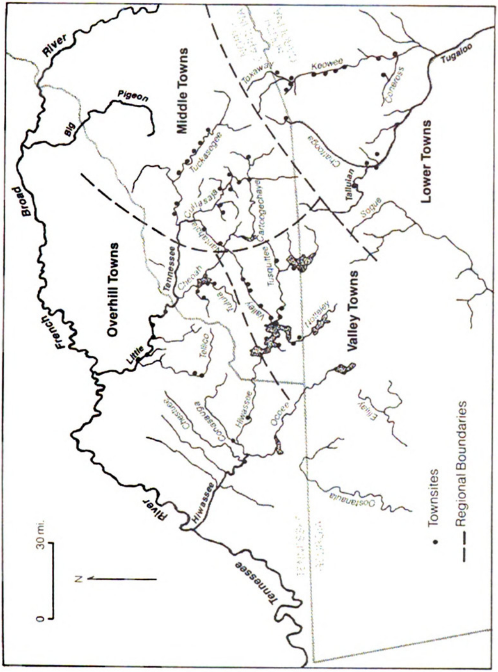
Middle Towns
Overhill Towns
Valley Towns
Lower Towns
Broad
River
Big
Pigeon
French
Little
Tennessee
River
Hiwassee
Tuckasegee
Cullasaja
Cartoogechaye
Tusquittee
Cheoah
Tulula
Valley
Nottely
Tellico
Hiwassee
Ocoee
Conasauga
Chestatee
Ellijay
Oostanaula
Toxaway
Keowee
Tugaloo
Coneross
Chattooga
Tallulah
Soque
Tennessee
0
30 mi.
N
• Townsites
Regional Boundaries

Figure 10: Town divisions within the Cherokee Nation. Taken from Russell Thornton, *The Cherokees: A Population History* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), 24.

frontier whites felt for all Indians manifested itself when the returning Cherokee party was attacked on its way through Virginia, the settlers there did not bother to distinguish between Indian enemies and allies.[183] Once back in the Carolinas the retaliatory raids that the Cherokee carried out on frontier settlements led the British colonists there to wage war against their Native allies.

This separate conflict, which came to be known by the colonists in South Carolina as the Cherokee War, lasted from 1759 until 1761 and, Tom Hatley argues, was indicative not only of mutual suspicion between white settlers and the Native population, but also of South Carolina's feelings of inadequacy as a colony in relation to the British Empire. The fact that the bulk of the fighting in the Seven Years War took place to the north left South Carolina feeling unimportant, and on the periphery of the British imperial world. Such feelings were combined with those aroused by the failure of the colony's militia in their unsuccessful attacks on the French at their westward border. In addition, fears of French expansion through Cherokee territory threatened South Carolina itself and led the colonists to raise a campaign of their own against the Cherokee. The intent was two-fold: first to bolster their own claims to western lands against those of the French, by seizing Cherokee lands for themselves; and second, by forcing the Nation into a more active role in the larger imperial conflict against France, and thus, strengthen South Carolina's claim to being a British colony of the first rank and an important part of the Empire.[184]

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[183] Hatley, *Dividing Paths*, 99-101.

[184] Hatley, *Dividing Paths*, 105-115.

The outcome was indeterminate and unsatisfying for both sides. Direct clashes were few, but the last of the three campaigns that the Carolinians mounted saw the adoption of a scorched earth policy that diminished Cherokee food supplies. The destruction was serious enough to convince the Cherokee to sue for peace, but skilled diplomacy saw them concede little else. With many of their towns and crop-fields burnt, scarcity of food saw disease carry away another ten percent of the Cherokee population. This included many of the older Cherokee leaders who had grown adept at diplomacy with the British, and the loss of their leadership skills was keenly felt. The fact that their supposed allies had attacked them also seriously undermined Cherokee faith in the British colonists.[185] For the Carolinians, their failure to confront either the French or Cherokee in any meaningful way, allied to the poor display of their militia, meant that neither of their goals for the war was achieved. Additionally, falling prices for deerskins meant that trade with the Cherokee dropped considerably, and little positive emerged from the war for either side. "In the end, neither society seized satisfaction from the other."[186] Despite the conflict officially ending in 1761, skirmishes continued sporadically for another two decades, in part inspired by a hardening of racial attitudes on the part of white Carolinians against the Cherokee.

Carolinian attitudes towards Native peoples during the second half of the eighteenth century shifted away from earlier perceptions of them as equals, and

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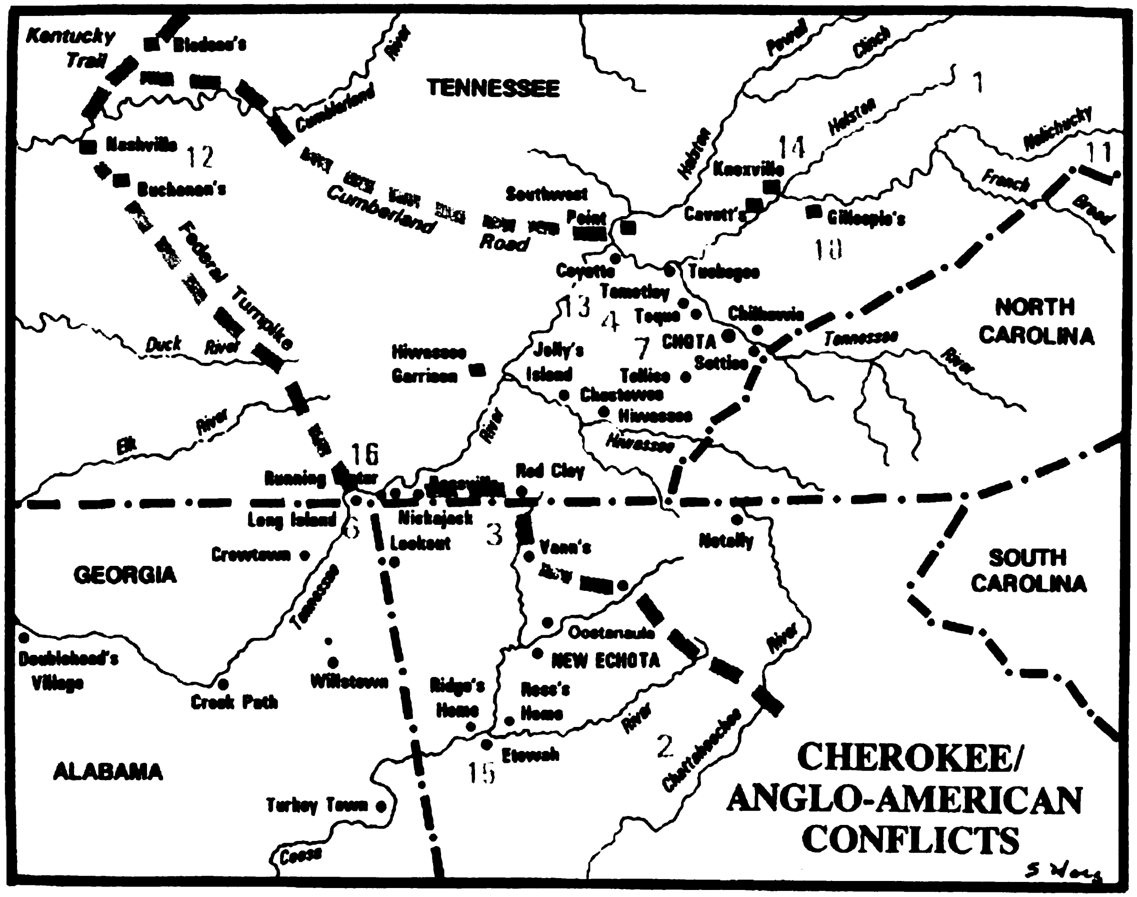
[185] See Hatley, Part III, 'The Cherokee War and its Aftermath.'

[186] Hatley, *Dividing Paths*, 119.


Kentucky Trail
Bledsoe's
Nashville
Buchanan's
12
TENNESSEE
Cumberland River
Cumberland Road
Southwest Point
Federal Turnpike
Duck River
Elk River
Powell
Clinch
1
Holston
Knoxville
14
Cavett's
Gillespie's
10
Nolichucky
French Broad
11
Coyatte
Tuskegee
Tomotley
13
4
Toqua
Chilhowie
7
CHOTA
Settico
Tellico
Chestowee
Hiwassee
Hiwassee Garrison
Jolly's Island
Tennessee River
NORTH CAROLINA
16
Running Water
Long Island
Nickajack
Lookout
5
3
Red Clay
Vann's
Notally
SOUTH CAROLINA
GEORGIA
Crowtown
Tennessee
Doublehead's Village
Creek Path
Willstown
Ridge's Home
Ross's Home
Oostanaula
NEW ECHOTA
Etowah
15
2
Chattahoochee River
ALABAMA
Turkey Town
Coosa
CHEROKEE/ ANGLO-AMERICAN CONFLICTS

Cherokee and Anglo-American Conflicts.

LEGEND

1. July 1776—Dragging Canoe leads strike against Watauga-Holston-Clinch settlements.
2. July 1776—Georgians attack Cherokee town on Chattahoochee and Tugalo.
3. Fall 1776—Carolinians burn Lower Towns.
4. Fall 1776—Virginians destroy Overhill Towns.
5. April 1779—Shelby attacks Chilhowie.
6. Fall 1780—Georgians strike Chickamaugan villages.
7. Fall 1780—Campbell and Sevier forces ravage Overhill Towns.
8. August 1786—Sevier's Franklin militia burns Coyatte.
9. June 1788—Militia burns Overhill Towns; Corn Tassel killed.
10. October 1788—Bloody Fellow and Doublehead massacre whites at Gillespie's Fort.
11. January 1789—Sevier strikes at Flint Creek.
12. January 1792—Watts and Doublehead lead attack on Cumberland settlements.
13. June 1793—Beard's militia burns Coyatte.
14. September 1793—Watts attacks upper Tennessee River settlements.
15. October 1793—Sevier marches against Etowah.
16. September 1794—Whitley destroys Nickajack and Running Water.

Figure 11: Cherokee/Anglo-American conflicts resulting from the War of Independence. Taken from Stanley Hoig, *The Cherokees and Their Chiefs: In the Wake of Empire* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1998) 69.

began to mirror attitudes towards African peoples as lesser beings.[187] In order to maintain Biblical theories of the monogenetic origins of man Robert Berkhofer notes that white Americans took to using the environment to explain their differences from Native Americans.[188] Benjamin Rush wrote in 1773: "Human nature is the same in all Ages and Countries; and all the difference we perceive in its Characters in respect to Virtue and Vice, Knowledge and Ignorance, may be accounted for from Climate, Country, Degrees of Civilization, form of Government, or other accidental causes."[189] James Adair, who spent six years amongst the Catawba, another southeastern nation, used the environment to explain the difference in skin colors:

> The parching winds, and hot sun-beams, beating upon their naked bodies ... necessarily tarnish their skins with the tawny red colour. Add to this, their constant anointing themselves with bear's oil, or grease, mixt with a certain red root, which, by a peculiar property, is able alone, in a few years time, to produce the Indian colour in those who are white born.[190]

Adair concluded: "[t]he colour once being thoroughly established, nature would, as it were, forget herself, not to beget her own likeness."[191] Thus while Indians were increasingly viewed as being of the same genetic stock as Europeans they were also considered to be at a more primitive stage of development due to their environment. Berkhofer notes such beliefs were prevalent from the 1780s to circa 1830, the period of the federal government's 'civilization' program, which was based on the premise that Native Americans could be assimilated into white society if they adopted English social norms and Christian theology.[192]

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[187] Winthrop D. Jordan, *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro 1550-1812* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968); David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution 1770-1823* (1975; reprint New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

[188] Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978). See particularly "Environmentalism and the Varieties of the Human Species in Enlightenment Thought," 38-44.

[189] Benjamin Rush, "Address on Slavery of the Negroes," quoted in Jordan, *White Over Black*, 287.

[190] Theda Perdue, *Slavery and the Evolution of Cherokee Society, 1540-1866*, (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1979), 47.

[191] *Ibid.*

The Cherokee also contributed to this shift in perception of the Indian when they began to re-label themselves as 'red men.' Nancy Shoemaker argues that "the Cherokees became "red" as a consequence of trying to define "whiteness.""'[193] The arrival amongst the Indians of both white and black men - Europeans and their slaves - was one cause. Another was the fact that in southeastern Indian culture war chiefs painted themselves red, while peace, or civil, chiefs painted themselves white, so when Europeans appeared calling themselves white men 'red' was the logical self-referential appellation for the Indians to adopt. Shoemaker thus argues that "in the early eighteenth century, the Cherokees elaborated on their own color symbolism to create a set of categories to stand for their diplomatic relationship with the English."[194] The English, in their turn, saw the Cherokee adoption of the self-referential term 'red' as nothing more than an acknowledgement of the Indians' complexion. Despite the fact that the Indians had chosen the label themselves "they could not prevent whites from making it a derogatory term."[195] The Cherokee thus contributed to their own downfall by helping to establish their place in a color-coded "racial hierarchy that was pushing the category "red" closer to the category "black"" by the 1790s.[196]

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[192] Berkhofer, *White Man's Indian*, 42.

[193] Nancy Shoemaker, "How the Indians Got to be Red," *American Historical Review* 102 (1997), 641.

[194] *Ibid.*

This change in attitudes stimulated calls for additional Indian land cessions which saw whites crowd ever closer to Cherokee settlements. The years 1755 to 1777 saw further treaties with the colonies, then states, which alienated another 57,000 square miles of Cherokee territory. This signaled a general drift of the remaining Cherokee population west and south: "Whole towns withdrew to the mountainous Middle Town region, and others moved farther down the Little Tennessee."[197] Thus even as land cessions and a thriving deerskin trade meant white and Cherokee settlements came into ever greater physical proximity, the cultural distance and affinity between the two societies only increased as whites started to mark the Cherokee out as inferiors rather than equals.

The Revolutionary Period

The outbreak of the Revolution puzzled the Cherokee from the Native perspective, as British settlers were fighting the British government. As a result of the Articles of Friendship, a peace and trade treaty made by a Cherokee delegation that visited London in 1730, the Cherokee supported the British, just as they had done during the Seven Years War. The British, however, "believing that the revolution would soon collapse, believed that it would be in the best interests of the Cherokee to remain neutral."[198] This view was not shared by other Indian nations who saw in the Revolution the opportunity to drive white settlers out of their lands and back east of the Appalachians. Thus June 1776 saw a delegation of northern tribes, led by the Shawnee Cornstalk, visit the Cherokee capital of Chota, on the Little Tennessee River. The older generation of Cherokee leaders, such as Little Carpenter, opposed the overtures of war, still cognizant of the hardships caused by the Cherokee War of 1759-1761. The younger generation, led by Little Carpenter's son, Dragging Canoe, readily accepted the Shawnee offer and raids on colonial settlements began. Counter-raids in retaliation for Dragging Canoe's actions affected all Cherokee towns badly, but the Lower Towns suffered the most. The townspeople here fled to the Middle Towns, and some took up the Creek invitation at the end of the last war to form a new town, Willstown, in the Creek-Cherokee borderlands.

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[195] *Ibid.,* 643.

[196] *Ibid.*

[197] Hill, *Weaving New Worlds*, 76. See also Marvin T. Smith, "Aboriginal Population Movements in the Postcontact Southeast," in Etheridge and Hudson (eds.), *Transformation of the Southeastern Indians*, 3-20.

Renewed negotiation in 1777 produced two treaties. The first, in May 1777, saw the Cherokee establish peace with South Carolina and Georgia, while also ceding over two thousand square miles of territory to South Carolina. The Long Island Treaty of July 1777 saw the Cherokee agree peace with Virginia and North Carolina and concede nearly four and a half thousand miles to North

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[198] Markovitz, *American Indians*, 154.

Carolina and over seventeen hundred square miles to Tennessee.[199] In both cases the land cessions were made up mainly of hunting lands rather than land used for Cherokee agricultural production. These treaties kept the majority of the Cherokee out of the American Revolution, as well as establishing formal boundaries between white and Cherokee lands. Hatley notes that Cherokee women had a great influence on these treaties. Being aware of the harm that the colonists 'scorched earth' policy had caused to the infrastructure of Cherokee villages and crops, the women, who oversaw agricultural production amongst the Cherokee, were more willing to sacrifice hunting grounds, the preserve of young warriors, to the colonists in order to conserve their own fields and corn cribs. Hatley also postulates that Cherokee women felt threatened by both the violence of their young warriors as well as the patriarchal family system of white colonists, and thus the cession of hunting lands to whites helped ease both problems by retaining core Cherokee agricultural lands while ceding hunting grounds at the periphery.[200]

The creation of fixed boundaries between white and Indian lands reflected the changed relationship between the Cherokee and white frontier emigrants. Previously the boundary had been more permeable, closer to a 'middle ground' arrangement, where the edges of the two societies overlapped and intersected.[201] In this middle ground white traders had come to establish permanent posts in trading towns, often taking Cherokee women as wives. The new arrangement set a definitive boundary between white emigrants and the Indians, keeping the two peoples apart with no attempt at mixing or meeting on common ground in trading towns. This also set the increasingly racist views of the whites in stark contrast to those of the Cherokee, with their emphasis on balance and harmony and acceptance of strangers, though, probably in response to the changed treatment they received from whites, the Cherokee also began to show disdain for the colonists.

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[199] Charles C. Royce, *The Cherokee* (1975; reprinted Piscataway, NJ: Aldine Transaction, 2007), 256 and 260. The 'Long Island' of the 1777 treaty was not the one in New York, but an island on the Holston River, the major river system of southwestern Virginia and East Tennessee.

[200] Hatley, *Dividing Paths*, 217-222.

Further land cessions, however, created dissatisfaction among certain factions of the Cherokee, particularly the younger warriors. The fracture had first appeared at the March 19th, 1775 signing of the Treaty of Sycamore Shoals, also known as the Henderson Purchase, the last of the peacetime land cessions the Cherokees made. It was the culmination of the process the Cherokee had begun after the war of 1759-1761 in which they attempted to maintain trade links with the colonists whilst also drawing rigid new boundaries between Indian and white settlements. The Cherokee did this by gifting land to the mixed-ancestry offspring of white traders and Cherokee women on the boundaries of Cherokee settlement, to act as a buffer zone between the main Indian settlements and whites. In line with the traditional Cherokee practice of using middlemen in trade, these mixed-race individuals were to act not only as cultural brokers between whites and Indians, but also recreate a buffer zone between the two cultures.

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[201] See Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

The Sycamore Shoals Treaty saw the Cherokee sell nearly seventeen million acres of their hunting grounds. This constituted about half the territory the Nation originally claimed, including much of present-day Kentucky and middle Tennessee, and part of Virginia.[202] The Cherokee leader Attakullakulla, or Little Carpenter as the British called him for his ability to build mutually beneficial relationships, led the majority of the Cherokee in approving the sale.[203] However, there were a small minority who fiercely opposed the sale, led by Attakullakulla's son, Dragging Canoe. The latter felt that the older generation had made mistakes in ceding more lands, and that the retention of such hunting lands was necessary for the maintenance of their own identities as Cherokee warriors. It was felt that the older men, now unable to hunt, were left with nothing but the sale of land to sustain them. The debate highlighted the fracture between generations.[204] Dragging Canoe thus left the negotiations when he saw his views would not prevail, and issued dire warnings about what would happen to the whites who tried to settle upon the ceded land, stating: "You have bought a fair land, but there is a cloud hanging over it. You will find its settlement dark and bloody."[205]

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[202] Royce, *The Cherokee*, 256 and 260. See also following tables.

[203] John Ehle, *Trail of Tears: The Rise and Fall of the Cherokee Nation* (New York: Anchor Books, 1988), claims, on p. 6, that Attakullakulla (or Attacullaculla) was one of the 1730 Cherokee delegation to England, which "he had made as a child to marvel at a thousand sights and mysteries - one of them the King." Ehle notes Attakullakulla in a print from the Smithsonian archives (see figure 12 below), showing the seven man Cherokee delegation, after p. 88. However, on 196, when discussing Major Ridge's plans for the Cherokee Nation, which would include a museum of Cherokee history, Ehle notes of Ridge that "one of his forefathers, Attacullaculla, was in no place pictured - no artist had ever struck his likeness..."

[204] Hatley, *Dividing Paths*, 218.

In June of the following year, the month before the Declaration of Independence was issued a delegation of northern tribes visited the Cherokee capital of Chota (or Echota) on the Little Tennessee River. Led by Cornstalk of the Shawnee Nation, the delegation proposed taking advantage of the American Revolution to drive white settlers back east of the Appalachians. Attakullakulla and other older and peaceful Cherokee chiefs rejected such martial overtures, as they remembered the problems that the 1759-1761 war had caused for the Cherokee Nation, but Dragging Canoe accepted. Dragging Canoe's intention differed from that of the older Cherokee faction, in that he looked to maintain the rights and prerogatives of the younger generation of Cherokee men, in diplomacy, war and economy. He wanted to re-open those pathways to contact that the Americans had closed off at Long Island in the 1777 treaties, and restore the flow of communication, trade and war that were the basis of their identity for young Cherokee males.[206]

Part of Dragging Canoe's concern was that the lands to be ceded in 1777 were part of the borderland buffer zone between the Cherokees and the Iroquois, their longstanding enemies to the north. The lands were traditionally part of the war path for the two protagonists, hence territory to be shared and not owned by either. As such, this land tended to be dominated by warfare, a fate Dragging

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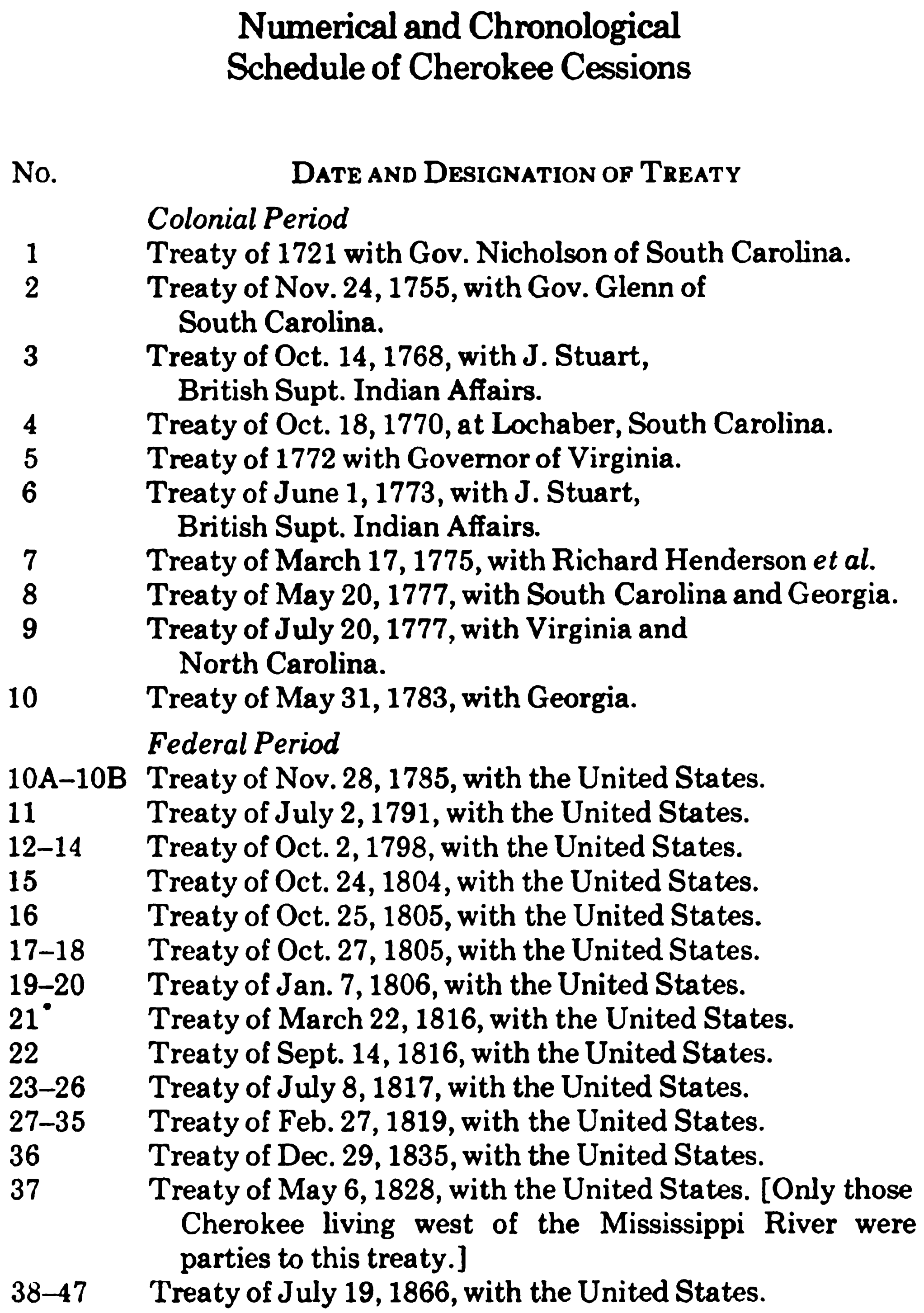
[205] Brands, *Andrew Jackson*, 87.

[206] Hatley, *Dividing Paths*, 223.



Numerical and Chronological Schedule of Cherokee Cessions

No.	Date and Designation of Treaty
	Colonial Period
1	Treaty of 1721 with Gov. Nicholson of South Carolina.
2	Treaty of Nov. 24, 1755, with Gov. Glenn of South Carolina.
3	Treaty of Oct. 14, 1768, with J. Stuart, British Supt. Indian Affairs.
4	Treaty of Oct. 18, 1770, at Lochaber, South Carolina.
5	Treaty of 1772 with Governor of Virginia.
6	Treaty of June 1, 1773, with J. Stuart, British Supt. Indian Affairs.
7	Treaty of March 17, 1775, with Richard Henderson *et al.*
8	Treaty of May 20, 1777, with South Carolina and Georgia.
9	Treaty of July 20, 1777, with Virginia and North Carolina.
10	Treaty of May 31, 1783, with Georgia.
	Federal Period
10A–10B	Treaty of Nov. 28, 1785, with the United States.
11	Treaty of July 2, 1791, with the United States.
12–14	Treaty of Oct. 2, 1798, with the United States.
15	Treaty of Oct. 24, 1804, with the United States.
16	Treaty of Oct. 25, 1805, with the United States.
17–18	Treaty of Oct. 27, 1805, with the United States.
19–20	Treaty of Jan. 7, 1806, with the United States.
21•	Treaty of March 22, 1816, with the United States.
22	Treaty of Sept. 14, 1816, with the United States.
23–26	Treaty of July 8, 1817, with the United States.
27–35	Treaty of Feb. 27, 1819, with the United States.
36	Treaty of Dec. 29, 1835, with the United States.
37	Treaty of May 6, 1828, with the United States. [Only those Cherokee living west of the Mississippi River were parties to this treaty.]
38–47	Treaty of July 19, 1866, with the United States.

Table 3: Cherokee/Anglo-American treaties 1721 - 1866. Taken from Charles C. Royce, *The Cherokees* (1975; reprinted Piscataway, NJ: Aldine Transaction, 2007), 260.

Canoe said would be shared by any whites who tried to settle it. However, the colonists now proposed closing off this buffer zone between the Cherokee and Iroquois in a similar way as they had with the trading town buffer zone between whites and the Cherokee. The loss of this land to whites would curtail the freedom of movement and communication between the Cherokee and the Iroquois, and thus Dragging Canoe opposed it.

Less than a month later he was leading raids on white settlements in East Tennessee. Most were unsuccessful as other, more peaceful Cherokee warned the settlers, often their trading partners, of the impending raids. Dragging Canoe withdrew his followers from Cherokee territory after being injured on a raid, and they settled in some abandoned Creek sites along Chickamauga Creek, a tributary of the Tennessee. The group thus began to call themselves the Chickamaugas, which translates as 'river of death.'[207]

Dragging Canoe's raids in eastern Tennessee continued until the settlements on the Chickamauga were destroyed by a retaliatory raid by white settlers in April of 1779. The Chickamaugas moved back into the Cherokee Lower Towns and continued their raids, which failed to prevent white settlement in Tennessee.[208] Resistance by tribes other than the Chickamauga was generally lacking and the Cherokee negotiated a preliminary treaty with the Tennesseans in 1781, and a final treaty with the new American state at Hopewell, South Carolina, in 1785. The Chickamauga fought on sporadically into the 1790s, but slowly the

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[207] Markovitz, *American Indians*, 154.

[208] Hill, *Weaving New Worlds*, notes "By 1800, more than 300,000 whites had moved into the states of Kentucky and Tennessee, which recently had been carved out of Cherokee land cessions," 94.

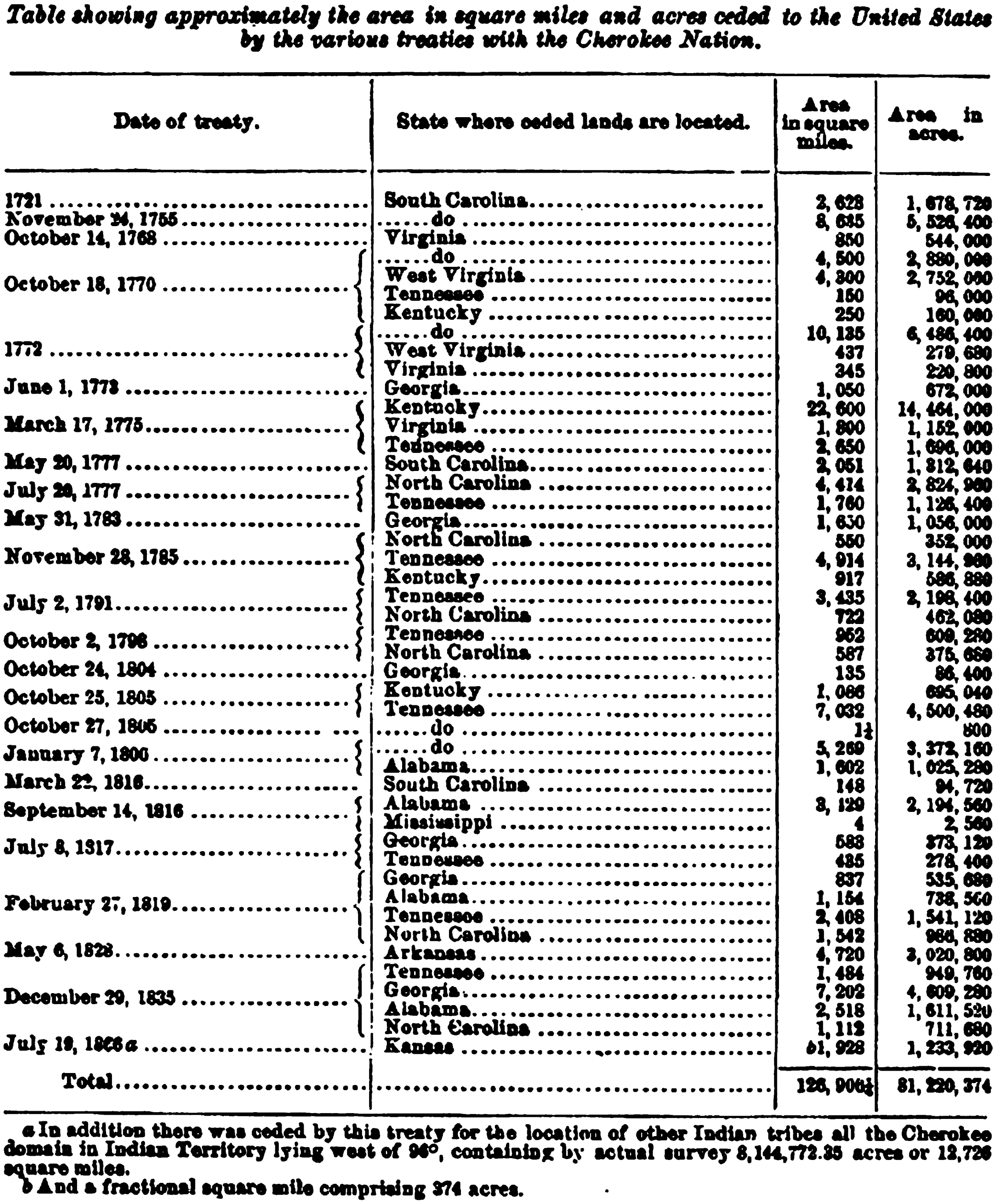

Table showing approximately the area in square miles and acres ceded to the United States by the various treaties with the Cherokee Nation.

Date of treaty.	State where ceded lands are located.	Area in square miles.	Area in acres.
1721	South Carolina	2, 628	1, 678, 720
November 24, 1755	......do	8, 635	5, 526, 400
October 14, 1768	Virginia	850	544, 000
October 18, 1770	......do	4, 500	2, 880, 000
	West Virginia	4, 300	2, 752, 000
	Tennessee	150	96, 000
	Kentucky	250	160, 000
1772	......do	10, 135	6, 486, 400
	West Virginia	437	279, 680
	Virginia	345	220, 800
June 1, 1773	Georgia	1, 050	672, 000
March 17, 1775	Kentucky	22, 600	14, 464, 000
	Virginia	1, 800	1, 152, 000
	Tennessee	2, 650	1, 696, 000
May 20, 1777	South Carolina	2, 051	1, 312, 640
July 20, 1777	North Carolina	4, 414	2, 824, 960
	Tennessee	1, 760	1, 126, 400
May 31, 1783	Georgia	1, 650	1, 056, 000
November 28, 1785	North Carolina	550	352, 000
	Tennessee	4, 914	3, 144, 960
	Kentucky	917	586, 880
July 2, 1791	Tennessee	3, 435	2, 198, 400
	North Carolina	722	462, 080
October 2, 1798	Tennessee	952	609, 280
	North Carolina	587	375, 680
October 24, 1804	Georgia	135	86, 400
October 25, 1805	Kentucky	1, 086	695, 040
	Tennessee	7, 032	4, 500, 480
October 27, 1805	......do	1½	800
January 7, 1806	......do	5, 269	3, 372, 160
	Alabama	1, 602	1, 025, 280
March 22, 1816	South Carolina	148	94, 720
September 14, 1816	Alabama	3, 129	2, 194, 560
	Mississippi	4	2, 560
July 8, 1817	Georgia	583	373, 120
	Tennessee	435	278, 400
February 27, 1819	Georgia	837	535, 680
	Alabama	1, 154	738, 560
	Tennessee	2, 408	1, 541, 120
	North Carolina	1, 542	986, 880
May 6, 1828	Arkansas	4, 720	3, 020, 800
December 29, 1835	Tennessee	1, 484	949, 760
	Georgia	7, 202	4, 609, 280
	Alabama	2, 518	1, 611, 520
	North Carolina	1, 112	711, 680
July 19, 1866 *a*	Kansas	*b*1, 928	1, 233, 920
Total		126, 906½	81, 220, 374

a In addition there was ceded by this treaty for the location of other Indian tribes all the Cherokee domain in Indian Territory lying west of 96°, containing by actual survey 8,144,772.35 acres or 12,726 square miles.

b And a fractional square mile comprising 374 acres.

Table 4: Area of land cessions made by the Cherokee 1721-1866. Taken from Charles C. Royce, *The Cherokees* (1975; reprinted Piscataway, NJ: Aldine Transaction, 2007), 256.

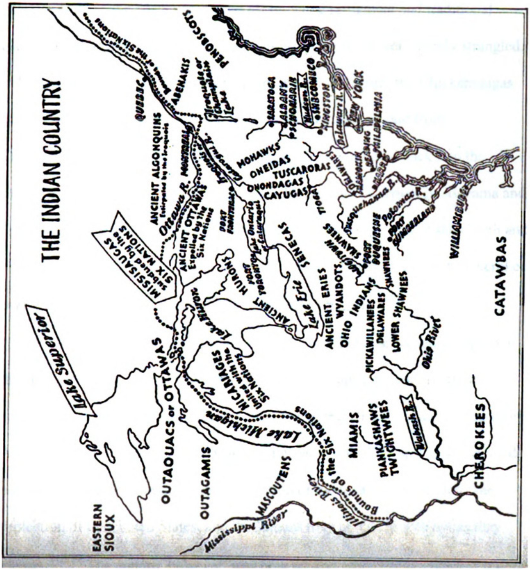
THE INDIAN COUNTRY
Lake Superior
MISSISAUCAS subdued by the SIX NATIONS
EASTERN SIOUX
OUTAOUACS or OTTAWAS
OUTAGAMIS
MASCOUTENS
Mississippi River
Illinois River
Bounds of the Six Nations
Lake Michigan
NICARIAGES United with the Six Nations
Lake Huron
ANCIENT ALGONQUINS Extirpated by the Iroquois
QUEBEC
MONTREAL
Ottawas R.
ANCIENT OTTAWAS Expelled by the Six Nations
FORT FRONTENAC
Lake Ontario or Cataraqui
FORT TORONTO
HURONS
ANCIENT HURONS
Lake Erie
SENECAS
CAYUGAS
ONONDAGAS
TUSCARORAS
ONEIDAS
MOHAWKS
ABENAKIS
Iroquois or Champlain Lake
PENOBSCOTS
SARATOGA
ALBANY
Hudson R.
KINGSTON
NEW YORK
Delaware R.
PHILADELPHIA
DELAWARES
TIOGA
Susquehanna R.
Potomac R.
FORT DUQUESNE
FORT CUMBERLAND
WILLIAMSBURG
SHAWNEES
ANCIENT ERIES
WYANDOTS
OHIO INDIANS
PICKAWILLANEES
DELAWARES
LOWER SHAWNEES
Ohio River
MIAMIS
PIANKASHAWS
TWIGHTWEES
Wabash R.
CHEROKEES
CATAWBAS

Figure 12: Iroquois lands to the north of Cherokee borders. Taken from Francis Jennings, *The Ambiguous Iroquois Empire: The Covenant Chain Confederation of Indian Tribes with English Colonies* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co, 1984), 15.

'warrior path' to the north was closed off by white settlement and traditional Cherokee social and diplomatic ties to nations to the north were slowly strangled. In September 1794, two years after Dragging Canoe's death, the Chickamaugas Five Lower Towns were destroyed by a surprise retaliatory raid from Tennessee and the remaining Chickamaugas were assimilated back into the Cherokee proper. After this the remaining Chickamauga warriors in Alabama and Tennessee made peace with the United States, and, having initially sided with and fought for the British, the American Revolution was finally over for the Cherokee, over a decade after their colonial ally had stopped fighting.[209]

Under the Treaty of Hopewell of 1785, the Cherokee Nation recognized the authority of the new government of the United States, which in return promised to protect the Cherokee and their remaining 20 million acres of territory. According to the Hopewell Treaty any white settlers on Cherokee lands who did not leave within six months of the ratification of the treaty would forfeit "the protection of the United States, and the Indians may punish him or not as they please..."[210] The pattern, however, was now set and white settlers ignored orders to leave and were unhappy that the Cherokee were not made to cede yet more land. Conflict between Cherokee and settler was such that the Holston River Treaty was drawn up on July 2nd 1791, one object of which was to survey the boundary line between Cherokee and white settlement laid out in the Hopewell Treaty, and put an end to the "disgraceful violations" of Cherokee lands by

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[209] William G. McLoughlin, *Cherokees & Missionaries, 1789-1839* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), 5.

[210] Nancy Hope Sober, *The Intruders: The Illegal Residents of the Cherokee Nation 1866-1907* (Ponca City, Oklahoma: Cherokee Books, 1991), 11.

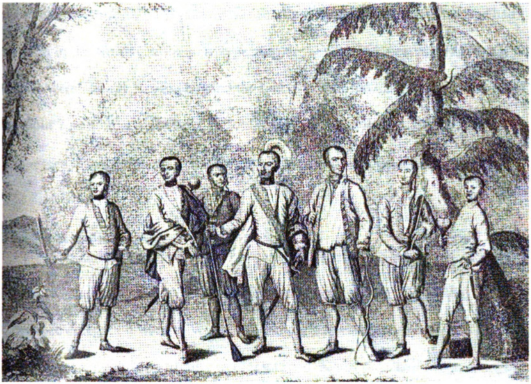

Figure 13: Attakullaculla is pictured, far right, with the six other Cherokees who accompanied Sir Alexander Cuming to England in 1730. Taken from Grace Woodward, *The Cherokees* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), 80.

encroaching whites.[211] The survey was finally made in 1797. The Cherokee had no faith in the North Carolinians respecting the new boundaries, and noted that whites were already settling beyond the line. By 1817 the Cherokee were reduced to about 7 million acres of land, in southwest North Carolina, southeast Tennessee, large parts of north Georgia and the northwest corner of Alabama.[212]

The Nineteenth Century

The various states continued to push for the nullification of Native land rights, causing more land cessions and native-white animosity. In 1828 a Cherokee delegation went to Washington to protest white encroachment. The War Department took the opportunity to promote the idea of the Cherokee exchanging their lands in the east for others, of their own choosing, further west, across the Mississippi. Pressured into agreeing, and threatened with receiving nothing if they did not, the delegation duly signed the treaty, despite having no authorization to do so from the Cherokee National Council. The Council duly declared the treaty null and void. The United States' Congress, however, ratified the treaty on May 28th, 1828, and federal commissioners immediately began to move in to survey land and property.[213]

The election of Andrew Jackson to the presidency in 1828 represented a crisis point for the Cherokee. Emboldened by Jackson's reputation as an Indian fighter Georgia annexed all of the Cherokee territory that fell within its state boundaries on December 20th 1828, just a few weeks after Jackson's election. The action extended Georgia laws over Cherokee territory and declared those of the Cherokee Nation null and void. The Cherokee were given no legal rights and were thus unable to defend their land and homes from whites seizing their property.[214] The discovery of gold on Cherokee territory in July 1829 only made matters worse for the Indians as "the resulting stampede attracted lawless people from throughout the southern frontier region."[215] White prospectors flooded into Cherokee territory and any depredations they committed on the Cherokee went unpunished by the Georgian authorities. The Cherokees were also unable to defend themselves either due to the extension of Georgia law over their territory and their lack of rights in Georgian courts.[216] Jackson did not disappoint the Georgians and duly oversaw the passage of the Indian Removal Act on May 28th, 1830, a personal victory for Jackson and for southern legislators, as it essentially provided for nothing but the removal of all southeastern Indians from their ancestral lands.[217]

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[211] Reginald Horsman, *Expansion and American Indian Policy 1783-1812* (1967; reprinted Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992), 68.

[212] Markovitz, *American Indians*, 154.

[213] Sober, *The Intruders*, 13-14.

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[214] *Ibid.*, 14.

[215] Gary E. Moulton, *John Ross: Cherokee Chief* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1978), 40.

[216] The earliest reference to the discovery of gold on Cherokee lands that I have found in the Moravian record dates from 1830. The Brethren noted of the Georgian intruders that "we hear they are finding a lot" of gold. MAS: Correspondence, Gottlieb Byhan, Springplace, to Brother Schulz, Salem, April 16, 1830.

[217] Cherokee Removal will be examined in more depth in chapter five below.

For the Cherokee even removal was achieved by underhand means, through the Treaty of New Echota, signed in December 1835. For many Cherokee the treaty was signed by a small number of mixed-blood chiefs who represented a minority faction that came to be known as the Treaty Party, or the Ridge Party, after one of its leaders, John Ridge. Ridge and the others, including his father Major Ridge, and his cousin Elias Boudinot, had decided, as early as April of 1832, that they had no hope of stopping Jackson's removal plan. Thus, rather than be forced out of their eastern homelands they felt it would be much better for the Cherokee if they instead negotiated the best possible deal to sell their lands in the east and agree to move west, compensated by the government for their property and travel. Ridge and the other mixed-blood leaders who signed the treaty were all substantial property holders, including slaves, and thus had much to lose from being forced out of the east, and much to gain - or retain - by agreeing to move voluntarily and taking their property with them to a new life in the west.[218]

Thus with the Treaty of New Echota the Cherokee Nation agreed to leave their ancestral lands in the east and move to equivalent lands west of the Mississippi. Because it was signed by a minority faction the treaty was condemned by the rest of the Cherokee Nation. Despite Cherokee protests the treaty was ratified by the U.S. Congress, and those Cherokee who refused to remove were rounded up in 1838 and forcibly marched west by the Army on what has become known as the Trail of Tears.[219] Around 13,000 Cherokee set off on the march in October and November of 1838; by March of 1839 the last of the survivors reached Indian Territory, present day Oklahoma, "having lost approximately 4,000 tribesmen as a direct result of the removal." [220]

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[218] Theda Perdue, "The Conflict Within: The Cherokee Power Structure and Removal," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 3 (1989): 467-491, argues that the Treaty Party were part of a frustrated rising middle-class amongst the Cherokee, who had neither sufficient money nor political influence to gain entry to the Cherokee elite, or aristocracy, which controlled Cherokee politics almost by cabal. As a result, this "rising middle class, envious of the wealth and power of the elite and disdainful of the desires of the masses, saw in the removal issue an opportunity to usurp political authority and reap rewards and concessions from the United States," 482-483. See also Mary Young, "The Cherokee Nation: Mirror of the Republic," *American Quarterly* 33 (1981): 502-524.

The Cherokee Nation and the Federal Government's Indian Policy

Removal became central to United States' Indian policy. It had three distinct phases, with events in the northeast in the generation after the Revolution influencing later events in the southeast. Each of the three phases had the same simple goal in mind - the expropriation of Indian lands. Under British rule policy towards the Indians was based on the recognition that native peoples had a right to their land and were recognized as its owners. This led, after the end of the French and Indian War, to the Proclamation of 1763 which barred white settlement from Indian lands,[221] something that provoked the ire of frontier whites and stoked colonial resentment at imperial British rule, and was a contributory cause of the

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[219] See, *inter alia*, Perdue and Green, *The Cherokee Nation and the Trail of Tears* (New York: Viking, 2007). For more on organizational aspects, see Carl J. Vipperman, "The Bungled Treaty of New Echota: The Failure of Cherokee Removal, 1836-1838," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 3 (1989): 540-558. Vipperman argues that previous interpretations of Removal have tended to focus on the Cherokee leadership of John Ross, and to blame all problems on his intransigence and refusal to accept the inevitable and agree to Removal. Instead, Vipperman argues that "The root cause of this tragedy…is to be found not so much in Cherokee resistance to removal as in the way the governmental authorities and their agents in the field thoroughly bungled the Treaty of New Echota," 558. See also chapter 5 for the Moravians' role.

[220] Sober, *The Intruders*, 18. See also Perdue and Green, *Cherokee Nation and the Trail of Tears*, chapter 6.

[221] For more on this see Walter R. Borneman, *The French and Indian War: Deciding the Fate of North America* (New York: Harper Collins, 2006), particularly 280-281, and Francis

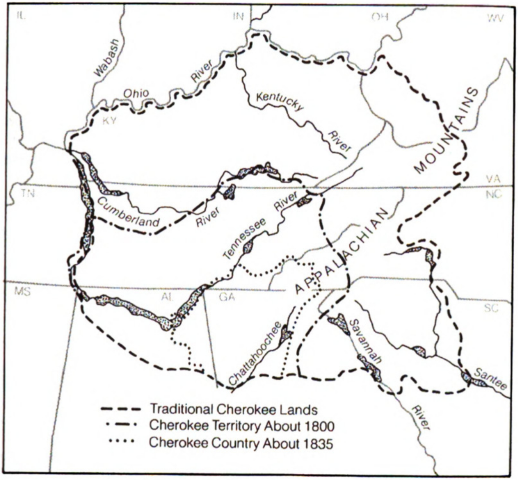
IL
IN
OH
WV
Wabash
Ohio
River
Kentucky
River
KY
MOUNTAINS
VA
NC
TN
Cumberland
River
Tennessee
River
APPALACHIAN
MS
AL
GA
SC
Chattahoochee
Savannah
River
Santee
– – – Traditional Cherokee Lands
· — · Cherokee Territory About 1800
· · · · Cherokee Country About 1835

Figure 14: Cherokee land cessions in the East through 1835. Taken from Russell Thornton, *The Cherokees: A Population History* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990) 42.

Jennings, *Empire of Fortune: Crowns, Colonies & Tribes in the Seven Years War in America* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co, 1988), especially 461-463.

American Revolution. This gave rise to the first Indian policy pursued by the new American government immediately after the Revolutionary War, which was based on the right of conquest. Put simply, the Americans felt they had defeated the British and by extension the Indians who were their allies had also been defeated. Thus, the United States initially claimed Indian lands by "right of conquest."

For the new American government, heavily in debt, this provided large swathes of Indian lands that could be used by both the federal and state governments to pay off debts and be given in lieu of back pay to soldiers and officers who had fought in the war. The treaties made at Fort Stanwix, Fort McIntosh and Fort Finney with various Iroquois groups in 1784, 1785, and 1786 all claimed Indian lands through "right of conquest."[222] Needless to say the Ohio River valley Indians, such as the Miami and Shawnee, many of whom had not been defeated by American forces during the War of Independence, denounced these treaties, claiming they were signed by individuals with no authority to represent their respective Nations. An intertribal Western Confederacy was formed to prevent the survey and settlement of the lands by Americans and renewed border warfare broke out between this Indian Confederacy and frontier whites.

Enforcing these treaties led to prolonged and bloody border warfare and the President quickly abandoned the policy of confiscation by "right of conquest," and returned to the earlier British practice of recognizing Indigenous land rights. Once the Articles of Confederation were replaced by the Constitution, the federal government was given the sole power to negotiate with Indians. Brutal defeats in the Ohio River Valley led Secretary of War Henry Knox to advise George Washington to treat the Indians as foreign nations. Instead of insisting that the United States had the right to confiscate lands, or remove Indians by force, the new policy claimed only the right of preemption to buy Indian lands. Regardless of whether the purchaser was an individual, company, state, or the federal government, all such purchases could only be made by public treaty under the auspices of the United States' government.[223]

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[222] Anthony F.C. Wallace, *The Long Bitter Trail: Andrew Jackson and the Indians* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1993), 31.

The Indian Western Confederacy remained unimpressed by this and continued to fight until 1795. Following the Battle of Fallen Timbers a new treaty, at Greenville, brought another land cession on the part of the Indians in the Ohio River valley, but also instituted the idea of a protective relationship between the Indians and the United States' government. The Treaty of Greenville recognized that Native American peoples owned their lands and had sufficient sovereignty for the federal government to interact with them via public treaties. However, the treaty also left the exact degree of self-governance that the Indians had vague and undefined. For the Cherokees, of course, Greenville came just a year after the Chickamauga faction had finally made peace with the United States and officially brought their Revolutionary War to a close. Consequently both northeastern and southeastern Native groups confronted the federal government's new 'civilization' policy at about the same time.

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[223] For more on treaties between the federal government and Native Americans see Francis Paul Prucha, *American Indian Treaties: The History of a Political Anomaly* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), particularly 'Part One: A Treaty System' that covers the years to 1800.

George Washington in 1789 also intended to assimilate Native American peoples into the mainstream of American culture through the Indigenous adoption of Euro-American "civilizing" practice in government and law, agriculture, education, religion and language. This acculturation process was supposed to be completed within fifty years. The changes in agriculture, from hunting to sedentary farming, allied to moving from owning land in common to individually, was also intended to reduce the amount of land the Indians required, leaving 'surplus' hunting grounds free for settlement and use by the expanding white population. Any Indians not wanting to assimilate in this way were offered voluntary removal to lands further west where they could pursue their traditional modes of living, while acculturating at a slower pace under the guidance of missionaries and other enlightened individuals. By 1820, it had become clear that this civilization program was not working in the way that whites had hoped or intended.

The Cherokees led the way amongst the southeastern Indians in adopting only so much of white culture as allowed them to function successfully in an American world, but without giving up their core Cherokee values. There had been factional disagreements and removal scares, the first in 1809-1811 and a second in 1817-1819, but once these were resolved the Cherokees had emerged the stronger for them. In the first removal crisis the conflict was between older chiefs in the Cherokee Upper Towns, who had made some bad decisions, including land cessions, before, during and after the Revolution, and younger chiefs in the Cherokee Lower Towns. As some chiefs in the Lower Towns were more in favor of moving west it was they who tended to be courted and favored by government agents, receiving more of the annuities and farming implements as a result than those in the Upper Towns. Then, in 1805 and 1806, a group of Lower Town chiefs led by Doublehead took bribes in return for land cessions. The Upper Towns, now led by a younger generation of chiefs, men like Charles Hicks, James Vann and The Ridge, were against the cessions and murdered Doublehead in reprisal.[224]

The Lower Town chiefs responded by making a secret agreement with the federal agent, Return Meigs, to cede Lower Town lands in return for equal lands in the Arkansas Territory, where they planned to move.[225] McLoughlin notes that "The vast majority of the tribe repudiated this agreement when they learned of it and branded those who had made it traitors."[226] Regardless, about 1,100 Cherokees from the Lower Towns still moved to Arkansas in 1810 and 1811, but the federal government was not able to secure an agreement to fully gain control of Lower Town territory. The Cherokees then regrouped and abandoned the old system of regional town councils and agreed on a more centralized system, forming a 13-member executive committee that would act for the Nation between the annual councils. Henceforth the Cherokee would act as a single people under a centralized national council, with representatives from all of the towns. Thus while some land and population had been lost, the remaining Cherokee were a stronger, more cohesive group better able to defend themselves against the challenge of white encroachment.

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[224] McClinton, *Moravian Springplace Mission*, 1, 206, Diary entry for August 12, 1807. See also footnotes 87 and 88 on page 621. Doublehead was first shot by The Ridge (later known as Major Ridge), and then finished off with a tomahawk by Alexander Saunders the following day.

[225] MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to Brother Reichel, August 14, 1807; here Gambold noted Meigs: "has lost the goodwill and confidence of a large part of the Indians because he has become involved with land speculation with Doublehead (who presumably has been murdered for this reason)."

[226] McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries*, 32.

The second removal crisis came in 1817-1819, and was the direct result of events elsewhere and the first intervention of Andrew Jackson into Cherokee life. Jackson, as major general of the Tennessee militia, had led the combined white-Indian force, including Major Ridge and John Ross of the Cherokee, which had defeated the Creek at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend in 1814. Jackson then found himself promoted to major general in the regular army and rose to national prominence after his victory over the British at New Orleans in 1815, the famous last act of the War of 1812. As anthropologist Anthony Wallace notes, this meant Jackson became "the only American military hero of that inconclusive conflict."[227] Using this newly acquired status, Jackson was appointed treaty commissioner to the southern Indians, where "he was able, personally, to force cessions of land upon both friendly and hostile tribes, and to begin the process of removal of the Southern Indians to "Indian Territory" west of the Mississippi. Jackson's success as a treaty commissioner from 1815 to 1820 was phenomenal."[228] Through a combination of threats and bribery Jackson negotiated the cession of about half the territory the southeastern Indians had held, about 50 million acres in all.

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[227] Wallace, *Long Bitter Trail*, 4.

[228] *Ibid.*

Of that, the Cherokee share was about 700,000 acres in North Carolina, 800,000 in Georgia, 800,000 in Alabama, and over a million acres in Tennessee. All in all nearly four million acres were ceded by the Cherokee, about one third of their total land holding at that time. They also ceded one third of their annual annuities. In return they got equal lands in the Arkansas Territory, which would be taken by those members of the Nation that the federal government, in the shape of emigration agents under the control of Joseph McMinn, the governor of Tennessee, managed to sign up to move. The treaty was concluded by March of 1819, and despite the loss of land and population, McLoughlin estimates "perhaps 2000"[229] emigrated, the Cherokees "considered it to be a moral victory over McMinn and Jackson" because the Nation remained on its ancestral lands, despite the heavy handed tactics deployed by Jackson against it.[230]

This increased sense of Cherokee security was enhanced by another deal brokered in 1819, between the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) and the federal government. The ABCFM was an interdenominational group, though dominated by New England Congregationalists. McLoughlin notes "it was essentially a New England effort to remake America in its own image," and it had global mission ambitions.[231] The ABCFM had arrived on the scene in 1816, and proposed to enter into partnership with the federal government by providing the people to teach and civilize the

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[229] McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries*, 122.

[230] Quote from McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries*, 120.

[231] *Ibid*, 103.

Indians if the government provided the funds. The Board proposed it as the best way to prevent further war and bloodshed on the frontier, and had rather grandiose plans for a monopoly of the Christianization of the southeast's 65,000 Indians. In May of 1816 President Monroe's Secretary of War, William H. Crawford, told the ABCFM that he and Monroe agreed with the idea of a partnership and the government would therefore provide equipment and housing for Board schools. The arrival of the first ABCFM missionaries in January of 1817 meant that the Moravians had some missionary company in the Cherokee Nation for the first time since the collapse of the Presbyterian schools in 1810.[232] The ABCFM began a school, Brainerd, two months after their arrival and had 75 pupils within a year. This and later ABCFM schools would remain government property, which would become a bone of contention for the Cherokee later on.

Apart from New England ministers, the ABCFM also had the support of many in business and politics, including the respected New Jersey senator and Christian Theodore Frelinghuysen. "Quickly the Cherokees began to see that these missionaries represented not only a more extensive means of education," McLoughlin notes, "but also a new source of friendly political power upon which they could draw."[233] In 1819, the ABCFM drew on this political support to pressure the government into getting more involved in funding their missions, not just providing housing and equipment. As a result Congress authorized an annual sum of $10,000 to fund the Indian civilization program. New Secretary of War John C. Calhoun decided to use the funds to help private organizations, and as the ABCFM was prominent in pushing for the funding they received the bulk of it, and continued to dominate its disbursement in succeeding years. The Cherokee were heartened by this development, reasoning that the federal government would not go to the bother of appropriating funds for the civilization of the Indians in the east if they intended to remove them all west. The ABCFM were of the same opinion; they would not have begun mission work in the east had there not been Indians there to civilize, and thus they assumed that as the government was now funding ABCFM work, that Indian removal would not happen.

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[232] The Presbyterian mission schools faltered after their director, Gideon Blackburn was suspected of involvement in land speculation and directly linked to attempts to sell whisky to the Indians (he owned a distillery), in contravention of the 1802 Trade and Intercourse Act. The closure of the Sale Creek school in August 1810 left the Moravians the only missionary presence in the Cherokee Nation until the arrival of the ABCFM in 1817. McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries*, 78-81.

[233] *Ibid*, 102.

This was why the Cherokee now believed they were safe in the east. Yes, they had just made a major land cession to the United States, but now the federal government had entered into a partnership with the ABCFM to promote the cause of Indian civilization and assimilation. The Cherokees thus expected that this latest land cession would also be the last and that now they could live peacefully on what remained of their ancestral lands and continue to acculturate slowly, at their own pace. As the ABCFM had also served a brokerage role as middlemen in the 1819 treaty that the Cherokee signed with Jackson, both they and the Cherokee were happy to acknowledge their alliance which had seemingly safeguarded continued Cherokee existence in the east. It was this latter point that was so worrying for many southern whites. The civilization program was supposed to blend the Cherokee into the white mainstream population, but, as

Perdue and Green note, "the Cherokees had not dissolved their separate political existence and melded into the United States population. They had not ceded their land and moved west. They had preserved both their national identity and their homeland."[234]

For southern frontier whites, especially those in Georgia where the Cherokee remained such a visibly separate entity, the civilization program had failed, not because it had been unable to convert all Cherokee, but because it had been so successful in civilizing some of them. In other words, "the threat was no so much the savage, drunken Indian as the civilized one, who if left in place to govern himself in his own territory would beat the white man at his own game - raising cotton - and prevent forever the further acquisition of Indian land."[235] It was for this reason that federal Indian policy moved from its second or 'civilization' phase to its third, removal. This will be the subject of my fifth chapter and will thus be discussed there.

The 'Civilization' program and the Cherokee

While the stated goal of the 'civilization' program was to assimilate Native Americans completely into U.S. society on terms of full citizenship, there was also an underlying and unspoken aim. As Sarah Hill notes for the Cherokee: "At base, the federal government's civilization program aimed to acquire Indian lands."[236] In this it was intended to counteract the Indians' refusal to cede any more land to white settlers and was based on the federal government's erroneous assumption that the Cherokee and other Indigenous groups still maintained themselves via hunting and not through fixed agriculture. As we shall see this assumption was as self-serving as it was wrong. In the thinking of the federal government a lifestyle based on hunting required more extensive lands than sedentary agriculture. Therefore, once the Indigenous population had switched to intensive, fixed agriculture and fenced in their fields and raised domesticated animals, the Indians would no longer have need of extensive territory for hunting in. Such excess hunting lands could thus be sold to quiet the demands of white settlers for further expansion into Native American territory. In addition, for frontier whites who had seen the Indian population steadily declining "the Cherokees were in the process of disappearing and, consequently, they needed far less land than they once had."[237]

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[234] Perdue and Green, *Cherokee Nation and the Trail of Tears*, 40-41.

[235] Wallace, *Long Bitter Trail*, 62.

The Holston River Treaty of 1791, noted above, was intended to bring the lingering hostilities of the Revolution to a close and, amongst other things, formally set the boundaries between the Cherokee and white settlement, though this treaty was generally ignored by whites who continued to settle where they pleased. The treaty also clearly enumerated the federal government's aims for the 'civilization' of the Indians for the first time:

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[236] Hill, *Weaving New Worlds*, 89.

[237] Perdue & Green, *Cherokee Nation and the Trail of Tears*, 11.

> Article 1: There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between all the citizens of the United States of America and all the individuals composing the whole Cherokee Nation of Indians.
>
> Article 7: The United States solemnly guarantee to the Cherokee Nation all their lands not hereby ceded...
>
> Article 14: That the Cherokee Nation may be led to a greater degree of civilization, and to become herdsmen and cultivators, instead of remaining in a state of hunters, the United States will from time to time furnish gratuitously the said Nation with useful implements of husbandry, and further assist the said Nation in so desirable a pursuit, and at the same time to establish a certain mode of communication, the United States will send such, and so many persons to reside in said Nation as they may judge proper...[238]

However, what was not enumerated so clearly was the underlying assumption of complete indigenous cultural annihilation that was behind the 'civilization' program.

Described by historian Bernard Sheehan as 'Jeffersonian philanthropy,' the civilization program represented the Revolutionary generation's belief that the Native American population of the new United States could not but wish to accept the self-evident advantages of the way of life offered to them by whites, but would also do so gratefully and enthusiastically. Sheehan summarized the enormity of the task that the Cherokee and other Indigenous peoples thus faced:

> Specifically, the philanthropic plan required that the Indian abandon the hunter-warrior culture, the tribal order, and the communal ownership of land. It commanded him to become civilized by adopting a variety of manners and artifacts and, most important, by choosing to live according to the white man's individualist ideology. Had such a change been possible, it would have meant a total upheaval in the native's social order.[239]

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[238] *Treaty on the Bank of the Holston River Between the President of the United States of America and the Chiefs and Warriors of the Cherokee Nation, July 2, 1791*, quoted in Hill, *Weaving New Worlds*, 89. See also Francis Paul Prucha, *American Indian Treaties: The History of a Political Anomaly* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 86-89 - "New Treaties with the Cherokees;" and Charles C. Royce, *The Cherokee Nation* (1975; reprint: Aldine Transaction: Piscataway, NJ, 2007), 30-41.

[239] Bernard W. Sheehan, *Seeds of Extinction: Jeffersonian Philanthropy and the American Indian* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1973), 10.

As such the program, and its Indigenous subjects, "became," Sheehan continues, "a victim of the white man's proclivity for conceptualization and idealization." Whites thus treated the Indians as "objects of commiseration whose sole purpose after the arrival of the white man should have been the speedy adoption of civilization," and "demanded a total transformation in full confidence that what was to come would in all ways be superior to what had been." This staggering failure to accord Indigenous peoples any agency, or their cultures any value, was, Sheehan concluded, "a willful failure of the intellect" on the part of its white architects, one which was "Self-satisfied, righteous, morally aggressive, and paternal," and which "tended to infantilize the Indian and to destroy the integrity of his culture" but which still "asked of the Indian an impossible achievement."[240]

The central problem with the federal government's civilization program was that it was based on two erroneous assumptions. The first was that all Indigenous peoples, as the Holston River Treaty put it, still remained "in a state of hunters," and did not practice sedentary agriculture. The second was that the adoption of white methods in agriculture and business would also lead to the adoption of western culture and values. In other words, as the Indians began to dress and act like white men, they would also start to think like white men. The civilization program was thus wrong on both counts. While it was true that the bulk of the Cherokee Nation were more conservative full-bloods who retained more of the old ways, many amongst the Cherokee elite were, to outward appearance, indistinguishable from their white peers by this point. They had adopted enough Euro-American practices that white society could look at them and see men that appeared in form and substance just like themselves. Cherokees like John Ross and James Vann were successful businessmen and traders, farmers and plantation owners of the sort many white southerners aspired to be. As will be seen in the next chapter, James Vann's business interests included trading posts, ferries, mills, and a tavern, as well as his plantation, complete with imposing two-story brick mansion house, Diamond Hill. Future principal chief John Ross was to all appearances white, being "[o]nly one-eighth Cherokee," literate only in English, and spoke Cherokee "haltingly, and he never learned its written characters."[241] Other members of the Cherokee elite, such as Major Ridge, were equally indistinguishable from their white peers. However, all retained their Cherokee heritage and sought to defend, not abandon, it.

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[240] *Ibid.*, 12, 9, and 10.

In the early years of the nineteenth century men like Ross, Ridge and, before his death in 1809, Vann, rose to positions of leadership within the Cherokee Nation and pursued policies of greater acculturation to Euro-American ways, while retaining their Cherokee identity. Many of the Cherokee elite were far superior in terms of wealth and education than the bulk of white frontier emigrants, as shown by their lifestyles and homes. Thus, a small but significant minority of the Cherokee was already 'civilized' by any western standard, and many of this group of Cherokee had risen to leadership positions within the Nation.

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[241] Moulton, *John Ross*, 2.

At the time state and federal authorities adopted the paradoxical stance of inflating both the numbers and influence of this group of acculturated mixed-blood Cherokee, while at the same time denying their existence, insisting that conservative full- bloods constituted the bulk of the Nation. In 1805 Cherokee agent Return Meigs thought that the full-blood to mixed-blood ratio in the Nation was 50:50, and Jedidiah Morse stated that half the Cherokee were of mixed blood in 1809, though McLoughlin notes that mixed-bloods "probably" constituted less than ten percent of the Cherokee population at this point.[242] Furthermore, in their analysis of Cherokee censuses McLoughlin et al conclude that "federal officials consistently over-estimated the occurrence of intermarriage" and that the true proportion of mixed-bloods "was less than 23 percent in 1835."[243]

The statistical analysis of the 1835 census showed that mixed-bloods were more likely to own slaves, to have craft skills (such as weaving or mechanics), and to write and speak English than full-bloods, who were in turn more likely to write or speak Cherokee than their mixed-blood counterparts. This acquisition of skills and English literacy made the mixed-blood Cherokee little different from their white peers in surrounding settlements, leading McLoughlin et al to conclude:

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[242] McLoughlin, *Cherokees & Missionaries*, 26, footnote 35. Morse figure taken from William G. McLoughlin and Walter H. Conser, Jr., "The Cherokees in Transition: A Statistical Analysis of the Federal Cherokee Census of 1835," *Journal of American History* 64, 3 (1977), 693.

[243] McLoughlin & Conser, "Cherokees in Transition," 679.

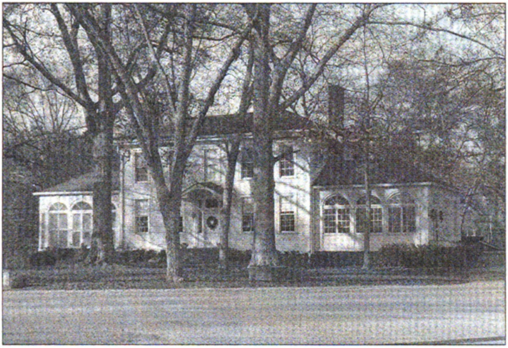
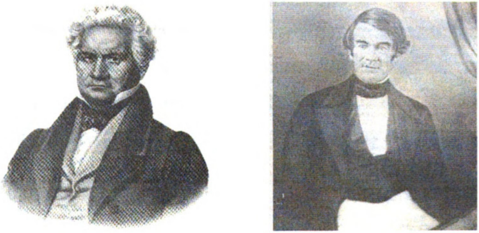


Figure 15: Major Ridge's home in Rome, Georgia. Taken from Stanley Hoig, *The Cherokees and Their Chiefs: In the Wake of Empire* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1998), 97.



Major Ridge and John Ross, Cherokee leaders. Taken from Theda Perdue and Michael D. Green, *The Cherokee Nation and the Trail of Tears* (New York: Viking, 2007), 32; Thurman Wilkins, *Cherokee Tragedy: The Ridge Family and the Decimation of a People* (Second Edition; Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986), 229.

> The Cherokees, in short, were acquiring by 1835, only a generation after giving up warfare against advancing white expansion, a bourgeois socioeconomic structure. In fact there was not only an expanding Cherokee bourgeoisie but also a growing planter or upperclass gentry who lived very much on the same scale and with the same values and style of life as the surrounding white planter class.[244]

Despite this, McLoughlin et al state "one must avoid the easy conclusion that the wealthy, mixed-blood elite was necessarily the ruling body or oligarchy of the Cherokee Nation…" To prove this point they quote from ABCFM missionary Samuel Worcester's manifesto, published in the *Cherokee Phoenix*. This noted that while principle chief John Ross was only one-eighth Cherokee and other men of influence like Ridge and Vann had extensive white ancestry, if the Cherokee government as a whole was considered, both National Committee and National Council, then "every public measure has the sanction of a body of which two-thirds of the members are of unmixed Indian blood."[245] The state and federal authorities were thus left playing the contradictory game of trying to claim that the Cherokee were overwhelmingly primitive full-bloods, still living in a state of nature, but that a vocal minority of highly-acculturated mixed-bloods with substantial property holdings was subverting the democratic process to prevent removal against the wishes of the conservative full-bloods, and did so solely to further their own selfish economic ends.

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[244] *Ibid.*, 697. See also Theda Perdue, "The Conflict Within," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 3 (1989): 467-491; Mary Young, "The Cherokee Nation: Mirror of the Republic," *American Quarterly* 33 (1981): 502-524; "Racism in Red and Black: Indians and Other Free People of Color in Georgia Law, Politics, and Removal Policy," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 3 (1989): 492-518; and "The Exercise of Sovereignty in Cherokee Georgia," *Journal of the Early Republic* 10 (1990): 43-63. In all of her articles Young refers to the Cherokee elite as an 'aristocracy.'

[245] *Ibid.*, 698. Worcester's piece appeared in the *Phoenix* on January 1, 1831.

Some, however, regarded Removal as the physical embodiment of a mental separation that had already taken place between the more conservative full-blood Cherokees and their white Euro-American neighbors. Hatley notes: "The Cherokee Removal only gave physical reality to the already existing cultural alienation of Cherokees and whites."[246] The government's assimilation policy was therefore virtually doomed to failure from the beginning. It was irrelevant to a significant proportion of the political leadership of the Cherokee who already represented a mixture of Western practices and Indigenous culture, and impossible for the more traditional full-blood Cherokee, from whom it required a complete re-ordering of their way of life, and a total rejection of their Cherokee heritage.

When Two Worlds Collide

If the world of the Cherokee had already undergone significant change as a result of its first contact with Europeans back in the sixteenth century, then the increased contact of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries sped the rate of change and took it in different directions. At the same time, however, there was considerable continuity in Cherokee life and culture, and the bulk of the Nation that was forced west in 1838 bore as many similarities as it did differences to its predecessors.

The biggest changes of the eighteenth century came through increases in both trade and warfare. Increased contact brought increased trade, and the European demand for deerskins in the eighteenth century, with lesser markets for

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[246] Hatley, *Dividing Paths*, 240.

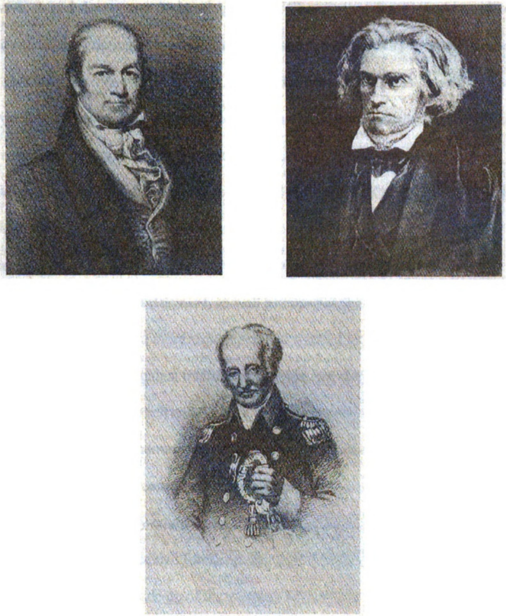

Figure 16: Clockwise from above left, William H. Crawford, Secretary of War to James Monroe; John C. Calhoun, Crawford's successor as Secretary of War (photographed much later in life); and Return J. Meigs, Chief Agent to the Cherokee Nation, 1801-1823. All images taken from *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 73 (1989); Crawford from Mary Young, "Racism in Red and Black," 494; Calhoun from Ronald N. Satz, "The Cherokee Trail of Tears: A Sesquicentennial Perspective," 441; Meigs from Theda Perdue, "The Conflict Within," 472.

livestock and slaves, saw the hunting skills of Cherokee men much in demand, to the extent that hunting changed from being a subsistence activity to a commercial proposition. As men caught the deer, they traded the skins - it was 'their' production. This meant that Cherokee men started to accumulate material wealth for the first time, and wealth that was individual, rather than communal as was traditional. As men did the trading this started to tilt the balance of power between the genders in favor of Cherokee men, as, through trade, they also controlled access to other European goods that the Cherokee had come to rely upon.

Increased white settlement, as well as imperial rivalry, meant that the eighteenth-century was a more violent era, and warfare increased as a result for the Cherokee, not just against traditional enemies, but also with the European powers - the British, French and Spanish. As the intensity of warfare increased through the eighteenth-century the need for a more centralized authority to conduct diplomacy and construct foreign policy for the Cherokee saw the more localized government-by-council and consensus model of governance replaced by a central Council that decided foreign policy for the Nation as a whole. These councils tended to be made up of the warriors who did the fighting, and thus here again women lost access to their traditional input on warfare through the demise of the local town councils that they had participated in. Women's status was further undermined by the demand for labor and the switch to the sale of war captives as slaves. Previously women had the power of decision over war captives - whether they were to be adopted into the clan to replace lost members, or ritually tortured to death to avenge the loss. By the end of the eighteenth century, the demand for slaves was such that war captives were sold for profit, and as it was the male warriors who obtained the war captives, it was they again who profited.

As trade and warfare were both male realms of concern, changes in their conduct worked to undermine the balance between male and female status and influence among the Cherokee, as well as to increase individualism at the expense of community. Thus as the nineteenth century began, the Cherokee tradition of government by consensus, and the maintenance of a balance between all facets of Cherokee society, was already seriously under threat. The 'civilization' program only increased the outside pressures to change, as ideology was brought to bear as well as material factors. Inherent in the civilization program was the Euro-American ideal of the role of the genders. Already by the late eighteenth century this was being influenced by 'the cult of true womanhood' for white Americans. Put simply, the belief was the men and women operated in 'separate spheres' of life, with women concerned with the domestic world of home and children, while men dealt with the rough and tumble of the outside world of business and politics.[247] The traditional Cherokee gender roles were fundamentally opposed to this Euro-American view of gender roles. Thus the economic and material changes that had already caused so much damage to the traditional Cherokee way of life were bolstered by ideological pressure in the early part of the nineteenth century.

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[247] For more on this developing ideology of white womanhood see, *inter alia*: Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1835* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1977); Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860," *American Quarterly* 18, 2, Part 1 (1966): 151-174; and Aileen S. Kraitor (ed.), *Up From the Pedestal: Selected Writings in the History of American Feminism* (Chicago: Quadrangle, 1970).

There was, however, still considerable cultural continuity among the Cherokee. Despite the changes in agriculture, including the adoption of Euro-American crops and technology, it was still the women who farmed, and land was still owned communally, and controlled by matrilineages. Women thus tended to be cultural anchors for the Cherokee. In addition, while the changes to trade, warfare and governance all tended to affect men more than women, it also tended to be the case that those men who came to dominate the Cherokee political system were mixed-bloods. These mixed-bloods might wear white fashions, own plantations worked by slaves, have accumulated property and send their children to missionary schools, but such men, and their families, were very much a minority among the Cherokee, and thus the extent of their changes tended to mask the conservatism of the bulk of the Cherokee Nation. So, while the acculturated Cherokee elites may have abandoned the old ways, the masses had not, leading Cherokee scholar Theda Perdue to conclude: "one can say with some certainty that despite the claims of Cherokees and missionaries at the time and scholars in subsequent years, Cherokee culture was not dead. Perhaps it was not even dying."[248]

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[248] Perdue, *Cherokee Women*, 184.

Chapter Three

"And Devils Dragged Him off to Hell": Cherokee Cultural Continuity and Resistance

As the 19th century dawned, the Cherokee found themselves in an unenviable position. The continued fighting with white frontiersmen that was the aftermath of siding with the British in the American Revolution had finally been brought to a close in 1794.[249] By this point the Cherokee had lost over 79,000 square miles of their territory, nearly two thirds of the total.[250] As a result the Cherokee had lost 50-60 towns, including some of their oldest and most sacred, such as Tugaloo in western South Carolina and Echota in northeastern Tennessee.[251] The two decades of fighting linked to the Revolution had also seen the Cherokee suffer a severe population decrease.[252] Thus the Cherokees, like many other Native peoples east of the Mississippi at this time, found themselves under siege and increasingly boxed in, under pressure from white emigrants who were constantly encroaching on their remaining lands.[253]

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[249] The 1791 Treaty of Holston established peace between the Cherokee and the United States, but the breakaway Chickamauga faction continued fighting until 1794. See previous chapter for more details.

[250] William L. Anderson, "Foreword" in William G. McLoughlin, *Cherokees & Missionaries, 1789-1839* (1984; reprinted Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), ix.

[251] For more on Echota see "Chota-Tanasee" in Gibbon, *Archaeology of Prehistoric Native America*, 150-152.

[252] McLoughlin, *Cherokees & Missionaries*, 14, notes the drop as from 16,000 to 10,000. Peter H. Wood, "The Changing Population of the Colonial South: An Overview by Race and Region, 1685-1790," in Gregory A. Waselkov, Peter H. Wood and Tom Hatley, eds., *Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast*, (1989: Revised and Expanded Edition, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006). Wood's figures, from the table on 60, show a less precipitous decline, from 8,500 in 1775 to 7,500 in 1790.

Pressure was also applied by the federal government in the form of George Washington's 'civilization' program, inaugurated in 1789. Despite the false premise of this policy - that all Indians were hunters rather than agriculturalists - Washington expected all the eastern Indians to be acculturated and assimilated into the white mainstream of American life within fifty years, abandoning their hunting life to become sedentary farmers. The program also had the pleasing side-effect of allowing 'surplus' common hunting lands to be sold or ceded to the federal or state governments. Once capable of supporting themselves via sedentary agriculture, proponents of 'civilization' continued, the various Indian nations would be denationalized and the Indians admitted into the republic as full and equal citizens.[254]

As the 19th century began, there was no consensus in the Cherokee Nation as to how they should respond to Washington's policy. Some Cherokee truly believed that the ways of the white man were superior to their own and thus fully embraced the assimilation program. Others clung fiercely to traditional ways and abhorred anything to do with whites, especially those on the frontier with whom they most frequently came into contact. This latter opinion was understandable because, in the words of Martin Schneider, a Moravian visitor to the Cherokee in 1783, most frontier whites viewed the Indians negatively, stating: "They scarce look upon them as human creatures."[255] Other Cherokee fell between the two extremes, seeing in accommodation the option of adopting some elements of white culture in order to survive and thrive in the new circumstances they found themselves in, while retaining their core Cherokee values.

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[253] McLoughlin notes that there were roughly 125,000 Native Americans in eighty-five different tribes east of the Mississippi at this point, *Cherokees & Missionaries*, 2.

[254] *Ibid.*

The traditional historiography on acculturation painted a stark picture of this internal Cherokee debate, characterizing it as between progressive mixed-bloods at one extreme and conservative full-bloods at the other.[256] This picture of the divisions in Cherokee society came about as a result of the frustration of government officials over their failure to negotiate removal treaties with the southern Indians in the second decade of the nineteenth century. As noted in the previous chapter Andrew Jackson used his military successes to be appointed to the government commission charged with negotiating treaties with the southern Indians. Jackson saw all Native peoples as 'children of the forest' and quite literally did not conceive of them being able to resist the pressure he brought to bear to cede their lands. State and federal officials often noted that many of the most intransigent Cherokee were mixed-bloods, those who had intermarried with whites. This, combined with the South's increasingly racist beliefs in the superiority of whites over Native and African Americans, led to the conflation of white blood with greater intelligence and civilization. Some outsiders viewed

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[255] Quoted in McLoughlin, *Cherokees & Missionaries*, 37.

[256] For more on the problematic terminology of blood quantum and the stereotyping that emerged from it see Theda Perdue, *"Mixed Blood" Indians: Racial Construction in the Early South*, (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2003); Circe Sturm, *Blood Politics: Race, Culture, and Identity in the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); and Jack Forbes, "Mustees, Half-Breeds and Zambos in Anglo North America: Aspects of Black-Indian Relations," in *American Indian Quarterly* 7 (1983): 57-83, especially 72-73.

'mixed blood' as a separate racial category for the Indians, viewed as superior to full-blood Indians, but below whites.

It was the supposedly superior white ancestry that officials believed gave the mixed-blood Cherokee the abilities to resist demands for land cessions. Jackson thus fumed that "half-breeds…by intrigue and corruption have got into the council of this nation and have turned out" the 'real' Indians, and by 'real' Indians Jackson meant naïve and childlike 'traditionalist' full-bloods. Taking this idea further Jackson claimed the real, full-blood Indians were "overawed by the council of some white men and halfbreeds, who have been and are fattening upon the annuities, the labours, and folly of the native Indian, and who believe, that their income would be destroyed by the removal of the Indians."[257] Jackson did not see nationalism in Cherokee mixed-bloods actions only selfishness, and used this excuse to justify his attack on the Cherokees leadership.

This view of the situation was accepted unreservedly by the first historian to write on the issue, Ulrich B. Phillips, whose later work on slavery showed that he was nothing if not a firm believer in the racial superiority of whites and an apologist for slavery.[258] As historian of the Cherokee Theda Perdue has noted, Phillips' work "established the paradigm on which subsequent scholarship primarily has rested."[259] Phillips painted a stark picture of the relative abilities of

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[257] Jackson quoted in Perdue, *"Mixed Blood" Indians*, 95.

[258] U.B. Phillips, *American Negro Slavery: A Survey of Supply, Employment and Control of Negro Labor as Determined by the Plantation Regime* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1918); and *Life and Labor in the Old South* (Boston: Little Brown, 1929).

[259] Perdue, *"Mixed Blood" Indians*, 98.

'full blood' and 'mixed blood' Cherokee when he wrote: "the average member of the tribe was heavy and stupid; but the nation was under the complete control of its chiefs, who were usually half-breeds, or white men married into the nation."[260] Later historians followed Phillips' lead and conflated race and political power in the Nation, and this view reached its apogee in the work of Arrell M. Gibson, who intimated that full-bloods were not intelligent enough to lead and that mixed-bloods had duped them.[261]

Since the 1970s, however, historians have attempted to paint a more nuanced picture of the fissures in Cherokee society in the early nineteenth century, particularly the works of William G. McLoughlin, Theda Perdue, and Mary Young.[262] The purpose of this chapter is thus to examine this more recent historiography to show that the accommodation debate amongst the Cherokee was altogether more complex and nuanced than the traditional picture allows. The Cherokee did switch from their traditional government-by-consensus model towards a more centralized, hierarchical form based on the United States' Constitution. In addition, Cherokee at both the government and individual levels moved away from traditional Indigenous practice towards Western ways more acceptable to their white American neighbors. However, despite such moves the older Cherokee tradition of communal, consensus governance remained. Part of this communal outlook was evident through the policing of public behavior, of how peer pressure and the use of shame and ostracism made clear to an individual that their behavior was unacceptable. In short, the dedication to core Cherokee values remained strong and despite moves to become more acceptable to the sensibilities of white people, the Cherokee had no intention of ceasing to be Indian.

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[260] U.B. Phillips, "Georgia and State Rights: A Study of the Political History of Georgia from the Revolution to the Civil War with Particular Regard to Federal Regulations," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1901* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1902), quoted from Perdue, *"Mixed Blood" Indians*, 99.

[261] See for example: Angie Debo, *The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1934), and *The Road to Disappearance: A History of the Creek Indians* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941); Henry Thompson Malone, *Cherokees of the Old South: A People in Transition* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1956); and Arrell M. Gibson, *The Chickasaws* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971).

[262] For a selection of these historian's works see my bibliography. I have drawn extensively on the works of McLoughlin and Perdue in particular.

To show how older forms of consensual governance and traditional practices remained strong among the Cherokee this chapter examines a pivotal point in the history of the Spring Place mission - the death in 1809 of the Moravians' patron amongst the Cherokee, the notorious James Vann. Vann's will was one of the first to rely on new legislation adopted by the Nation in 1808 that overturned traditional Cherokee practice that gave precedence to blood family members in inheritance. The new laws stated that a man's property was to be shared by his wife and children. Vann attempted - through his will - to push for an even more progressive stance than that of the Cherokee Council, striving for virtual primogeniture by leaving the bulk of his property to only one of his children, his favorite son Joseph, and minor property to his wife Peggy. As a result the will was mired in years of litigation, and references to it appear in the Moravians records for years after Vann's death.[263]

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[263] The references come in two groups, the first ending August 1814, when the distribution of Vann's property by the administrators finally takes place. Then there is a resurgence of interest after Peggy's death in 1820, and has two phases. In the first Vann's blood relatives hound Peggy's second husband, Joseph Crutchfield, for the property Peggy inherited

The year after Vann's murder his widow Peggy, now freed from the anti-Christian stance of her husband, became the Brethren's 'first fruit' among the Cherokee, the first Moravian convert. Peggy, and other Cherokee who converted later, faced years of persecution from Vann's family. The case of Peggy Vann's conversion and subsequent harassment illustrates the fact that for many Cherokees accepting the education white men offered was an acceptable adaption to life among white Americans, but adopting the religion they offered was not. These two cases show that the Cherokee sought and accepted the elements of white culture that allowed them, and especially their children, to function on a footing of equality in the white man's world, succeed, and simultaneously retain the core elements of their own culture. What the Cherokee sought was to combine white American practice with Cherokee tradition in such a way that their behaviors were acceptable to mainstream white society, while simultaneously retaining their core Cherokee essence. In short, and borrowing a modern term, they sought to become ethnic Cherokee Americans, part of the white cultural mainstream but with their own distinct heritage still very much in tact. Whatever more progressive individuals like Vann may have wished, and despite laws passed by the Cherokee Council, older Cherokee traditions remained very much alive in the Cherokee Nation, in both community censure of errant individuals and property dispersal.

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from James Vann. This phase ends on January 7, 1824, a letter from John Gambold at Oochgeelogy to Brother Benade in Salem notes Crutchfield had "satisfied all the demands the Vann family has made of him." In the second phase the Vann family turn inwards and squabble amongst themselves, with a final burst in 1825-26 seeing Joseph Vann return to court in an attempt to claim the whole of his father's inheritance for himself.

James Vann, patron of the Moravians

James Vann was a mixed-blood and the richest man in the Cherokee Nation by 1800, and by 1806, he had risen to become leader of the Cherokee Upper Towns.[264] Vann's assistance became crucial to the Moravians in their attempt to found a mission in the Cherokee Nation. They received little encouragement from the Lower Town chiefs and Vann went out of his way to encourage the Moravians to settle in his locale. As McLoughlin notes, Vann "belonged to that group of mixed bloods who resented the white man's claim to intellectual and spiritual superiority and were opposed to attempts to spread Christianity."[265] However, Vann was interested in the establishment of a school for Cherokee children so they could negotiate with whites in business matters and not be exploited. The Moravians settled on a site near Vann's own plantation, and called it Springplace as it was "where three springs flowed out of limestone beds into a branch of the Conasauga River, a tributary of the Coosa."[266] Vann helped the Brethren buy the buildings and cleared land of one of his neighbors, Robert Brown, who had worked for him. Brown moved to a different part of the Nation, a couple of miles from the Vann plantation.[267] Brown's buildings and land allowed the Brethren to establish a self-sufficient agricultural station around the mission, along the model of Herrnhut and other Moravian settlements, such as those in

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[264] William G. McLoughlin, *The Cherokee Ghost Dance: Essays on the Southeastern Indians 1789-1861* (Mercer University Press, 1984), 39 and 41.

[265] McLoughlin, *Cherokees & Missionaries*, 46.

[266] McClinton, "Introduction," in *Moravian Springplace Mission,* 1, 22.

[267] *Ibid.* As the Cherokee still held their land in common, the Moravians bought only Brown's improvements, not the land itself.

Salem. The Brethren hoped that Springplace would become self-sustaining and thus not be a financial burden on the parent-community in Salem.

The missionaries lived with Vann until Brown left, and when they moved into their new home in July of 1801 Vann sent his slaves to help them raise their barn and stable, clear more land and plant and harvest crops. Moravian historian Edmund Schwarze noted: "James Vann rendered them splendid assistance in this work, coming with six teams and many negroes, so that it was accomplished in a short time."[268] He also lent them milk cows and regularly brought them supplies from Augusta and Charleston, gave them credit at his store and helped them to recover stolen items. Vann also attended some of their early services and served as translator for them. In short, "He would allow no one to mock or disturb them." [269] Vann thus sheltered the Moravians during the time they needed to get their mission started. This "labor intensive enterprise," was an extensive agricultural exercise, as historian Rowena McClinton notes:

> Surrounded entirely by a fence, the property had an apple and peach orchard; a vegetable garden planted with beans, squash, pumpkins, turnips, and sweet potatoes; two large fields for corn, flax, oats, hay, and wheat; and a spacious springhouse to store milk, cheese, and butter.[270]

This undertaking took considerable time and led the Brethrens to be tardy in establishing a school at Spring Place, an increasing source of contention for their Cherokee hosts.

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[268] Edmund Schwarze, *History of the Moravian Missions among the Southern Indian Tribes of the United States* (1923; reprint Grove, Oklahoma: Stauber Books, 1999), 64.

[269] McLoughlin, *Ghost Dance*, 48.

[270] McClinton, "Introduction," in *Moravian Springplace Mission,* 1, 23-4.

Vann, however, served as the Moravians' patron and protector through this initial settlement process and his interest in their school epitomized that segment of the Cherokee Nation which sought to become accepted and successful within the mainstream of American society. But Vann did not intend to become fully 'white' in order to do so. White forms of business and education were fine, but he refused to adopt Christian religious beliefs. While Vann appeared, in outward appearance, dress, and business dealings, to be the epitome of a white Cherokee, he resisted becoming mentally or spiritually Christian.

In addition to extensive material assistance Vann saved the Moravians from expulsion from Cherokee territory. In 1803, the National Council decided the Brethrens' failure to open a boarding school for Cherokee children constituted a breach of the agreement under which the Moravians entered the Nation. As noted above the Moravians had set about constructing a farm on the "stolid German-American model," with the intention of making the mission station self-sufficient.[271] The Brethren's plan was to establish the farm and its self-sufficiency before moving on to preaching. A day-school had been opened in the spring of 1802 - Vann's youngest daughter Sally was the first pupil - but the missionaries had little time for teaching class with all the construction and fieldwork they were doing.[272] The Cherokee, however, viewed the growing farm and lack of a boarding school in different terms, to them it was another land-grab by white

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[271] McLoughlin, *Cherokees & Missionaries*, 48.

[272] Schwarze, *Moravian Missions among the Southern Indian Tribes*, p. 71 notes "School opened at the mission station March 26, 1802. Sally, Vann's youngest daughter, was the

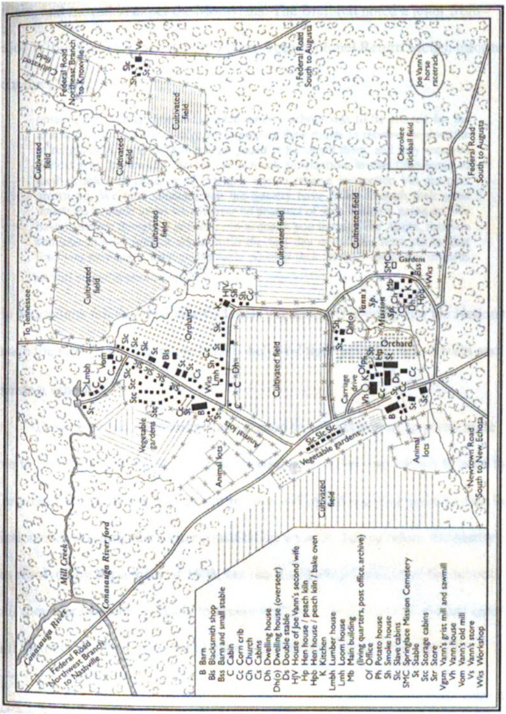
To Tennessee
Federal Road Northeast Branch to Knoxville
Federal Road South to Augusta
Federal Road Northwest Branch to Nashville
Newtown Road South to New Echota
Conasauga River
Conasauga River ford
Mill Creek
Joe Vann's horse racetrack
Cherokee stickball field
Cultivated field
Orchard
Vegetable gardens
Animal lots
Carriage drive
Vann's Sp.
Mission Sp.
Gardens
B Barn
Bls Blacksmith shop
Bss Barn and small stable
C Cabin
Cc Corn crib
Ch Church
Cs Cabins
Dh Dwelling house
Dh(o) Dwelling house (overseer)
Ds Double stable
HJV House of Joe Vann's second wife
Hp Hen house / peach kiln
Hpb Hen house / peach kiln / bake oven
K Kitchen
Lmbh Lumber house
Lmh Loom house
Mb Main building (living quarters, post office, archive)
Of Office
Ph Potato house
Sh Smoke house
Slc Slave cabins
SMC Springplace Mission Cemetery
St Stable
Stc Storage cabins
Str Store
Vgsm Vann's grist mill and sawmill
Vh Vann house
Vom Vann's old mill
Vs Vann's store
Wks Workshop

Figure 17: The relative positions of Vann's Diamond Hill plantation to the Moravians' Spring Place mission. Taken from Rowena McClinton, *The Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees, Volume I, 1805-1813* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), xxvii.

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first scholar; the second, Polly Vann, Sally's cousin, came April 14. The first schedule was one hour of instruction each day."

settlers, and moved to expel the Moravians. The Brethren noted a letter from Major William Lovely, assistant to Indian Agent Colonel Return Meigs, informed them the Chiefs:

> observe that a long time has elapsed since a school was to be erected for the instruction of their youth in order to prepare their minds to receive the doctrine of religious Worship, which was proposed to be taught them, and they received the offer of the friendly Society with much satisfaction, at that time some of their people had children of a proper age to receive instruction but are now grown up. We now consider that the Society have fallen through their good intentions towards us, as we discover no prospect of such business going on. We have therefore thought it necessary to acquaint you through our Agent, that you continue in your present situation till the first day of January next. As by that time you may know from your people whether their friendly intentions towards us will be put in execution.[273]

The Moravians felt they had clarified their intentions as coming into the Nation to preach the Gospel but Cherokee leaders believed their purpose was to build and operate a school.[274]

Despite strong opposition Vann argued that the Brethren be given more time to establish their school. Once successful he took the opportunity to prod the Moravians into swifter action on starting a boarding school more quickly than the missionaries had intended. After consultation with the Salem elders, the matter was resolved by September of 1803, but the Brethren still stalled on the school until they were absolutely ready to accept children. The first pupils did not enter until October of 1804, and several were boarded with Vann rather than in accommodation onsite.[275] Vann "withstood heavy criticism for asking that the missionaries be given more time," and when the school opened showed his continuing support by enrolling his children Mary and Joseph, and his nephew George.[276]

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[273] MAS: Diary, June 10, 1803. Meigs was appointed Agent in 1801, R. Halliburton, Jr, *Red over Black: Black Slavery among the Cherokee Indians* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1977), 20.

[274] Schwarze notes that at the initial meeting between the missionaries Steiner and de Schweinitz with the Cherokee chiefs in 1800 James Vann had asked: "whether the main object of their coming was to teach Religion. "Yes," said Steiner. "Then come to me in my section among the Upper Cherokees," Vann invited, "you can accomplish more among them than in the Lower Towns," 55. Crews & Starbuck, *With Courage for the Future,* 158-159, note the chiefs "were eager for the education of their children," and that it was for this reason they approved the Moravians plan to open a mission. See also *ibid.*, 190.

However, despite this threat to their presence in the nation the greatest obstacle the Moravians faced was, despite all his help, their patron, James Vann. Vann was a shrewd trader, who became a successful businessman, and he was a generous man when sober, but he was also a profoundly troubled individual. His wild nature and deeds have been well documented by historians. Henry Malone, for example, in describing his contribution to the Cherokee, said Vann was a "peculiar combination of benevolent leader and rip-snorting hoodlum." [277] Thurman Wilkins said he was "one of the most intemperate characters in the nation," "a thoroughly godless man" who "showed a savage streak" and "when drunk was liable to turn vicious and become as deadly as a water moccasin."[278]

One of his more outrageous acts was the shooting of his own brother-in-law, John Falling, in a duel in 1806 that resulted from an argument over money

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[275] MAS: Diary, October 8, 1804. This entry notes Chief Chuleoa, or Gentleman Tom, brought his son Agaruk ('Whirlwind') to the Moravians for the school. Chuleoa instructed the Brethren his son was to be taught in English, not German. Later the same day they collected another child from Vann's, who had been left for the school. Hence the school opened with two pupils.

[276] McLoughlin, *Ghost Dance*, 48; MAS: Diary, September 23, 1805 (Mary's first day at school); Diary, October 1, 1805 (Joseph's arrival, though he was found to have scabies, so was asked to stay away until they were better); McClinton, *Moravian Springplace Mission,* 2, 445.

[277] Henry Thompson Malone, *Cherokees of the Old South: A People in Transition* (Athens, University of Georgia Press, 1956), 60.

[278] Thurman Wilkins, *Cherokee Tragedy: The Ridge Family and the Decimation of a People* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970; second edition 1986), 36-37.

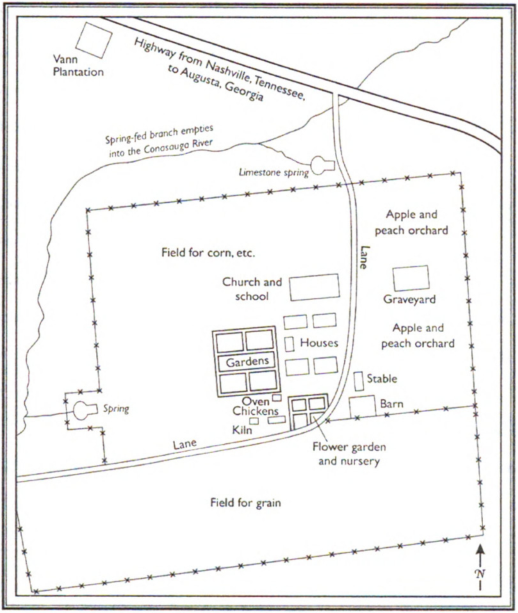
Vann Plantation
Highway from Nashville, Tennessee, to Augusta, Georgia
Spring-fed branch empties into the Conasauga River
Limestone spring
Apple and peach orchard
Field for corn, etc.
Lane
Church and school
Graveyard
Apple and peach orchard
Houses
Gardens
Stable
Barn
Oven
Chickens
Kiln
Spring
Lane
Flower garden and nursery
Field for grain
N

Figure 18: The layout of the Spring Place mission and grounds as it existed in 1819. Taken from Rowena McClinton, *The Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees, Volume I, 1805-1813* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), xxiii.

that had been stolen from Vann.[279] Vann subsequently hog-tied and whipped the next man who attempted to court Falling's widow, who was his sister Nancy.[280] Vann's vindictiveness was illustrated by his treatment of his three slaves who stole $3500 from him in August 1805. Isaac, the first of the slaves recovered, Vann burnt alive; the second, Bob, was shot; and the third, Peter, was hanged.[281] Under torture the slaves confessed to the identity of the two white men who had put them up to the robbery, John Spencer and Joseph Bohring, the latter being Vann's former overseer.[282] Vann had wanted to execute both of his white prisoners as well, but was restrained from doing so by the Indian Agent, Return Meigs, who wrote to insist that Vann instead send the men to him at South West Point. Instead Meigs agreed to compensate Vann for the lost money. [283]

On one occasion after an argument at his Diamond Hill plantation house in 1808 Vann had drunkenly shot through a hole in his floor with a pistol and hit one of his guests in the shoulder. The Moravians noted "Vann didn't know that he had hit anyone until he was told the following morning."[284] His reputation was such that on one occasion when Vann got a guest at Diamond Hill so drunk the man fell off his horse, Vann refused to accompany him to a nearby town in case the man fell from his horse again and was killed, leaving Vann to be accused of his murder.[285]

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[279] MAS: Diary, May 15, 1806, notes this was the date of the duel when Falling was killed.

[280] Wilkins, *Cherokee Tragedy*, 36. Wilkins notes Vann gave the man 70 lashes.

[281] MAS: Diary, September 15, 1805. Vann called the rest of his slaves together to watch Isaac burnt as a warning to them. Isaac had already run away three times in 1802, but Vann caught him every time. MAS: Diary, September 28. Vann requested Brother Wohlfarth make a casket for Bob. MAS: Diary, November 6, 1806; the entry notes Peter had been hung the day before, and had been chained up in the basement of Vann's house since October 20. MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to Reichel and Benzien, Salem, November 10, 1805 notes the hanging of Peter, as well as the whipping of a 'negress' said to have been involved in the robbery.

[282] MAS: Diary, September 13, 1806. Spencer had apparently been staying with Vann since March of 1806, and had stolen $640 from Vann in June, and given it to Bohring.

[283] MAS: Diary, September 21, 25 and 26. Some of the Indians gathered at Vann's for the council to decide Spencer and Bohring's fate took them prisoner to South West Point, on September 27.

This violent nature rarely surfaced in the presence of the Moravian missionaries. On one occasion in 1805 Vann fell seriously ill to the extent the Brethren went to beg him to seek the solace of the Savior before he died. At this point Vann made his position on the Moravians' Christian religious beliefs very clear. He bluntly told them he did not believe in their religion and leapt out of bed "seized a bottle and drank as much as he could in one gulp and said in anger, that it was [his] house and he could drink as much as he pleased, dance, fornicate, and what not and that it was none of [their] business." For the remainder of his life Vann remained steadfastly opposed and indifferent to the Brethren's religious message, but was an equally steadfast supporter of their educational endeavors. As a result, "The Moravians never knew quite what to make of him."[286] Vann thus epitomized those Cherokee who sought Western accomplishments and acceptance in the mainstream of United States' society, but as a Cherokee and not as a "civilized" white man.

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[284] MAS: Diary, January 15, 1808.

[285] MAS: Diary, February 3, 1802.

[286] McLoughlin, *Ghost Dance*, 48. For more on Vann see Perdue, *Cherokee Women,* 50-51.

Despite this combative and often contradictory nature, Vann did much to help the Cherokee, opposing any state or federal land cessions officials attempted to wrench from the Nation. For example, Vann was instrumental in the reprisal killing of the Lower Town chief Doublehead, in 1806, when the latter took bribes in return for land cessions.[287] Despite a secret agreement between some Cherokee and Meigs, the Indian agent, the federal government proved unable to fully negotiate the cession of land. Vann's stance on retaining Cherokee lands won him wide support within the Nation, even when people did not like Vann personally. Instead Vann became "one of the principal architects of [the Cherokees] nationalistic revitalization."[288]

On a more individual level Vann also battled the mistreatment of Cherokees at the hands of whites, and often indulged in unnoticed acts of benevolence by helping out those members of the Nation unable to support themselves, through credit from his trading stores. McLoughlin concluded he was "a Cherokee patriot who risked much to defend his nation's rights."[289] However, Vann's violence and buccaneering style won him as many opponents as it did supporters, and in 1802 the Moravians noted his actions on behalf of the Upper

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[287] McClinton, *Moravian Springplace Mission*, 1, 206, Diary entry for August 12, 1807. See also footnotes 87 and 88 on page 621. Doublehead was first shot by The Ridge, and then finished off with a tomahawk by Alexander Saunders the following day. Vann also had a personal reason for wanting Doublehead dead, as Doublehead had recently beaten his wife to death, and the deceased woman was sister to one of Vann's wives. See Perdue, *Cherokee Women*, 50.

[288] McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries*, 76.

[289] McLoughlin, *Cherokee Ghost Dance*, 72.

Town chiefs to block land deals made by the Lower Town chiefs meant "he has as many enemies as friends."[290]

Vann's murder

In 1809 Vann's violent history finally caught up with him and he was murdered while out on patrol with the Cherokee Light Horse, the police force set up by the Nation in 1808 to prevent horse stealing. Vann mocked a number of his companions on this trip and on the night of February 19th, several days into a drinking session at Thomas Buffington's tavern on the Georgia road, Vann was felled by a single rifle shot. Accounts of the event vary considerably, even as to Vann's position in the room or in the open doorway, or as to whether a rifle barrel had been poked through the open door, a knot hole in the wall, or if the shot had come from a distance. The Moravians' entry in the Springplace diary illustrated the ambivalence they, and others, felt towards Vann: "Thus fell this man who had for so long been feared by many, but loved by a few... In this man one could see an amazing example of the indescribable tolerance and patience of God toward His enemies!"[291]

The exact identity of Vann's murderer was never established, and few at the time cared to try. John Norton, a half-Cherokee who came to visit the Springplace mission in September of 1809 wrote in his journal:

> a half Cherokee...who had always accompanied him as a faithful friend, and in whom he seemed to place much confidence, although a man of bad character; being with him on the Frontiers of Georgia, they had a dispute, and he shot him through the crevices of the logs of the house, in such a treacherous manner, that

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[290] MAS: Diary, March 5, 1802.

[291] MAS: Diary, February 21, 1809.

> there is only circumstantial proof of the fact having been perpetrated by him. The Assassin immediately disappeared, and has never since attended at any public meeting of the Nation.[292]

The Moravian records make no note of any attempted investigation, even though Alexander Saunders, a member of the Light Horse and former friend of Vann's, was widely suspected.[293] Grace Woodward noted that Vann's family had the following inscription carved on a wooden slab used to mark his gravesite:

> Here lies the body of James Vann,
> He killed many a white man,
> At last by a rifle bullet he fell,
> And devils dragged him off to hell[294]

The Brethren, however, did not know whether to be relieved or worried. Moravian historian Edmund Schwarze notes of Vann: "Always he had been friendly to the missionaries and had rendered them great assistance. During one winter the missionaries could not have subsisted without his constant aid for which he would accept no pay. Humanly speaking, the mission could not have been started or continued without him."[295] This sentiment was echoed by the missionaries at Springplace, their diary entry two days after Vann's murder noted: "He was indeed the instrument in His hand for our acceptance and establishment among this Nation, and even in his wildest rages never did us any harm."[296] However, now that Vann was gone so was their patron and protector amongst the Cherokee. Missionary leader John Gambold noted a few days later that "Everything around us looks very confused, all hearts are filled with terror of death, and with fear, and with apprehension of the things that will follow…"[297] With their patron and protector dead, how would the Brethren and the Spring Place mission fare?

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[292] Carl F. Klinck and James J. Talman, *The Journal of Major John Norton 1816* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1970), 68. MAS: Diary, September 3-4, 1809; these entries note Norton's visit and give some background information on him.

[293] MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to Brother Benzien, Salem, February 23, 1809, states "The perpetrator is not known for sure, but everyone thinks it was a certain Mr. Alex Saunders, who had formerly been Mr. V's very best friend, but whom he had made into an enemy by his oft-repeated malicious insults, and whom he had treated that same evening in a very offensive manner." A letter from J.R. Schmidt, Springplace, to Brother Jacob Van Vleck, Salem, September 6, 1821 mentions "An Alie Sanders, the same one who shot James Vann."

[294] Grace Woodward, *The Cherokees* (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), 5.

[295] Schwarze, *Moravian Missions among the Southern Indian Tribes*, 81.

Vann's will and the battle over his property [298]

Despite his demise Vann remained in the forefront of the movement to adopt those elements of white culture that would allow the Cherokee to survive and thrive in the white man's world. Vann left a written will that not only went against traditional Cherokee kinship practice regarding the division of his property, but which also went further towards Euro-American practice than the Cherokee National Council's recent law on inheritance.[299] Under the traditional

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[296] MAS: Diary, February 21, 1809.

[297] MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to Brother Benzien, Salem, February 23, 1809. Of particular concern was the behavior of Vann's slaves who, freed from his brutal control, ran wild.

[298] For another Cherokee will from the period (1814) that was contested (though left unchanged in this case) and referred to the Cherokee National Council see Perdue & Green, *The Cherokee Removal*, 25-31. The Young Wolf had been a visitor to Springplace in 1810 and 1811, and three of his children, Annie, Peggy and Dennis, attended the Moravian's school, from 1816, 1815 and 1822 respectively.

[299] A copy of Vann's will, dated May 7, 1808, can be found in Clemens de Baillou, "The Chief Vann House at Spring Place, Georgia," *Early Georgia* (1957): 3-11; the will is on 6-7. Malone, *Cherokees of the Old South*, 151, states Vann's will was filed in Jackson County, because Vann held property there too. On 207-208, footnote 38, Malone notes the rulings of the Cherokee

Cherokee matrilineal system, Vann's property should have gone to his relations by blood, not those by marriage. In other words, his remaining wife Peggy and his children would have received nothing and his property would revert to his siblings and mother. In September 1808, just a few months before Vann's death, the Cherokee National Council passed a law that required a man's property be divided amongst all of his children, and stipulated that the widow receive a fair share.[300] Vann supported this move by the Council towards a more egalitarian Euro-American inheritance practice, but went even further in disrupting Cherokee inheritance practices by leaving "my beloved wife, Peggy…all my household furniture"[301] and the rest of his considerable estate to his favorite son Joseph.[302] The National Council voted to nullify Vann's will on the 17th April 1809, as it violated their law of the previous September.[303] Vann built up a considerable estate through his shrewdness in trade, and McLoughlin notes he was "by 1800, the richest man in the Cherokee Nation" and "operated three separate trading posts, managed two ferries, and ran two farms of several hundred acres."[304]

Council and Jackson County Inferior Court, and Vann's will may be found in the files of the Ordinary of Jackson County, GA.

[300] McLoughlin, *Cherokee Ghost Dance*, 72.

[301] De Baillou, "Chief Vann House", 7.

[302] McLoughlin, *Cherokees & Missionaries*, 77, notes that Joseph was Vann's "oldest son," but gives no citation as to the source of this information. However, MAS: Diary, August 1, 1814 notes: "The second son, Joseph, was the primary heir according to his father's wishes."

[303] McLoughlin, *Cherokee Ghost Dance*, 72. Halliburton, *Red over Black*, 25, claims "His widow contested the will and the National Council eventually decided the disposition of Vann's holdings," though gives no reason or citation for this statement.

[304] McLoughlin, *Cherokee Ghost Dance*, 41.

Vann's estate in 1809 included 250 horses, 1,000 cattle, 150 hogs, 10 plows, and 115 slaves, as well as trading posts in Georgia and Alabama, several farms, a gristmill and a ferry operation.[305] It also included his imposing brick mansion, Diamond Hill.

Preparations for the construction of Diamond Hill began in July of 1803, and there are references in the Brethren's Springplace Diary to their helping to work on it.[306] It was finished by the middle of August 1804, followed by several entries noting numerous Indians were at Vann's and among the Moravian missionaries, in preparation for a Talk on the federal road, which was to take place at Diamond Hill.[307] The road and the house were adjacent; Vann lobbied for the building of the road close by, just north of the house, hence its placement. In 1952, Diamond Hill was sold to the Georgia Historical Commission and, after a three month archaeological study, underwent a six year restoration, though all the accompanying outbuildings and guest house were removed. It is now a tourist attraction.[308] Clement de Baillou, the archaeologist in charge of the dig noted:

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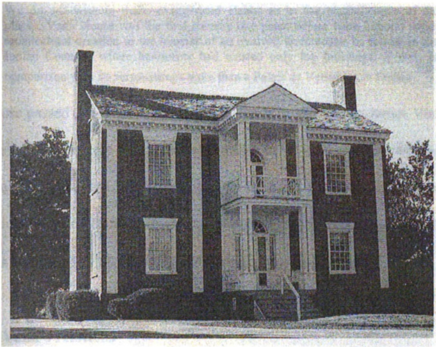
[305] There are several versions as to what property Vann held at the time of his death in 1809. Stanley N. Hoig, *The Cherokees and Their Chiefs: In the Wake of Empire* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1998), 282, footnote 19, notes "In 1809 Joseph Vann was listed as owning 250 horses, 1,000 cattle, 150 swine, 10 plows, and 115 black slaves." An informal census was taken of the Cherokee in 1809; this would thus list Joseph's property as he had inherited it from his father. MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to Br Reichel, Salem, March 27, 1809, Gambold notes he received "a letter from Mr. Terrill, who takes care of Mr. Vann's Store, Ferry and Plantation on the Chatahooche River."

[306] See, *inter alia*, MAS: Diary, January 14, 1804: "Brother Byhan and Mr. Shneider helped work on Mr. Vann's new house today, which they began raising."

[307] See, *inter alia*, MAS: Diary, August 15, 1804: "Many Indians came to us today, to be present at the Talk which is supposed to be held at Mr. Vann's new house."

[308] "Chief Vann House," *The New Georgia Encyclopedia*, <http://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/nge/Article.jsp?id=h-2726> See the Georgia State Parks



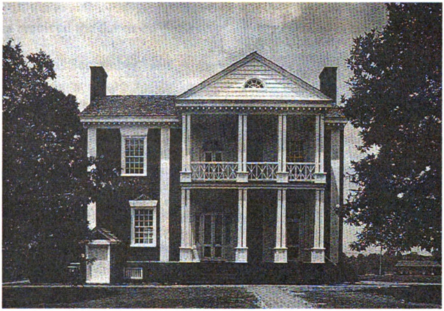


Figure 19: Vann's Georgian style mansion Diamond Hill; taken from Tia Miles, *Ties That Bind: The Story of an Afro-Cherokee Family in Slavery and Freedom* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), after 84; and Theda Perdue & Michael D. Green (eds.), *The Cherokee Removal: A Brief History with Documents* (Boston: Bedford St. Martin's Press, 1995), 49.

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and Historical sites website for Vann House at: <http://gastateparks.org/info/chiefvann/>. The outbuildings included a kitchen and an office or guesthouse.

> We do not wish to make exaggerated claims as to the magnificence of the place...Vann House was the first (twenty one years before New Echota) solid, architectural creation in the manner of an evolved architecture to appear in the Indian Country, where heretofore had existed only log buildings. It was, in comparison with its surroundings more than a Palais de Versailles in France.[309]

The house passed out of the Vann family's hands in 1835 when James Vann's son, Joseph, was evicted by the Georgia militia in the land grab that extended Georgia state law over Cherokee territory in 1828-29. Although Joseph and his family lost their home and property, he later sued for the loss of the Vann home and was awarded $19,605 by the government as compensation.[310]

James Vann's relations

Under traditional Cherokee inheritance practice the individual's blood relations received the deceased's property. Under the Cherokee National Council's law of September 1808 property was to be evenly distributed among the wife and children of the deceased. But Vann's will was far more progressive than the Cherokee Council in wanting to will his property to whomsoever he saw fit, rather than be constrained by traditional practice. By contrast Vann's blood relations were far more traditional than either Vann or the Council and his mother and siblings continued to believe firmly in the traditional practice of inheritance by blood kin. In other words, there was no consensus within the Cherokee Nation over the rate and level of accommodation that the Cherokee should attempt, nor was there any consensus between members of either the 'mixed blood' or 'full blood' factions, or even, as in Vann's case, within individual families. With

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[309] De Baillou, "The Chief Vann House", 4. Of course, log cabins were already an evolution in the form and style of Cherokee architecture.

[310] "Chief Vann House," *The New Georgia Encyclopedia*; this figure is also disputed.

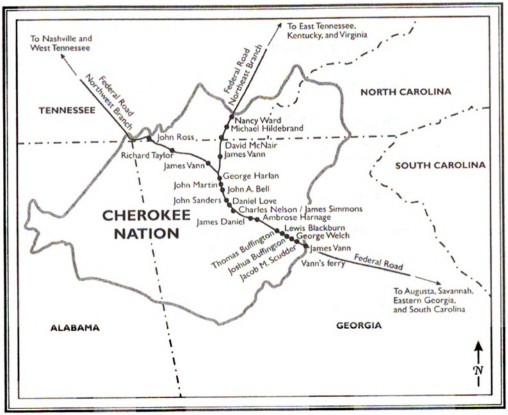
To Nashville and West Tennessee
To East Tennessee, Kentucky, and Virginia
Federal Road Northwest Branch
Federal Road Northeast Branch
TENNESSEE
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
Nancy Ward
Michael Hildebrand
John Ross
David McNair
James Vann
Richard Taylor
James Vann
George Harlan
John Martin
John A. Bell
John Sanders
Daniel Love
Charles Nelson / James Simmons
Ambrose Harnage
James Daniel
CHEROKEE NATION
Lewis Blackburn
George Welch
Thomas Buffington
Joshua Buffington
Jacob M. Scudder
James Vann
Vann's ferry
Federal Road
To Augusta, Savannah, Eastern Georgia, and South Carolina
ALABAMA
GEORGIA
N

Figure 20: The federal road through the Cherokee Nation, with the major stores, trading posts and ferries marked, including all three of James Vann's stores and his ferry. Taken from Rowena McClinton, *The Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees, Volume I, 1805-1813* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), xxvi.

Vann's estate there is clear evidence that traditional Cherokee inheritance practices were alive and well and that even the more moderate attempts by the National Council failed to replace the behaviors controlled by Cherokee clans and matrilineal blood kinship which remained vital at the turn of the century.

Identifying the exact nature of the relationship between individuals, even those that share a last name, is notoriously difficult in Native American communities. This is the case with the Cherokee, where the nature of relationships is complicated by their matrilineal system of familial organization and the fluid nature of marital alliances, and compounded by translation problems and the ethnocentric biases of missionaries. John Gambold explained the problems facing the Brethren in response to a request from the Salem elders for detailed information on all the children attending the school at Springplace. Gambold's letter is worth quoting at length on the issue:

> In reference to the personal data of all the children, boys and girls, who go to school here, which you wish, we will see what we can do. Indeed the thought had occurred to us long ago, but the difficulty extending almost to impossibility, of untangling the relationships of the Indians has always frightened us away from it, for among the Cherokees not only is polygamy very much in vogue but the marital knot is tied so loosely among them that it is often untied and then knotted again in a different way. In addition to that problem, is that of the Cherokee language, which is so poor in words and expressions, that all close relationships are indicated with one noun, as for example, father, step-father, father's brother, mother's brother, and more than one degree of close relationship are all called *Father* and all the female relatives are called *Mother*, and similarly the relatives of the grand-parents are all called grand-father and grand-mother. Thus we have already learned to know two fathers and three or four mothers of our Johnny and it is only with very great difficulty that we can find out which among all these are really his actual parents, and still I do not want to answer for the correctness of the information; for since it happens not infrequently that the child of a repudiated or an abandoned wife is taken and reared by close or distant relatives as their child, there are cases where an Indian himself does not know to whom he has to thank his existence. From this it will be clear to you that if you ever get such a register from us it will probably contain only little that is accurate. This is also to be taken into consideration

> with the Indian names, in the pronunciation of which occur such tones which cannot be represented by any letters of the alphabet known to us.[311]

As a result, an accurate description of Vann's family tree is characterized by confusion and uncertainty: there are doubts as to his parentage, his siblings, the number of wives, and his children. The lack of clarity, however, is indicative of the continued vitality of traditional practices. Attempts by the Council and individuals like Vann to change such long established practices of Cherokee culture were resisted and not viewed as necessary to the survival of the Cherokee people.

Anna Rosina Gambold, wife to John Gambold, had been at Springplace with her husband since 1805 and she encountered endless problems in learning Cherokee, despite her facility with languages. Anna Rosina revealed her own frustrations in trying to identify young children as sons or daughters:

> They have no word for *son*. My child is A'que'gi. My children = Die,que',gi. In reply to my question [as to] how the Indians understand each other when they are talking about one of their sons or daughters, when they have no designation for that, Elsie [one of the pupils at the school] said to me: *my child*. Question, but how do others know whether it is a son or a daughter? Answer: The speaker says simply, when he is asked, O jgu'gu, or merely *boy*, or A gee gu gu, *girl*. Thus often various things are called by one and the same name...[312]

The missionaries thus faced considerable trouble in establishing the exact nature of relationships amongst the Cherokee. However, recent Moravian research material sheds some light on the Gordian Knot of Vann's relationships, and of what it meant to be part of Vann's family in the first decades of the nineteenth century.

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[311] MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to Rev. Charles Gotthold Reichel, Salem, 22 May, 1809.

[312] MAS: Correspondence, Anna Rosina Gambold, Springplace, to Rev. Charles Gotthold Reichel, Salem, December 30, 1809; emphasis in the original.

Genealogical Puzzle

The continued vitality of Cherokee matrilineal descent practices is illustrated by the difficulties encountered in tracing James Vann's genealogy. Identifying Vann's mother and sisters - those related to him by blood and thus recognized by Cherokee matrilineal descent - are easily identified. All the problems arise when attempting to establish who Vann's father was and how many children he had - his relations by marriage, not blood. The obfuscation and false trails encountered in establishing Vann's father suggests that it was considered unimportant at the time, while Vann's mother was well known and she remained a constant fixture in the lives of her son and grandson, James and Joseph Vann respectively. By contrast Vann's father is entirely absent, and it required considerable detective work to establish his identity, even tentatively. This would not have been the case had the Cherokee sought to follow Euro-American patrilineal descent practices.

The earliest attempt to document James Vann's paternity is Penelope Johnson Allen's 1936 newspaper piece on the Vann family, which highlights many of the problems with the task by its errors.[313] Allen records James Vann's father was Clement Vann, a Scottish immigrant born in 1747, who had married a full-blood Cherokee woman, Wa-Wli, and erroneously states this made him a member of her clan. While Wa-Wli (as 'Old Mother Vann') features frequently in the Moravian records from the beginning of the newly translated Mission

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[313] Penelope Johnson Allen, "Leaves From the Family Tree" in the *Chattanooga Sunday Times* (Magazine Section), July 26, 1936. Allen was identified as the State Chairman of Genealogical Records, Tennessee Society, Department of Archives and Records.

Diary,[314] a Clement Vann does not appear until several years later, nearer to the time of James Vann's death, when he was working as the overseer on the Diamond Hill plantation.[315] Allen also states that Clement Vann gave a deposition in 1829, stating he was 82 years old and came into Cherokee country about fifty years previously, around 1780. As he was supposed to have sired the child James Vann by 1768, this arrival date is problematic, even if a failing memory is taken into consideration. Allen also claims a heritage of Scots nobility for the Vann 'clan' and provides a coat of arms for the Vann family, recorded in Scotland since 1124.[316]

A second account is Lela Latch Lloyd's 1980 work on the restoration of Vann House.[317] The house restoration was of personal interest to Lloyd; she grew up near Vann House and often played in its basement as a child. The work is therefore more journalistic than scholarly and contains enough that is plausible and in agreement with established facts that it cannot be entirely discounted, but enough that is questionable to render it best approached with caution. The internal contradictions and hearsay nature of the material emphasizes the fact that the only part of Vann's heritage different sources agree on is the identity of his mother. Lloyd's main source was a 1958 newspaper article which stated: "In 1720 James Clement Vann, a young Scottish noble, who had come to America seeking adventure, arrived at what is now Spring Place. A few hard days ride behind him was a charge of murder..." [318] Aside from the lush valley that Vann found, he discovered another reason for staying: "Her name was Ruth Gamn. As Mrs. James Vann, this lady was largely responsible for the advancement of her people."[319] This James Vann had a dual dream of building a grand house in Cherokee territory reminiscent, Lloyd claims, of the "castles" of his Scottish homeland, and of bringing education to his new people. [320] The offspring of James Clement Vann and Ruth Gamn was a son, James Clement Vann I, born in 1735.[321]

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[314] The Diary proper begins on 16 December, 1801, with the first reference to Wa-Wli coming on January 25, 1802, when it was mentioned that plans were afoot to build a new house for "Mr. Vann's mother." The woman herself does not appear until April 19, when it is noted "Mr. Vann's old mother moved into her house close to our place today."

[315] Clement Vann's first appearance in the Moravian material comes on May 15, 1806.

[316] My first knowledge of Allen's article came from a genealogy website titled after Allen's piece, <http://homepages.rootsweb.com/~lpproots/Neeley/cvann.htm> which claimed to be a copy of it. However, an attempt to retrieve the article produced a different piece, just two pages long, one of which was a picture of Joseph Vann, alongside a letter, the second page of which contained information on Joseph and Avery Vann's heritage, but with none of the earlier material on Scottish ancestry, or of James or Clement Vann.

[317] Lela Latch Lloyd, *If the Chief Vann House Could Speak: A Saga of the Cherokee Indians of Georgia with focus on the Vann tribe in Murray County and the Chief Vann House in Spring Place* (Abilene, TX; Quality Printing Company, 1980).

Lloyd claims this son shared his father's dreams of building a grand house in Cherokee territory and he made a trek to Scotland with two Cherokee colleagues to evaluate castle architecture there. The trio were supposedly so "striking in appearance and so unique in their mission that King George III received them at his palace."[322] James Vann II was then born in 1768.[323] That James Vann II is the James Vann of Diamond Hill would seem to be confirmed by the fact he was noted to be a heavy drinker and often vicious when under the influence, as well as his date of birth. However, Lloyd later claims it was this James Vann that visited Scotland with two Cherokee companions "sometime during the 1790s when James Vann II was in his early 30's" and was invited to an audience by George III.[324] This confusion and conflation of the male line is, however, typical of accounts of Vann's genealogy, emphasizing its lack of importance in traditional Cherokee culture where the mother's line was the important one.

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[318] Charlotte Tanksley, "Highlights of the History of Cherokees in Murray County," in the *Chatsworth Times*, July 24, 1958.

[319] Both quotes taken from Lloyd, *Chief Vann House*, 4.

[320] Vann supposedly first met the Moravians on one of their advanced scouting missions to the Cherokee in 1740, at Jellico (most likely Tellico), TN. Vann invited them to work amongst the Upper Cherokee and offered them land on his Springplace plantation.

[321] Lloyd, *Chief Vann House*, 3, 5. Lloyd gives no specific citation for a source on either occasion.

The most authoritative account of Vann's ancestry comes from the pre-eminent historian of the Cherokee Nation, William G. McLoughlin, who wrote that Vann was the son of a Scottish trader from Charleston, South Carolina, by the name of Clement Vann (1747-1829). Clement married a full-blooded Cherokee woman by the name of Waw-Li (or, alternatively, Wa-Wii or Faw-Li).[325]

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[322] *Ibid*, 7.

[323] *Ibid*. However, later on p. 18 Lloyd gives the date of birth as 1765.

[324] *Ibid*, 18. The ruling monarch at the time of Vann's royal audience does not help us to establish which Vann it was who made the trip. George III's reign extended from 1760 through 1820, though with several periods when he was incapacitated with porphrygia (a hereditary mental illness), when the prince regent ruled in his stead. Thus while it seems more likely it was James Vann II who visited Scotland in the 1790s and was invited to an audience with George III, it is also possible that his father had made the trip, possibly two or three decades earlier, as George III ascended the throne in 1760.

[325] William G. McLoughlin, *The Cherokee Ghost Dance: Essays on the Southeastern Indians 1789-1861*, (Mercer University Press, 1984), 43. The only source McLoughlin cites is De Baillou's article, though he noted the Moravians too, without giving a specific reference. Nor does

McLoughlin's claim gets some support from the fact that a John Vann appears in the records of South Carolina during the early 1750s, when it is mentioned that he has a wife and family, and also a brother, though no further details are given on any of these individuals.[326]

McLoughlin cites Clemens de Baillou's 1957 article, noted above in relation to Diamond Hill and Vann's will, as his source. Here De Baillou noted the variety of stories about the Vann family heritage, some seeing the Vanns as members of the Scots nobility, others as fleeing justice, and yet others claiming a German heritage for them.[327] De Baillou accepts the Scots background, and notes Clement Vann came into Cherokee country at some point in the second half of the 18th century, from Charleston. "One should expect that it was *after* Clement Vann established friendly contact with the Indians that he went into their territory beyond the mountains, an adventurous and not necessarily lucrative undertaking."[328]

De Baillou notes Clement took a "chieftain's daughter" as his wife, again erroneously claiming this made Vann a member of her clan, and therefore had

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he give evidence of where he got Clement Vann's date of birth and death, which is not cited in De Baillou.

[326] William L. McDowell, Jr. (ed.), *Colonial Records of South Carolina: Documents Relating to Indian Affairs, May 21, 1750-August 7, 1754* (Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department, 1958), 27, 59, 113, 117, and 250-252. The earliest reference dates to 11 May, 1751, the latest to April 14, 1752. There is no mention of anyone by the name of Vann in the subsequent volume of records that covers 1754-1768.

[327] De Baillou does not give a citation. However, he later refers to Penelope Allen's article, so presumably this was his source for the Vanns Scots origins, if not of the allusions to fleeing justice.

[328] De Baillou, "Chief Vann House," 6. Emphasis in the original.

good reason to settle in her village. Vann founded a trading post and "eventually" became "Town Chief."[329] De Baillou notes Clement's son James was born "about 1770." De Baillou cites Allen's article as a source on Vann, but notes some of her data was suspect, such as the marriage of James Vann's daughter Delilah in 1810 at age 6.[330] It is also from Allen that De Baillou, and seemingly McLoughlin, takes the name of Clement Vann's wife as Wa-Whi (later noted as Wa-Wli, though De Baillou also cites Allen giving it as Fa-Wli). Other interpretations of James Vann's paternity are equally problematic.[331]

Vann's paternity becomes clearer when we look at the Clement Vann who appears in the Moravian Diary. McLoughlin notes the Brethren knew Clement Vann as James Vann's "step-father" rather than his biological father and said James Vann was 41 at the time of his death.[332] The Diary states: "Thus fell this man who had for so long been feared by many, but loved by a few, in his 41st year."[333]

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[329] *Ibid.*

[330] This information is not contained in the version I obtained. These dates would also have had Delilah born in 1804; some years after James Vann had divorced her mother and married the Scott sisters.

[331] Hoig, *The Cherokee and Their Chiefs*, 90-91, states Vann was the son of an interpreter, also named James Vann, who became wealthy from a trading store at Diamond Hill, Georgia. Hoig cites McLoughlin as his source, but while the first page Hoig cites in McLoughlin does note James Vann as the "son of a well-to-do white trader who had established a store at Diamond Hill in northwestern Georgia," the second does not mention Vann's heritage at all. Thus it is unclear where Hoig got the information that James Vann had inherited his father's name, or that the father was an interpreter, though the claim that the James Vann who was an interpreter was a wealthy merchant would suggest a match on that score at least.

[332] McLoughlin, *Cherokee Ghost Dance*, 43.

[333] MAS: Diary, February 21, 1809; no indication is given how the Brethren knew Vann's age.

On the nature of the relationship between James and Clement Vann, however, the Moravian records do show that Clement was step-father to James, not biological parent. Diary entries for 1806 list Clement as both husband to Mother Vann and stepfather to James Vann, and the latter relationship is noted again in a letter three years later.[334] It thus seems Clement Vann was the man Old Mother Vann married after her separation from James Vann's biological father. This is confirmed by Rowena McClinton when she states that Old Mother Vann had two "white Vann husbands, Joseph and Clement."[335]

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[334] MAS: Diary, November 25, 1806 and May 15, 1806 respectively, and MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to Rev. Charles Gotthold Reichel, Salem, March 27, 1809. One would assume if there had been some misunderstanding on the part of the Brethren as to the relationship between Clement and 'Old Mother Vann' it would have been resolved between 1806 and 1809.

[335] McClinton, *Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees*, 2, 476. McClinton cites Jerry Clark, Cherokee genealogist and archivist as her source. Schwarze also notes that Clement Vann was "a white man," *Moravian Missions among the Southern Indians*, 123. Indirect evidence that James Vann's biological father died emerges from the disputes that followed Vann's murder in 1809. A letter explaining the amount of time John Gambold spent at Diamond Hill sorting Vann's papers reveals there had been many disputes over what belonged to whom. Vann had frequently kept or taken property meant for others. On one occasion he kept slaves meant for his sisters. Gambold noted Vann's father gave these slaves to his daughters, but "James Vann had...arbitrarily kept these as well as the rest of his Father's estate for his own possession." MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to Brother Reichel, Salem, 27 March, 1809. The reference to 'his Father's estate' suggests Vann's natural father had died rather than merely left. Further evidence Clement was not James's biological father is that Clement was employed as overseer on the Diamond Hill plantation. Clement first appears in the Moravian records on May 15, 1806, when he is referred to as James' step-father. There are further references to Clement in 1807 and 1809 where his relationship to James is not mentioned, merely his position as neighbor to the Moravians and his dealings with them on farm and business issues. The latter of the two 1807 references to Clement, on February11, notes Clement, like his wife was "well on in years." However, MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to Rev. Charles Gotthold Reichel, Salem, April 28, 1808, refers to Clement as acting overseer on James Vann's plantation. It seems unlikely that Clement, if he was James' biological father, would be working as his own son's overseer. As Clement does not appear in the Moravian record until 1806 while James has been a fixture since the beginning of the Diary in 1801, and acting as 'lord and master' of the Diamond Hill plantation, it seems unlikely the Clement Vann who features in these diary entries is James Vann's biological father. We can therefore assume that whoever James Vann's biological father was, he pre-deceased his son.

By contrast Vann's maternity is crystal clear. The Cherokee tradition of tracing kinship through the matrilineal line was still widely practiced by the Cherokee, despite attempts by the National Council and individuals like Vann to promote a patrilineal Euro-American system. While all aspects of the true identity of Vann's father are subject to dispute, including his name, where he was from and his family history or when he even arrived in the Cherokee Nation, the identity of Vann's mother is agreed upon by all sources. Despite some dispute about her precise Cherokee name there is little argument that 'Old Mother Vann' - "a full-blooded Cherokee"[336] - was indeed James Vann's biological mother. Her first appearance in the mission diary comes as early as January 25th, 1802, with references to plans for the building of a new house for her, though the woman herself did not appear until she moved into the house on April 19th. The Moravians never refer to Vann's mother by her Cherokee name, but always by some variation on the theme of 'Old Mother Vann.' At the time of her baptism in 1819, McClinton notes her Cherokee name was Worli, or Wawli, which was Molly in English. She was baptized Mary Christiana.[337] That she was known almost universally as 'Old Mother Vann' - emphasizing the maternal connection - and that her son had built her a new house so that she could live with him shows her continued importance in James Vann's life as well as the continued influence of matrilineal kinship ties amongst the Cherokee. Vann, however, did manage a progressive twist on tradition as his mother came to live in his house rather than vice-versa.

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[336] Quote taken from Schwarze, *Moravian Missions*, 123.

[337] McClinton, *Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees*, 2, 271.

Aside from his biological parents, James Vann's other blood relatives would be his siblings - any brothers and sisters he had. While the evidence takes a while to piece together, the end result is clear. James Vann's other blood relations were two sisters, the elder of whom was his half-sister from one of Old Mother Vann's previous marriages. Allen again provides the first clues but due to the suspect nature of her information on Clement Vann her material on James' siblings must also be approached carefully. Allen notes "Clement Vann and his wife WA-WLI...had issue among other children: 1 James Vann...2 Avery Vann...3 Nancy Vann..."[338] This indicates James had at least one brother, Avery, and at least one sister, Nancy. Nancy features frequently in the Moravian records, being one of the first Vanns to appear in the new translation of the Diary, in early 1802.[339] However, the brother that Allen mentions - Avery - was not James Vann's brother, nor related by blood whatsoever, as he was his step-father Clement's brother.[340]

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[338] Allen "Leaves From the Family Tree", p. 2 of web version. The list simply tails off as illustrated above, so whether there are other siblings is unclear.

[339] Nancy is first mentioned, as Vann's sister, on January 7, 1802, and makes her first actual appearance in the Diary on January 10, when she came to stay with Sister Byhan while her husband, Gottlieb Byhan, was away on mission business. Nancy features regularly for the next two decades, often being referred to as either sister to James Vann, or as the daughter of Old Mother Vann.

[340] MAS: Diary, August 10, 1807. The entry notes: "A son of Mr. Avery Vann, a brother of Clement Vann, attended the afternoon school session." McClinton refers to Avery as Clement's younger brother in her biographical notes in *Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees*, 2, 475. To add to the confusion Avery Vann had a son Joseph Vann, who was cousin to Joseph Vann, the son of James Vann.

James and Nancy did, however, have another sister. In her discussion of the controversy concerning the changes made to Vann's will by the Cherokee National Council, Theda Perdue notes: "What seemed equitable to the executors and council, however, did not please some of Vann's relations, *particularly his sisters*."[341] Here the new translations of the Moravian records come into their own, and provide a handful of references to a second sister - Jenny.[342] Jenny's relationship to James, as well as the fluidity of Cherokee marriage, is confirmed when the missionaries explain why they began to refer to Peggy Vann as Margaret Scott. Cherokee women reverted to their maiden names after divorce, so the Brethren use James Vann's sisters as their example:

> It is the custom in the whole Nation that women always keep their family [maiden] names, e.g. James Vann's sisters, even though each has already had 5-6 husbands, are usually called Jenny and Nancy, etc., which is really also necessary for many Indian women, because of the frequent changing of husbands, would get together a really long catalogue of names and the same name could easily be common to a whole string of women.[343]

Diary entries relating to Jenny for 1807 and 1809 refer to her either with the epithet of 'old' appended to her name, or as George Vann's grandmother.[344] That Jenny was not only 'old' but a grandmother suggests she was an elder sister to James Vann. A letter of early 1817 confirms Old Mother Vann was Jenny's mother: "The mother of James Vann, after staying away for three years, visited once again in company of her daughter Jenny..."[345] Confirmation that Jenny was older than James comes when a letter notes the attendance at service of "Jenny Brown -- Vann's older sister -- who had not been here since New Year."[346] Rowena McClinton's biographical research on those who frequented the Springplace mission reveals Jenny was James Vann's half-sister.[347]

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[341] Perdue, Cherokee Women, 140, cites a letter from John Gambold to Agent Meigs on the 20 April, 1809. Emphasis added.

[342] The first reference baldly states: "Mr. Vann's sister Jenny visited us," MAS: Diary, November 7, 1805. McClinton in her footnote to this entry notes Jenny was James Vann's "half-sister", 1, 607. Jenny then makes a series of appearances at the distribution of the Cherokees annuity, held at James Vann's, in October of 1807. Jenny helped the Brethren with kitchen work at a time when the missionaries were swamped with Indian visitors, McClinton, *Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees*, 1, 219-222, 225, 227. She reappears two years later when the missionaries commented on James Vann taking some slaves that his father willed to his daughters, as noted above. The letter awkwardly states: "Mr. Vann's father had given personally to each of his two daughters, Jenny and Nancy, according to the custom of this country, still during his life-time, a Negress," MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to Rev. Charles Reichel, Salem, 27 March, 1809.

[343] MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to Rev. Charles Reichel, Salem, 15 September, 1810.

Despite the confusion, some of which may have been intentionally created by Vann in order to cloud his heritage and thus make it easier for him to break with Cherokee matrilineal inheritance traditions, it clearly emerges that James Vann's blood relations with a direct interest in his estate were his mother - Worli/Molly/Old Mother Vann - and two sisters, Jenny and Nancy Vann. It was these three women, whose relationship to Vann is clearly established by the Moravian record, who had most to lose when Vann, and the National Council, sought to move away from traditional Cherokee inheritance patterns towards a more patrilineal Euro-American one.

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[344] See, inter alia, McClinton, *Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees*, 1, 220 ("old Jenny"), 1, 307 ("the good grandmother"), 1, 219 ("our George's grandmother, named Jenny").

[345] MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to Van Vleck, Salem, January 2, 1817.

[346] MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to Van Vleck, Salem, February 27, 1817.

[347] McClinton, *Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees*, 2, 458. It seems likely Old Mother Vann married Robert Brown before Clement Vann, and Jenny was the product of this earlier marriage.

With blood relations out of the way, we can now establish how many relations James Vann had by marriage - those who would benefit from his will but would not have under the old Cherokee matrilineal system. Here again there is some confusion over the number of wives and children James Vann had. The official 'Self-Guided Tour' booklet for Chief Vann House claims Vann had three wives and five children, though does not name them.[348] McLoughlin noted Vann first married in the 1780s, to a woman named Jenny Foster, and the couple had several children.[349] Jenny left Vann and took some, though not all, of the children with her, as was common practice in Cherokee matrilineal society.[350] One of the children Jenny left behind was Sally Vann, the first student to attend the Moravians' day school in 1802, as noted above. Sally later married and moved away, but returned to the area after her father's death in order to claim a portion of his property. Two references in the Moravian material confirm that Jenny Foster was her mother and that Foster was, by 1813, long deceased.[351]

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[348] The booklet also claims "Vann's mother was a Cherokee and his father a Scot [sic] trader who settled among the Cherokee in the 18th century."

[349] McLoughlin, *Cherokee Ghost Dance*, 46.

[350] See Theda Perdue, *Cherokee Women: Gender and Cultural Change 1700-1835* (Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 44-45.

[351] MAS: Diary, July 31, 1813: here Jenny Foster is referred to as Sally's "deceased mother." MAS: Correspondence, from John Gambold, Springplace, to Br Van Vleck, Salem, August 30, 1813; this letter notes that Sally "had lost her dear mother early through death."

McLoughlin continues that Vann then married Elizabeth Thornton who, like Jenny before her, was the daughter of a white man and a full-blood Cherokee woman.[352] Vann and Elizabeth had one child, a daughter, Delilah, also sometimes called Lily, but Elizabeth also left him. Finally McLoughlin notes Vann married a pair of sisters, Peggy and Polly Scott, the daughters of a Scottish trader, Wallace (or Walter) Scott, and a Cherokee woman. McLoughlin states Vann was rumored to have married the sisters before he had divorced Elizabeth. If the rumors were true, then the marriage to Elizabeth must have ended in the mid- to late-1790s, as Vann and Peggy had their son Joseph in 1798.[353] Theda Perdue notes it was "relatively common" for men to marry Cherokee sisters, so they did not have to divide time between unrelated households.[354] Perdue, drawing on an older translation of the Moravian material, noted "James Vann's two wives, who were sisters, lived on his plantation, where 'they were busy spinning and weaving cotton,'" according to a Diary entry for 1800.[355]

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[352] McLoughlin, *Cherokee Ghost Dance*, 46.

[353] *Ibid.*

[354] Perdue, *Cherokee Women*, 44.

[355] *Ibid*, 175. The Springplace Diary proper does not begin until December of 1801. Perdue used a 1960s version of the Springplace diary, known simply as the Mauelshagen Diary, after its translator Carl Mauelshagen. Professor Mauelshagen incorporated material from the correspondence of one of the Moravian missionaries who was sent out to scout a suitable spot for a mission in 1799-1800. He also included material from the period in 1801 when the Moravians stayed with James Vann while they were waiting for Robert Brown to move off his farm, and which was to become the permanent Springplace mission. Rowena McClinton (*Moravian Springplace Mission*, 2, 472) questions McLoughlin's analysis and claims in her biographical research that Vann's second wife was not called Elizabeth Thornton, but Elizabeth (Betsy) Scott and that Betsy was sister to Peggy and Polly Scott. MAS: Diary, 13 August, 1810, the day Peggy was baptized in 1810, notes she "invited her elder sister Betsy" to attend, however, no mention is made of Betsy having been wife to James Vann. However, MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to Brother Benzien, Salem, August 15, 1810 notes Betsy "already had 4 white men

The new translations provide evidence of Vann still being married to both Polly and Peggy Vann around the turn of the century, but no mention is made of Elizabeth. Two days after Brother Wohlfahrt and Brother and Sister Byhan arrived back in Springplace to settle permanently, the Byhans visited Vann's house to present him some gifts. The Diary notes "His [James Vann's] youngest woman was not at home. The eldest, who was at home alone, acted very grateful."[356] Peggy and Polly did not have an easy time of it with Vann, and Polly, like Jenny and Elizabeth before her, left him. Like so much else, however, when exactly Polly left James Vann is unclear.[357] Thus while James Vann had at least four wives, and was married to at least two, if not three of them, at the same time, only Peggy was still actively married to him at the time of his death in 1809. This was why James Vann included Peggy in his will and only she of all his wives retained an interest in his property under the revised disposition of his will set out by the Cherokee National Council - one which gave Peggy property that formerly would have gone to Vann's mother and sisters.

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but has been forsaken by all of them somewhat poorer than she was found." James Vann was of mixed-race, having one white parent and one Cherokee, his father and mother respectively. If Betsy was the Elizabeth Vann married, then this would likely mean James Vann married all three Scott sisters at the same time, with Elizabeth/Betsy leaving him first, probably prior to 1800, and Polly next, at some point between 1800 and 1805.

[356] MAS: Diary, 18 December 1801. The entry for 23 December also notes "Today one of Mr. Vann's women visited us" without, again, giving any indication as to whether it was Peggy or Polly.

[357] After these early references to Polly and Peggy being at Diamond Hill, Polly disappears for a number of years; when Vann's wife is finally named as an individual, it is Peggy. Later references refer to Peggy's sister Polly coming to visit her at Easter 1809, and specify her as the former wife of James Vann, with one also noting she was now married to a white man named Holt. MAS: Diary, April 2, 1809, and Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to Brother Benzien, Salem, April 9, 1809. The reference to the new husband Holt is found in the latter.

There is also disagreement over the number of children Vann fathered. McLoughlin states Vann had six at the time of his death - Mary, Robert, Lily, Sally, Jenny, and Joseph (also known as Jesse), a claim corroborated by the Moravian material.[358] We have already established that Sally was Vann's daughter with Jenny Foster, that Lily, or Delilah was Vann's daughter by his second wife Elizabeth, and that Joseph was his son by Peggy.[359] The new Moravian material shows that Robin Vann (presumably the 'Robert' listed by McLoughlin) was James Vann's son with Polly.[360] McLoughlin also noted that Joseph was the eldest of James Vann's children, but as we have already seen Sally was certainly older than Joseph.[361] The diary entry for the day of the distribution of Vann's property noted Joseph to be "the second son," but "the primary heir according to his father's wishes."[362] This leaves only the maternity of Mary Vann and Jenny Vann unknown and disputed.[363]

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[358] McLoughlin, *Cherokee Ghost Dance*, 46. The citation McLoughlin gives is to De Baillou, "Chief Vann House," 8, but the will lists only "my natural son, Joseph," and none of his other children, but De Baillou quotes the National Council's decree on the issue which does. See below for more on this. Joseph Vann was frequently referred to as Joe or Jesse in the Moravian records. MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to Van Vleck, Salem August 26, 1814; Gambold noted when Vann's administrators finally settled on a distribution of property: "Joe Vann got half, the rest was equally divided among the other 5 children."

[359] McLoughlin, *Cherokee Ghost Dance*, 46. McLoughlin cites Penny Allen as his source.

[360] MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to Brother Simon, Salem. March 21, 1812; "our dear Peggy...has taken to herself a son of her deceased husband, whom he had with her sister Polly Scott, actually Holt. His name is Robin Vann, about 11 years old, and he now attends our school." McClinton, states there was another Robin who was the "son of James Vann or The Waterhunter and Dawnee of Oostanaula," who attended the school from 1815 to 1817. McClinton, *Moravian Springplace Mission*, 2, 450.

[361] McLoughlin, *Cherokees & Missionaries*, 77.

Some historians also list James Vann as father of George Vann, others as uncle.[364] The new Moravian material indicates George was not the son of James Vann, though he was at least distantly related.[365] James Vann did, however, have at least one child with women other than his recognized wives. The same diary entry for the day of the distribution of Vann's property in August 1814 notes:

> A young Indian boy, about ten years old, whose mother is dead, and is from the area around Tellico, and of whom the administrators knew, was also brought there by Tom Foreman, when news of the distribution came to his ears. However, he came too late. At Foreman's assurance that the child was *Vann's son*, he was at least given *one* mare and foal.[366]

Thus, with all the uncertainty noted above, before we move on to look at the fight over Vann's will in more detail, and the subsequent conversion of Peggy to Christianity, a brief summary of all those interested in James Vann's will would seem in order. If Vann had followed Cherokee tradition, his property would have been split between his blood relatives, Old Mother Vann and his sisters, Jenny and Nancy. Instead Vann left the bulk of his property to his 'favorite' son Joseph, and his household effects to his wife at the time of his death, Peggy. The Cherokee National Council then amended this will to share out the property more equally between all of Vann's recognized children and his widow Peggy, but with the lion's share still going to Joseph Vann. The National Council also gave Peggy the right to continue living at Diamond Hill. Vann's mother, Waw-li, and two sisters, Nancy and Jenny, therefore lost all of this property that would have reverted to them under traditional matrilineal Cherokee blood inheritance laws and saw it go to Vann's wife and children instead. It was these three women's continued belief in the legitimacy of their matrilineal inheritance rights that led to all the disputes over James Vann's will, and was the cause of Peggy Vann's persecution when she sought to take her property out of the possession and control of Vann's blood relatives.

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[362] MAS: Diary, August 1, 1814; McClinton, *Moravian Springplace Mission*, 2, 27.

[363] Rowena McClinton states Mary Vann was James Vann's daughter by Ann Brown, *Moravian Springplace Mission*, 2, 446. This, of course, would mean that Vann had another, previously unknown wife, Ann Brown, or at least had a relationship that produced children.

[364] Wilkins, *Cherokee Tragedy*, 119 notes a: "John Vann, more familiarly known as George, a son of James Vann by another wife than Peggy." McLoughlin, *Cherokee Ghost Dance*, 48, notes James Vann and "his nephew George."

[365] MAS: Correspondence, March 27, 1809. Gambold notes Old Mother Vann's step-brother, John Vann, was the father of George. McClinton, *Moravian Springplace Mission*, 2, 445, notes George was born around 1792 and was "son of John Vann and Polly (daughter of Chief Terrapin) of Hightower or Etowah" and he attended the school from October 1804 until August 1809, at which point he was "age eleven."

[366] MAS: Diary, August 1, 1814; McClinton, *Moravian Springplace Mission*, 2, 27-28; emphasis in original. McClinton provides some clue as to who this boy was, noting the presence of three other Vann sons. John Vann, "son of James Vann and Peggy (not Scott) of Hightower" who attended the school briefly for six months from November 1816; a James Vann, born "c. 1809...son of the late James Vann; mother unknown," who spent about 18 months at the school in 1821-22; and Robin Vann who was the "son of James Vann or The Waterhunter and Dawnee of Oostanaula," who attended the mission school from 1815 to 1817; McClinton, *Moravian Springplace Mission*, 2, 451; 2, 453; 2, 450.

The fight over Vann's will

It was after James Vann's murder on February 19th, 1809, and the subsequent wrangling over his will, that the relationship between Peggy Vann and the Brethren started to become much closer. At the same time, and for the same reasons, the attitude of Vann's relatives towards Peggy Vann hardened and became decidedly unfriendly. Vann's will, however, drew the Moravians and the Vanns closer together. De Baillou posits that the missionaries had helped Vann draw up his will, as the "legal language, with a touch of religion, betrays the assistance of the Brethren," continuing that "Several times before this Vann had called on them for similar help in writing documents."[367] Vann also ensured the continued presence of the Moravians in his affairs via his choice of executors. "Messrs Paris and Dick Rowe, 2 Half-Indians," came to the mission on March 11th 1809 and asked missionary leader John Gambold to assist them with some of Vann's documents, as neither of them could read or write.[368] It seems probable that Vann sought to emphasize the value of the literacy that the Brethren could provide to the Nation by appointing as his executors two Cherokee who were illiterate, and thus would be reliant upon the Moravians for assistance with sorting out the estate. This again shows that Vann sought to be even more progressive in his drive towards certain aspects of white culture than the National Council. Vann wrote his will in May of 1809, four months before the National Council passed their inheritance law that sought to change traditional Cherokee inheritance practice to bring it more closely in line with Euro-American inheritance forms. Then, perhaps as a further nudge to his less progressive female relatives, Vann appointed as executors of his written will two men who were both his "trusty friend" but who were also illiterate, ensuring a continued connection with, and reliance upon, the Moravians.[369]

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[367] De Baillou, "James Vann: A Cherokee Chief," *Georgia Review* 17 (1963): 281.

[368] MAS: Diary, March 11, 1809. The Cherokee National Council ruling on Vann's will, as recorded in De Baillou, "Chief Vann House" 7, notes that one "David Fly, Esq. be sworn in as administrator of the estate with the exception of the said writing," but no one by that name appears in any of the Moravian records. Paris and Rowe were, however, later replaced; MAS: Diary, May 28, 1809 states: "A number of whites and Half-Indians came to see our Brother Gambold as well on business regarding Vann's estate. Among these was Mr. James Brown, Vann's brother-in-law, who, along with Mr. McNair was charged by the Council with the duty of the administration of the estate, since Messrs. Paris and Dick Rowe had renounced their commission by them." The Diary for May 30, 1809 then notes James Brown "took his nephew, our pupil Joseph Vann, home with him in order to arrange for preparing him as one of the administrators of his father's estate."

Gambold initially spent a week at Diamond Hill working with the executors, the Diary noting he returned on the afternoon of the 17th, as he had "finished for the time being with his business at Vann's, on which he had worked untiringly since last Monday."[370] Gambold's literacy and ability to navigate his way through the process of the law were much valued by Vann's executors, and he was called on again numerous times before the will was settled.[371] Gambold's labors thus provided a working example of the education that the Moravians could provide to the Cherokee and their children, an education that would allow them to function normally in the white American world without the need for assistance from whites. Since the moment of their first arrival it was this independence from white tutelage and authority in temporal matters that Vann sought and valued, not the religious message the Moravians brought, and the disposition of his will emphasized that.

Despite the invaluable assistance Gambold provided to the executors, the Brethren's motives were still rejected by Vann's female relatives. On a visit to Diamond Hill in order to console Peggy Vann two weeks after her husband's murder, Gambold and his wife Anna Rosina found Old Mother Vann "very offensive;" she told the Moravians that the Vann's "were *Indians*, and they didn't understand our [Moravian] teachings."[372] Nor did it end there, for "she spoke very maliciously towards us and even to the Negroes, and led people to believe that we we[re] only visiting because we were trying to get part of her son's fortune."[373] Old Mother Vann finished her diatribe by telling the Gambolds that her daughter-in-law would no longer cook and clean for the schoolchildren who had been lodged by Vann at Diamond Hill, and that they would have to be accommodated at the mission instead. Tempers and frayed nerves later relaxed however, possibly as a result of the continuing need the Vanns had of the Brethren's literary services. Old Mother Vann was noted as showing remorse for her "mistrust and loveless judgment of us," by attending the Easter Sunday services, at which she was said to be "unusually friendly and seemed to exert an effort to forget what had happened with us."[374]

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[369] De Baillou, "The Chief Vann House," 7. Vann's will reproduced here states: "And I do hereby constitute and appoint my trusty friend.........and........ executors of this my last will and Testament, requesting them to execute the same according to the true intent and meaning thereof." No indication is given as to the identity of the executors in De Baillou's article.

[370] MAS: Diary, March 17, 1809.

[371] The Diary for April 22, 1809 states: "We were happy to be alone again, since in the past days of this week we've had many visits from Vann's executors and others who had business with his estate and whom Brother Gambold helped by writing again."

Vann's will was also rejected by Vann's sisters. Unlike their mother, the sisters' ire did not subside and they hectored and abused the executors Paris and Rowe to such an extent that they "renounced their commission" in May of 1809. The Moravian records show that the Council appointed James Brown, Peggy's step-brother and thus James Vann's step-brother-in-law, and David McNair, the husband of Delilah, Vann's daughter by his second wife Elizabeth, and thus

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[372] MAS: Diary, March 4, 1809; emphasis in the original.

[373] *Ibid.*

[374] MAS: Diary, March 17 and April 2, 1809. In 1819 the transformation was completed when Old Mother Vann herself became a Moravian convert.

Vann's son-in-law, as the new administrators of his estate.[375] Both were white men with considerable ties to the Cherokee and supported Vann's movement towards Cherokee acculturation.[376] Two decades later McNair offered the Moravians' refuge on his land in Tennessee, when the Brethren were forced out of Springplace by the white renters who had leased the mission from its winner in the Georgia lottery.[377]

When Vann's will was invalidated by the Cherokee National Council on 17th April 1809, they moved towards divisible inheritance:

> Upon a full consideration of the writing of James Vann, deceased, purporting to be a Will, and also a decree of the Chiefs and Warriors in Council, revoking, annulling and setting aside the said writing, determining that the same is not agreeable to the Rules and Regulations and Laws of the said Nation, and it being their wish that the property should be divided among all the children of the said James Vann and his widow. It is ordered that the property be disposed of as directed by the said Council, as far as is possible and the will is being considered by this Court illegal and of no effect...

The Council believed that:

> all the other children are of one father, who ought to receive some share of the property, and that the widow, who ought to share alike with the other children, and to remain in the house as long as she pleases, and no doubt Joseph Vann will agree in an opinion with the Chiefs, when he comes to the years of maturity. 378

While Joseph received "the greater share" of his father's estate, each of Vann's children and Peggy were awarded a share too. For their troubles the executors would "take of the farm and Ferry at the Chattahoochee."[379] De Baillou notes a later court ruling "provided that the widow of James Vann have the right to a number of slaves from the estate."[380]

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[375] MAS: Diary, May 28, 1809.

[376] MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to Br Benzien, Salem, November 5, 1809 describes McNair as: "our true friend and a truly honest Irishman."

[377] See Chapter Five, on Cherokee Removal, for more on this.

[378] De Baillou, "Chief Vann House", 7.

Thus the new settlement not only brought Peggy the right to continue to live in Vann's imposing Diamond Hill mansion, but an equal share of the rest of her husband's property. The actual distribution took some time, and it was not until the following November, after her uncle Charles Hicks interceded with the Council on her behalf, that Peggy discovered exactly what she was to receive. The Springplace Diary adds some brief details: "the Administrators were told to deliver to her one negro husband and wife, whom she could select herself, also a pair of horses, 4 cows with calves etc."[381] It was also noted that the slave couple Peggy received had an infant child, and the Council "ordered the Administrators to pay Peggy at the rate of $20 per head for 35 head of oxen, which Vann had sold from her stock for his own advantage."[382] Due to much wrangling between family members over the division of property that James Vann had often appropriated to himself, the final distribution of his estate did not take place until August 1st, 1814, five and a half years after his death.[383] At this division, "Joe Vann got half, the rest was equally divided among the other 5 children, with each one receiving 8

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[379] All references from De Baillou, "Chief Vann House", 7-8.

[380] *Ibid*, 8; De Baillou notes this ruling was found at the Gilcrease Foundation, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

[381] MAS, Correspondence, John Gambold to Rev. Reichel, Salem, November 18, 1810.

[382] MAS, Correspondence, to the Rev. Reichel, from the Gambolds, November 18, 1810.

[383] MAS, Diary: August 1, 1814; McClinton, *Moravian Springplace Mission,* 2, 27-28.

Negroes, large and small, 7 head horses and 25 head cattle, also large and small."[384] Joseph thus still inherited the bulk of his father's estate and proved even shrewder in trade, going on to be known as "Rich Joe" Vann, the wealthiest man in the Cherokee Nation.[385]

This 'final' distribution of James Vann's property was not, however, the end of the wrangling between the Vanns, as Old Mother Vann and Nancy Vann directed their hostility at Peggy, Vann's widow. The persecution that Peggy faced grew so bad that after ten months of living at Diamond Hill as nominal 'mistress' of the plantation she moved out and bought her own place. This is how Gambold described her situation in a letter of June 1809:

> Outwardly her situation is very unpleasant, for as the plantation is being managed, at least for the present, for the account of Vann's heirs, she still has the name of Mistress, but in reality she is only a maid and really cannot do anything for herself and has to put up with all kinds of insolence and other offenses from the malicious Negroes, for which reason she often wishes she were away from here, but doesn't know where to go.[386]

Peggy was "tired of the wild occurrences in her former quarters."[387] Anna Rosina Gambold wrote that as Peggy "could no longer stand it in her husband's house - I almost said Sodom - she had a small cottage built in our neighborhood."[388] Even then the family attempted to keep Peggy away from the Moravians as much as possible and they prevented her from attending services whenever they could.[389]

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[384] MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to Van Vleck, Salem, August 26, 1814.

[385] McLoughlin, *Cherokee Ghost Dance,* 72, footnote 70.

[386] MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to Benzien, Salem, June 24, 1809.

[387] MAS: Diary, December 26, 1809.

[388] MAS: Correspondence, Anna Rosina Gambold, Springplace, to the Rev. Samuel Stotz, Salem, March 7, 1810.

The Vann family also kept up a barrage of abuse and spread rumors Peggy was a prostitute, and sent all manner of men to her new cottage with proposals of marriage, based on nothing more than a desire to attain her property. It was in this context that Peggy eventually consented to marry Joseph Crutchfield, who had been an overseer on Vann's plantation.[390] While this ended some of the problems Peggy faced, it created future issues. Crutchfield had asked Peggy to marry him several times but had been turned down each time; she was worried that another marriage would weaken her ties to the Moravians. Crutchfield, however, insisted that he wished to marry Peggy to also gain a closer connection with the Brethren. When Crutchfield thus asked John Gambold for advice, the latter warned him of the dangers involved, and emphasized the continuing strength of blood kinship ties:

> I further explained to him that according to the local traditional custom, he could expect that because of the proposed marriage to [Peggy] her worldly possessions after her demise would become his, but her biological sisters would have an unquestioned claim on her property especially since a part of that comes from her father. He replied that he knew that very well and had no designs on her property.[391]

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[389] See, for example, MAS: Diary, Sunday, April 8, 1810: "Mrs. Vann was prevented from coming to the services today by a visit by relatives." MAS: Diary, Sunday, September 2, 1810: "Early in the day Brother and Sister Gambold visited at Peggy's but found that Mother Vann along with some other Indians prevented her from attending our first service, to her sorrow."

[390] MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to the HCfG, Salem, March 7, 1812.

[391] *Ibid.*

Thus even the Moravians recognized the fact that traditional Cherokee inheritance customs remained strong and warned Crutchfield this was the case. Despite such warnings Peggy and Crutchfield married on July 9th, 1812, but Gambold's prediction later came true.[392]

Peggy's death in 1820 saw the Vann family persecute and hound Crutchfield for that share of Peggy's property she had gained from James Vann. This campaign continued until the Vanns had clawed back all the property they considered to be rightfully theirs under the older form of Cherokee matrilineal inheritance practice. Joseph Vann used underhand means to claim back one of the slaves that the National Council had granted Peggy in 1821, and then the rest of the family waded in.[393] In 1823 Gambold wrote "the relatives of blessed Peggy never stop pulling on [Crutchfield] and seem to be determined to take all possessions away from him."[394] A month later Gambold noted that Crutchfield's "blessed wife's relatives always pulled at him and went so far at the Council as to arrange that he had to give back everything which came from his blessed wife and the property which was assured to him by the Council of 1819."[395] Crutchfield only "satisfied all the demands the Vann family has made of him" once he had handed over all the property he got from Peggy, which the Vanns felt should have been theirs under traditional Cherokee inheritance practice.[396] Even then the Vanns continued to squabble amongst themselves.[397] The final act of this family drama appears to have come in 1828. Theda Perdue notes from Cherokee Supreme Court documents that Joseph Vann sued his half-sister Elisabeth and her husband David McNair to "recover certain property" in 1828, a suit, according to the Moravians, he lost.[398]

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[392] MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to Brother Peter, Salem, July 27, 1812.

[393] MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to Jacob Van Vleck, Salem, November 11, 1821.

[394] MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Oochgelogy, to Benade, Salem, October 16, 1823.

[395] MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Oochgelogy, to Schulz, Salem, November 22, 1823.

'First-Fruits' of the Cherokee - Peggy Vann's conversion

Peggy Vann, once freed from James Vann and his vehement anti-Christian stance, distanced herself from the Cherokee side of her heritage and gravitated towards the Brethren. Peggy was known for her faithfulness to her husband during his lifetime, and was the only one of Vann's wives who did not leave him, despite the beatings she often suffered at his hands. McLoughlin notes she remained faithful to James right up to the time of his death "though she was always frightened of him."[399] Even the Moravians were struck by Peggy's behavior and the way she continued to stand by her husband, noting:

> she is a really noble woman, who loved her husband genuinely and dearly, even though he always treated her shamefully and often really barbarously, and hurt her in every conceivable way, and she tried to conceal from everyone as much

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[396] MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Oochgelogy, to Benade, Salem, January 7, 1824.

[397] See MAS: Correspondence, J.R. Schmidt, Springplace, to Schulz, Salem, October 18, 1825; September 7, 1826; and October 30, 1826.

[398] Perdue, *Cherokee Women*, 227, footnote 23; the suit was dated 10 November 1828. MAS: Correspondence, Gottlieb Byhan, Springplace, to Brother Schulz, Salem, November 19, 1828 states: "Our neighbor Joseph Vann lost his big "Suit" with our friend McNair. If McNair had lost it, it would have seemed like it was just envy."

[399] McLoughlin, *Cherokee Ghost Dance*, 46.

> as possible his misdeeds and his shameful life, so that really many a Christian woman could learn from her.[400]

Anna Rosina Gambold also noted that Peggy was a notable example of fidelity amongst the Cherokee, writing: "she has led a very retired life since youth and – in so far as she is known to us – was the only woman in the Nation who has remained faithful to one man and that under the worst mistreatment on his part, for which she was respected by white and brown who came into her husband's house."[401] Once this irascible link to the Vann clan was gone, however, Peggy sought to distance herself from Old Mother Vann and the rest of the Vann family.

Like her former husband, Peggy was the child of a white male trader and Cherokee woman, and like her husband was raised among the Cherokee. Peggy did not discover that her birth date was August 20th 1783, until the day after her 26th birthday in 1809.[402] Gambold reported the following on her parentage the year after she had been baptized Margaret Ann:

> Charles R. Hicks' sister Sally was married to a former agent to this nation under British rule, named Walter Scott, born in Scotland, who is generally reputed to have had a very good character; with him, as far as we know, she had 3 sons and 4 daughters, the former all died in infancy, but the latter are still alive and of them, our Marg. Ann is the second. After Walter Scott's decease, the aforementioned Sally married a Rob't Brown with whom she still lives and resides about 60 miles from here, and the road to Cumberland, with him she also had 4 daughters who are still alive.[403]

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[400] MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to Benzien, Salem, 23 February, 1809.

[401] MAS: Correspondence, Anna Rosina Gambold, Springplace, to the Rev. John Herbst, Lititz, Doctor Luther's birthday [November 10], 1810.

[402] MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to Brother Benzien, Salem, August 21, 1809. Here Gambold reveals Peggy had only found this out after a visit from her step-father.

[403] MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to Van Vleck, Salem, August 30, 1813.

This means, if my earlier supposition about Old Mother Vann's earlier marriage to Robert Brown is correct, that, as Peggy's step-father, Robert Brown was also related by marriage to her former husband James Vann.[404] This is further evidence of the dense web of kinship that linked Cherokee communities together, ties that seemed natural and unexceptional to the Cherokee, but which baffled the Brethren, or might have appalled them, had they fully understood them. When Scott died is unknown, though Peggy's mother is first mentioned in the Moravian material in 1808, as 'old Mrs. Brown;" thus she had obviously remarried by this point.[405] Walter Scott had worked to keep his daughter distant from Cherokee culture, the Brethren noting Peggy remembered her father once called her away from a Cherokee dance, since which time she had avoided them altogether.[406] Peggy, who was bilingual, though unable to write at this point, had intimated as early as the 9th April 1809, less than two months after her husband's death, that she wished for some closer tie to the Moravians.[407] It thus seems likely that despite James Vann's willing assistance to the Moravians in all things temporal, it was only his complete indifference, indeed hostility, to their Christianity that had prevented Peggy from seeking a closer connection with the missionaries far earlier, quite possibly years.

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[404] In other words, not only were James and Peggy Vann man and wife, they were also related by marriage as their respective mothers had both married the same man, Robert Brown.

[405] MAS: Diary, September 22, 1809; McClinton, 1, 280; in her footnote to this entry McClinton (footnote 53, 1, 627) notes that Robert Brown was her "second husband." Peggy's mother herself died in October 1816; MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to Brother Simon, Salem, October 21, 1816, where Gambold notes Peggy's: "old mother, whom she and her sisters nursed faithfully during the last week of her life, departed from this world two weeks ago..."

[406] MAS: Diary, July 2, 1810; the entry notes Peggy as saying: "My father, this Mr. Walter Scott was a white man and formerly agent among the Cherokee nation, protected me from heathen entertainment and once kept me away from a dance on account of which I, out of love for him whom I lost to death all too early, stay away from to this day."

[407] MAS: Diary, April 9, 1809. Anna Rosina Gambold noted Peggy's wishes, had come up when they were on their way home from visiting Betty, a female slave on Vann's plantation, who was dying.

Old Mother Vann and Nancy Vann were equally unhappy about Peggy's move closer to the Moravians, both geographically and spiritually. The Diary for April 1st 1810 records Peggy "was in a quite oppressive situation, as she had to put up with all sorts of bitter insulting language from some of her husband's relatives. This, as she could clearly see, was just because she had left their presence and doesn't want to participate in their amusements and seriously seeks our company."[408] After Peggy's baptism, as Margaret Ann, on August 13th 1810, the persecution worsened. As noted earlier the family spread rumors in the district that she was a prostitute and sent "bad men" around to her new house. On November 10th, Anna Gambold noted of the Vanns that they:

> would have liked to have her near them and thus keep her away from us. Now that that did not succeed for them, they are spreading the most brazen lies about her and allege that she has withdrawn from their custody in order that she can live a scandalous life without being observed. In the meantime, those very ones who calumniate her are living without any shame in all the sins and vices which they ascribe to her.[409]

Why then this continued persecution of Peggy by the Vann women, and why did Peggy not leave Diamond Hill as soon as her husband died?

The answer to the latter question is provided by a letter of June 1809, noted earlier, in which John Gambold states of Peggy:

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[408] MAS: Diary, Sunday, April 1, 1810.

[409] MAS: Correspondence, Anna Rosina Gambold, Springplace, to Rev. John Herbst, Lititz. The letter is undated except for the notation: 'on Doctor Luther's birthday;' this falls on November 10. As Anna Rosina refers to events recorded in the diary for November 5, this seems the likely date of writing.

> Outwardly her situation is very unpleasant, for as the plantation is being managed, at least for the present, for the account of Vann's heirs, she still has the name of Mistress, but in reality she is only a maid and really cannot do anything for herself and has to put up with all kinds of insolence and other offenses from the malicious Negroes, for which reason she often wishes she were away from here, but doesn't know where to go.[410]

An additional clue is provided by the last line of the National Council's April 17th 1809 ruling on Vann's will. Having decreed Peggy should be allowed to remain in the house as long as she pleased, the ruling concludes: "The Chiefs and Warriors expect that Peggy will treat the people as usual when they come to your house."[411] This stipulation by the Council, along with the daily business of running a substantial plantation, kept Peggy Vann at Diamond Hill for the best part of a year after her husband's death.[412]

This leaves the question of why the Vann family continued to harass Peggy, even after she had left Diamond Hill. It is my contention that the continued harassment had two causes: first, it was a continuation of the Vann women's campaign to claw back the property they felt they had been denied by Vann's will; and, second and more importantly, it was another manifestation of the Vanns promoting the continuity of traditional Cherokee culture. In this case it was an attempt to shame and ostracize a community member who displayed behavior considered unacceptable by the wider society, and they needed to maintain ties to Peggy in order to do this effectively. In short, the Vanns wished to continue the work of Peggy's deceased husband to stop her forming a closer connection with the Brethren. They wished to prevent any possibility of Peggy's conversion to Christianity which the Vanns considered a concession to acculturation. There is considerable evidence in the Moravians' records to indicate that the Vann family was willing to use whatever methods they had available to harass Peggy and make her life difficult. Even though property and litigation were never too far away from their minds - Theda Perdue notes that they were "a contentious lot"[413] - their overriding concern was to keep Peggy in the Cherokee fold and thus stop one of their own from converting to Christianity. Disputes over James Vann's will and property were just a means to that end.

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[410] MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to Brother Benzien, Salem, 24 June, 1809.

[411] De Baillou, "Chief Vann House," 7.

[412] MAS: Diary, December 26, 1809. This entry notes Peggy had moved three days earlier.

That the Vann's real interest was in attempting to control Peggy's behavior rather than regain James Vann's property is illustrated by the fact that they contested little of the National Council's revised settlement of Vann's will. Only three disputes concerned Peggy's share of her husband's property. The first referred to a disagreement over the value of the child born to the slave couple Peggy had inherited. Peggy offered to buy the child, which was 8 or 9 months old according to the Moravians, but the Administrators baulked as they believed they could get much more if they left it another eight to ten years before selling.[414] This, however, was not a concern raised by the Vann family, but by the Administrators, albeit both of whom had links to the Vanns.

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[413] Perdue, *Cherokee Women,* 140.

[414] MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to Charles Reichel, Salem, November 18, 1810.

The only dispute raised directly by the Vanns concerned cattle that James Vann had taken, and the National Council decreed Peggy should be reimbursed for. The Brethren wrote:

> Peggy has been secretly informed that Vann's mother and brothers and sisters are putting their heads together to bring the number of cattle to 15, instead of 35, which not Peggy but Capt. Blair, who had driven the cattle to Pennsylvania, had reported to the Council.[415]

The final flare up came in 1813, when one of the administrators attempted to reclaim land that had been granted Peggy by the National Council. Again the property itself was not the issue - it was an attempt to keep Peggy linked to the Vanns. Gambold wrote "that it is not a question of using a piece of land is clear from this...they offered Mr. Crutchfield [Peggy's husband since 1812] to build on their free land near the mill, almost four miles from his house, as much as he wants."[416] The Vanns could not exert an influence on Peggy's behavior if they never had any contact with her, so the property disputes appear another way of maintaining contact.

There was thus little direct confrontation with Peggy's inherited property because the disputed property remained in the Vann's possession. In November 1810, shortly before Charles Hicks interceded with the National Council on Peggy's behalf, Gambold wrote: "she has longingly been wishing ever since her departure out of her husband's house to be dissociated from his Estate, but...it has never come to a closing of accounts with its Administrators."[417] The Vanns also harassed Peggy by sending various suitors to her new home, none of whom could be described as pleasing to the godly Moravians, or Peggy herself. Two examples will suffice. First, in 1810, a travelling salesman "began slandering Mrs. Vann. On her arrival he actually did so to her face; she believed he must have been put up to it by her relatives who wished her to drop her association with the missionaries."[418] A few months later the man returned and asked the Brethren "very humbly that we should ask for forgiveness for him from the widow whom he had offended so nastily because he did not have the courage to appear before her in person." The missionaries continued: "Others who pretended that they wanted to marry her and also had been sent to her by her enemies, she turned away with emphatic words."[419]

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[415] *Ibid.*

[416] MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to Van Vleck, Salem, April 20, 1813.

Two years later another unsuitable suitor, Samuel Talley, newly appointed overseer on the Vann plantation, came to pay suit to Peggy, and refused to give up his petition unless she could definitively state she was promised to someone else.[420] It was Talley's overtures that, in part, persuaded Peggy to accept Joseph Crutchfield's proposal of marriage instead, as noted above. Despite his failure to wed Peggy, Talley was retained by the Vanns; he proved an irritant whom the

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[417] MAS: Correspondence, the Gambolds, Springplace, to Charles Gotthold Reichel, Salem, November 18, 1810.

[418] MAS: Diary, August 30, 1810.

[419] MAS: Correspondence, Anna Rosina Gambold, Springplace, to John Herbst, Lititz, Doctor Luther's birthday, 1810 [November 10].

[420] MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to Brother Peter, Salem, June 24, 1812.

Brethren described as "malicious" - even after the National Council decreed he be expelled from the Nation for stealing and other crimes.[421]

The Vanns thus continually harassed Peggy to keep her away from the Moravians and Christian conversion, and to uphold a more traditional Cherokee path. Numerous instances in the Moravian records demonstrate that the Vanns conspired to prevent Peggy from attending Moravian services at Springplace by coming to visit her and then staying on so that she could not leave. For example, the mission diary noted in September 1810: "Early in the day Brother and Sister Gambold visited at Peggy's but found that Mother Vann along with some other Indians prevented her from attending our first service, to her sorrow." [422] As Anna Rosina Gambold stated, the only reason for the Vanns to do this was because they "would have liked to have her near them and thus keep her away from us."[423] Anna's husband John completed the picture a few months later when he wrote that Peggy: "has met with many severe Trials, her late Husband's Relations left nothing untried, *to keep her in Heathenism*: Whey they found Flattery inefficient, they had Recourse to downright persecution, traducing her Character in the vilest Manner."[424]

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[421] MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to Brother Peter, Salem, May 12, 1813.

[422] MAS: Diary, Sunday, September 2, 1810. See also, *inter alia*, MAS: Diary, April 8, 1810; June 11, 1810; August 20, 1810; and September 15, 1810.

[423] MAS: Correspondence, Anna Rosina Gambold, Springplace, to John Herbst, Lititz, Doctor Luther's birthday, 1810 [November 10].

[424] MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to Brother Haga [Philadelphia], March 6, 1811; emphasis added.

The final example of the Vanns attempting to prevent a closer connection between Peggy and the Moravians came just a few months later. The Cherokee National Council instigated a drive to expel all whites from within the boundaries of the Cherokee Nation. Peggy "blamed it frankly on her relatives," with the suggestion that it was an attempt to get rid of the Moravians, and that the Indian agents could not do anything about it as the order came down from higher authorities - namely the President.[425] In the end the mission was unaffected by the order, but it illustrated that the Vanns were willing to try anything to keep Peggy from converting, even expelling the Brethren. As this would have meant getting rid of their school as well, it shows just how resistant the Vanns were to the imposition of Christianity. It also highlights just how fundamental James Vann had been in getting the Moravians accepted by the Cherokee.

It was this determination on the part of the Vanns to prevent any serious conversions to Christianity that led to Peggy's persecution - sometimes petty, sometimes vindictive. For the Vann family, as for many other Cherokee, the choice facing them was not the traditional historiography's stark dichotomy between full assimilation and entirely traditional ways, but instead was altogether more contingent and complex. The education in literacy that the Moravians and other missionary groups offered was an acceptable adaptation to the white American world and one which many Cherokee realized was necessary for their survival. The rest of James Vann's family also came to accept it after his death when they realized that they - and more directly Vann's executors - required the

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[425] MAS: Correspondence, Anna Rosina Gambold, Springplace, to Brother and Sister Herbst, [Lititz], May 20, 1811.

Brethren's literacy in order to sort out Vann's affairs. The acceptability of literacy is shown by the changing behavior of Old Mother Vann towards the Gambolds. After her initial outburst of invective, inspired by grief for the loss of her son, Old Mother Vann, and to a lesser extent, the rest of Vann's blood relations, were, if not welcoming, then at least civil in their face-to-face dealings with the missionaries and Peggy, however unpleasant they were behind their backs.[426]

This was because John Gambold was the only person available to them that could perform the tasks of reading James Vann's will and writing all the paperwork his death necessitated. While expediency might have explained some of the Vann family's restraint towards Gambold and the other Moravians, the fact that they were so reliant on his abilities served to highlight the value of the literacy the Springplace mission could offer the Cherokee in their dealings with white men. For this reason the Vanns allowed Joseph, and others of the Vann children,[427] to attend the Brethren's school and to gain the literacy that would allow Joseph to follow in his father's footsteps as a successful trader.[428]

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[426] For example, MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to Christian Lewis Benzien, Salem, September 14, 1810, writes: "We are not perplexed by the fact that she [Peggy] is maligned by her husband's relatives and that many evil things are being said about her, but it is for us more rather an indication that the Savior has chosen her out of the world. Those poor people themselves show that they are lying, for when they come to her they not only act very friendly but if they are accosted by her about that, they affirm to the utmost that they have never said anything like that."

[427] Aside from Joseph (1805-1808), Mary Vann (1805-1807), and Robin Vann (1812-1813/14) also attended the Moravians' school. Sally Vann also briefly attended the 'day-school' the Brethren operated in 1802. This meant that the only Vann children not to attend were Delilah McNair, and the contentious Jenny/Jesse Vann.

[428] McLoughlin, *Cherokee Ghost Dance*, 72, footnote 70, states: "Joseph Vann inherited most of his father's estate and he too became the richest man in the Cherokee Nation. He was known as "Rich Joe" Vann."

Just as James Vann had sneered at Christianity, so too did the rest of his family - it smacked more of assimilation than a necessary accommodation to survive. Peggy's conversion to Christianity was too great a departure from traditional Cherokee ways, and one which the Vanns were unwilling to condone. It was for this reason that the Vann family sought to persecute and harass Peggy once she had shown the inclination to abandon her Cherokee heritage and join the Moravians. It was for this reason the family sought to do everything in their power to prevent Peggy interacting with the Brethren, and why they continued to fight to prevent her conversion even after she had moved away from the Diamond Hill plantation. The continued strength of Cherokee traditions of community policing relied on shame and ostracism to control individuals.

This is emphasized by the way the Vanns also persecuted other members of their family who shared Peggy's inclination to convert. One similar instance focused on Sally Vann, the first Cherokee child to attend the Moravians' day-school, when it opened in 1802. Sally subsequently spent several years in South Carolina with relatives of her mother and while there married Evan Nicholson. Sally and Evan moved to Cherokee territory "in order to get something of her father's estate for the beginning of her house-keeping but found little hearing from the administrators for which reason her husband, at the advice of her relatives, decided to move entirely into [this] country in order to come into his own [property] in that way."[429] Gambold noted, again acknowledging the continued presence of older Cherokee inheritance practice:

> We soon found out that she is being scorned by her grandmother and other relatives and even treated with enmity, for the person who does not blow their horn, and on top of that wants a share in the property, what they want to appropriate in the old barbaric way, is in no way welcome among them.[430]

It was not just the property issue that caused the Vanns to turn on Sally. Following her return in 1813 Sally began to attend the Moravians' services on a regular basis. This brought the vitriol of Nancy and Old Mother Vann down on her head, just as it had with Peggy before her:

> The poor person [Sally] is hated by her grandmother, the old Vann woman, and even more by her daughter Nancy and is treated in a similar way as our Peggy. She has only lived in our neighborhood for a brief time, primarily to hear the word of God, as she never misses one of our Sunday services unless there is a problem. All efforts have already been exerted to convince her to move away, but in vain.[431]

Sally's persecution only ended the following year; she and her husband moved away after the distribution of her father's property, the inheritance transformed them into a "quite rich" family.[432]

In one final irony Old Mother Vann herself succumbed to the Brethren's Christian message several years later and she herself faced the same communal persecution that she herself inflicted on both Peggy and Sally. After her baptism, as Mary Christiana, in March 1819, Old Mother Vann reported to the missionaries that:

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[429] MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to Van Vleck, Salem, August 13, 1813.

[430] *Ibid.* Gambold reported that during one quarrel between Old Mother Vann and Sally the former had said to the latter: "I have a good mind to stamp your soul out" and right away she jumped from her chair with a real death-look saying "and I will do it." Gambold felt this threat uttered with such seriousness that he stepped between the two women and ordered Old Mother Vann from the house.

[431] MAS: Diary, July 31, 1813; McClinton, *Moravian Springplace Mission*, 1, 548.

[432] MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to Jacob Van Vleck, Salem, October 15, 1814.

> She is also experiencing now what her predecessor [Peggy] experienced so richly in faith. She has to suffer persecution! Angry neighbors, to whom she always shows love and goodness, cause her much anguish. Not only do they mock her because she has now become good and joined herself to *good people*, but they also challenge her to fight with them. She said with tears, "Previously I would not have been able to bear this, I would *soon* have thrown them to the ground and disgraced them. Now, however, I think *differently*. In the meantime their behavior still hurts me because I have never shown them anything but goodness, and if they lacked anything, I helped them with it.[433]

It is notable that it was not family who persecuted Old Mother Vann now (her husband Clement Vann was accepted into the Brethren's congregation three months after her, and her daughter Nancy was baptized the following year), but friends and neighbors who had previously been close to her.[434] Communal ostracism remained a powerful weapon.

Clement and Old Mother Vann's confirmation ceremony was performed by Abraham Steiner, one of the initial missionaries in Springplace at its founding, but who had been forced to return to Salem in 1802 because of ill-health. He returned to Springplace in 1819 to report on the mission's progress for the Salem Elders, and was struck by the change he found in Old Mother Vann. In August of 1801 Steiner had attempted to discuss the gospel with some Cherokees "but they didn't have the ears for that."[435] After Old Mother Vann's conversion Steiner wrote:

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[433] Quote from MAS, Diary: Sunday, August 1, 1819; McClinton, *Moravian Springplace Mission,* 2, 307. Old Mother Vann was baptized on Sunday, March 14, 1819; McClinton, *Moravian Springplace Mission,* 2, 271; emphasis in the original.

[434] Clement Vann's acceptance: MAS: Diary, Sunday 27 June, 1819; McClinton, *Moravian Springplace Mission,* 2, 301. Nancy Vann's baptism, as Anna Dorothea: MAS: Diary, Sunday 23 July, 1820; McClinton, *Moravian Springplace Mission,* 2, 376.

> It is wonderful what grace can do! I learned to know Mother Vann and others 19 years ago, and where at that time there was darkness and indifference, if not hostility, now they look bright and happy and are enjoying the merits of the Savior's death and life. What was opposed of the Gospel now has become evangelist: especially Mother Vann tries to lead all her relatives to Christ.[436]

Indeed, Old Mother Vann went so far after her conversion to dictate a letter to Gambold, of which she had copies made, and distributed it to all her relatives, imploring them to convert as she had.[437] It was likely that this only served to increase the ostracism she faced. The same problem confronted the Cherokee woman Simarte, a decade later. In 1832, Simarte came to the Springplace mission and indicated she wished to join the congregation. She had been baptized earlier by the Baptists, but now the Moravians were the only missionary group remaining in the Nation, so she wished to join their church.[438] However, she complained to the Brethren about "her distress and the persecution and insults she has to endure from her husband and her natural sister because she seeks our community and has renounced further service to sin." [439]

This disinclination towards Christianity, while accepting literacy, was not only confined to the Vanns. Emphasizing this point several of the children at the

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[435] MAS: Correspondence, Abraham Steiner, Springplace, to Christian Lewis Benzien, Salem, August 18, 1801.

[436] Quoted in Schwarze, *Moravian Missions Among Southern Indian Tribes*, 126.

[437] See Schwarze, *Moravian Missions Among Southern Indian Tribes*, 125.

[438] MAS: Diary, July 1, 1832.

[439] MAS: Diary, May 27, 1832.

Brethren's school were withdrawn as soon as they began to show any signs of interest in Christianity.[440] It became a regular lament for John Gambold each year at the time of the Moravians' Children's Festival (August 17th) that they did not yet have any converts amongst their pupils, such as in 1817 when he lamented 12 years had passed without any of their "foster children" turning to God. He consoled himself with the thought that they "show affection for us."[441] When Gambold wrote to the Indian Agent Colonel Meigs on the issue, Meigs replied:

> I observed in your Letter, that you regret that Johnson M'Donald is taken from your Institution. Is it not probable that the parents finding that Christianity was plasing [sic] itself in Johnson's mind, they feared an Innovation in the Religion of their Ancestors? Paganism will not be given up without a Struggle to hold its ground.[442]

The issue was thus more widespread amongst the Cherokee than just the Vann family. Many among the Cherokee thought that gaining an understanding of white literacy was an acceptable adaptation to white culture, but still wished to retain their core Cherokee beliefs, and thus rejected Christianity, and continued to practice communal ostracism and shaming of any individual who strayed from the group on the issue.

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[440] See, for example, MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to Brother Benzien, Salem, July 20, 1811; and Gottlieb Byhan, Springplace, to Brother Herbst, September 11, 1819. See also McClinton, *Moravian Springplace Mission*, 1, 443-444 for Johnson McDonald's withdrawal and its spiritual cause. This entry notes that despite the missionaries requesting Johnson's parents did not take him to ball-plays and other such 'heathen' customs, and receiving a promise to that effect, they still took Johnson to a ball-play the very next day. See also MAS: Correspondence, AR Gambold, Springplace, to Brother and Sister Stotz, Salem, undated [probably October 12, 1811]; here Anna Rosina comments on Johnson's withdrawal and notes "That's the way it also happened with our hopeful girl, Alice Shorey."

[441] MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to Brother Peter, Salem, October 17, 1817.

[442] Quoted in MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to Brother Benzien, Salem, October 12, 1811.

This selective approach towards adopting some but not all of the various aspects of white culture available to them in the accommodation process thus explains why it was Peggy, Sally, Old Mother Vann, even Johnson McDonald - the converts and possibilities - and not the Moravian missionaries - the converters - who received the brunt of the Vann family's displeasure, and the passive-aggression of the wider Cherokee Nation. As Old Mother Vann had stated so firmly at the time of her son's death, the Vann family "were *Indians*" and wished to remain so. Because the Vanns were Indians they "didn't understand [Christian] teachings" and as a result they did not welcome a people who "didn't know anything to talk about except the *Savior*" unless it was to enable them to learn the literacy that would allow their children to better combat white encroachment and survive and thrive in the mainstream white American world.[443]

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[443] MAS: Diary, March 4, 1809.

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“LEFT TO THEMSELVES, THE CHEROKEE WOULD BECOME A PROSPEROUS, INDEPENDENT COMMONWELATH, AND WOULD NEVER SELL THEIR LANDS”: CHEROKEES, SLAVES AND MORAVIANS AT SPRINGPLACE MISSION, GEORGIA, 1799-1838

VOLUME II

By

Stuart David Willis

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Chapter Four

Anything but Pleasant: Rebellious Slaves and Christian Moravians

The Brethren were not interested in slavery. They had their own agenda, which came complete with instructions and a single goal. Put simply "the long-standing policy of the Moravian Church [was] that missionaries were not to involve themselves in political affairs, but were strictly to attend to their own business of quietly spreading the gospel."[444] The Brethren were therefore in the business of converting the heathen to Christianity and nothing else. Of course, work in the spiritual realm required labor in the temporal one, entailing certain accommodations to the secular powers that prevailed. They would accept and adopt slavery where it existed as this would allow them to work on "quietly spreading the gospel." Quietly was the optimal term. The Brethren did not try to force their views on anyone, and did not malign those who rejected their message. The Moravians frowned on those denominations which sought to hector and harass individuals into conversion, and were frequently critical of the Methodists and Baptists for their noisy ways. In short, the Brethren sought a quiet conversion of the heart, so their proselytization was all carrot and no stick, or, in the case of slavery, no whip.

As a result the Brethren in North Carolina and at the Georgia missions to the Cherokee became slaveholders so they did not rock the boat, and did not berate James or Joseph Vann or any other Cherokee for practicing slavery. Accommodations were made to 'political affairs' such as slavery in order to quietly spread the gospel. This meant the Moravians became slaveholders in a perfunctory, pro forma way. The missionaries' hearts were just not in it and their behavior undermined the institution they pretended to support. Slavery was problematic for the Brethren because it required them to do something they were neither interested in nor temperamentally suited for - hold and use slaves. By white southern standards the Brethren made poor slaveholders.

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[444] Crews and Starbuck, *With Courage for the Future*, 270, footnote 1.

The Springplace mission provides a unique setting through which to investigate Moravian slaveholding practices because while the Indians were the primary focus of the mission the Cherokee were experiencing an evolution in their own society. This included the adoption, by some elements of the Nation, of black chattel slavery.[445] At a time when Moravians were ministering to Native American groups in North and South America, and to African Americans throughout the Caribbean, Springplace was a rare instance of the Brethren proselytizing both Native Americans and African Americans simultaneously.[446] The hierarchical, paternalistic master-slave relationship was also at odds with

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[445] See Theda Perdue, *Slavery and the Evolution of Cherokee Society, 1540-1866* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1979), and R. Halliburton, Jr., *Red over Black: Black Slavery among the Cherokee Indians* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1977).

[446] While the Moravians proselytized to slaves where they found them in Georgia, the Cherokee were the primary focus of the Springplace mission. Crews & Starbuck, *With Courage for the Future*, 3, note "our church historians have cited three reasons for the Moravians' coming to North Carolina: (1) "to serve their neighbors," (2) "to establish a town where the Moravian ideals of Christian living might be practically realized," and (3) "to preach the Gospel to the Indians." With the end of the Revolution thoughts turned towards the Cherokee again, with the Salem Memorabilia for that year noting: "During this year earnest consideration was given to the possibility of taking the Gospel to the Cherokee Indians, so fulfilling one of our purposes for which the Saviour planted our congregation in North Carolina." *Ibid*, 122.

Moravian views on Indians and slaves, both of whom were regarded as heathens yet equal before God when converted. The situation was further complicated by the presence of slaves at Springplace, owned corporately by the Brethren's parent church in Salem, and freely used by the missionaries at the Springplace and Oochgeelogy mission stations.

White supporters of the federal government's Indian 'civilization' program supported not only Christianity and literacy for Indigenous peoples, but also the adoption of African chattel slavery. Their purpose was to inculcate ideas of sedentary agricultural labor and the production of a surplus for trade. The Moravians, with their emphasis on scriptural knowledge gained through personal study, and acceptance of slavery, seemed ideal candidates to work with the Cherokee. However, the way the Moravians treated slaves at Springplace compromised their stance as slaveholders and meant the example the Brethren set the Cherokee on slavery was not the one southern slaveholders wanted.

Upon their arrival at Springplace the Moravians supported a policy on slavery that was utterly contradictory. Slaves who converted were treated as spiritual equals before Christ and by their fellow Moravians. Simultaneously, the Brethren accepted human bondage, bought, sold, owned and utilized slaves, and did not extend the grant of equality to those slaves who did not convert. While Moravian slaves, converts or not, generally could expect better treatment from the Brethren than from other southern slaveholders, the failure of the Moravians to grant equality to those slaves who did not convert and their failure to manumit those who did, thus giving them true equality, undercut the Moravians' egalitarian

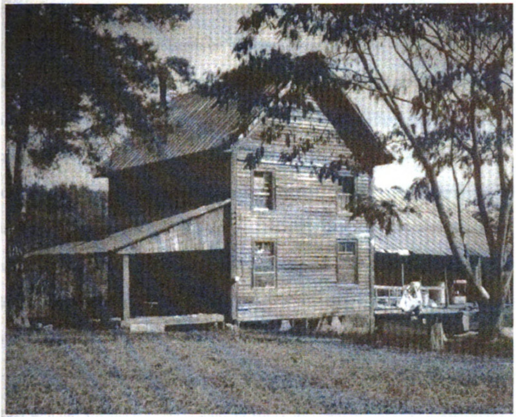

Figure 21: A reconstruction of the Oochgeelogy (now Oothcaloga, Georgia) mission station that opened in 1823 and was forced to close in 1831. It was situated thirty miles to the south of Springplace, and eight miles south of New Echota. Taken from Rowena McClinton, *The Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees, Volume 1, 1805-1813* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), xix.

spiritual message.

In other words, the Brethren's accommodation of the wishes and beliefs of their white neighbors in bowing to segregationist policies and practice towards African Americans was not matched by a similar acknowledgement and recognition of the human rights of their own black slaves, Christian converts or not. Thus while the Moravians' undercut the racist ideology inherent in southern slavery by giving black converts spiritual equality, they also undercut their own message of black equality and humanity by only extending that privilege to those slaves who converted to their beliefs, and by continuing to own and use slave labor.

Nor was this the only contradiction inherent in the Brethren's position. In order to make themselves acceptable to white slaveholding society in the South the Moravians at Salem presented themselves as slaveholders and upholders of slave law and practice. The missionaries at Springplace were similarly obliged to show themselves upholders of local custom and law and thus also assumed the mantle of slaveholders for the Cherokee. However, this pretence was undercut by the latitude allowed the slave woman Pleasant at Springplace. For twenty four years Pleasant would shirk her work, irritate the missionaries, and spread rumors that served to undermine the Moravians' religious mission, yet she was never physically punished once. Had Pleasant been James Vann's slave it is unlikely she would have lasted long without being whipped or sold for behavior routinely overlooked by the Brethren.

The Moravians' policy on slavery was thus a mass of contradictions to the extent that no clear position emerged and no set policy can be identified. They sought to be slaveholders in the temporal realm and egalitarians in the spiritual one. When these two worlds clashed the Brethren vacillated and their words and deeds seldom matched. The good treatment and lack of punishment of slaves at the Georgia missions illustrates this contradictory policy in microcosm. If Southern slaveholders or the promoters of the civilization program hoped the Moravians would teach the Cherokee how to be good slaveholders or berate them into being good Christians, they were sorely disappointed.

The Moravians were also rather poor agents of the federal government's civilization program, as they sought not to push the Cherokee into white habits of mind, only to coax them gently towards the light of the Savior. While their Christocentric, Western biases were all too obvious, theirs was not a hellfire and brimstone approach to conversion.[447] A convert had to truly believe in order to be accepted into the Moravian church, and any backsliding was met not with punishment, but with exclusion from the Brethren's services - loss of access to the community of faith being seen as punishment enough. This meant the Moravians did not hector the Cherokee into becoming Christian, did not push them towards Western behaviors, and did not lead them into becoming 'civilized.' Thus, the Brethren mirrored their Cherokee hosts when they opted for ostracism for those who strayed from the fold. The reward was membership in the Moravian community; the punishment was formal exclusion. As such, those Cherokee who did not seek entry into the Brethren's faith were not chastised, only earnestly implored to reconsider. Thus, just as their treatment of slaves undermined their claim to be slaveholders, the Moravians' failure to challenge Cherokees like James Vann for their unchristian lifestyles and continued heathen ways worked to undermine the 'civilizing' element of the Brethren's mission to the Cherokee.

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[447] Compare this with the attitudes of the Baptists in Rhys Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia 1740-1790* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982).

Moravian attitudes towards slavery

From the time of their revival in central Europe in the 1720s the Moravian attitude towards human bondage was one of studied indifference, a natural progression from their belief in the divinity of the established social order in Europe. The Brethren believed feudal society was ordained by God, but also in equality of the faithful in worship. In other words, lords and serfs were still lords and serfs in this life but they were equal in the sight of God. This belief was reinforced by Saxon count Nicholas Ludwig von Zinzendorf's leadership of the Moravian revival from 1727. As a nobleman in Eastern Europe where serfdom and feudal privilege remained more strongly entrenched than further west, Zinzendorf simply accepted the fact he was playing his allotted role in the social hierarchy.[448] This view of the social order in Europe was extended to enslaved Africans, Moravian historian Jon Sensbach noting Zinzendorf "knew almost nothing about Africans, empathized not at all with their bondage, and was interested in them only as potential souls for Christ."[449] Thus, an enslaved heathen's soul was neither more nor less in need of saving than a free heathen's soul, and their temporal status was incidental.

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[448] Jon Sensbach, *A Separate Canaan: The Making of an Afro-Moravian World in North Carolina, 1763-1840* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 27.

[449] *Ibid*, 134.

When the Brethren set out on their first Caribbean venture to St. Thomas in 1732 there was little Protestant precedent to guide them and Zinzendorf simply told the first missionaries "to be guided by the Saviour" in their actions.[450] With religious tunnel-vision, and a certain naiveté about the possible effect of his actions Friedrich Martin struck a militant stance on slavery. After the recall of the first two missionaries, in 1733 and 1734 respectively, neither of whom had made much, the arrival of Martin in 1736 heralded a revolution in the Brethren's fortunes. While Martin was not "known to have opposed slavery itself, at least not openly," he worked hard to ingratiate himself with the slaves in a way his predecessors had not. [451] Martin visited the slave quarters regularly, sought to avoid their contempt by avoiding women (having himself bled every 8 days instead), and, during the famine of 1736, saved two slaves from starvation by giving them bread and flour. [452]

Martin taught the slaves an explicit biblical critique of their owners, painting them as evil and unchristian. Furthermore, the opposition of slaveowners, which had stifled the efforts of earlier Moravians, only increased the appeal of Martin's message of equality. Nonetheless, Martin was aware the success of his mission depended upon his discretion, and thus counseled the slaves not to rebel against their masters. "The pacifist Brethren were not urging their pupils to develop a biblical attack on slavery. Spiritual transcendence, not social revolution, was the goal."[453] The appeal of such a message to the slaves resulted in a surge in popularity for the mission, which drew slaves from an increasingly wide catchment area. This inevitably brought planter dismay about the movement of large numbers of slaves around the island.

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[450] Mason, *Moravian Church... in England*, 18.

[451] Sensbach, *Rebecca's Revival*, 53.

[452] In a move that would later become a stock feature of Moravian mission work, he also learnt the slaves' own language, Dutch Creole, to be able to preach to them in their own tongue. Martin also linked his religious message to literacy. "To many Africans in the Danish West Indies, as throughout the Americas, learning to read was like cracking a mysterious code that would surrender the knowledge and power Europeans had used to enslave them." *Ibid*, 55. Martin thus held literacy classes and handed out Dutch bibles. So popular was this approach that within six months of his arrival, the room in his townhouse Martin had converted to a schoolroom had become overcrowded, so enthusiastic were his pupils.

The Moravian's paradoxical position on slavery appeared at this time. Planter dismay at the movement of slaves around St. Thomas led to a reduction in their financial support of the Brethren. As a result, in July 1738, Martin bought a plantation, along with nine slaves to work it, to fund the mission. Martin preached to the slaves "using the son of their white masters' own God to condemn them" while at the same time holding and using slaves upon a plantation he had bought for the sole purpose of supporting the mission teaching this evangelical message.[454] Martin's stance drew on both facets of Zinzendorf's beliefs - the religious side that all believers were equal before God, and the secular one that slavery was part of the social order ordained by God. This led Sensbach to conclude: “Europeans like Martin believed that slavery had divine approval, and thus they regarded their ownership of slaves as consistent with God’s law.”[455]

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[453] *Ibid*, 56.

[454] Quote from Sensbach, *Rebecca's Revival*, 68.

Despite Martin acting in perfect accord with Moravian beliefs and position on slavery, the controversy raised by his preaching made Zinzendorf visit St. Thomas the following year. Zinzendorf learned the hard way about letting the Savior guide his missionaries, and this led him to formulate his guidelines for future Moravian missionary behavior, and to make their position on slavery explicit. The count “demanded that his personnel be strict in their obedience to both the civil and ecclesiastical laws of the country in which they were working. He forbade any activity in political affairs or meddling in controversial issues, such as employer-employee relationships.”[456] Furthermore, Moravians were “consistently taught to hold in profound respect the laws of the land wherever they found themselves.”[457] As such, the Brethren’s missionaries were required to studiously avoid making public comment about slavery, nor challenge its legitimacy where legal. Nor were they barred from holding or using slaves.

Despite the Brethren’s purchase of a plantation and slaves (including two baptized Moravian congregants) planters were worried the Brethren’s Christian message might contribute to the wave of slave unrest in the region.[458] Thus, in an address to the island's slaves given on the Moravian plantation, Zinzendorf clarified the Brethren's position. He implored bondsmen to stick to their newfound Christian ways, especially those who had been baptized, but stressed they should:

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[455] *Ibid*, 108.

[456] Weinlick, *Count Zinzendorf*, 100.

[457] J.C.S. Mason, *The Moravian Church and the Missionary Awakening in England 1760-1800* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2001), 8.

[458] An Amina slave plot was uncovered in nearby Danish St. John in 1730 and another in British Antigua in 1735. Jon Sensbach, *Rebecca’s Revival: Creating Black Christianity in the*

> Remain faithful to your masters and mistresses, your overseers and bombas, and that you perform all your work with as much love and diligence as if you were working for yourselves. You must know that Christ himself puts each one of his children to work; for the Lord has made everything Himself - kings, masters, servants, and slaves. And as long as we live in this world, everyone must gladly endure the state into which God has placed him and be content with God's wise counsel.[459]

Drawing on the widespread belief in the 'curse of Ham' Zinzendorf argued God created slavery and intended Africans to be enslaved and they should patiently bear their servitude.[460] In short, conversion and baptism did not make slaves free. He continued: "God has punished the first Negroes with slavery. The blessed state of your souls does not make your bodies accordingly free, but it does remove all evil thoughts, deceit, laziness, faithlessness, and everything that makes your

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Atlantic World (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), notes "A cycle of smaller, but still threatening, revolts broke out across Caribbean and North American plantation societies before being put down," 137. The decade concluded with the slave rising in Stono, South Carolina in 1739, which saw 20 whites killed before it was suppressed; see Peter H. Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stone Rebellion* (New York: Norton, 1974), particularly chapter 12. Oliver Furley, "Moravian Missionaries and Slaves in the West Indies," in *Caribbean Studies* V, 2 (1965), 4, notes, presumably referring to a time some years later, that the New Herrnhut mission "boasted 69 acres and 250 slaves."

[459] *C.G.A. Oldendorp's History of the Mission of the Evangelical Brethren on the Caribbean Islands of St. Thomas, St. Croix, and St. John.* Edited by Johann Jacob Brossard, English edition and Translation Arnold R. Highfield and Vladimir Barac (Ann Arbor, MI: Karoma Publishers, Inc., 1987), 362.

[460] The 'curse of Ham' derived from the biblical story that Ham saw his father Noah naked, and as punishment was cursed to be a servant to his brothers thereafter. See David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution 1770-1823* (1975; reprinted New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 539-541, 555-556. See also Daniel B. Thorp, "Chattel with a Soul: The Autobiography of a Moravian Slave," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History & Biography*, CXII, 3 (1988), 440-441. Thorp also quotes Spangenberg (440) echoing Zinzendorf's assertion that God chose the Africans for slavery: "it is not by chance, rather from God, that one man is a master and the other a slave."

condition of slavery burdensome."[461] The slaves in his audience were moved by his speech and "promised to remain faithful to their Savior until death and wished the count a thousand blessings" for his voyage back to Europe.[462]

When Martin bought the slaves on the St. Thomas estate he did so to gain greater access to them. When Anthony Ulrich visited Herrnhut in 1731 he said the first missionaries would have to become slaves themselves in order to preach to the island's bondsmen who worked all day. Danish law prevented the first Moravians from doing this, so Martin took another approach. If he could not mingle with the slaves as a fellow bondsman, he would do so as their owner. Martin used his control to allow the slaves time off work to be taught literacy, and to ensure they had the time, and energy, to attend services. Taking this control to its logical conclusion Martin felt no compunction at ordering his slaves to attend services. The slaves were, in every sense, a captive audience. As one historian noted "This was not forcible conversion, but it was something approaching it." Other sympathetic slaveholders followed suit, ordering their overseers to ensure their slaves attended services and those that did not should return to work.[463] Hence the Brethren's ambiguous position on slavery was established from the beginning: better treatment, education, time off, but no choice in whether or not to attend services - and continued enslavement.

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[461] Highfield and Barac, *Oldendorp's History,* 363.

[462] *Ibid.*

[463] Furley, "Moravian Missionaries and Slaves in the West Indies," 4-5.

After Zinzendorf's death in 1760 Bishop August Gottlieb Spangenberg rose to the leadership of the Moravian Church and a series of reforming synods reaffirmed the Brethren's characteristic of submission to established authority. Missionaries were reminded they "must willingly be subordinate" to civil authorities.[464] In 1776 this was reinforced by a series of 'brotherly agreements' which "warned that failure to observe, 'knowingly', civil laws would result in expulsion from the Church."[465] Spangenberg cited New Testament scripture to counsel slaves to work hard and be obedient, arguing: "The apostles did not abolish the diversity of stations in life. They let masters remain masters, and servants, servants ... They call the service of a poor slave...even though it be done for an heathen master, a service of God."[466] If anything the Moravian position, on paper at least, was pro-slavery in its attempts to emphasize they would not challenge slavery where it was legal, nor baulk at utilizing slave labor if this furthered their religious goals by allowing them to exercise their rights as slaveholders to promote Christianity.

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[464] Another aspect of Spangenberg's reforms was the scaling back of the role of women in the Moravian Church. After this point women were excluded from leadership or any authority positions. For more on Moravian women see Katherine M. Faull, ed., *Moravian Women's Memoirs: Their Related Lives, 1750-1820* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1997). For a more radical take on the role of women in Moravian theology, see Aaron Spencer Fogleman, *Jesus is Female: Moravians and the Challenge of Radical Religion in Early America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007).

[465] *Ibid*, 13.

[466] August Gottlieb Spangenberg, *An exposition of Christian doctrine, as taught in the Protestant Church of the United Brethren, or, Unitas Fratrum.* Written in German, by August Gottlieb Spangenberg. With a preface, by Benjamin La Trobe (London: printed by W. and A. Strahan: and sold by J. Robson; T. Cadell; C. Dilly; J. Stockdale; and at the settlements and chapels of the Congregations of the Brethren, 1784), 325.

Zinzendorf's aristocratic, purely theological view on the status of slaves set the tone for the approach of Moravian missionaries to the subject of bondage. In Germany, however, with no plantation-owner opinions to worry about, things were different. The African women Rebecca and Maria were ordained as deaconesses at the Herrnhaag settlement in 1746.[467] Both were from the mission to St. Thomas. Rebecca was free, having been emancipated upon the death of her owner in 1730. Maria, however, remained a slave, having been bought by the Moravians to work in the mission. Their position as deaconesses gave these women the right not only to teach and preach, albeit mainly to other women according to the Moravians' gender-segregated 'choir' system, but also to administer communion. Thus, in the Brethren's native Germany, a freedwoman and a slave lived with, taught, and administered to a congregation of white women, including European aristocrats, not just as equals, but as their leaders.

Across Europe in Britain, where the Mansfield decision of 1772 had 'ended' slavery on the mainland,[468] the Moravians had a longstanding, albeit generally covert, association with the campaigns to end the slave trade and slavery itself. These came through William Wilberforce, one of the 'Saints' of the British abolition movement.[469] Wilberforce became acquainted with the

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[467] Sensbach, *Rebecca's Revival*, 187-88. Sensbach notes not only were they among the first females to be ordained by the Moravians, but "they may well have been the first black women to be ordained in western Christianity."

[468] For more on the misinterpreted ruling of Lord Mansfield in the Somerset Case, see Steven M. Wise, *Though the Heavens May Fall: The Landmark Trial That Led to the End of Human Slavery* (Cambridge, MA: De Capo Press, 2005).

[469] For more on Wilberforce, see: Robin Furneaux, *William Wilberforce* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1974); Kevin Belmonte, *William Wilberforce: A Hero for Humanity* (2002;

Moravians in January of 1788, when the British Parliament was preparing for an enquiry into the slave trade and the treatment of slaves in the West Indies. Wilberforce met Christian Ignatius La Trobe, secretary of the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel (SFG), the wing of the Moravian church in England dedicated to foreign missionary work.[470] The English Moravian historian JCS Mason notes "this was their first meeting and it marked the beginning of a long and fruitful connection for the Moravians."[471] The topic of this first discussion was not slavery, but Wilberforce's plan for a mission to be established in Sierra Leone, the British colony in West Africa.[472] The Moravians, however, were unable to take up the invitation to send missionaries to the colony. Because of Wilberforce's friendship with then British Prime Minister William Pitt ('the younger'), La Trobe had to explain to Wilberforce, echoing Zinzendorf and Spangenberg, "it had always been a maxim among the Brethren to keep out of all

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reprint Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2007); William Hague, *William Wilberforce: The Life of the Great Anti-Slave Trade Campaigner* (London: Harper Perennial, 2008).

[470] The SFG was founded by Spangenberg in 1741 to provide for missionaries passing through Britain on their way abroad. It collapsed, along with the finances of the Moravian Church in Britain, in 1749, but was revived in 1768 to assist in equipping the freshly expanded Labrador mission. The revived SFG expanded its role to relieve the burden on the parent Moravian Church from having to support foreign missions like Springplace, few of which were self-supporting. La Trobe was secretary of the SFG from 1787 until 1832, three years before his death.

[471] Mason, *Moravian Church…in England*, 123.

[472] The British acquired Sierra Leone in 1787, and it was quickly adopted by philanthropists as a colony for black slaves freed in Britain. Later it was the destination for 'recaptive' slaves captured by the British anti-slave trade naval squadron stationed off West Africa. For more on Wilberforce and Sierra Leone see Simon Schama, *Rough Crossings: Britain, the Slaves and the American Revolution* (London: BBC Books, 2005).

political business...never meddling in anything related to Government."[473] La Trobe thus shied away from Wilberforce and his strong links to Prime Minister Pitt and the British government, causing the Brethrens' contributions to the abolitionist cause to be made covertly. Aware of the possible detrimental effects upon their missions in the West Indies the Moravians failed to come out strongly and openly on the side of abolition, choosing instead a quieter approach.

With the government enquiry into the slave trade looming Wilberforce pressed La Trobe to provide information on the condition of slaves in the West Indies. La Trobe translated the history of the Moravian mission to the Danish West Indies and provided data from their Carmel slave estate in Jamaica.[474] However, La Trobe and Church elders in Britain and Germany were worried about being associated too closely with the abolitionist cause. La Trobe wrote: "It struck me very forcibly, that if the Brethren were called upon to give any evidence concerning the treatment of Slaves in the West Indies, it might prove very injurious to our missions, by bringing upon us the ill will of the proprietors."[475] As a result, the Moravians only provided written evidence for the Parliamentary enquiry, with La Trobe noting: "We can never withhold such information as Government requires," but as participation was voluntary he also kept their missionaries off the public witness stand.[476]

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[473] Mason, *Moravian Church...in England*, 124. The Moravians in the West Indies reaffirmed their stance in a 'loyal address' to the incoming royal governor of the Leeward's Islands in 1782, stating "It was not our call to meddle in affairs of state." *Ibid*, 113.

[474] *C.G.A. Oldendorp's History of the Mission of the Evangelical Brethren on the Caribbean Islands of St. Thomas, St. Croix, and St. John*. Published in German in 1770, an English translation was not published until 1987, as the Moravians did not wish the work to be misconstrued as abolitionist.

[475] Quoted in Mason, *Moravian Church...in England*, 125.

This discrete and anonymous contribution to the abolitionist campaign summed up the Moravians' paradoxical approach to slavery. While the Brethren were for the equality of all believers before God and against the idea of African slavery in principle, it remained a temporal, secular issue, thus none of their concern. In addition, the Moravians did not want to disturb their spiritual work amongst the slaves, so the Brethren in Britain refused to get publicly involved in case it affected their missions in the Caribbean. Church elders were concerned that public support for anything that would harm slavery would count against Moravian missionaries in the eyes of the plantation owners they relied upon for their support. Mason notes the "Moravian Elders in Germany were well aware that progress in the West Indies was highly dependent on the goodwill of the planters."[477] Thus, for the Brethren and their missionary focus, concern for the spiritual welfare of the bondsmen overrode any temporal concerns about their enslavement.

Back in the West Indies the Moravian missions continued the expansion they began to see under Martin, fuelled in part by their willingness to employ

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[476] Mason, *Moravian Church...in England*, 131 and 128. The missionary in question, Gottwald, served the St. Kitts mission since the previous year, but also had associations with Wilberforce associate James Ramsay, another reason for the Brethren to wish to keep him from appearing at the enquiry. Despite the wish for anonymity Moravian historian Paul Wallace noted their work in the West Indies "was so successful, showing the white man that the negro was capable of civilized living, that they provided Wilberforce with his most powerful argument to convince the English Parliament that the negroes were ready for emancipation," *Thirty Thousand Miles with John Heckewelder*, ed. Paul A. Wallace (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1958), 23.

[477] Mason, *Moravian Church...in England*, 108.

'native helpers' - assistants recruited from amongst their slave congregations.[478] By 1768 the Brethren registered 4,560 converts in the Danish West Indies, and 7,000 by 1790. This success led to their expansion around the Caribbean, with missions in Surinam and then the British West Indies, where Antigua alone had 6,000 slave converts in the 1780s.[479] The paradox remained however, as "Moravian missionaries advertised that their teachings would make slaves more docile, a claim echoed in the 1780s by the Methodists and Baptists in the West Indies, and, slightly later, in North America." As a result "Planters now welcomed the missionaries eagerly, implicating them deeply as ideological buttresses for the plantation system."[480]

The Moravians in North America

This was still in the future when the Moravians settled in Salem, North Carolina, in 1753. Considering the paradoxes between the Brethren in Europe and the Caribbean, it is not surprising the Moravians in North Carolina also held contradictory positions that simultaneously upheld and undermined 'the peculiar institution.' As in the Caribbean, the Brethren in North Carolina began their settlement with a stance on slavery that paid little attention to the views of slaveholders among their non-Moravian neighbors. That said the travel diary Bishop Spangenberg produced on his exploratory trip to North Carolina in 1752 includes an observation on the strict but "not unreasonable" laws on slaveholding in the state.[481]

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[478] For the career of one such 'native helper' Rebecca Protten, the freedwoman who was ordained a deacon at Herrnhaag in 1746, see Jon Sensbach, *Rebecca's Revival: Creating Black Christianity in the Atlantic World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005). While in Germany Rebecca married the Afro-Dane Christian Protten, eventually moving to Guinea with him in 1763 on missionary work; Christian died there in 1769. Rebecca remained in Guinea, despite an offer from the Moravians to pay for her passage back to St. Thomas in 1773. She died in Guinea in 1780.

[479] *Ibid*, 240.

[480] *Ibid*, 242.

However, settled as the Moravians were on the edge of an expanding slave society in the American South, the Brethren were slowly forced to change their views on slavery as white racial attitudes evolved, hardened, and became less tolerant of racial mixing. The Moravians' position on slavery in Salem remained as ambiguous as that of their British peers in the second half of the eighteenth century. As a result the Brethren outwardly presented themselves as slaveholders and complied with all relevant laws and the Church corporately owned slaves, but their regulations and treatment of bondsmen showed them to be less than fully committed to slavery.

The Moravians' own history of Salem states the Church purchased "perhaps 36 slaves" during the slave era.[482] Sensbach notes the church elders' position thus:

> The Brethren saw no contradiction between Christian doctrine and slaveholding. In their belief, subordination of some humans to others was natural and proper in the divine order. As they saw it, all people were - or should be - servants of Christ, the true authority of the only realm that really mattered, the soul. To own a slave or to be a slave - what did the Savior care, as long as both acknowledged him master?[483]

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[481] Philip Africa, "Slaveholding in the Salem Community, 1771-1851," in *North Carolina Historical Review*, 54 (1977), 275.

[482] Crews and Starbuck, *With Courage for the Future*, 142.

[483] Sensbach, *A Separate Canaan*, 19.

The first Moravian slave, Sam, was bought in 1769, baptized in 1771 and emancipated in 1801, the year the Springplace mission to the Cherokee began.[484] Sam had been working in Wachovia for four years by 1769, and, having expressed an interest in converting to Christianity, his master offered to sell him to the Moravians. The Church elders discussed the matter, but came to no definite conclusion, so resorted to the lot. The response was positive, and Sam was bought for 120 Pounds North Carolina.[485] The Salem elders, however, noted their ambivalence, stating Sam had been bought "even though it is not our way to buy men," and this despite the fact slaves had already been purchased by Moravians in the West Indies, and at their Pennsylvania settlement.[486]

The Moravians did not hinder individual ownership of slaves by church members, and Sensbach notes "Collectively and individually, Moravian slaveholding increased steadily from about twenty-five workers in 1780 to about seventy in 1800, and about 300 by 1830."[487] However, the Church did place restrictions on slaves living and working within the town limits of Salem itself.[488] The Church also admonished its members to treat their slaves well, the Congregation Council noting in 1792: "different treatment of them will degrade ourselves to the rank of ordinary people of this world and will be a disgrace to the community."[489] Records also indicate a 10 year-old slave girl was granted entrance to the Moravian school in Salem in 1785, a radical move at a time when few white girls were educated, let alone slaves.[490] In addition, a Sunday school to teach basic literacy to the African American congregation opened in 1827. The school closed four years later, but only because teaching slaves literacy became a punishable offence in North Carolina on January 1st, 1831.[491]

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[484] Crews and Starbuck, *With Courage for the Future*, 142, footnote 1.

[485] Salem did not switch from keeping its accounts in the North Carolina state currency of pounds, shilling and pence to dollars and cents until May 1805. *Ibid*, 182.

[486] The HCfG, or church elders, quoted in Sensbach, *A Separate Canaan*, 65.

[487] Jon F. Sensbach, "Interracial Sects: Religion, Race, and Gender Among Early North Carolina Moravians," in Catherine Clinton and Michelle Gillespie (eds.) *The Devil's Lane: Sex and Race in the Early South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 156.

[488] Crews and Starbuck, *With Courage for the Future*, footnote 1, 142.

Finally, records from 1832 show a Church member was almost expelled from Salem after planning to breed his slave woman, Betsy, in breach of edicts against the practice. The dispute was only settled after Betsy was sold to the Church authorities for "service in the Springplace, Ga., mission [to the] (Cherokee)".[492] As senior archivist C. Daniel Crews notes in the Southern

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[489] *Ibid*, 143.

[490] *Ibid*, Aeltesten Conferenz, Minutes, 5 January, 1785: "Adam Schumacher asks that his Negro girl, about ten years old, may be received into the school, for which permission is given."

[491] *Ibid*, 248.

[492] Adelaide L. Fries and Douglass LeTell Rights, *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, Volume VIII 1823-1837 (Raleigh, NC: State Department of Archives and History, 1954), 4025, 4029, 4030. Whether Betsy ever served in Georgia is not know for certain. For various reasons the records from Springplace become far sparser for the 1830s, due to the upheavals associated with Cherokee Removal. Once the Clauders replaced the Byhans as the primary missionary couple at Springplace, Heinrich Clauder took over the authorship of the diary, and, for the most part, excluded much day to day activity, focusing almost exclusively on the spiritual side. Thus whether or not Betsy arrived with the Clauders at Springplace is unknown, though her Bill of Sale was dated April 1, 1832, and Byhan at Springplace received a letter on the 8 April 1832 stating the Clauders intended to leave Salem April 2. The Springplace Diary for 19 April 1832 notes the arrival of the Clauders, along with Sister Dorothea Ruede, who would work in the school, but no mention is made of Betsy accompanying them. The Brethren were forced out of Springplace in January of 1833, finding a temporary refuge on the property of David McNair, one of their congregants, on the Connesaga, just across the border into Tennessee. It is not until January 29, 1836, when the mission was based in Tennessee, that Betsy is first alluded to, when

Province's own history: "The last date of a bill of sale of a slave to the church is 1832," it thus seems likely Betsy was the last of the 'perhaps 36 slaves' bought by the Church authorities in Salem.[493] In a fitting symmetry, Betsy was not only the last slave bought by the Moravian Church, but the last to serve at the Cherokee mission. When the temporary Connesaga mission finally closed down in September 1836 Clauder had already written to the Salem elders asking what to do about Betsy, and a letter of April 1837 confirms she was sold, just as the mission's livestock and crops had been before her.[494]

Slavery at the Springplace Mission to the Cherokee Nation

An examination of the treatment of the slaves who served at the Cherokee mission in Georgia, gives clear indication that the missionaries at Springplace were just as ambivalent about slavery in practice as the Church elders in Salem were about it in theory. First of all, slavery was part of everyday life at Springplace. The mission officially began in mid-December 1801 and the first mention of slave usage comes less than three months later, on March 9th, 1802 when their neighbor and sponsor amongst the Cherokee, James Vann, sent a slave

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Clauder notes there was a small fire in an "outer building" where "our black maidservant" lived. In addition, the Correspondence has only been translated through 1830, thereafter the only correspondence available is a few letters in English from 1836-1838, which are dominated by the impending Removal of the Cherokee. For the most part, then, Betsy falls through the cracks of the Moravian records far more than her predecessor Pleasant.

[493] Crews and Starbuck, *With Courage for the Future*, 142, footnote 1.

[494] MAS: Diary September 7, 1836; this entry confirms the Clauders departure from McNair's. Correspondence: from Clauder (recipient unknown), Connesaga, August 2, 1836; in this letter Clauder asks what is to be done with Betsy. From Clauder (recipient unknown), Connesaga, TN, April 17, 1837. Here Clauder confirms the sale of Betsy for $400 to James McNair.

boy to help with their fieldwork.[495] From then on slavery is ever present at the mission through 1829. The Moravians hired slaves from Vann and other neighbors frequently, especially in the early years when they were getting the mission established. Thereafter male slaves were hired regularly for fieldwork and the construction and maintenance of mission buildings. Slave women were also regularly hired for help with washing for the boarding-school children at Springplace.

Many of the slaves who came to work for the Moravians did so of their own volition on Sundays, in order to earn something for themselves. The Brethren do not seem to have been troubled by slaves working on Sunday, and, true to their dictum of avoiding controversy, never complained to masters about it. This, of course, was as much due to the fact that the missionaries were in great need of labor and thus unlikely to have complained about a practice that provided access to it. They were not, however, beyond occasional laments that slaves had been prevented from coming to Sunday services due to being required to work for their masters.

As Sunday was the slaves' only day off, they demanded payment for their services. Sometimes the Moravians paid willingly, other times less so. In 1802, John Gambold worried about the amount of work facing the missionaries and complained about the work performed by slaves, owned by James Vann, and the amount they charged. He stated: "The negroes and negresses are in fact willing to earn something extra on Sunday, but for a day of hoeing welschcorn they charge

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[495] Springplace Diary, March 9, 1802. The Diary entry for April 1 notes the boy was returned to Vann because he "didn't fulfill our expectations."

2/- of the local currency, namely 4/8 per dollar and food, in return for which at the end they really accomplish little. You can easily think that we are not going to agree to that except in the greatest need."[496] On other occasions, the Moravians were more agreeable, noting four years later: "A number of Negroes came again for work, and requested a pair of young hens each as payment. We very gladly gave them these because at the present time we have a gracious plenty of them."[497]

Local slaveowners also sent their bondsmen to work for the Moravians during the week, sometimes on specific projects, other times on a weekly basis for routine domestic tasks, such as laundering. In the earliest years such tasks were generally related to fieldwork, entries for 1802 and 1803 showing slaves helping them to clear land, start harvesting their corn, making corn feed, helping to husk the corn, and repairing the corn crib roof.[498] On other occasions, however, Vann's slaves helped them raise a house, slaughter pigs, build a fence to separate theirs and Vann's land, and brand a foal.[499] The missionaries were fortunate in that sometimes this labor came as a gift from their sponsors or those friendly to their Christian goals. In 1815 their white neighbor, Joseph Crutchfield, a Moravian convert, lent them a slave, Dick, for six months to help with their fieldwork. However, he agreed to share the cost of Dick's hire with Charles Hicks, as a gift to the mission.[500] In 1818 Joseph Gambold visited Joseph Vann in order to pay for the slave woman who for the past year had helped one day a week with the school-children's laundry. Vann responded: "As to the service of the Negro Girl, you are heartily welcome," and refused any payment.[501]

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[496] MAS; Correspondence: July 1, 1802, John Gambold, Springplace, to C.L. Benzien, Salem. 'Welschcorn' was the Moravian name for maize, or Indian corn. They also referred to turkeys as 'welsch hens.'

[497] MAS; Diary: Sunday June 15, 1806.

[498] MAS: Diary, February 22, 1803; November 19, 1803; September 16, 1803; and May 12, 1802 respectively.

[499] MAS: Diary, October 26-29, 1803; February 22, 1806; November 25, 1808; Correspondence, January 8, 1810.

Pleasant

The mission also had its own slave workforce, in the shape of Pleasant, a female slave brought to Springplace in 1805 at the same time as John and Anna Rosina Gambold.[502] With Pleasant came her son Michael, born on the journey from Salem.[503] It was apt Pleasant should arrive at the mission with the Gambolds, as she was the only individual with longer tenure at Springplace than either of them, both of whom passed away in service.[504] Despite this, Pleasant did *not* live up to her name and C. Daniel Crews, senior archivist in Salem, notes with wry understatement: "Records show that Pleasant amply vented her opinion about her servitude."[505] Even before she arrived at Springplace Pleasant resisted her enslavement and continued to do so for the next twenty four years until she was 'retired' and sent back to Salem in 1829. In that quarter century Pleasant's behavior, and the Brethren's lenient, non-violent response to it, firmly undercut the Moravians' stance as slaveholders.

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[500] MAS: Diary, Dick arrived on March 15, 1815 and was recalled on September 9. Joseph Crutchfield married James Vann's widow Margaret Ann, and thus was allowed to remain among the Cherokee. Dick belonged to Robin Vann, one of Margaret's sons via her marriage to James Vann. Crutchfield had been given charge of Dick until Robin was old enough to do so for himself. MAS: Diary October 21, 1815 records Charles Hicks and Crutchfield himself paid the fee for the hire of the slave.

[501] MAS: Correspondence: John Gambold, Springplace, to Brother Van Vleck, Salem, March 23, 1818. Joseph Vann, however, was just as contradictory as his father, and, having waived payment for the slave's services, he then ordered her not to go and wash for the Brethren any more! MAS: Correspondence: John Gambold, Springplace, to Brother Van Vleck, Salem, May 2, 1818, additional note for May 4.

[502] MAS: Diary: October 19, 1805. The earlier reference to Gambold at Springplace originated from a brief stay he made at the mission, before his marriage to Anna Rosina, a few years earlier.

[503] *Ibid.* Michael was born on September 29. Later Gambold explained the origin of Michael's name, noting the day after his birth (September 29) was St. Michael's day, "on which a year ago your little godson was born somewhere in Virginia." MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to C.L. Benzien, Salem, September 28, 1806.

Her Bill of Sale shows Pleasant was purchased on April 2nd, 1805, when Salem administrator Christian Lewis Benzien bought "a certain Negro Wench named Pleasant" for the sum of "Two Hundred & fifty Dollars Money of the United States," from Caspar Stolz of Stokes County, the county of which Salem was a part. [506] She was purchased after consultation with the Lot and thus regarded as 'property of Wachovia Administration.' Interestingly another bill of sale dated October 3rd, 1803 shows one Richard Marr, of Rockingham County, NC, selling "a certain Negro Wench named Pleasant" to Nathaniel Markland, of Stokes County, NC, for "the Sum of Two hundred & thirty Dollars and a half Money of the United States." Since Benzien bought Pleasant from Caspar Stolz, not Nathaniel Markland, this suggests that at some point between October 1803 and April 1805 Markland sold her to Stolz. This would make three sales in the space of eighteen months and would indicate Pleasant's previous owners may have found her just as difficult to deal with as the Brethren, and exercised rather less patience.[507]

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[504] Anna Rosina died of angina at Springplace on February 19, 1821; John died at Oochgeelogy on November 7, 1827; and Pleasant was 'retired' and sent back to Salem from Springplace in October 1829.

[505] Crews and Starbuck, *With Courage for the Future*, footnote 1, 191.

[506] MAS: Slavery Box, Bills of Sale, Folder P626. 5C. Casper Stolz to Christian Lewis Benzien, April 2, 1805. McClinton, *Moravian Springplace,* 2, 491, following Kenneth Hamilton, "Minutes of the Mission Conference Held in Springplace," *Atlanta Historical* Bulletin, 15 (Winter) 1970, 29, claims Pleasant was bought for the Moravians in Georgia by James Vann for $350 in 1804. The entry for Sunday, January 22, 1804 in the Mission Conference Minutes reads: "Since Mr. Vann returned from Georgia yesterday, having bought a Negro woman for us for $350, we deliberated whether we should take her at once or wait until we should have notified our Bren. in Salem." However, MAS: Correspondence, Jacob Wohlfahrt, Springplace, to Christian Lewis Benzien, Salem, January 24, 1804, reveals the missionaries had given Vann two horses to sell in Georgia to offset the cost of a female slave, and "since the horses were not taken for the purchase price" the missionaries "In our Conference … were unanimous in [deciding] to take the negress on hire until we get your opinion in the matter." Not willing to hire her out "Vann showed irritation about that until I refered [sic] him back to our order. He will sell her to someone else who had also ordered one by him." Hamilton thus erred in claiming Vann purchased Pleasant for the Moravians, as the slave he purchased was sold on to someone else. In addition, Vann brought the slave woman he bought in January 1804 with him to Springplace from Georgia, while Pleasant came down to

Pleasant's resisted enslavement by attempting to control her reproductive capacity and there is evidence she tried to induce an abortion to end her pregnancy during the trip from Salem to Springplace. In 1819, John Gambold recounted Pleasant trying to abort her child:

> We have not forgotten that during the whole time when she carried him [Michael] under her heart, she tried to get rid of him, declaring that she was not pregnant but had dropsy, as she, on the journey here [Springplace], sneaked into houses everywhere to ask from the women medication against this alleged illness, of which we were informed secretly by an honorable woman, who came one morning to our camp and said that the black one whom we had with us had been at her house yesterday evening and had asked for this and that against

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the mission from Salem, North Carolina with the Gambolds in September of 1805. Adelaide L. Fries, *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina, Volume VI 1793-1808* (1943; reprint: Raleigh, NC: Department of Archives and History, 1970), 2819; HCfG, April 10, 1805, provides another variation, noting: "the Negress Pleasant, bought for the Cherokee mission" was "paid for in 16½ acres of land and fifty dollars in cash, so cost only a little over one hundred and thirty dollars."

[507] Pleasant's age, as with all slaves, is uncertain. The 1803 bill of sale has her "about thirty years old," the 1805 bill "about Thirty two years old." However, MAS: Correspondence: John Gambold, Springplace, to Br. Schweiniz, Salem, March 18, 1813, has Gambold state "She is no longer young, [and] may be near to 50 or over," a ten year discrepancy from the bills of sale. Back in Salem in 1839, MAS: Negro Congregation Diary, Monday, November 18, 1839, notes Pleasant died: "at the age of some 80 years." This fits roughly with Gambold's 1813 estimate, but is again a decade out from the bills of sale.

> dropsy, but she believed that she was pregnant, in which case the requested medicine would be highly dangerous for her and for the child and for that she had not given her anything and advised us to keep an eye on her.[508]

Gambold continued "in the 18 - 20 years before [the birth of Michael], she had had no child" concluding "it is probably not heartless to presume that she must have put together a terrible list of sins," implying Pleasant may have aborted earlier pregnancies.[509]

Slave owners in the South frequently suspected slaves of inducing abortions to avoid childbirth, but were seldom able to prove their case. Deborah Gray White notes: "The inability of slave owners to penetrate the private world of female slaves is probably what kept them from learning of many abortions."[510] It often took something exceptional for definitive proof of induced abortions to leak out of the closed network of female slave relations.[511] Abortion was a means of resisting and protesting enslavement, albeit a dangerous one for black women.[512] Pleasant's behavior, over the course of her time at Springplace, however, proves she was not afraid of defying her masters. Preventing pregnancy or aborting a child gave female slaves at least some control of their body's reproductive capacity. For some it was an act of protest against sexual exploitation, either by their masters or in the form of an unwanted marriage to another slave. Others did it to prevent expanding a master's slave property, or to prevent the possible future emotional distress of being separated from a child by sale. Some did it simply to prevent their child being born into slavery. In many cases a combination of these reasons induced black women to resort to abortion or the prevention of pregnancy, as one avenue through which they could assert control over their lives and defy their owners into the bargain.

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[508] MAS: Correspondence, from John Gambold, Springplace, to Van Vleck, Salem, May 14, 1819. 'Dropsy' was the former name for an edema, an abnormal accumulation of fluid in the cells, tissues, or cavities of the body.

[509] *Ibid.*

[510] Deborah Gray White, *Ar'n't I a Woman? Female Slaves in the Plantation South* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1985), 126.

[511] One example was the conversion of the midwife, Mollie, who recalled: "I was carried to the gates of hell and the devil pulled out a book showing me the things which I had committed and that they were all true. My life as a midwife was shown to me and I have certainly felt sorry for all the things I did, after I was converted." White, *Ar'n't I a Woman?*, 126.

[512] See Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household: Black and White Women of the Old South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 324.

The Springplace records contain information that supports Gambold's contention that Pleasant practiced infanticide. There are a handful of references, over a fifteen year period, that indicate Pleasant was an herbalist, and thus likely to have understood the abortifacient properties of dropsy medicine. Two mid-nineteenth century physicians noted the use of "domestic remedies" by female slaves to induce abortion, one stating the most commonly used were "the infusion or decoction of tansy, rue, roots and seed of the cotton plant, pennyroyal, cedar gum, and camphor, either in gum or spirits."[513] On occasion Pleasant was sent to act as a nursemaid.[514] However, she also prepared a salve to treat the children's head lice, helped look for a herb to treat sore eyes, made a 'preparation' to treat a sick child, and prepared a 'bitter tea' to cure the Springplace schoolchildren's stomach ache, and thus knew a variety of 'domestic remedies.'[515]

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[513] Quoted in Herbert G. Gutman, *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom 1750-1925* (New York: Random House, 1976), footnote 80-82; quote from 81.

[514] To the ailing wife of a visitor, MAS: Diary, October 31, 1811; then to Margaret Ann Crutchfield, MAS: Diary, December 6-7, 1816.

The Springplace records also show slave women on the nearby Vann plantation came to Pleasant for medical assistance. The following letter recounts a visit from a slave midwife to the Moravian mission:

> On Sunday, July 6, we had quite an unusual event. A neighboring Negress, who had helped an African woman in her confinement on Vann's Plantation about two weeks earlier, came today to visit the latter. She found the baby very frail, took it in her arms and brought it to us, in order to ask for something. Sisters Gambold and Crutchfield advised her as well as they could. The Negress went to Pleasant in the kitchen where the baby went to sleep on her lap in few minutes, and then passed away. Of course, everything possible was done to revive her, but in vain...[516]

This short account is open to two interpretations. First, the black midwife drew on a common bond shared between women to try any means of helping the ailing infant, consulting a white woman, in Sister Gambold, a Cherokee, in Sister Crutchfield, and a fellow African American in Pleasant, to see if any of them knew of a way to revive the child. Alternatively, the fact the child passed away and attempts to revive her were "in vain" raises the possibility the midwife had visited Pleasant for advice on how to go about euthanizing the child.

The evidence in Pleasant's case, over and above her attempt to abort Michael, would indicate she was not a willing partner in his conception. One of the few positive things written about Pleasant by the Moravians came in 1819, when Brother Abraham Steiner visited Springplace to evaluate its progress. The Gambolds and Steiner discussed every aspect of life at Springplace, including

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[515] MAS: Correspondence, A.R. Gambold, Springplace, to Mrs. Benzien, Salem, April 22, 1806; Diary, July 8, 1806; October 19, 1810; May 19, 1821.

[516] MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to Jacob Van Vleck, Salem, August 2, 1817.

Pleasant. After noting her "sulky behavior" and bad influence on the Indian children at the school due to her "scolding and swearing," the missionaries grudgingly acknowledged Pleasant did the "great part" of the domestic chores, "which is no small matter in our household establishment." The evaluation continues saying they hoped to swap or sell her and buy a different slave woman but concludes: "the Pleasant woman has this in her favor that she does not get involved with men, something about which we could not be certain in any other case." [517] That Pleasant was not promiscuous was reinforced by the fact that there was not a single reference to her having any form of romantic liaison in any of the records from Springplace during her twenty four years there.

More evidence that suggests Pleasant attempted to abort Michael in protest at sexual assault comes from descriptions of Pleasant and her son, and their respective complexions. From the extant descriptions of her, Pleasant was dark skinned. All references describe her as either a Negro or a "Negress." This holds true for her initial appearance in Salem in 1803 - "a certain Negro Wench named Pleasant" - through her time at Springplace, where if not referred to by name she was unfailingly called "our Negro woman," and back to Salem again where she was "the old Negress Pleasant."[518] The missionaries referred to all slaves in this way, either directly by their name, or simply as a 'Negro.'[519] Reinforcing the impression Pleasant was dark skinned are references in which the missionaries made a play on words between her black skin color and her attitude or character. Five letters, over a thirteen year span, describe her as: "something naughty in black," "inwardly and outwardly black," "the black thing," "black and dark," and "very black."[520]

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[517] Kenneth G. Hamilton, "Minutes of the Mission Conference Held in Springplace," *Atlanta Historical Bulletin* 16 (1971), 50.

[518] MAS: Bill of Sale for Pleasant, October 3, 1803; MAS, Diary, 18 February, 1811 *passim*, or Hamilton, "Minutes of the Mission Conference," 49; and MAS: Negro Congregation Diary, 4 February, 1833.

The missionaries always referred to lighter-skinned slaves as 'mulatto.' Examples include "the Mulatto David came with his wife and Adam" and "the Mulatto woman Sally" who attended a Sunday service.[521] The diary also notes: "Eighteen people also came to a service today, Mulattoes, Negroes, Indians, and Half-Indians."[522] It is thus clear the Moravians consciously differentiated between darker and lighter skinned slaves, as well as between "mixed-blood" and "full-blood" Cherokee. This is significant because the Moravians noted Pleasant's son Michael to be mulatto. A few days after his arrival at Springplace in October 1805 Michael was described as "negro or mulatto" but always, thereafter, as mulatto if his complexion is mentioned.[523] Further confirmation of Michael being lighter skinned comes in a series of references, from 1809 to 1818, when he is referred to as "yellow."[524] As Pleasant was a dark skinned woman, and her son a mulatto, the probability is that Michael's father was a white man.

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[519] The only exceptions were slaves who shared a name with one of the Cherokee who came to the mission; the slaves were differentiated by having their name prefaced with the appellation 'the Negro' to prevent confusion.

[520] MAS: Correspondence: John Gambold, Springplace, to Benzien, Salem, October 11, 1807; John Gambold, Springplace, to Benzien, Salem, February 28, 1808; John Gambold to Schweiniz, Salem, March 18, 1813; John Gambold to Jacob Van Vleck, Salem, January 5, 1818; and John Gambold, Springplace, to Jacob Van Vleck, Salem, February 7, 1820.

[521] MAS: Diary, Sunday, June 26, 1808; Sunday, January 15, 1809.

[522] MAS: Diary, Sunday, 22 September, 1805.

Given her lack of interest in 'getting involved with men' of her own race, of whom there were numerous candidates amongst the slaves on the Vann plantation, it seems plausible to suggest Pleasant was sexually assaulted by a white man, perhaps her former master, the one who owned Pleasant prior to her sale to the Moravians. It is possible this former master sold her to the Brethren to get Pleasant out of the way and hide the evidence of his assault.[525] The memoir of Casper Stolz, the man who sold Pleasant to the Moravians in 1805, does little to contradict this theory. Stolz died in 1841, having left Salem nine years earlier as a "Stranger", i.e. a non-Moravian.[526] Though Stolz appears briefly in Church records, there is no indication why he left the Moravians, or what he had done to be labeled a 'Stranger,' and left Salem. The possibility remains, then, that Stolz, who had married in 1797 and had six children with his wife Polly, was banished for his assault on Pleasant, and she tried to abort Michael as her own protest.

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[523] MAS: Michael as "mulatto or Negro" Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to Benzien, Salem, October 24, 1805; as mulatto: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to the PHC, Salem, October 26, 1805; Diary, September 29, 1814 (Michael's 9th birthday); Correspondence, May 2, 1818.

[524] MAS: Correspondence, Gottlieb Byhan, Springplace, to C.L. Benzien, Salem, July 23, 1809, "little yellow Michael;" John Gambold, Springplace, to Jacob Van Vleck, Salem, April 22, 1816, "yellow boy;" John Gambold, Springplace, to Brother Von Schweinitz, Salem, November 26, 1816, "our yellow Michael;" John Gambold, Springplace, to Jacob Van Vleck, Salem, May 2, 1818, "the Mulatto Michael" and "our yellow Michael;" John Gambold, Springplace, to Jacob Van Vleck, Salem, June 11, 1818, "our yellow Michael."

[525] As Michael was born in September and Pleasant was purchased in April, she would have been about four months pregnant at the time she was sold to the Moravians.

[526] MAS: Caspar Stolz memoir, Sunday, December 20, 1841, from the Bethabara Diary, personal communication from Richard Starbuck, archivist at Winston-Salem, 11 June, 2008.

It is equally possible the Salem elders also wished to remove Pleasant from the scene, and this was why they not only agreed to buy Pleasant, but also ship her off to Springplace to avoid any awkward questions about the paternity of her son. In his letter back to Salem after arriving in Springplace, John Gambold laments the cost of the journey down and Pleasant's role in that cost:

> As far as our travel expenses are concerned, you will see from the enclosed statement that because of circumstances we have become a "Dear brother and sister" because we used up $94.34 which is a terrible amount for such a trip. A lot of that is to be charged to the confinement of Pleasant, for in addition to the fact that I had to pay $4 to the midwife and nurses, we lost a lot of time for her sake; for two days we lay in one spot, then we traveled but like snails, 8, 9, 10 miles a day and during that the consumption of provisions for man and beast went on continuously. Through that also several things were used up such as brandy, sugar, etc. Everything had to be replaced for cash and at a high price. But we have to give thanks that in addition to Pleasant another little negro or mulatto has been acquired for the Mission.[527]

It seems odd the ever cost-conscious Moravians knowingly sent the heavily pregnant Pleasant on a 400 mile journey by wagon, when she was so close to giving birth. That the missionaries were aware of Pleasant's condition is shown by Gambold's lack of surprise at Michael's appearance, backed up by his matter-of-fact retelling of the account of Pleasant's attempts to abort him.

The final evidence that pulls the strands of Pleasant's resistance together - that she knew about abortificacients, was not interested in romantic liaisons, was raped by Casper Stolz and was thus an unwilling mother - come from two comments by Gambold. The first appears shortly after his and Pleasant's arrival in Springplace. Gambold noted: "Since Pleasant's first child was sickly, we hastened to dedicate him in baptism to the Savior ... This took place in a service in the afternoon to which about 20 negroes and mulattoes came."[528] Apart from reconfirming the differentiation the missionaries drew between darker and lighter skinned slaves, this comments suggests Michael was Pleasant's first child. It seems unlikely Pleasant would have lived into her thirties with no children without some assistance from the unnatural methods Gambold noted above. Alongside her stated lack of interest in romantic liaisons, it could also be indicative of a lack of interest in being a parent, and of any maternal instincts. The second comment, rather more cryptic, came eight years later, in the wake of the Byhans' first departure from Springplace. Here Gambold noted: "Pleasant has not always been treated in such a way that she could see in her superior a follower of the Savior, of which, however I would not like to cite any details."[529] One can only conjecture as to whether this was a guarded reference to Stolz's assault on Pleasant, or a generic reference to her poor treatment in the past, including, possibly, at the hands of the Byhans at Springplace.

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[527] MAS: John Gambold, Springplace, to Christian Lewis Benzien, Salem, October 24, 1805.

Pleasant's resistance to the circumstances of Michael's conception did not fade with time, and she was noted to scold and hound him incessantly as he grew up - "Since she brought him into the world, [Michael] has not enjoyed any motherly love...she has brought him up with word and example to disobedience and insubordination."[530] In what may be a case of psychological displacement, Pleasant took her unhappiness with the conception of her son out on Michael himself. This comment from Gambold to the Salem elders indicates the problems the missionaries had with Pleasant and her approach to motherhood:

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[528] MAS: John Gambold, Springplace, to the Provincial Helpers' Conference, Salem, October 26, 1805.

[529] MAS: John Gambold, Springplace, to Schweinitz, Salem, March 18, 1813.

> We have not yet delivered your greeting to the inwardly and outwardly black Pleasant, as we have her somewhat under discipline at the present time. Because of her shamelessly lying mouth we were compelled to forbid our children all going in and out of the kitchen, and how happy I would be if I could take poor little Michael out of her claws and get him to Salem or anywhere else in safety.[531]

Pleasant had a clear goal in mind, and in one of the few instances of her words being recorded verbatim, said of Michael "I see by his features that he is born for the gallows."[532] By 1819 Michael had grown so tired of his mother's constant chiding he pleaded with the missionaries to be sold, and they obliged, selling him a week later.[533]

Pleasant, though, served at the Springplace mission for 24 years, living in the kitchen and performing all necessary domestic tasks, as well as milking the cows.[534] Throughout this time she was opinionated, stubborn, and often disrespectful of the missionaries, especially Dorothea Byhan, and their religious goals. Whatever her indiscretions, however, Pleasant's behavior was always stoically received by the Moravians, who showed almost heroic patience with their recalcitrant bondswoman. Pleasant was frequently scolded for her misbehavior, but this made no impression whatsoever. Hence, her disrespect of the missionaries and the lack of punishments she received would have been well known to the surrounding Cherokee and their slave populations. This leniency on the part of the Brethren towards Pleasant thus served to undermine their claims to be effective slaveholders and undercut any civilizing message that the holding of slaves may have held for their Indian congregation. While Pleasant did her work most of the time her constant insolence made it clear she did not respect her masters, and when she was sent back to Salem it was not due to her insubordination but because old age and hard labor caught up with her.[535]

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[530] MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to Jacob Van Vleck, Salem, May 14, 1819.

[531] MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to C.L. Benzien, Salem, February 28, 1808.

[532] MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to Jacob Van Vleck, Salem, May 14, 1819.

[533] MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to Jacob Van Vleck, Salem, May 14, 1819.

[534] Crews and Starbuck, *With Courage for the Future*, footnote 1, 191.

Pleasant's relationship with the Byhans was particularly contentious and contributed to her dismissal. Gottlieb and Dorothea Byhan had nothing but disdain for Pleasant, and the feeling was mutual. The antipathy went back many years and was part of the reason the Byhans requested a release from Springplace in 1812. They were the first missionary couple to arrive at Springplace in December 1801 and helped establish the mission. The Byhans agreed to return to Springplace in 1827, after the Gambolds had moved on and the Schmidts had replaced them at Oochgeelogy.[536] The Byhans agreed to the assignment only temporarily, and reminded the Salem elders of this frequently in the 1830s.[537] Complaints about the lack of help they received from Pleasant began almost immediately, and were joined by complaints that Pleasant was foul mouthed and spread lies in the district to the detriment of the mission work.[538] Thus, when the opportunity arose to get rid of Pleasant the Byhans happily shipped her back to Salem.[539] This peremptory action was taken without waiting for approval from the Salem elders - an unprecedented move for a Springplace missionary.

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[535] MAS: Correspondence, Franz Eders to Schulz, Salem, October 25, 1829. Pleasant left Springplace October 26th and arrived back in Salem on November 15. Complaints about her lessening capacity for work began in 1826 and are a frequent topic in both the diary and correspondence for various missionaries. See, *inter alia*, MAS: Correspondence: J.R. Schmidt, Springplace, to Bernade, Salem, August 23, 1826; Clayton, Springplace, to Schulz, Salem, June 5, 1827; and Gottlieb Byhan, Springplace, to Schulz, Salem, June 12, 1828.

From the beginning the Gambolds seemed capable of living with Pleasant in a, if not amicable then at least cordial, working relationship. Gottlieb Byhan said "For a while back our Pleasant was in a very bad way which made us very much dissatisfied with her, but she is somewhat better now," while Anna Rosina Gambold simultaneously noted:

> Of our poor Pleasant I can only say...at the present time she is in a good phase -- and just to whisper it in the ear of you dear ones, -- for I have noticed that

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[536] Anna Rosina died in 1821 and John Gambold helped start the Oochgeelogy mission in 1823. Gambold's failing health saw the Schmidts move to Oochgeelogy, leaving the Byhans free to return to Springplace. For several years after their first return to Salem the Byhans ran the town tavern, and found life noticeably harder going without the Church providing for them. Byhan returned to Church service in 1820, as Warden of Salem Congregation, then as pastor at Bethania and Friedland (also in Wachovia), and after his second return from Springplace as pastor for the Negro Congregation in Salem from 1842-1853.

[537] See, inter alia, MAS: Correspondence, Gottlieb Byhan, Springplace, to Schulz, Salem, January 13, 1830; "Dear Brothers you will remember that in September 1827, when we received the assignment of serving the mission among the Cherokees, we accepted the assignment with *one* condition: as soon as a more suitable Brother and Sister were found, we would return."

[538] See, inter alia, MAS: Correspondence, Gottlieb Byhan, Springplace, to Schulz, Salem, January 22, 1829.

[539] MAS: Correspondence, Gottlieb Byhan, Springplace, to Schulz, Salem, October 20, 1829; Franz Eder, Springplace, to Schulz, Salem, October 25, 1829. Pleasant was sent back to Salem in the wagon that had brought the latest change of missionaries for Oochgeelogy down.

> whenever I praise her, even if she is not aware of it, she always pulls a trick. She is washing today and she can be very good when she wants to be and I have often thanked God and you for her, for it is sure that without much help we could not get by. I would rather have her than some of Vann's negresses. If she can only once learn to know herself thoroughly and turn to the Savior in her need, then I believe she can become a noble person.[540]

It was in this cajoling way that Anna Rosina adapted to being a slaveholder, and was able to get Pleasant to do things. While the slave woman undoubtedly irritated her on occasion, Sister Gambold never had any serious problems with Pleasant, and also seemed to get on well with Michael, often taking on the role of mother to him.[541] However, while this carrot-rather-than-stick way of approaching Pleasant obviously made life easier for the Gambolds, it also sent out a message about the Brethren's slaveholding methods. Moravian slaves would be coaxed like naughty children rather than beaten into compliance, and for southern slave holders slaves were like children in the maxim, 'spare the rod and spoil the child.'

The main conflict was between Pleasant and Dorothea Byhan and had two inter-related strands. Gottlieb Byhan, Dorothea's husband, regarded as a competent missionary by his elders in Salem, though not in Gambold's class, was dominated by his querulous and work-shy wife. Dorothea had some unspecified health issues with her legs, and made two visits to a spring, near McNair's place

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[540] MAS: Correspondence, Gottlieb Byhan, Springplace, to C.L. Benzien, Salem, July 22, 1806, and A.R. Gambold, Springplace, to Mrs. C.L. Benzien, Salem, July 22, 1806.

[541] John Gambold wrote of the subject: "his mother does not have the gift to train him, therefore his godmother Anna Rosel will have [to] assume the most responsibility for his bringing up when he is a little older." MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Salem, to C.L. Benzien, Salem, September 28, 1806.

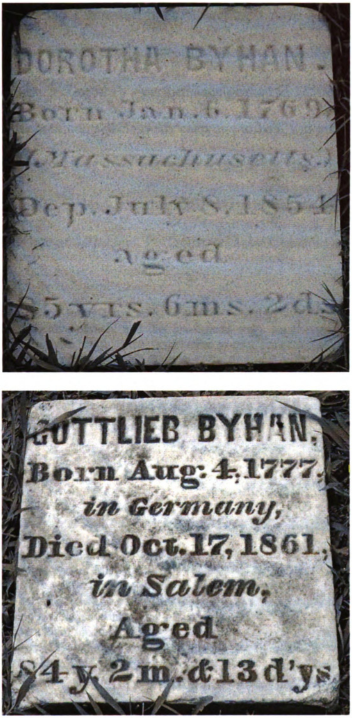
DOROTHA BYHAN.
Born Jan. 6 1769
Massachusetts
Dep. July 8, 1854
Aged
5 yrs. 6 ms. 2 d.
GOTTLIEB BYHAN,
Born Aug: 4, 1777,
in Germany,
Died Oct. 17, 1861,
in Salem,
Aged
84 y. 2 m. & 13 d'ys

Figure 22: Gravestones in Salem's God's Acre; Moravian missionaries to the Cherokee Nation, Dorothea and Gottlieb Byhan. Author photograph.

just over the border into Tennessee, in 1829, seeking a cure.[542] However, she was inclined to make the most of any indisposition, or perceived slight, to take to her bed and avoid work.[543] Dorothea's performance peaked in 1830 when her husband noted she comically exclaimed "carry me to bed, I'm going to fall over," quite an achievement as they were said to be sitting at the time, though once abed she "soon recovered."[544] Work was thus the first issue that caused such friction between Sister Byhan and Pleasant. Furthermore, John Gambold wrote of Dorothea:

> She complains to Mother Vann, to her daughter Nancy, as well as to our Peggy about her difficult situation, and that she has to work harder than should be expected of a woman, for instance, that she has to cook for 16 people, to milk, to bake, to take care of the milk and the butter, has to do her own washing, has to sew and mend for her own family and in addition to all that has to take care of the large garden. In these complaints she never considers that she is speaking with people who can see from time to time as well as we that her husband and the Negress accomplish the greater part of this work.[545]

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[542] MAS: Diary, June 22-27, and August 2-14. The first visit was a success, the second less so.

[543] Even the ever-patient John Gambold, became exasperated with Dorothea Byhan, remarking in one letter: "A short time ago when she had treated my wife rather rudely while she also enumerated all her work and also asked what woman in Salem would put up with it, I could not refrain from telling her that she simply did not have the heart or disposition for the work, besides several other truths of the kind, which probably might have contributed to her illness which broke out shortly after that, but I cannot feel guilty about it, much rather must insist that I have been silent far too long." MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to Brother Peter, Salem, July 27, 1812.

[544] MAS: Correspondence, Gottlieb Byhan, Springplace, to Schulz, Salem, April 16, 1830. Dorothea did keep going, however. After the Byhans' return to Salem in 1832, Gottlieb Byhan continued to serve as a pastor, first in Bethania, then Friedland, and finally, from 1841, to the black congregation in Salem itself. When he requested release from this post in December of 1848, the Moravian's official history notes, it was because: "of his and his dear wife's increasing feebleness due to their age." Crews & Starbuck, *With Courage for the Future*, 293. Byhan was 71 and his wife approaching her 80th birthday.

[545] MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to Brother Peter, Salem, July 27, 1812.

One result was that when Sister Byhan told Pleasant to do something, Pleasant ignored her, or did the job her own way - anything but what Sister Byhan asked her to do. John Gambold, recounting a conversation with Brother Byhan to the elders in Salem, summed up the situation succinctly, while also clearly showing where his sympathies lay:

> Then [Byhan] said that it was so difficult for his wife that Pleasant does not pay attention to her, but does what she wants. Thereupon I suggested to him that his wife herself was wrong in that she had not insisted on her word and orders and did not supervise often and timely enough and told him that during their visit in Salem, Pleasant had also tried to do things behind my wife's back and to do things differently from the way the latter had indicated, but when she found out that my wife was behind and stood firmly on her word, she (Pleasant) no longer tried anything and really did her things happily and faithfully. He could not deny that they were mistaken in this, but believed that it was not possible to improve the situation.[546]

As Sister Byhan pushed off most of her work onto her husband and Pleasant, took to her bed for days at a time, and constantly complained to anyone who would listen about how hard she had to work, it is unsurprising Pleasant took a dislike to her.

There was, however, a second strand to the enmity between Dorothea Byhan and Pleasant that did not rise fully to the surface until the Byhans' second stint at Springplace. By July 1828, barely six months after their return, Byhan wrote a trio of letters to the Salem elders that slowly reveal the reason for his wife's dislike of Pleasant. In the first, Byhan responds to a suggestion that two slave women be sent to Springplace, and states, cryptically: "Sometimes we have worrisome thoughts about this. There would be much to say *in favor* of this and even more *against* sending these Negroes. However, *I* do *not* want to write this in a letter."[547] Two weeks later Byhan expanded on his theme: "Would it not be possible to get a white person instead of a Negro woman to help in the household? At least for a short while? We must admit and say that things will *not* work out well here with a Negro woman."[548] Byhan wonders if it would not be possible to get Anna Maria Gambold, then at Oochgeelogy, to join them at Springplace, or for another Single Sister to be sent from Salem to assist them.[549]

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[546] MAS: Correspondence, undated letter from John Gambold, to Salem. From references in the letter it was likely written in late April, or early May of 1812.

It is not, however, until the last letter of the trio, that Byhan comes clean:

> Now I come to the Negro matter. We see from your letter that it has been entered that *one* Negro woman should go to Spring Place to help Mother Byhan and *one* for Ochgoloogy [sic]. Please do not take this badly if we openly share our thoughts about this matter. We are sorry that we did not do so right away, when we saw from your older letters that we might be helped in this way. We must admit honestly and say that Mother Byhan cannot expect *any* help from a Negro woman, and she also will not have this. The help she actually would need, that is with cooking, baking, milking, taking care of the milk, and many other things too various to mention here, she will not get from a Negro woman. We also do not wish that we must suffer anew with a Negro woman, just to have trouble, because what else does you have when you have to have Negroes around you? And then on top of that with our old Pleasant, the best Negro woman would be ruined by her, and who can prevent this? We therefore wish and ask, as long as we are still here, to spare us from Negroes. It is a shame that Nancy Becker could not be taken in for a while. Then Mother Byhan would have "real" help! On their last visit here Brother Smidt [sic] and Sister A.M. Gambold also said, "just not a Negro, because we get no help from them here in this country."[550]

Byhan thus tried to portray some of the other missionaries at the Cherokee stations as racially prejudiced against blacks. It is clear Sister Byhan was the most prejudiced, and may have been before her arrival in Cherokee country. On the other hand, it is possible what began as a dislike of Pleasant was fuelled by an environment with few white faces and many black and brown ones, into a more general distaste for slaves. It is certainly true the Moravians had little luck with the slaves they held at Springplace. Then again, as Salem elder Frederic William Marshall noted in 1770, few Brethren had "the gift of handling slaves, without spoiling them."[551] Dorothea Byhan, then, may simply have been as temperamentally unsuited to the role of slaveholder as most other missionaries, but by 1828 her dislike of Pleasant had grown to encompass all blacks.

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[547] MAS: Correspondence, Gottlieb Byhan, Springplace, to Schulz, Salem, July 9, 1828; emphasis in original.

[548] MAS: Correspondence, Gottlieb Byhan, Springplace, to Schulz, Salem, July 23, 1828; emphasis in original.

[549] Anna Maria was John Gambold's widow, they had married in 1823. After Anna Rosina Gambold's death in 1821 John reluctantly agreed to remarry in the best interests of mission work.

[550] MAS: Correspondence, Gottlieb Byhan, Springplace, to Schulz, Salem, July 30, 1828, emphasis in original.

Pleasant's exile ended the permanent slave presence at the Springplace mission. As noted above, Betsy was purchased for the station in April 1832, though no reference exists in the records to show she served at Springplace. As the Byhans replacements, the Clauders, left Salem for Springplace the day after Betsy's purchase it seems plausible she made the journey down to Georgia with them. Betsy was sold at some point between August 1836 and April 1837. The only other slaves to serve at Springplace for more than a few days or weeks included the girl Nanny or Nancy who appears in April 1806, and stayed until September of the following year.[552] Finally, there is the unnamed washerwoman, noted above, who helped with the mission laundry one day a week for a year after the Moravians rented her from Joseph Vann in 1818 -1819.[553]

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[551] Africa, "Slaveholding in the Salem Community," 276.

[552] MAS: Diary, April 14, 1806. This is the first time 'Nanny' is mentioned by name; though the entry for April 5 notes "our Negro women" - presumably Nancy and Pleasant - attended evening service. Nancy was returned to the Vanns for bad behavior.

The Moravians and Slave Punishment

The Brethren not only bought, sold, owned, and hired slaves but also played the role of supporters of the slave system in relation to slaves owned by the Cherokee. After James Vann was murdered in February of 1809 his slaves, freed from his brutality, ran wild. When they came to the Moravians for advice on what to do, however, they were told to "continue working faithfully, as if their master were still living."[554] The following year the missionaries were asked to mediate disputes in the slave quarters, including one between African and American born slaves. The Brethren refused, noting: "We cannot and may not get further involved in their affairs."[555] Outwardly, then, the Moravians appeared staunch supporters of slavery.

On the other hand, the Moravians subtly undermined the institution through their treatment of slaves and their refusal to inflict physical punishment. At the Carmel station in Jamaica,[556] where the Moravians ran a plantation that produced cattle and timber using slave labor, the missionaries "found themselves in the awkward position of having to apply discipline to their slaves like any other proprietor...but they drew the line at meting out physical punishment: the whip was not used, but instead, rations of salt fish were withheld from offenders." In 1818, a more serious infraction saw the Brethren take one of their slaves to the local magistrate to be punished, but when sentence was announced the slave pleaded for and duly received forgiveness, the missionary lamenting "Oh, how unpleasant are such things for missionaries."[557]

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[553] MAS: Correspondence; John Gambold, Springplace, to Jacob Van Vleck, Salem, March 23, 1818; John Gambold, Springplace, to Jacob Van Vleck, Salem, May 2, 1818, in May 4th addendum.

[554] MAS: Diary, March 4, 1809.

[555] MAS: Diary, November 4, 1810.

[556] Carmel was unusual for the Moravians. They were invited to Jamaica by two planters, Barham and Foster, but instead of being provided with assistance for board and lodging, the planters presented them with a small estate, Old Carmel "which offered some profits from cattle and timber," but which required "quite a number of slaves" to run. Oliver Furley, "Moravian Missionaries and Slaves in the West Indies," *Caribbean Studies* V, 2 (1965), 4.

A similar situation existed at Springplace. While Nancy was whipped by Mrs. Vann as a result of her bad behavior at the mission, the punishment was not inflicted by the Moravians, but by Nancy's owners after they learned why she was returned to them. Records indicate Nancy was whipped by the Vanns to show their displeasure with her at having acted so badly, not because the Brethren had requested it. In the nearly forty years of records surveyed for this study there are only two references to the physical punishment of a slave by the Moravians at the Cherokee Missions, and these are isolated incidents over a decade apart. The first slave to be physically punished was Michael, as a result of his on-going feud with his mother. Michael's insubordination to the missionaries increased in parallel to his annoyance with his mother. Michael failed to complete an assigned task and defiantly told Anna Rosina Gambold his mother had scolded him so much he had not been able to do it. John Gambold noted: "I was obliged to remind him of his duty with the stick, at which he resisted so fiercely with hands and feet that through that the punishment became much more severe than originally intended," continuing, "thereupon he threw himself upon the ground and screamed that we wanted to beat him to death; I gave him a few more blows, told him to get up and go to his work. He jumped up and ran off as well as he could."[558]

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[557] *Ibid*, 5.

As Gambold said Michael "ran off" his injuries were not that severe, and it was Michael who "threw himself upon the ground." He spent the night at a place eight miles away and was found, five days later, about 30 miles distant, planting corn for an Indian.[559] Michael was retrieved by another Cherokee and returned to the mission, despite using a knife to defend himself. Faced with a recalcitrant the missionaries baulked at the usual remedy for slaves who fought back, and Gambold wrote "we could not decide for such horse-cures by which wicked slaves are broken, and were convinced that there was nothing left for us but to sell him."[560] Despite Nancy's whipping by the Vanns, the Brethren were not about to whip their own slaves, nor have anyone else do it for them. Faced with having to physically 'break' Michael in order to keep him at Springplace, the Moravians chose to sell him instead. This decision, taken to spare Michael physical punishment, came at considerable cost, as the loss of his labor when the Moravians always needed help with the farm work far outweighed the price obtained for him.

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[558] MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to Van Vleck, Salem, May 14, 1819.

[559] MAS: Diary, May 6, 8-10.

[560] MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to Van Vleck, Salem, May 14, 1819.

It appears, however, Michael bore no long-term grudge against either the Moravians or his mother. The Brethren's records show Michael was later sold to the Watie family in the vicinity of the Oochgeelogy mission, a decision he was happy with as he liked both sons, Stand and Buck.[561] Michael, however, returned to visit Springplace at least once a year, either voluntarily or when sent on an errand by the Waties, from 1820 through 1826.[562] On one occasion, his Christmas 1822 visit, Michael "returned home," stayed through to the New Year and had "done ... many favors in this time."[563] In May 1829 the Byhans let Pleasant visit Michael in Oochgeelogy, and in October Michael returned to Springplace with his wife Hanna, to have their daughter, Rosana, baptized.[564] Michael's behavior in voluntarily returning to the mission does not indicate he felt aggrieved at his past treatment by the Brethren. By taking part in services, singing and helping out with the additional work of looking after the many attendees and their horses during the Christmas services, as well as getting his own child baptized there, Michael showed, if anything, a fondness for his former masters.

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[561] McClinton, *Moravian Springplace Mission*, 2, 299, Sunday June 20, 1819. Buck Watie (later Elias Boudinot) attended Springplace school from late 1810 through 1815, and again from 1816 to 1818. Stand Watie attended the school from late 1815 through 1821. Buck, born c. 1804 and Stand, born 1806, were thus one year older and one year younger, respectively, than Michael, and Buck especially would have grown up with Michael at the school. Buck, however, was away at the ABCFM school in Cornwall, Connecticut, from 1818 until 1822, and would have been absent at the time of Michael's purchase.

[562] MAS: Diary, 1820: February 4, August 12, and December 30. 1821, Diary: February 18. 1822-3, Diary, January 3, 1823, says Michael had been at Springplace since December 23, 1822. 1824, Diary, December 26. 1825, Correspondence: December 7, JR Schmidt, Springplace, to Schulz, Salem. 1826, Diary, August 7; this is Michael's last appearance in the records until 1829.

[563] MAS: Diary, January 3, 1823.

[564] MAS: Diary, May 3, 1829 and October 25, 1829. The latter entry, recording the baptism of his daughter Rosana, is the last reference I have found to Michael in the Springplace records.

The stick rather than the whip was also used in the second instance of slave punishment by the Moravians, and it came in 1829 at the branch mission station at Oochgeelogy. The missionary, Franz Eder, noted their slave woman was "horribly stubborn and headstrong so that often we cannot get anywhere with either goodness or with beating, which was tried in one small attempt."[565] Even this attempt at forcing compliance was rather half-hearted as it was noted she might be pregnant.[566] That Pleasant, despite all her sulking and ignoring of orders, was never beaten is surprising. John Gambold wrote in 1806 that he was so irritated by Pleasant's intransigence that he "almost reached for the whip," but he never followed through on the impulse.[567] It seems highly unlikely that any other slaveholder would have shown the level of patience the Brethren did, or indulged Pleasant so much in her refusal to take orders from Sister Byhan. In light of the way James Vann treated the three slaves who robbed him in 1806 one can only conjecture how much shorter Pleasant's life might have been had she been a slave at Diamond Hill, rather than Springplace.

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[565] MAS: Correspondence, Franz Eder, Oochgeelogy, to Schulz, Salem, January 4, 1829. The name of this slave woman is not known, and she only appears in the record on two further occasions, first, in a letter that confirms Eder's opinion of her as "lazy beyond measure", Byhan, Springplace, to Schulz, January 12, 1829, and in a letter from Eder's replacement, Heinrich Clauder, to Schulz, dated November 17, 1829, that confirms the man who bought the woman had "almost completely" paid off the debt.

[566] MAS: Correspondence, Gottlieb Byhan, Springplace, to Schulz, Salem, January 12, 1829.

[567] MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to Christian Lewis Benzien, Salem, September 28, 1806.

Nor are there any recorded instances of the Moravians beating the slaves they hired, or who were sent to work at the mission, though it is unlikely the Brethren would have sought to punish the slave property of others, given their 'non-interference' policy in such matters. Thus the slaves on Vann's plantation, plus those who visited for services or with their masters as they passed through, would see, or hear from the Springplace slaves themselves, that the Moravians did not physically punish their slaves. Considering the often vicious brutality meted out by James Vann, the contrast the Brethren provided could not have been starker, transforming their ambiguity into a clear statement of their failure to accept the racist ideology that supported slavery.

Better Treatment of Slaves

The Springplace missionaries anticipated the actions of their Church fathers in Salem by starting a Sunday school to teach basic literacy to slaves and their children in January 1816. The Brethren also encouraged their Cherokee neighbors, albeit Moravian converts, to do the same for their slave children.[568] This was despite the *Black Codes of Georgia* banning teaching literacy to slaves since 1770, even if it was not yet a concern for the Cherokee jurisdiction.[569] The Brethren's Sunday school, which was open to all who wanted to attend, not just slaves and their children, continued until mid-1830, when Gottlieb Byhan wrote to the elders in Salem:

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[568] MAS: Diary, January 11 and 21, and March 3, 1816. Here the Crutchfield's, Joseph (a white man), and Margaret Anne (a mixed-blood Cherokee, and James Vann's widow), discuss the schooling and teaching of literacy to their slave children, and agree in the last entry. One 12 year old slave girl and two "little ones" would "receive instruction in the Word of God and also guidance in reading, mainly regarding the Holy Scripture," McClinton, *Moravian Springplace Mission*, Volume 2, 102 and 108. See also MAS: Correspondence, Gambold, Springplace, to Jacob Van Vleck, Salem, February 5, 1816.

[569] Perdue, *Slavery and the Evolution of Cherokee Society*, 57-58.

> Our Sunday Schools are continuing in their usual manner, although they are no longer quite so well attended as in the beginning. Since many Negroes attended them, things have not been as they will be after June 1 when the Georgia law is supposed to be put into effect, because it is forbidden on threat of serious and horrible punishment to provide Negroes with instruction in reading and writing.[570]

The Moravians at Springplace thus once again sailed against the prevailing current of slave treatment in the South, only dutifully falling into line and closing their 'slave school' once legislatively forced to do so.

Furthermore, the missionaries treated slaves as fellow human beings rather than objects. One way the Brethren did this was the way they described slaves. Slaves were not referred to as 'slaves.' The thousands of references to slaves in the Springplace records refer to them as "Negroes," or less frequently as "blacks" or "Africans," but seldom as slaves. The few examples found are abstract references to the institution, not individuals, such as Gambold's to "such horse-cures by which wicked slaves are broken" noted above. Even these references appear in the correspondence which was not generally intended for public consumption.

The missionaries also tolerated Pleasant despite myriad problems with her. Once Pleasant tried to turn the surrounding slaves against the Moravians. Byhan wrote "She is on the whole so given over to lying that it is not too much to say that we may not, we cannot, believe her in the slightest," after she had attempted to keep Vann's slaves away from services by telling them the Byhans "talked about the negroes in private and that we cannot tolerate them."[571] While Byhan's assessment might be thought suspect, given their dislike of her, their views on Pleasant were shared by John Gambold. The latter's opinion, offered in a frank letter to Salem on the subject of the Byhan-Pleasant conflict, is worth quoting at length for its insight into the slave woman's temperament and attitude:

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[570] MAS: Correspondence, Gottlieb Byhan, Springplace, to Schulz, Salem, May 22, 1830.

> The most unpleasant is her unruly tongue which she has never learned to control, gives it free course and speaks truth and untruth mixed together so that one cannot rely on anything that she says. In addition, she possesses such immense pride that she believes she knows everything. So it is that during a whole year no Indians come here about whom she cannot say who he is, knows his whole relationship and other circumstances connected to it at her fingertips and is not embarrassed if she is challenged with the unfoundedness of the whole matter, but knows at once how to indicate the reasons from which the mistake has resulted. In my whole life I have never seen a person who is ready with excuses and justifications as she is; she doesn't need a minute to think about something, but it streams from her mouth like a current, and at that in a breath, she can contradict herself two and three times without being aware of it. One the whole one cannot say that the many lies which proceed from her with or without cause, spill out because of evil intentions; most of the time she talks just to be talking, entirely unconcerned whether it is harmful or not.[572]

Gambold was not given to hyperbole, and had the patience of a saint, so for Pleasant to have almost moved him to strike her, as noted above, and garnered this opinion from him speaks volumes. Byhan, however, used "the evil mouth of their negress"[573] as another reason for wanting to leave the mission in 1810, and take his children, Nathaniel and Sophia, back to Salem so they would not be "marked for life" by the things they might see or hear around Springplace.[574]

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[571] MAS: Correspondence, Gottlieb Byhan, Springplace, to C.L. Benzien, Salem, January 4, 1807.

[572] MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to Schweiniz, Salem, March 18, 1813.

[573] MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to C.G. Reichel, Salem, December 28, 1806.

So, why did the missionaries continue to tolerate Pleasant, whom they described as "this stubborn soul" whose "foul mouth is much more active than her hands" for so long?[575] Indeed, why did the Brethren retain Pleasant rather than the Byhans at Springplace, when their departure in 1812 left the Gambolds without any help until the arrival of the Schmidts in 1820? As noted above, it is unlikely Pleasant's behavior would have been tolerated on the Vann plantation, and would have resulted in frequent, if not mortal punishment. For the Moravians there were spiritual and practical reasons for their toleration. At the time of Michael's sale Gambold noted they had been silent so long because Pleasant had been "indicated as help for this mission through the instruction * of the Savior."[576] The asterisk indicates the Lot had been used in the decision to purchase Pleasant, which the Moravians took to be indicative of the will of God, and thus they were bound to show all patience towards her.

Another, more practical reason was that the only available alternative slaves were married with children. Not being able to afford the children in addition to the mother, the Moravians would, of necessity, have had to split up a slave family. Gambold stated, somewhat ungrammatically, this was something "we cannot in good conscience wish to do."[577] The situation had not changed five years later, leaving Gambold to reflect they would continue "to drag along with her until the Savior gives us another solution."[578] And drag along they did, the Gambolds remaining in harness with Pleasant at Springplace from 1805 until Anna Rosina's death in 1821, and John's departure for Oochgeelogy in 1823. During this time the Gambolds and Pleasant found a working accommodation, the slave woman and the missionary's wife even becoming fond of one another after a while.

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[574] In this Byhan included Michael as well as Pleasant, saying of his own son Nathaniel "he is difficult to discipline and causes us much anxiety and trouble, for which little yellow Michael is much to blame." MAS: Correspondence, Gottlieb Byhan, Springplace, to C.G. Reichel, Salem, April 8, 1810; and Gottlieb Byhan, Springplace, to C.L. Benzien, Salem, July 23, 1809.

[575] MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to Jacob Van Vleck, Salem, December 29, 1817; and John Gambold, Springplace, to C.L. Benzien, Salem, June 28, 1806.

[576] MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to Van Vleck, Salem, May 14, 1819.

The Gambolds and Pleasant also shared another common bond - a disdain for the Byhans. During the Byhans' first campaign to get recalled from Springplace they had taken a three month visit to Salem in 1810, to discuss the issue personally with the Moravian elders. Their return to Springplace in December of 1810 was not a happy one for Pleasant or the Gambolds, and elicited a similar reaction. In a candid letter, unusual amongst Moravian correspondence for being marked 'confidential' and therefore not for publication or wider distribution at any point, Gambold notes Pleasant "sat in the kitchen and wept bitterly when Bro. and Sister B. arrived." That Pleasant lamented the Byhans return in such a fashion was not surprising given their mutual animus, however, Gambold continued "I cannot deny, that I as well as Mamma G. wept silent tears over the ending of our three months of blissful peace"![579] The return of the disruptive Sister Byhan was thus no more welcome to the hardworking Gambolds than it was to Pleasant.

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[577] MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to C.L. Benzien, Salem, c. July 19, 1808.

[578] MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to Schweiniz, Salem, March 18, 1813.

Finally, as far as Pleasant was concerned, Gambold also revealed in a heartfelt letter of 1813 his own true feelings and those of his wife on the subject of having to act as slaveholders and treat Pleasant as something other than human. Gambold was born in Shechem, New York in 1760, and did not head south to North Carolina until 1791.[580] Anna Rosina was also a northerner, having been born and raised in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, where she had risen to become head teacher at the Bethlehem Female Seminary by the time she married John in May of 1805. These two missionaries had grown to maturity not in the slave south but the north, albeit a north not yet completely free from slavery, and were suddenly given the task of overseeing human chattel of their own. It was not a situation either relished. Despite noting of slaves, "that one must really wonder whether they are from the same stem [race] with us" because their "moral degradation is so deep" John Gambold also voiced a candid distaste for the institution of slavery. Writing for his wife as well, he noted "For 8 years already we are obliged to say to a black [woman] "you must" - and we still cannot become used to it. All-wise God must know what reasons He has to allow that people whom He has created in

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[579] MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to C.L. Benzien, Salem, St. Thomas Day [December 10], 1810.

[580] Gambold was appointed leader of the Single Brothers' Choir in Salem. His father, Hector, was from Wales and came to New York in 1746 to serve the Moravians. Hector was ordained in 1755 and ministered in Pennsylvania, New York and New Jersey, and was the first permanent Moravian minister on Staten Island, and died in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania in 1788, three years before his son moved south. John's mother, Eleanor, was from New York. Faull, ed., *Moravian Women's Memoirs*, 141, footnote 9.

His image are sold as cattle."[581] While the Gambolds obviously valued their own culture and religious beliefs over those of the slaves, they still could not fathom how slavery reduced some humans, fellow creatures of God, to the status of animals.

Perhaps the epitome of the Brethren's egalitarian approach to slaves was that they accepted one into their religious fellowship at Springplace. This may not seem particularly impressive given the numbers of slaves baptized in the West Indies and elsewhere, but the focus of the Springplace mission was the Cherokee, not their slaves. John Gambold wrote "the Negroes, are pointed to the Savior whenever the opportunity presents itself, but essentially are not in the purpose of the Brethren among the Cherokees."[582] In addition the Moravians, always cautious about accepting candidates for baptism until they were completely sure of their spiritual awakening, were even more cautious with slaves. This was because, as Zinzendorf explained, "a Heathen is used from his Infancy to do ye bad & has never learn'd it any better."[583] Expectations for Vann's slave Jacob were therefore not high, and Jacob had requested baptism from Schmidt more than ten times before his plea was even put to the Lot.[584] Even then Schmidt noted "We always had concerns about baptizing him for various reasons."[585] One of the concerns was communication, as Jacob - "called Suniger Jacob"[586] - was African-born and struggled to pick up English, Byhan saying at the time of his death, "Since he had not really mastered the English language, he could not express himself as he wished."[587]

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[581] MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to L.D. Schweiniz, Salem, June 27, 1813.

[582] MAS: Correspondence, John Gambold, Springplace, to Herbst, Salem, September 2, 1811.

[583] Quoted in Thorp, "Chattel With A Soul," 442.

[584] MAS: Correspondence, Johann Schmidt, Springplace, to Schulz, Salem, July 2, 1827: "he has expressed to me more than 10 times already his wish for Holy Baptism and he also has

Without a doubt, Jacob, who was baptized in 1827, showed commitment to the cause, serving an apprenticeship of nearly twenty years before he was admitted to the congregation. Purchased by James Vann along with his wife and three children from a bankrupt man in Virginia as part of a lot of 20 slaves, Jacob arrived in North Carolina in 1808.[588] Jacob was first recorded asking for baptism

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Mr. Vann's permission. I really think it would be unjust to let this poor man, who loves the Savior so much, wait any longer; it must be ventured in faith."

[585] MAS: Diary, Sunday, July 8, 1827.

[586] MAS: Correspondence, Johann Schmidt, Springplace, to Schulz, Salem, July 2, 1827.

[587] MAS: Diary, December 8, 1829.

[588] MAS: Diary, Sunday, April 3, 1808. They likely arrived earlier, as Vann "arrived home" from a trip on March 23, 1808, and the April 3 entry notes he purchased the Virginia slaves "recently." Initially it was not Jacob but his wife, Grace, said to be 67 at the time, for whom the Moravians held out the greatest hope. After Grace attended her first service at Springplace she told the missionaries "she thanks the Savior very sincerely that He has brought her so close to those who love Him. It would be the worst thing to her to be moved to a country where He was not preached. Now she cannot thank Him enough for leading her into our neighborhood." Grace further endeared herself to the missionaries by trying to get Pleasant to repent: "She also spoke very seriously with our Pleasant and said among other things, "What! You who are so near the *light*, you nonetheless want to sit willfully in darkness? Oh, think about it, I beg you, before it is too late," and such things." MAS: Diary, April 3, 1808. While Grace's attempts to bring Pleasant around fell on stony ground, they made her popular with the Brethren. As time passed, however, Grace fell out of favor. The couple had been bought to run James Vann's mill, and to act as overseers of the other slaves. Jacob's role as overseer, and Grace's friendship with the Moravians - she even went to help them with their housework during harvest time at their behest - generated enmity amongst the rest of Vann's slaves that erupted after Vann's murder in 1809. The resultant backlash saw both Grace and Jacob severely beaten. MAS: Diary, July 10, 1809. For the next decade both were frequent attendees at services, but then things went wrong for Grace. By 1822 she was recorded as having attended an "extremely loud and noisy" Methodist meeting, held by a black preacher at Vann's plantation. The Moravians continued "We hear that old Grace, a Negro

in February 1827, and was told in July he would be baptized three weeks later, with the "full permission" of his master, Joseph Vann, and continued to receive 'instruction' every Sunday.[589] The baptism itself became quite an event for the Moravians:

> The Savior made this into a special day of blessing for us. We had the joy of baptizing the first fruit from the Negroes here into Jesus' death. For this solemn service our church was completely filled with people. Among them were over 50 Negroes. After a talk by Brother Schmidt... he baptized the "first fruit" of the Negroes here from the Tjamba nation, a slave of Mr. Joseph Vann, into Jesus death with the name *Christian Jacob*... This day of grace will remain unforgettable. Our pleading to the Savior was that many more poor Negroes here might also give themselves to him as a reward for his efforts...[590]

The significance for the Brethren is illustrated by the fact that not only did they record Jacob's African ethnicity - Tjemba - but also accorded him 'first fruits' status and the baptismal name of Christian. Only about 45 Cherokee had fulfilled the Moravians stringent requirements for baptism and entry into communion by this point, and for Jacob to do so despite his duties as Vann's overseer and keeper of his mill was testament to his dedication.[591] In July, 1828 Jacob was confirmed and took his first communion, but did not get to enjoy his fellowship for long,

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woman with bad character, prayed publicly yesterday evening in the service, despite the fact that just a couple of days ago she had stolen 2 hens from one of Mother Vann's Negro women." MAS: Diary, Sunday, July 28, 1822. Her fall from grace was complete five years later: "The Negro woman Grace was accused of burning down Negro houses with her daughter Lidia. Because of other shameful deeds, her master Mr. Vann punished her and her daughter with 100 strokes." Grace would have been around 86 years of age at the time. MAS: Diary, June 9, 1827. The other "shameful deeds" may have included poisoning the slave woman Padey (d. March 28, 1827) who was buried by Johann Schmidt; Diary: May 6, 1827 (accusation of Grace), and March 29, 1827 (Schmidt officiating at Padey's funeral).

[589] MAS: Correspondence, J.R. Schmidt, Springplace, to Benade, Salem, February 26, 1827, and MAS: Diary, Sunday, July 8, 1827.

[590] MAS: Diary, Sunday, July 29, 1827; emphasis in the original.

[591] McClinton, *Moravian Springplace Mission*, 2, 439, notes the Moravians had a total of 45 Cherokee adherents by 1830.

with his “unexpected and rapid home-going” coming in December the following year, though Byhan visited him and blessed him ten minutes before he died.[592]

Graveyard equality

Christian Jacob was granted one final share of equality in faith. He died the day after the wife of Vann’s white overseer, Mr. Nicholson. As Mrs. Nicholson had been a regular attendee at the Brethren’s services her husband requested she be buried in the Springplace God’s Acre, despite her not being a member of the Moravian congregation. The mission diary notes:

> At 12 o’clock noon the above-mentioned two corpses were brought here and set down in front of our church. Then we went into the church, and after Psalm 39: 4, 5 were read, we accompanied them to God’s Acre. A crowd of people had gathered, especially many Negroes. This happening, that two bodies were buried at one time, seemed to make a deep impression on everyone present.[593]

Christian Jacob, despite being a slave, was buried in the same Springplace graveyard that contained Anna Rosina Gambold and Margaret Ann Crutchfield. Thus the Moravians brought together white, Cherokee and African in a shared bond of faith in the afterlife, without distinction, even while they accepted the racial hierarchy of their earthly home.

This measure of equality granted Jacob would have been well-noted by the surrounding slave population, not least because it ran counter to prevailing practice back in Salem itself. Salem had two graveyards from the beginning: God’s Acre for Moravian members, and the so-called ‘parish’ graveyard for the burial of non-members who died while in Salem. God’s Acre also had a

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[592] MAS: Correspondence, Gottlieb Byhan, Springplace, to Schulz, Salem, July 23, 1828; and Gottlieb Byhan, Springplace, to Schulz, Salem, December 9, 1829.

[593] MAS: Diary, December 9, 1829.

‘strangers’ section at its southeast corner for non-members who wished pay for burial in the Brethrens’ fashion. Construction of the town of Salem did not begin until 1766, and the first burial in its God’s Acre took place five years later, upon the death of Single Brother John Birkhead, who was buried on June 7th, 1771.[594] The burial of the first slave member came in 1777 when Catharina became the second internment in the Single Sisters section. Her gravestone gave a further indication of her status, bearing the inscription “Catharina Negerin.” Slave members of the Moravians continued to be buried in Salem’s God’s Acre until 1816, when the church Elders decided to expand the graveyard. Taking cognizance of the increased desire for segregation amongst the surrounding white population as well as their own membership, the Elders decreed that henceforth only white Brethren would be buried in God’s Acre, and black members would now be buried in the parish graveyard alongside those slaves who did not convert and any ‘strangers’ who died in the town.[595]

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[594] Birkhead, who was born in Yorkshire, England, was amongst the first group, ten in number, of Moravian settlers to come direct from Europe, via Charleston, arriving in Bethabara on January 30, 1766. Birkhead was one of a group of eight Brethren chosen to move to the Salem site from Bethabara to begin construction on the proposed new town, on 19 February 1766. Birkhead died on June 6, 1771 and was buried the following day. Crews & Starbuck, *With Courage for the Future*, 51, 53, and 77.

[595] While the Elders’ decision to stop African burials in God’s Acre was taken in 1816, the last actual slave burial there came in 1813. By 1819 the parish graveyard had become known as the ‘Negro graveyard,’ though the first black Moravian member to be buried there was not interred until 1824. *Ibid.*, 224, footnote 2, and 225. The parish graveyard was extended in 1816, and later became the graveyard of the African American church, St. Phillip’s, formed specifically for Salem’s black congregation in 1822. Between 1816 and 1859 108 African Americans, slave or free, members or non-members, were buried in this graveyard. After 1859 slaves were buried in the ‘strangers’ section at the southeast corner of God’s Acre. On-site information at St. Phillip’s Church graveyard, visited May 31, July 10, 2006.

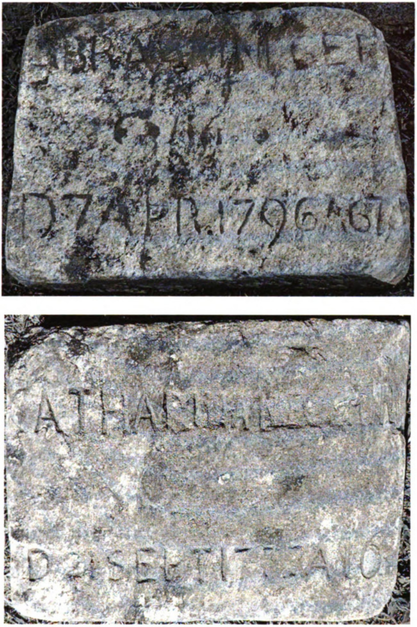

Figure 23: Gravestones in Salem's God's Acre: "Abraham Neger, died 7 April 1796, aged 67 years" and "Catharin Negerin, died 21 September 1777, aged 16 years." Both Abraham and Catharina were Moravian slaves and, as both died before the segregation of Salem's God's Acre, they were both buried alongside their fellow Moravians.
(Author photograph).

Jacob's burial in the Springplace God's Acre sixteen years after the last such burial in Salem's God's Acre must thus have been quite an event for the region's slave community. Despite Mrs. Nicholson's burial there, this was not an honor given to just anyone associated with the Springplace mission.[596] No direct comparison can be drawn between Jacob and the Springplace slaves, as none of them ever died while in service at the mission. A great number of slaves from the Vann plantation attended services at Springplace over the years, but aside from Jacob no other slaves converted and at their deaths they were interred at various places around the plantation, not in the mission's God's Acre. A prime example of this would be Caty, Peggy Vann's slave woman, who was a regular attendee at the Springplace services in the year before her death. Mrs. Vann wanted Caty buried near the Diamond Hill house, but James Vann ordered his overseer to dig a grave "in the bush at the place where the three criminals were executed and buried three years ago."[597] Despite this Mrs. Vann had Brother Byhan build a coffin for Caty, and Brother Gambold gave the burial service.

Nor was burial in the Springplace God's Acre an honor accorded to the Cherokee children who attended the Brethren's school. September 27th, 1812 saw the death of Dawnee, the nine year-old daughter of David and Susanna Watie, who had entered the school the previous June.[598] The missionaries were busy with fieldwork when Dawnee died and John Gambold noted they would have to bury her "in the bush, but we will try to select a spot which would not be unsuitable for a future burial place (graveyard)."[599]

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[596] MAS: Diary, December 7, 1829 notes of Mrs. Nicholson: "She was raised by Presbyterians, and since she has lived close to us she has often attended our services. Mr. Nicholson asked for a little place for her on our God's Acre, and we could not turn him down." The clear implication is that in order to maintain good relations with Vann's overseer the Moravians granted Mr. Nicholson's wish to allow his wife to be buried in their graveyard. The fact that Mrs. Nicholson was also a baptized Presbyterian and a regular attendee at the Springplace services no doubt helped.

[597] MAS: Diary, November 9, 1808.

Jacob's burial in the Springplace God's Acre, a slave alongside white and Cherokee converts, was another instance of the Moravians undermining their own position as slaveholders and upholders of the system of human bondage. Granting Jacob a place in the graveyard as an equal in comparison to other converts subverted not only the white South's strict racial hierarchy, but also undermined Cherokee attempts to distance themselves from blacks and slaves in the 'non-white' category they had been dumped into by white southerners. Rather than be buried "in the bush" or by the roadside as so many of his fellow slaves were, the Brethren laid Jacob to rest in the mission graveyard, with a full service, and at the same time as a white woman. For Jacob's fellow slaves on the Vann plantation, even those who did not like him and would have been glad to see him dead, the fact he was buried alongside the wife of their white overseer, the wife of the former owner of the plantation upon which they labored, and the wife of one of the missionaries who had administered to them over the years conveyed a powerful message.

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[598] McClinton, *Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokee,* 2, 449.

[599] John Gambold, Springplace, to Brother Peter, September 27, 1812. The archive catalogue lists this 'letter' as '18b,' an addendum to '18' which was from Gambold to Peter, but dated October 2, 1812. The earlier part describes Dawnee's illness in detail, and the latter notes the Watie's were understanding once they had overcome the shock, and put their next daughter down to attend the Moravian school. The October section also notes some slaves and Indians, including Old Mother Vann, attended the funeral. McClinton, *Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokee,* 2, 642, footnote 65, states the Moravians "selected a hill about three hundred feet southwest of the mission for the burial from where they could see the gravesite from their yard."

Manumission

Not surprisingly, the Brethren did not have an official policy on manumission. Oliver Furley noted of the Moravians in the West Indies: "The spiritual condition of the slave was their concern, not his material condition."[600] If a slave owned by the Brethren converted, they became equal with their Moravian owners and their slave status was rendered immaterial. Jacob, even though he was not owned by the Moravians at Springplace, was an example of this equality in faith. Another was the slave woman Maria, noted earlier; she was bought for the mission on St. Thomas, later traveled to Europe and was ordained a deaconess but remained a slave at the time of her death.[601]

Part of the reason for this was that the Moravians sought to treat bondsmen better than other slaveholders, as seen in the Salem Congregation Council's call for good treatment of slaves: "different treatment of them will degrade ourselves to the rank of ordinary people of this world and will be a disgrace to the community."[602] Furley, in discussing how the Moravians in the West Indies viewed their slaves, noted: "it is clear that these missionaries regarded their own slaves simply as domestic servants with close personal ties to them: they would hardly have recognized the fact that they were slaveowners."[603] This stance was backed by Bishop Spangenberg in 1760, writing from Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, to a missionary in the West Indies:

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[600] Furley, "Moravian Missionaries and Slaves in the West Indies," 14.

[601] Sensbach, *Rebecca's Revival*, 194.

[602] Crews and Starbuck, *With Courage for the Future*, 143.

> Because of our love to them we do not free them, for they would be in a worse condition if they got free as if we kept them. Actually they are not slaves with us, and there is no difference between them and other brothers and sisters. They dress as we do, they eat what we eat, they work when we work, they rest when we rest, and they enjoy quite naturally what other brothers and sisters enjoy.[604]

Here then, is the explanation: black freemen had virtually no rights under the law, but the Brethren could guarantee the slaves they owned a certain level of protection by invoking their rights in property as slaveholders. Thus for the Moravians to free their slaves would not improve their condition, and in many cases would worsen it.[605]

Of course, this did not apply to Moravian-owned slaves who were not members of the congregation, nor does it take into account the psychological factors involved in bondage, but it accurately reflects the material conditions slaves faced. Furley notes for the West Indies: "Often indeed, to buy a slave was the best way to "rescue" him or her from some desperate plight, and undoubtedly humanitarian motives played a part."[606] Manumission could thus open the freedman up to possible dangers again. The fact the Brethren were willing to buy slaves out of undesirable situations, treat them well, refrain from physical punishment, and accept them into spiritual equality meant they became known as attractive masters. Thus "the Moravians early acquired a reputation for being desirable owners in the opinion of the slaves themselves."[607] Philip Africa, in his study of slaveholding in Salem notes in 1775 Jacob, a slave the Moravians hired to work in the town tavern, came to the elders in tears and pleaded for them to buy him "or his master would sell him no one knew where, and he begged fervently that we would buy him, for he wanted to stay with the Brethren and belong to the Savior..."[608] Jacob, faced with imminent sale into the unknown, knew where he was better off and sought to remain in Salem under the protection of the Moravians.[609]

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[603] Furley, "Moravian Missionaries and Slaves in the West Indies," 6.

[604] Quoted in Thorp, "Chattel with a Soul," 445. Thorp shows the Moravians in Pennsylvania took Spangenberg's assertion to heart in the form of Andrew, a slave who was both a member and the property of Moravian congregation in Bethlehem from 1746 until his death in 1779. Andrew lived in the Single Brothers' Choir building with other single (white) Brethren, until 1762, when he married. He was also one of eight Brethren chosen to attend a synod in nearby Germantown in 1747. In this his skin color and slave status made no difference to his treatment or standing within the Bethlehem Moravian community.

[605] For a more in-depth analysis of the protection that Moravian membership offered to blacks, in marriage, family, and freedom from sexual abuse, see Jon F. Sensbach, "Interracial Sects: Religion, Race, and Gender Among Early North Carolina Moravians," in Catherine Clinton and Michelle Gillespie (eds.) *The Devil's Lane: Sex and Race in the Early South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 154-167.

The reputation the Salem and Springplace Moravians gained as easy or soft masters also existed elsewhere in the Brethrens' world. Furley notes the economy of the Carmel estate in Jamaica often suffered because the Brethren worked their slaves less hard than those on other estates and "admitted their slaves were mollycoddled." One of the missionaries acknowledged this: "There are few, if any, negroes in this country so conceited, so foolishly proud, and consequently so difficult to manage, as those at Carmel, which evidently proceeds from too great a degree of indulgence, which negroes belonging to or under the care of the Brethren, will always experience." Furthermore, when the new mission station of Fairfield was set to open in 1822 the Moravians debated buying fresh slaves from elsewhere to work the plantation "since our own are quite a spoiled set of people."[610]

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[606] Furley, "Moravian Missionaries and Slaves in the West Indies," 6.

[607] Africa, "Slaveholding in the Salem Community," 276.

[608] *Ibid.* This Jacob is a different man to the one noted earlier, who was buried at Springplace.

[609] Jacob's story does not end happily. Africa notes he became a communicant member of the church in 1776, but was sold in 1779 after he poisoned a horse and was caught stealing. *Ibid*, fn. 17.

While the Brethren were free to act as they pleased in regards to their treatment of slaves that was not always the case as regards manumission. Here they ran up against legal barriers, for "North Carolina was the only state in the South in which emancipation was not a slaveholder's prerogative."[611] The first North Carolina slave code of 1715 allowed masters to free slaves who performed "honest & Faithful service," but no owner could manumit "Runaway or Refractory Negroes." In addition emancipated slaves had to leave North Carolina within six months or be sold back into slavery for five years. The rules on manumission were tightened in the 1741 code, meaning slaves could only be freed "for meritorious Services," which were interpreted by the county courts.[612] In 1776 Quakers in the state, moved by the spirit of liberty that accompanied the

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[610] Furley, "Moravian Missionaries and Slaves in the West Indies," 5. See also Arnold R. Highfield, "Patterns of Accommodation and Resistance: The Moravian Witness to Slavery in the Danish West Indies," *Journal of Caribbean History* 28 (1994): 138-164.

[611] Jeffrey J. Crow, Paul D. Escott, & Flora J. Hatley, *A History of African Americans in North Carolina* (Raleigh: North Carolina Division of Archives and History, 1992), 41.

[612] *Ibid*, 5 and 6; laws passed in 1788 and 1796 reaffirmed this position, 41. See also Sensbach, *A Separate Canaan*, 173, footnote 53.

Revolution, declared slavery was "inconsistent with the Law of righteousness" and all members were advised to get rid of their slaves as soon as possible.[613] Within a year Quakers had freed over 40 slaves. The North Carolina Assembly reacted angrily and in 1777 enacted a law "to prevent domestic Insurrections" and denounced the "evil and pernicious Practice of freeing Slaves in this State, [which] ought at this alarming and critical Time to be guarded against...." As a result "Any slaves freed contrary to the law were to be apprehended and auctioned off by county sheriffs."[614]

Sometimes the opposition was more informal, such as that faced by Moravians in the West Indies. Here island governments were against the emancipation of groups of slaves owned by missionaries in case it stimulated the desire for freedom amongst the wider slave population. In 1831, with abolition looming in the British Caribbean, the Unity Elders' Conference in Germany passed a resolution recommending the emancipation of all slaves possessed by missionaries in the Caribbean. However, the Brethren in St. Kitts were unenthusiastic and cited planter opposition. They decided "to make a report how this could be brought about, without detriment to our economic arrangements, or exciting the illwill of the colonial authorities."[615] The missionaries in Jamaica freed their six slaves, boldly claiming "the opposition of the[ir] white neighbours

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[613] The Quakers were also instrumental in the abolitionist movement in Britain, 1783 seeing them form the first anti-slavery committee in Britain and present the first anti-slavery petition to Parliament.

[614] Crow et al, *African Americans in North Carolina*, 41.

[615] Furley, "Moravian Missionaries and Slaves in the West Indies," 14.

[was] not to be heeded," and requested the UEC foot the bill for their manumission. However, the Jamaica missionaries also noted the six, due to their "affection to the place," were likely to wish to stay on as paid workers, which would increase the mission's annual expenditure by relatively little.[616] Hence the Jamaican Moravians showed an admirable slaveholders interest in the economic aspects of retaining their labor force over the humanitarian aspects of manumission.[617]

Africa notes the Moravians, like the Quakers, were also infected with the 'contagion of liberty' that surrounded the American Revolution, however their bout was short lived. "Prior to the Revolution one effort was made to dispose of all slaves, but the evidence indicates that during and after the war replacements were secured for those slaves which had been sold."[618] Individual Brethren did, however, still attempt to allow their slaves freedom on rare occasions. The Salem records contain an "Engagement from Ashley Johnson not to claim property in Negroe Jacob," dating from 1793, when the state laws against manumission for all but 'meritorious service' were still in place. Johnson undertook "not to claim any property in said Negroe" and "because the Laws of North Carolina are against the Liberating of Slaves, and the said Negroe fellow has paid me the sum of One hundred Pounds in full of his value according to compensation, Now therefore I being willing that justice be done to the said Negroe" and gave guarantees before witnesses to this effect.[619] Johnson continued "as soon as it can be conveniently done I will to any authority that now is or may hereafter be established, whereby Negroes may be liberated in order to effect his Absolute freedom... and not rest till effected," a stricture applied to all his heirs and administrators of his estate should Johnson die before Jacob had been freed. Johnson further guaranteed Jacob's eventual freedom by promising that he or his estate would pay five hundred pounds in compensation to either of his witnesses if he or any of his heirs tried to claim Jacob, or any part of his earnings, as their property.[620]

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[616] *Ibid.*

[617] Furley also notes (14) that at the Carmel mission on Jamaica, the missionary organized a collection in his congregation to raise one hundred pounds "to buy freedom for George Lewis, to enable him, a valuable Helper and preacher, to travel all over Jamaica," again suggesting that the move was made to improve Lewis' utility to the mission, not from humanitarian ideals.

[618] Africa, "Slaveholding in the Salem Community," 278. Writing in 1977, Africa stated in his footnote (#25) to this entry that: "This cloudy entry is the closest approach to proof of manumission by the Moravians that the author found."

Johnson, however, was an individual Moravian member, not the church itself, and Jacob sought his freedom through purchase rather than 'meritorious service.' As noted above, Sam the first slave the Brethren in Salem bought was emancipated in 1800. Sam had been purchased in 1769 and baptized (as Johann Samuel) two years later. Sensbach notes "the church obtained a state legislative act freeing Samuel in 1800" and he settled, with his family, on a rented farm outside Salem in Bethabara.[621] Presumably Sam's three decades of service were deemed 'meritorious' enough to warrant emancipation. Sensbach states, however, that freeing Sam had been an act of "limited magnanimity" on the part of the

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[619] MAS: Slavery Bills of Sale box, P626. 5E; "Engagement from Ashley Johnson not to claim property in Negroe Jacob," November 16, 1793. One of the two witnesses to this Engagement was none other than John Gambold, only two years after he arrived in Salem from the North.

[620] *Ibid.*

[621] Sensbach, *A Separate Canaan*, 173.

Salem elders, as he was 50 by this point, and over the coming years struggled desperately to support his wife and three children (aged between 3 and 12 in 1800, with another to arrive in 1803) as his strength failed. The church provided him rent relief in 1804, but by 1813 Sam was jailed for theft and had the lease on his farm cancelled. The church again provided limited relief by buying most of his household and farm equipment and lending it back to him. Samuel and his wife, Maria, eked out their last years on a farm in Bethania, before their deaths, within three weeks of each other, in 1821.[622] Their fate was a sobering indication Spangenberg's assertion that slaves were better off under the care of Moravian ownership was not just a defensive, self-justificatory statement and bore more than a grain of truth.

A consideration of the slaves held at Springplace adds another dimension to Moravian attitudes to manumission. Of the four slaves owned by the Brethren - Pleasant, Michael, Betsy and the unnamed slave woman who briefly served at Oochgeelogy - three were sold to help fund a mission that was unable to support itself without help from Salem. Michael was sold to get away from his mother; Betsy as the mission faced imminent closure; and the Oochgeelogy woman due to her perceived laziness and stupidity. Pleasant was therefore the only one who reached the end of her working life while in service and thus might have been granted her freedom for 'meritorious service.' However, for the Moravians to abandon her at a point in her life when she was no longer able to work and support herself would also have been to abandon their responsibilities and duty towards her. This they did not do.

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[622] *Ibid*, 215-217.

There are only five extant references to Pleasant after October 1829 when the Byhans sent her back to Salem and retirement. The first comes from January 1830 when Gottlieb Byhan reconfirmed his prejudice against Pleasant, but also reaffirmed her knack for disruption. Byhan responded to a letter from the Salem elders: "It is no surprise that old Pleasant is causing you much trouble, and she troubled us for 9 years. We could not endure things with her any longer. She is a miserable creature!"[623] Pleasant then disappears for three years before surfacing in the Negro Congregation Diary in 1833, when she was mentioned by Johann Schmidt, whom she knew and had worked with at the Cherokee missions.[624] Schmidt notes Pleasant was living with another elderly Moravian slave, Phoebe, on the Brethrens plantation outside Salem.[625] Schmidt visited Pleasant again in December the following year, after an illness left her "unconscious for several hours." Schmidt, like many before him, tried to turn her towards God as her end approached, but Pleasant was unmoved, and turned the conversation to other topics.[626]

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[623] MAS: Correspondence, Gottlieb Byhan, Springplace, to Theodor Schulz, January 19, 1830; quote from January 21 addendum.

[624] Johann R. and Gertraud Schmidt served at Springplace from October 1820 through fall 1827, when they moved to Oochgeelogy, where they remained until November 1828, then asked for a recall to Salem. Johann would thus have known Pleasant for about eight years, and worked with her for seven.

[625] MAS: Negro Congregation Diary, 1822-1842: February 4, 1833. Crews & Starbuck, *With Courage for the Future*, 226, footnote 2 states: "The slave Quarter was on the Administration plantation (Provincial farm) about two miles from Salem in the southeast corner of the Salem town lot." In other words, it was outside the town limits, and thus did not contravene Church regulations on the housing of slaves within the town limits.

Pleasant's final appearance in the records came upon her death in 1839. She died on November 18th, the Diary making, as noted above, the possibly erroneous comment that she did so "at the age of some eighty years," and she was buried the next day.[627] Notably the Brethren held a memorial service, "for which a nice number of listeners had come in," albeit with a seemingly inappropriate sermon based on John 6:47 "Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that believeth in me hath everlasting life."[628] Her gravestone bore the inscription: "Pleasant, 1839, Served the Cherokee Mission."[629]

No indication is given as to how Pleasant supported herself for the final decade of her life, or why she ended her days living on the Salem plantation. However, the fact she lived on the Salem plantation meant the Moravians gave her a place to stay, and companionship in the form of Phoebe. Phoebe was another slave who had been bought by the Salem elders to serve in the town. Her husband Bodney had died at some point after 1826, leaving Phoebe a widow. After the reference to her living on the 'Negro Quarter' with Pleasant in 1833 Phoebe disappears until the time of her death, some 28 years later. Senior Moravian archivist Daniel Crews described Phoebe as "a retired slave of the Moravian church, living on a pension from the church."[630] It thus seems probable Pleasant was also supported this way in return for her years of service at Springplace.

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[626] *Ibid*, December 1, 1834. Pleasant, however, manage to extract a promise from Schmidt to bring her some "peppermint and snuff" in return for being more orderly. The last recorded words of hers that we have are her farewell to Schmidt: "It is good to watch and pray."

[627] *Ibid*, November 18, 1839.

[628] *Ibid*, December 8, 1839. Quote is from the King James version of the Bible.

[629] Pleasant was buried in the graveyard of St. Philip's Church, the original "Negro Congregation" church in Salem, and the site of all burials for African Americans and non-Moravians since 1816. For reasons unknown St. Philip's graveyard was landscaped in 1913 and all the gravestones removed. Archaeological work in 1991 found many of the gravestones under the St. Philip's church entrance and steps, and a plaque was erected to commemorate those individuals whose gravesites could not be identified, but who had been buried in the graveyard. This plaque contains the inscription for Pleasant noted above.

A note on Cherokee slaveholding practices

The Brethren's records from Springplace also give a glimpse into the world of Cherokee slaveholding practices through its detailing of events at the neighboring Vann plantation, Diamond Hill. The presence of various overseers on the Vann plantation has already been commented on, from Samuel Tally who courted Peggy Vann, to Jacob, the black slave driver of his fellow slaves. Further investigation shows James Vann and his son Joseph after him, always sought to have a white overseer for their slaves at Diamond Hill. The first reference to a white overseer at the Vann's comes in March 1802, just a few months after the opening of the Springplace mission, when John Crawford is noted to be James Vann's overseer. The last reference dates from 1831, and referred to Mr. Nicholson, whose wife was buried alongside Jacob in the Springplace cemetery.[631]

There was considerable turnover in personnel; James Vann alone had six

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[630] Crews and Starbuck, *With Courage for the Future*, 341, footnote 1.

[631] MAS: Diary, March 10, 1802, and February 16, 1831 respectively.

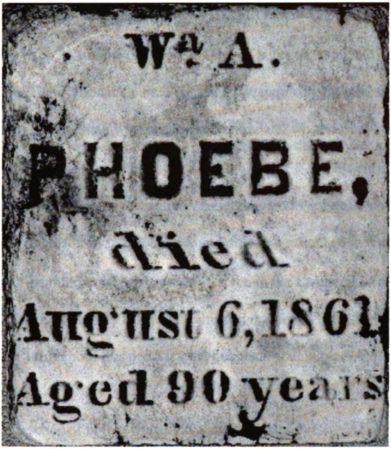

Figure 24: Phoebe's gravestone in Salem's God's Acre. It is located in the 'strangers' section in the southeast corner. The inscription "Wa.A." above Phoebe's name indicates that she, like Pleasant, was considered to be "Property of the Wachovia Administration."
(Author photograph)

Phoebe was bought by the Salem elders, along with her husband, Bodney (54), and their two children, Caty, nine, and Emanuel, four on October 4th, 1810. The family cost $800, with the seller, George Hauser, promising to pay the Moravians $250 if Phoebe, who was "about 39 years old," should die in her next childbirth. The first service of the Negro Congregation Church was held at Bodney's home on the Moravian 'plantation' or 'Negro Quarter' on Sunday, March 24th, 1822, before a church was built for the black congregation. Bodney and Phoebe were two of the initial three communicants in the Negro Church. After Pleasant's return to Salem and Bodney's death (at some point after 1826) Pleasant joined Phoebe and the two of them lived together. An entry in the Negro Congregation Diary for 1833 states: "On February 4th, I visited the elderly Communicant member Phoebe on the Unity's Quarter. She and the old Negress Pleasant still live there alone."

different overseers between 1802 and 1809.[632] The rate of change continued under Joseph Vann, as another six were employed between 1809 and 1819.[633] In 1820, the Cherokee National Council passed a law requiring permits to be procured for any white man working in the Nation, and whoever applied for the permit was responsible "for the said man and his family."[634] This curtailed the hiring of white overseers and thereafter Vann struggled to get such workers. Until the arrival of Nicholson in 1829 I have found only one reference to Vann having an overseer in the intervening nine years.[635] Even in the absence of a white overseer for much of the 1820s Joseph Vann still employed his slave Jacob as his slave overseer throughout this period, and Nicholson was in place by the time of Jacob's death.

The presence of both a white and a slave overseer between the Vann's and their slaves indicates both Vann men sought to avoid the direct oversight of their slaves and perhaps any association with fieldwork. Both James Vann and his son spent most of their time involved in non-agrarian business activities, focused on their trading posts and ferries, rather than on plantation agriculture. Perdue notes: "The fact that slaves cultivated the fields of upper-class Cherokees made all Cherokee men less likely to embrace farming since one risked ignominy by agricultural labor."[636] For Cherokee men like James and Joseph Vann, the introduction of slavery allowed them to maintain the traditional Cherokee gendered division of labor, rather than take up the plow as proponents of Washington's civilization plan wished. Upper class Cherokee men used slaves to labor in the fields and this was subsequently reinforced by the racism of the white South. The presence of their overseers meant the Vanns avoided the slightest association with agriculture. Thus, the wealthier elements of the Cherokee, like the Vanns, used slave labor to maintain another facet of their cultural heritage.

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[632] John Crawford (1802-1803) was followed by Joseph Bohring (1803-1805), John Tynor (1805-1806), Josiah Vann (1807), Clement Vann (1808), and Zephaniah Coody (1809).

[633] John Crawford (1809-1811), Joseph Crutchfield (1811-1812), Samuel Talley (1812-1813), Aikman (1813), Thomas Gann (1815-1818), and Birdwell (1818-1819).

[634] McClinton, *Moravian Springplace Mission, II,* 535, footnote 20.

[635] MAS: Diary, April 1, 1823. The entry reads: "Our Sister McNair's half-brother Mr. [William] Burges, who is now Mr. Vann's "Overseer", requested to send his 3 children, 2 boys and one girl, to our school." This is the only reference to Burgess as Vann's overseer, and the last record of him comes in MAS: Correspondence, J.R. Schmidt, Springplace, to Andreas Benade, Salem, February 16, 1824, which notes: "Mr. Burges, our neighbor whose 4 children have visited our school, has moved to another area with his family and now lives 20 miles from here." MAS: Correspondence, J.R. Schmidt, to Brother Schulz, Salem, December 7, 1825, notes that Joseph Vann had asked the Moravians' disgraced 'outside worker', Martin Rominger, if he would act as overseer at Diamond Hill. Rominger did not take up the offer.

The refusal to enter agriculture may also have been another rejection of the civilization program's attempts to impose new gender identities on Cherokee men. Claudio Saunt argues the civilization program offered a similar challenge to the manhood of young Creek warriors in his study, *A New Order of Things*.[637] In Creek culture, as in the Cherokee, it was women who traditionally performed the agricultural labor, while men hunted and made war. The violence Creek warriors displayed towards women during the Creek War of 1812-14 was, according to Saunt "a warrior's response to 'civilization,' an assertion of Creek masculinity against the relatively sedentary and pacific identity imposed by U.S. Indian agents."[638] The rape and mutilation of white women by Creek warriors during the war, Saunt argues, showed Creek men "refused to abide by European ideals of masculinity and femininity."[639] The Vanns response was a less violent but equally emphatic rejection of that challenge to their masculinity, and one which fit their plan of adapting to survive and thrive in the white mainstream. By rejecting agriculture for business the Vanns simultaneously reasserted their masculinity and ensured further Cherokee cultural continuity.

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[636] Perdue, *Cherokee Women*, 126.

[637] Claudio Saunt, *A New Order of Things: Property, Power, and the Transformation of the Creek Indians, 1733-1816* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999).

Conclusions

The Moravians' ownership, hiring, and extensive use of slaves at the Springplace and Oochgeelogy Cherokee missions in Georgia adhered to Zinzendorf's decree on the treatment of slaves as spiritual equals, with no concern shown for their temporal condition. However, the Brethren's treatment of slaves, aversion to physical punishments, and Christian view of them as spiritual equals before God undermined any pretense they had of being slaveholders, like others in the South.

The Brethren also undermined the goals of the 'civilization' program in another way. Integral to the goal of 'civilization' was the desire to turn all Cherokee men from hunters to farmers, forsaking the chase and taking up the plow. As already noted, this was a flawed plan because a significant minority of Cherokee had already given up hunting for plantation agriculture and business. But Moravian behavior towards those Cherokee men like James and Joseph Vann also raises interesting questions about why they failed in their efforts to convert Vann to Christianity. Unlike the Baptists who openly attacked members of the gentry for their godless ways, as shown in Rhys Isaac's *The Transformation of Virginia 1740-1790*, the Moravians never challenged the Vanns over their heathen behavior. This raises an intriguing question. In James Vann's case, as already noted, the Brethren were wary of him and his savage temper, and mindful of his position as their patron and protector among the Cherokee. Even if one accepts the Brethren's wariness of James Vann's temper, it does not answer the question of why they never challenged or chided Joseph Vann, who had spent three years at their school. His godless ways were evident for more than twenty years after he inherited his father's plantation and unchristian lifestyle.[640]

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[638] *Ibid*, 266.

[639] *Ibid*, 269.

There is no overt discussion of this issue in any of the Springplace records. The Moravians perhaps felt the Vanns - as plantation owners and slaveholders, merchants and traders, ferry and tavern owners, drinkers and gamblers - were already westernized. Would giving up a life of ease in Diamond Hill to take the reins of a plow team in his fields have made James or Joseph Vann any more

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[640] Joseph Vann frequently held horse races on his plantation, the track being in a field close to Springplace mission (see map, chapter 3, page 11), causing the missionaries frequent disturbed and sleepless nights due to the crowds of drunken Indians who descended on Diamond Hill for the event; see, *inter alia*, MAS: Correspondence, J.R. Schmidt, Springplace, to Jacob Van Vleck, Salem, July 11, 1822, "For a long time already, we have lived in worried expectation of horse racing close to us. There are namely some people from Georgia who have made a bet of $500 with our neighbor Joseph Vann. An extremely large number of people from all parts of the Nation will come for this racing. Our plea to the Savior is that everything will take place in peace and without harm." MAS: Diary, February 2, 1829, "There was a horse race in our neighborhood again, which our neighbor Joseph Vann had arranged. However this time it took place without brandy wine being consumed, which made us very happy." MAS: Diary, March 7, 1829: "Our neighbor Joseph Vann has … set up a race track in his field. It is actually right behind our God's Acre, so that we have had quite enough of this bad thing. However, we are happy each time it takes place without drinking and fighting." Joseph was also a steamboat enthusiast, and died in 1844 when racing his steamboat, the *Lucy Walker*, on the Ohio River and the boiler exploded, Perdue, *Slavery and the Evolution of Cherokee Society*, 103.

'civilized' than they already were? This raises the intriguing possibility that the Brethren regarded the Vann men as white and thus not in need of any more 'civilization' except Christianity and the guiding light of the Savior, and they were not going to force that on Vann or anybody else. An example of the Moravians' gentle approach to Joseph Vann came in preparation for the funeral of one of their Cherokee converts. Heinrich Clauder noted:

> I had spent the night at Vann's, and was happy to see that both Mrs. Vanns were preparing to go along to the services. Mr. Joseph Vann, who it is known never goes to religious services, was quite helpful to his wives and seemed to be happy that they wanted to go along. I said to him in hope of moving him to go as well, "On the great day of judgment you will perhaps want to excuse yourself by saying you never received an individual invitation to go to the service of the faithful. Therefore I want to ask you to go along too." "I cannot go," was the answer, "You have done your duty, however."[641]

Clauder did not press the issue and, having 'done his duty' in inviting Vann to attend, let the matter rest and went about his business of 'quietly spreading the gospel.'

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[641] MAS: Diary, Sunday, June 1, 1834.

Chapter 5

Cherokee Removal

Financial crisis has been rather the norm
than the exception in our Province's history[642]

On the issue of slavery the Moravians found their attempts to live only in the religious sphere disturbed and then undermined by the concerns of the secular world. The result was pro-abolitionist missionaries owning and using slaves, but in such a way that they undermined the institution of slavery. Indian removal raised similar issues of a clash in values between the Brethren's religious convictions and the necessity of continued accommodation to the temporal world. The Moravians' religious convictions positioned them squarely behind the Cherokee in their attempts to remain in their eastern homelands, and against the Federal government's removal plan. However, Count Zinzendorf's orders that his missionaries avoid involvement in all political controversy and remain neutral again forced the Moravians at the Cherokee mission into a contradictory position. The Brethren were obliged once more to defer to the constituted authorities in their mission field and accept, albeit passively, removal while at the same time supporting the Cherokees, again passively, in their fight to stay in the East. Rather than openly support the removal program and thus alienate the Cherokee amongst whom they were working, the Moravians retreated once again into neutrality. As with slavery, however, practical necessity undermined the Brethren's attempts to remain aloof. The Brethren's quiet acquiescence in the removal program implied their tacit approval, but the Moravians continued spiritual support of the Cherokee undermined that tacit approval. In short, the Brethren's position of removal was just as complex and convoluted as that on slavery.

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[642] The Rev. Dr. C. Daniel Crews, Archivist, Moravian Church, Southern Province, 250th Anniversary Sermon, November 16, 2003. The full and correct quotation and citation were provided for me by Mr. Richard Starbuck, Assistant Archivist, Winston-Salem, via personal email, October 2008.

As the Federal government's Indian civilization plan evolved between the 1790s and 1820s it moved away from assimilating the Indigenous population into the mainstream of American life towards removing them to the far west under the guise of acculturation at their own pace. The shift to removal was spurred for the Cherokee by the actions of Georgia. In 1802 the state had signed a compact that saw the federal government promise to remove the Indians from land claimed by Georgia, and by the 1820s the Georgians were increasingly irate that the Cherokee had not been moved. Andrew Jackson's election to the presidency in 1828 cemented the change in federal policy and stoked Georgia's impatience. The year 1830 saw the passage of both the Indian Removal Act and the extension of Georgia law over Cherokee Nation territory within Georgia's state boundaries. These acts forced the Moravians to retreat from their passive support for Cherokee defiance of removal into complete political neutrality over.

The need for labor to help build and maintain both Salem and the Springplace and Oochgeelogy missions undermined the Brethren's stance on abolition and forced them to become slaveholders. It was the Moravians need for money to continue their mission to the Cherokee that finally forced the Brethren to capitulate and defer to removal. New Georgian laws caused the loss of the

Oochgeelogy mission in 1831 and Springplace in 1833. This forced the Moravians to move to a temporary station at their friend David McNair's plantation just across the border into Tennessee and cut their ties to many of their old converts and their longstanding relationship with the Vann family. Despite these losses and their own removal from Georgia the Brethren maintained their neutrality on the issue of Indian removal. The signing of the Treaty of New Echota by a minority faction of the Cherokee in 1835 made removal a certainty. This raised new problems for the Moravians as they faced the dilemma of whether or not to follow the Cherokee to their new home in the West. In addition, how would they finance new missions in the West having just lost both their painstakingly constructed Georgia stations? The extension of compensation under the Treaty of New Echota to the improvements of missionary groups seemed to offer a solution. Accepting compensation and agreeing to move west, however, implied that the Brethren accepted the premise behind removal and thus strained their relations with the Cherokee. They had failed to support them in their fight to remain on their ancestral homelands.

Georgia and Indian Removal

Georgia's interest in removal increased after the conclusion of the 1819 federal treaty with the Cherokees, which had left the Nation securely in place on their ancestral lands. Most of these newly established borders remained within Georgia territory. Georgia felt particularly aggrieved about this due to a compact it had made with the federal government in 1802. At that time Georgia had, alongside Virginia and North Carolina, given up to the federal government its charter claims on western lands, which later became Alabama and Mississippi. In return, the federal government paid Georgia $1.25 million and promised it would extinguish Indian title to lands within the newly established boundaries of Georgia "as soon as the same can be peaceably obtained on reasonable terms."[643] Following the conclusion of the 1819 treaty Georgia lost patience with the federal government's progress, and complaints arose from the state legislature and its Congressmen and Senators.[644]

All of these complaints cited the 1802 compact and the fact that the U.S. government had not only paid greater attention to more minor matters in other states, but also that by ratifying treaties with the Cherokee Nation guaranteed them rights to their territory and reinforced Cherokee resistance to demands for further land cessions.[645] Georgia's sense of urgency increased with the Cherokees adoption of a written constitution in 1827 that had declared the Nation to be "sovereign and independent," separate from and not beholden to the United States' or Georgia state governments.[646] This declaration of sovereignty was particularly worrisome for Georgia, which feared that "[l]eft to themselves, the Cherokees would become a prosperous, independent commonwealth, [which] would never sell their land."[647] The discovery of gold in Cherokee territory in 1829 only increased Georgia's desperation to get rid of them and claim Cherokee land for their own. In short, Georgia was worried that if the Cherokee were not removed from the state soon, then the Indians would become so firmly established and prosperous that they would never be moved and Georgia's territorial ambitions would be forever thwarted.

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[643] Quoted in Perdue and Green, *Cherokee Nation and the Trail of Tears*, 55.

[644] Perdue and Green, *Cherokee Nation and the Trail of Tears*, 55.

[645] *Ibid*, 55-56.

[646] Wallace, *Long Bitter Trail*, 62.

Thus, just as soon as Andrew Jackson was elected president in 1828 Georgia moved, in December, to pass legislation that extended Georgia law over that Cherokee territory which fell within its state boundaries.[648] Operation of the law was deferred until June 1, 1830, to give the new President and Congress time to act. Jackson responded in his 1829 address to Congress, promoting Indian removal. By the following year Congress had formulated the Indian Removal Act and reported that few Native Americans had made progress towards civilization. It was depicted as a moral obligation for the government to remove the bulk of the tribes who lived in increasing poverty and vice from the eastern states, and to save them from extinction by resettling them in the West. After some fierce debate the Indian Removal Act was passed by both houses: 28-19 in the Senate, on April 23,

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[647] *Ibid*, 64.

[648] For excerpts from the text of these laws, see Perdue and Green, *Cherokee Removal*, 63-68. For more on Georgia's actions from 1828 onwards to force the Cherokee out of its boundaries, see Mary Young, "The Exercise of Sovereignty in Cherokee Georgia," *Journal of the Early Republic* 10 (1990): 43-63.

1830, and 102-97 in the House, on May 24. Jackson signed it into law on May 28.[649]

Andrew Jackson and Indian Removal

While Jackson is the President most strongly associated with Indian removal, he was far from the first to suggest it. Washington, Jefferson, Monroe, and John Quincy Adams had all previously suggested plans for some form of removal. [650] However, Wallace notes that it was Jackson during the post-Creek War treaty negotiations of 1814 - 1820 that had set the tone, as he had "almost single-handedly established a de facto removal policy that was endorsed by Presidents Monroe and Adams."[651] However, Indian removal "was Andrew Jackson's major policy aim in the quarter-century before be became President," and after he left office he said it was the "most arduous part of my duty, and I watched over it with great vigilance."[652] Jackson, though, had a much longer history with the Cherokee that stretched back to land speculation in his early days as a merchant in Tennessee.[653] Nor was this the end of Jackson's dealings in Indian lands, and the future president indulged in further speculation, using the inside knowledge he gained from the 1814 - 1820 negotiations.[654]

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[649] For the text of the Act, see Amy H. Sturgis, *The Trail of Tears and Indian Removal* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007), 98-100.

[650] For Washington and Jefferson see Wallace, *Long Bitter Trail*, 38, 39. For Monroe see Francis Paul Prucha, "United States Indian Policies, 1815-1860" in *Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 4: History of Indian-White Relations*, ed. Wilcomb E. Washburn (Washington: Smithsonian Institute, 1988), 44. For Adams, see Michael Paul Rogin, *Fathers and Children: Andrew Jackson and the Subjugation of the American Indian* (New York: Knopf, 1975), 6.

[651] Wallace, *Long Bitter Trail*, 50.

[652] Rogin, *Fathers and Children*, 4 and 206.

The belief that man had evolved in stages from barbarism to civilization was prevalent in the early decades of the nineteenth century and allowed Jackson to portray Native Americans as people at a more primitive stage of development, and justified the guiding hand of white paternalism to bring them into the modern age. Views of Indians as 'children of nature' and 'sons of the forest' were everywhere in early nineteenth-century American discourse and gave rise to the belief that as "civilization advanced westward, it must inevitably displace savagery."[655] Jackson also borrowed from another emergent southern doctrine of paternalism to justify his treatment of the Indians. One of his biographers notes that "slavery helped Jackson define the paternal state in whose name he removed Indians."[656] As a slaveholder himself, Jackson understood the nature of the institution of slavery, and was thus well aware of how brutal a paternalism the

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[653] See H.W. Brands, *Andrew Jackson: His Life and Times* (New York: Doubleday, 2005), 69-71.

[654] For a more detailed examination of Jackson's underhanded tactics in the treaty negotiations see Rogin, *Fathers and Children*, chapter 6, "Primitive Accumulation and Paternal Authority." In addition, at Jackson's suggestion, one of his agents "made an agreement with the Land Office clerks to receive half of any bribes they took for giving information about land or aiding in its acquisition." Thus, while acting under the authority of the United States government, Jackson "had a personal interest in some of the lands whose purchase he arranged." Wallace, *Long Bitter Trail*, 5, 4.

[655] Rogin, *Fathers and Children*, 336, footnote 3 (to page 114), notes that: "These phrases enter virtually every discussion of the Indian question" and then notes several documents from the *American State Papers, Indian Affairs* from Congress to support his point. Quote from *Ibid*, 6.

[656] *Ibid*, 169.

'peculiar institution' could be.[657] Jackson, however, was not bothered that "the slave model of paternalism...contained force and violence at its core." [658]

Brands also notes Jackson thought "that separation between whites and Indians offered the only chance for Indian survival," and felt the government's civilization policy was misguided as it required white settlers who had moved onto Indian lands to abandon their improvements and leave. [659] Jackson wrote Secretary of War William Crawford that "the people of the West will never suffer any Indian to inhabit this country again that has been for thirty years the den of the murderers of their wives and helpless infants, and on the conquest of which, and for their security hereafter, they shed their blood and suffered every privation."[660] Rather than restrain white settlers Jackson felt that Indian removal was the better course of action, which was why he did not support the government's policy of negotiating land cession treaties with the Indians. [661]

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[657] Jackson acquired his first slave in 1788, a woman named Nancy, in payment for legal work from a client who ran short of cash, Brands, *Andrew Jackson*, 72. For more on Jackson as a dealer in slaves see Brands 71-73 and 150-152; as a slave-owner, see 149-150, 365-366, 533, and 539. Brands notes that Jackson had "perhaps a hundred" slaves in 1829 (149), making him one of the largest slaveholders in Tennessee, and "some 150" once he had left the presidency (533). Brands also notes (365-366) that Jackson treated his slaves well as long as they obeyed him, providing for them fairly well by the standards of the time, even if only for reasons of business and practicality, though he did refrain from separating families from sale from personal choice. Brands noted "His feelings toward slaves fell between his feelings for children and for horses," 150.

[658] Rogin, *Fathers and Children*, 169.

[659] Brands, *Andrew Jackson*, 311.

[660] *Ibid.*, 311.

[661] As Native Americans were subjects of the United States - they occupied its territory, and recognized its authority and power - Jackson felt that the treaty process was "an absurdity not

Instead, Congress should simply legislate for the Indians' removal and then deal with their best interests just as it would for any other group of American citizens. For Jackson the Indian issue was simple, "The game being destroyed, they can no longer exist by their bows and arrows" and thus they needed to adapt to modern life or perish.[662] If this was a concern for the fate of the Native Americans of the Southeast, then it was a concern motivated by an underlying interest in preserving American borders. It led Brands to conclude that "from start to finish his foremost concern was the safety of the United States. The single goal of Jackson's public life - his career obsession - was to secure the Union from all dangers: internal and external, political and military."[663]

Jackson's views on the necessity of removal had not moderated by 1828 and were shared by many Southerners. Thus he rode their support all the way into the White House and in his message to Congress shortly after his victory, Jackson noted:

> Surrounded by the whites with their arts of civilization, which by destroying the resources of the savage doom him to weakness and decay, the fate of the Mohegan, the Narragansett, and the Delawares is fast overtaking the Choctaw, the Cherokee, and the Creek. That this fate surely awaits them if they remain within the limits of the States does not admit of a doubt...Humanity and national honor demand that every effort should be made to avert so great a calamity.[664]

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to be reconciled to the principles of our Government," because it protected the land rights of the Indians, who were not citizens, over white settlers who were. *Ibid.*

[662] *Ibid*, 320. See also Jackson's letter to Monroe on this issue, noted on the same page.

[663] *Ibid*, 320-321. Jackson's image as hating all Indians is also offset by his treatment of a Creek infant he adopted as his son, Lyncoya, or Lincoyer. See Brands, *Andrew Jackson*, 198; Rogin, *Fathers and Children*, 189, and Wallace, *Long Bitter Trail*, 55.

[664] Brands, *Andrew Jackson*, 436; the address was delivered on December 8, 1828.

For Jackson "there would be no peace for the Indians east of the Mississippi." One thing, however, had changed. Jackson's "paternal language was largely free of the exterminatory rhetoric which had marked his earlier career. It more closely resembled the rhetoric used in the Washington, Jefferson, and Monroe administrations."[665] The rhetoric may have been toned down, but the goal, and the end result, remained unchanged.

While actual removal was still some way off, Jackson's election and the passage of the Indian Removal Act was the beginning of the end for the Cherokees in the southeast. "The Jackson administration moved forward aggressively to negotiate removal treaties with the Five Civilized Tribes."[666] The Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek later in 1830 saw the Choctaw agree to swap their eastern territory for lands west of Arkansas. The Chickasaws agreed to move west to join the Choctaw in 1832. The Creek also signed a removal treaty in 1832, but delays in leaving brought conflict with whites that resulted in violence that was known as the Creek War in 1836 that was only put down by a combination of federal troops and state volunteers. Two popularly rejected treaties, in 1832 and 1833, made with minority groups of Seminole, were widely resisted as fraudulent by the tribe as a whole. "From the end of 1835 to 1842 a war raged in Florida between federal forces and the Indians, until all but a handful of Seminoles had been killed or removed to the West."[667] These were the two extremes of opposition to removal by the Five Civilized Tribes; the Cherokee fell somewhere in the middle of that spectrum.

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[665] Rogin, *Fathers and Children*, 207.

[666] Prucha, "US Indian Policies," 45. The 'Five Civilized Tribes' - the Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek, and Seminole - were so called because they were considered to be the ones who had made the greatest strides towards acculturation to white ways.

The Cherokee and the Supreme Court

The Cherokee Nation was not going to go without a fight, but they chose a different avenue than armed resistance, looking to the courts instead.[668] The Cherokees initial appearance before the United States Supreme Court came in 1831 when, in *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*, they argued that as they were a foreign, independent nation Georgia law could not be extended over them, and was thus invalid. In his opinion Chief Justice John Marshall ruled that the Cherokee were not a foreign nation and thus could not bring suit against Georgia in the Court. Instead Marshall coined the term "domestic dependent nation" to describe the Indians. Although Marshall threw out the Cherokee case on these technical grounds he let it be known that he favored their position should a suitable case, presented by a United States citizen, be found. One was not long in coming. The missionaries working amongst the Cherokee, the Moravians included, were generally not from Georgia, so following on from their 1831 case the Cherokee prepared to argue that Georgia had no jurisdiction over such missionaries.

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[667] *Ibid.*

[668] MAS: Correspondence, Gottlieb Byhan, Salem, to Theodor Schulz, Salem, August 28, 1830. In this letter Byhan says he believes the Supreme Court will decide if the Cherokee can stay or have to go, and as all the treaties are still in place cannot see how they cannot rule in the Cherokees favor. As the treaties are still in place the Cherokee remain an independent nation and thus free to make as many laws of their own as they wish.

One element of the legislation Georgia had passed in 1830 extending their laws over Cherokee territory had included a requirement that all white persons living amongst the Cherokee must take an oath of allegiance to the state of Georgia to uphold its laws or leave or face four years at hard labor.[669] The Moravians stationed at the Georgia missions came together to discuss the issue and concluded: "We cannot decide to swear allegiance to the Georgia laws, since this would be against our conscience."[670] Three days earlier, having just heard of the news Byhan wrote: "Taking the oath of allegiance is out of the question. Whether to remove, or remain and risk the consequence, is the alternative. My own disposition is to remain."[671] Byhan had the protection of being postmaster, and thus a federal officer, to protect him and so he remained at Springplace.[672] Clauder at Oochgeelogy, plus Byhan's son, Nathanael, who taught in the Springplace School, did not enjoy the same protection. As a result the Moravians "thought it advisable in our current situation for our Brothers Clauder and Nathanael Byhan to leave the state for a while, and go first to our friend Captain David McNair in the state of Tennessee" where they had been offered temporary refuge.[673] There followed a period of nearly a year during which time the Brethren's missionaries moved back and forth between McNair's in Tennessee and the Springplace and Oochgeelogy missions, before the Salem Elders decided to recall the Clauders from Oochgeelogy and close that mission station.[674]

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[669] MAS: Correspondence, Gottlieb Byhan, Salem, to Theodor Schulz, Salem, January 15, 1831, copied out the relevant sections of the new Georgia laws on the oath. Byhan states: "I perceive that, according to a law lately passed, I must either remove from within the chartered limits of Georgia before the first of March, or procure license from the Governor of G-a or his agent, and take an Oath of allegiance to the State, or be liable to imprisonment in the penitentiary for four years at least."

[670] MAS: Diary, January 25, 1831. Gottlieb Byhan was stationed at Springplace, and Henry Clauder at Oochgeelogy, along with their respective wives and assistants.

[671] *Ibid.*

[672] See MAS: Diary, February 20, 1831.

The missionaries from the other denominations were also generally against the oath and of the eleven missionaries arrested by the Georgia Guard nine agreed to leave.[675] The two who did not both belonged to the ABCFM, Elizur Butler and Samuel Worcester. Worcester was to become the eponymous plaintiff in the celebrated Supreme Court case *Worcester v. Georgia* in 1832 upon which the Cherokee were now pinning their hopes of remaining on their traditional homelands.[676] As noted above Chief Justice John Marshall had indicated earlier that he was in favor of the Cherokee position and thus when the case came before the Supreme Court Marshall "held the treaty power supreme, declared the laws of Georgia over the Cherokee null and void, and ordered the immediate release of the two missionaries."[677] The Moravians celebrated on March 19th, 1832 when they received "the happy news that the Supreme Court...has decided that the laws which the state of Georgia made that all white people should leave Cherokee country is invalid and that the Supreme Court has sent a mandate to the Georgians that the missionaries Worcester and Butler should be set free from the "Penitentiary" immediately."[678]

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[673] MAS: Diary, February 21, 1831. The diary for February 10 notes: "We received a visit from Mr. McNair and his wife, our Sister Delila McNair. Mr. McNair offered us a place to live at his place in the event we are no longer allowed to stay here according to Georgia laws, until circumstances have improved again. We were happy and sincerely grateful to him for his generosity to us, and we assured in that in case of need we will make use of his offer."

[674] See, *inter alia*, MAS: Diary, February 20, 21, 23, 1831; March 1, 7, 15, 22 1831; June 1, 1831; July 3, 10, 1831; November 17, 1831; and January 19, 1832.

[675] MAS: Diary, September 19, 1831, lists those arrested as follows: "the Rev. Mr. Worcester, missionary in New Echota, Doctor Buttler, missionary in Wills Valley, two Monsieurs Thomson, both from Hightower, one of them missionary there, Mr. Wheeler, printer of the *Cherokee Phoenix*, Mr. Gann, Brother Austin Copeland, who belongs to the Ochgeloogy congregation, Mays, Delozier, Eaton, and Trott, a Methodist preacher." The October 1 entry notes: "Today we heard that the Governor of Georgia has declared the following about the above mentioned people who were sentenced to go to prison: they have to do one of the things, they either have to go to the "Penitentiary" or they had to swear the oath that they will support the Georgians in their laws, or third, they could go home, put their things together, and leave the Georgia Territory as soon as they had harvested their corn. Everyone promised to do the latter, except for the Rev. S.A. Worcester and Doctor Elizur Buttler, Presbyterian [ABCFM] missionaries who chose the first option. It is said they were then also put into the penitentiary immediately."

[676] For the full text of Marshall's opinion in the case, see Sturgis, *Trail of Tears*, 110-119.

It proved to be a hollow victory as both Georgia and the president ignored the ruling as though it had not taken place, Jackson making only one "willfully oblique" reference to it during his annual message of 1832.[679] Brands notes that New York editor Horace Greeley was actually putting words into the president's mouth when he quoted Jackson as saying "John Marshall has made his decision; now let him enforce it."[680] Apocryphal though the story may have been, it accurately reflected Jackson's feelings on the matter, and the president resumed the tactics that had served him so well in the 1814 - 1820 treaty negotiations. As Wallace comments, Jackson "was adept at devising conditions that would make those who chose not to remove so miserable that they would emigrate eventually

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[677] McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries*, 264.

[678] MAS: Diary, March 19, 1832.

[679] Brands, *Andrew Jackson*, 492.

[680] *Ibid*, 493.

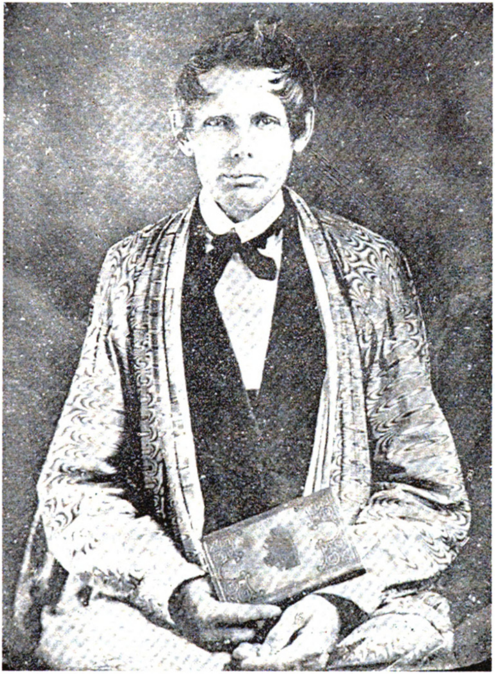

Figure 25: ABCFM minister Samuel Worcester, taken from Grace Woodward, *The Cherokees*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), 176.

anyway."[681] Jackson thus sat idly by and allowed the Georgians to harass the Cherokee without restraint or rebuke, in the hope that this would persuade them to head west.

In one sense Jackson was merely repeating the same argument that he had been using for some time. In June 1829, Gottlieb Byhan wrote from Springplace that the *Cherokee Phoenix* newspaper that week reported "what will happen with the poor Cherokees. It seems they really cannot stay longer in their current situation. They must either move or submit to the laws of the United States. Jackson says that the state of Georgia *cannot* protect them if they *extend* their *Civil* laws beyond their state."[682] In May the following year as the enactment date loomed Byhan wrote "We cannot imagine at all how things will be on June first regarding the Georgia *Law* in this country. Most everyone says that they do not want to be under it."[683] A few weeks later the mission diary records the following:

> Early in the day we had the joy of welcoming our Brother William Abraham Hicks on his return journey from Washington, where he had been sent with four others in December 1829 as a Delegate for the Cherokees...He showed us a letter from President Jackson concerning the Cherokees, in which the former expresses his whole mind to the latter, and on what conditions they can be protected by him in the future. If they stay where they currently are, they must live under the laws of the State of Georgia and they do this at their own risk and cannot put their confidence in him because *he had no power or right to get mixed up in the laws of individual states.* However, he wants to stop those white people who have no right from settling in their country. On the other hand he

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[681] Wallace, *Long, Bitter Trail*, 56.

[682] MAS: Correspondence, Gottlieb Byhan, Springplace, to Theodor Schulz, Salem, June 17, 1829; emphasis in original. Five days later the mission diary notes that Cherokee headmen had met to discuss Jackson's comments; MAS: Diary, June 22, 1829.

[683] MAS: Correspondence, Gottlieb Byhan, Springplace, to Theodor Schulz, Salem, May 22, 1830.

> assured them that if they move west, they will be under his protection of that of the United States.[684]

Jackson's assertion that he could not protect the Cherokee if Georgia extended its laws over them as the federal government could not interfere with a state's rights rang hollow. This was because Jackson was concurrently embroiled in the Nullification Crisis with South Carolina. Import duties applied in 1828 and 1832 placed a high tariff on goods coming into the United States which the agricultural South felt penalized their cotton exports while supporting Northern industry. Jackson wished to enforce the tariff in South Carolina, using the military if necessary, but could not argue for the primacy of federal law over state's rights on the tariff issue, and then argue the primacy of state's rights over federal law, in the shape of treaties, in the Cherokee case without looking a complete hypocrite.[685]

The bigger threat Jackson and the country faced, however, was the possibility of the secession of South Carolina, followed by other southern states, over the issue of the tariff, leading to civil war. The Georgians came to Jackson's rescue by urging Worcester and Butler to drop their case before the Supreme Court and seek a pardon from the state of Georgia. The two missionaries were initially inclined to continue their fight in support of the Cherokee. However, just like the Moravians, the ABCFM missionaries were swayed by arguments about the bigger picture, of the greater good of the country over that of the Cherokee.

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[684] MAS: Diary, July 6, 1830; emphasis added.

[685] For more on the Nullification Crisis see Daniel Walker Howe, *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America 1815-1848* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), especially chapter ten, "Battles over Sovereignty," and particularly 395-410 for Nullification.

Cowed by arguments that pressing their case might lead to the break-up of the Union and civil war Worcester and Butler were persuaded to drop the case for reasons of expediency and national security.

The Cherokee, who had supported Worcester and Butler in jail and provided support for their wives, urged the missionaries to continue the fight. Instead they saw them seek a gubernatorial pardon, initially rejected by Georgia on the grounds that it implied Georgian guilt in their imprisonment. The missionaries' second appeal saw them throw themselves upon "the magnanimity" of the state, which Governor Lumpkin took as an admission of their guilt, and duly ordered their release on January 14, 1833.[686] Two days after the release of Worcester and Butler from the Georgia State Penitentiary Jackson moved against the South Carolina nullifiers, confident that no other southern state would join them now that he had won the removal debate for Georgia. McLoughlin notes: "In the long run, the effort to uphold Indian treaty rights and to prevent removal fell mainly upon the Cherokees themselves. The missionaries had too many reasons for siding with their white brethren to persist in defense of their red brethren. Blood was thicker than water; ethnocentrism was stronger than righteousness."[687] Once again, when white missionaries weighed the options they came down in favor of the interests of whites over the interests of the Indians. Through all of this the Moravians had steadfastly maintained their public neutrality on removal, while privately supporting both the Cherokee and their fellow missionaries in the ABCFM. For the Brethren, their crisis was still to come.

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[686] McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries*, 299.

[687] *Ibid.*

With their Supreme Court fight at an end the Cherokees were forced into a forlorn passive resistance. Like Principle Chief John Ross many Cherokee felt that only force could make them leave, and so they clung on to the bitter end, always hoping that the next delegation to Washington would be successful and that they would be allowed to stay. In May 1836, the Moravians reported that attendees at their services in Tennessee were mostly white these days:

> Indians come less and less to the services, since their external circumstances become increasingly oppressive, through which they become increasingly impoverished. Robbed of their plantations and homes, they move from one place to another, while others who are more diligent exert great effort trying to cultivate anew on the Tennessee side. Their minds are thus so scattered and filled with disillusionment or earthly worries that it is not surprising that attendance of the services has almost completely ceased...[688]

In December 1830 Georgia had passed a law that sent surveyors into Cherokee territory to divide it into plots which would then be distributed amongst the white population of Georgia via a 'land lottery.'[689] With the winners beginning to move into Cherokee territory by early 1833, the flood of white settlers began. By 1835 there were 15,000 whites in Cherokee territory, more than there were Cherokees, but the Indians still refused to sign a removal treaty.[690] When this final blow came, it was as divisive for the Cherokee as any other stage of removal.

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[688] MAS: Diary, Sunday, May 8, 1836.

[689] For a detailed examination of Georgia's land lottery see H. David Williams, "Gambling Away the Inheritance: The Cherokee Nation and Georgia's Gold and Land Lotteries of 1832-33" *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 3 (1989): 519-539.

[690] McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries*, 305.

The Treaty of New Echota

In December of 1835 a small number of mixed-blood chiefs met with government officials at New Echota and signed a removal treaty. John Ridge and Elias Boudinot were the leaders of a small group of mixed-bloods, later known as the Treaty Party. They had decided as early as April 1832, while the Worcester case was still before the Supreme Court, that there was no hope of preventing Jackson's removal plan for the Cherokee in the East. Mary Young argues they did so because they were more clear-eyed about Georgian racism than Ross and the anti-removal faction, who, they felt, were "ruining the nation by their intransigence."[691] Young contends that it was the racism that dark-skinned John Ridge and Elias Boudinot experienced at the ABCFM's missionary school in Cornwall, Connecticut, when they both married white daughters of school employees which swayed them.[692] The white Cornwall community rose in protest against the proposed marriages, and Young states Ridge and Boudinot "undoubtedly acquired an understanding of racism" that the lighter-skinned John Ross, only one-eighth Cherokee, "never appreciated."[693] As a result, the Ridge faction felt the best course of action was to sell up, move west and get the best deal for Cherokee land and improvements possible.[694] The Treaty of New Echota saw the Ridge Party agree to sell the remaining Cherokee lands in the East for $5 million, an equal tract of land in what is now northeastern Oklahoma, and payment for all their improvements and transportation costs.

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[691] Young, "Exercise of Sovereignty in Cherokee Georgia," 56.

[692] For a complete analysis of Boudinot's marriage see Theresa Strauss Gaul (ed.), *To Marry an Indian: The Marriage of Harriet Gold & Elias Boudinot in Letters, 1823-1839* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005).

[693] Mary Young, "The Cherokee Nation: Mirror of the Republic," *American Quarterly* 33 (1981): 521-522.

Less than 300 Cherokee attended the negotiations to ratify the treaty, out of a total population of around 16,000.[695] Despite the fact that the treaty was "transparently illegal" under the Cherokee Constitution of 1827, and was roundly condemned by the great bulk of the Cherokee Nation once they heard about it, the United States Senate ratified the treaty in May the following year.[696] Henry Clauder noted after hearing of the ratification:

> This news caused concern for some people that the Indians generally will not agree to this peacefully, since the aforementioned treaty mentioned was not negotiated by those Chiefs assigned by the Nation, but by a number of self-appointed head chiefs who essentially are just private people. Since the southern Indian tribes, that is the Seminoles and Creeks, have already begun hostilities towards their white oppressors out of similar causes, one could presume that similar scenes of bloody revenge could take place here as well.[697]

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[694] Theda Perdue, "The Conflict Within: The Cherokee Power Structure and Removal," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 3 (1989): 488, notes that "self-interest was the primary motivation for most members of the Treaty Party, and their rewards were not long in coming."

[695] Williams, "Gambling Away the Inheritance," 539, states that "no more than five hundred Cherokees, out of a total population of sixteen thousand, agreed to the treaty's terms." See also MAS: Diary, July 19, 1835. Here Clauder noted that "The males from that area as well as from the entire Nation had gone to the big Council at John Ridge's, where the votes on the Nation about payment of the Cherokee annuity would be taken. Over 2200 votes were *for* the sum of 6000 dollars being paid to the *treasurer* of the Nation. *One hundred and fourteen* votes were *against* this, from which the *whole strength of the Ridge "party"* can be seen." The 'Ridge party' were the Treaty Party; emphasis in the original. However, MAS: Correspondence, Henry Clauder, Connesauga, TN, to Theodor Schulz, Salem, December 13, 1835, notes an upcoming meeting on the 20, called by federal treaty commissioners at New Echota, to negotiate for a cession of the Cherokees Georgia lands and states: "it is further reported that a vast number of the Common Indians are also in favor of those new measures."

[696] McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries*, 308.

[697] MAS: Diary, June 2, 1836.

Violence, however, did not ensue, only more passive resistance on the part of Ross and the bulk of the 'full-blood' Cherokee.

This passive resistance extended only to whites and once the Cherokee were in the west Major Ridge, John Ridge, and Elias Boudinot were executed on June 22, 1839 for their part in the Treaty of New Echota.[698] In keeping with earlier comments on Cherokee cultural continuity, it appears they were victims of a form of the old law of clan blood revenge. Despite the fact that the Cherokee passed a law in 1810 that abolished it,[699] Perdue argues that the older system persisted and points to evidence which "suggests that two legal systems operated simultaneously in the early Cherokee republic."[700] The 1827 Cherokee Constitution made it a crime for any individual to sell Cherokee lands without the consent of the whole Nation, and two years later Major Ridge suggested the reinstatement of the death penalty for any who "sold lands in treaty without authority of the nation." The National Council duly passed such a law on October 24th 1829.[701] In 1839, with Georgia having extended its own laws over Cherokee territory within the state, and also nullifying Cherokee laws and making it illegal to exercise any authority under the Cherokee Constitution, the Ridges and Boudinot were safe from any retribution while they remained in Georgia.

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[698] Wallace, *Long, Bitter Trail,* 102; "After their arrival in the Indian Territory, Major Ridge, his son John Ridge, and Elias Boudinot were lynched by anti-removal vigilantes." Date from Thurman Wilkins, *Cherokee Tragedy: The Ridge Family and the Decimation of a People* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986), 335. Michelle Daniel, "From Blood Fury to Jury System: The Metamorphosis of Cherokee Law from 1750 to 1840," *American Indian Quarterly* 11 (1987), 113, has July 22, 1839.

[699] For the text of this law, as well as a fuller explication of the issue, including James Vann's involvement in a similar case involving his uncle thirty years earlier, see Daniel, "From Blood Fury to Jury System;" text of blood feud law on 109.

[700] Theda Perdue, "Clan and Court: Another Look at the Early Cherokee Republic," *American Indian Quarterly* 24 (2000): 568.

[701] Daniel, "From Blood Feud to Jury System," 112.

Once in the west, though, Georgia law no longer held and opponents of the New Echota Treaty would have been free to act. However, retribution when it arrived came not from Ross supporters, but from members of the Treaty Party's own clans. As noted in Chapter Three, the old law of clan revenge meant that any crime committed left all other members of the perpetrators clan open to suffer retribution to pay for the offence. Young notes that in certain circumstances, to avoid the creation of a blood feud, "members of one's own clan might agree to kill a clansman so that no other person of his clan need suffer for his guilt."[702] This appears to have been the case for the Ridges and Boudinot, as members of their clans "agreed among themselves to kill these leading members of the Treaty Party, and carried out their intentions in the Cherokee Nation West in June, 1839."[703] As Daniel notes the "ultimate irony" of the situation was that Major Ridge was killed under the auspices of a law that he himself had been instrumental in getting passed a decade earlier.[704]

The Moravians and New Echota

The New Echota Treaty was particularly problematic for the Moravians. While they had ties to men like George Hicks and David McNair, who were "staunch supporters of Ross and the Patriot Party," the Brethren also had very close ties with many members of the Treaty Party.[705] These ties included John Ridge and Elias Boudinot, both of whom had been pupils at the Springplace School.[706] Boudinot had also helped the missionaries by providing not only translations at services, but also of various documents into the Cherokee language for use in the mission churches, such as the Moravian Litany.[707] Major Ridge had sent his daughter, Sally, to both the Oochgeelogy mission school and the Moravians' girls boarding school in Salem, and his wife, Susanna, had converted to Christianity and been baptized by the Brethren at Oochgeelogy in 1819.[708]

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[702] Young, "Cherokee Nation: Mirror of the Republic," 520-21.

[703] *Ibid.*, 520.

[704] Daniel, "From Blood Feud to Jury System," 113.

Other Treaty Party members included William Hicks, baptized by the Moravians as William Abraham on the same day as Susanna Ridge, and Stand Watie, another former Springplace pupil, who also signed the New Echota Treaty.[709] Another member was William Rodgers, who visited Clauder in August of 1836. Clauder noted "Mr. Rogers was one of the Delegates who spent last winter in Washington and brought about the well-known "Newtown treaty." Through him I received a detailed understanding of the composition of this document." [710] In addition, the "mission at Oochgeelogy had been started specifically at the request of the Ridges and Waties." It was therefore "difficult," McLoughlin notes, "especially after the Treaty of New Echota in December 1835, for the Moravians to avoid being identified with the Treaty Party."[711]

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[705] McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries*, 317.

[706] John Ridge attended Springplace from 1810-15; Boudinot from 1810-15 and 1816-18. McClinton, *Moravian Springplace Mission*, 2, 448.

[707] See, *inter alia*, MAS: Correspondence, Gottlieb Byhan, Springplace, to Brother Schulz, Salem, December 9, 1828. Byhan asks about getting the Litany translated in Cherokee and notes: "we realize more and more that it would certainly be very appropriate if our Indian Brothers and Sisters could also read such things in their language or also hymns and songs which they hear sung." He continued: "Mr. Elias Boudinott is willing to translate for us at no cost for the publication." Boudinot came to Springplace to tell them that the Litany had been printed in Cherokee, and stayed the night; MAS: Diary, April 19, 1830. The diary for Sunday, May 16, 1830 notes: "In the second service we prayed the Church Litany and since this has now appeared in print in the Cherokee language, it was repeated by our Indian Brother Solomon." For more on Elias Boudinot see Theda Perdue (ed.), *Cherokee Editor: The Writings of Elias Boudinot* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983).

[708] References to Sally Ridge are from McClinton, *Moravian Springplace Mission*, 2, 470; Sally entered Springplace in 1821, and attended Salem school from 1826-1829. References to Susanna Ridge are from 2, 323, the diary entry for November 14, 1819.

[709] McClinton, *Moravian Springplace Mission*, 2, 450.

The Georgia Land Lottery

It was not however, such close ties with the Treaty Party that came closest to turning the Cherokee as a whole against the Moravians, but money. After the Georgia land lottery surveyors moved into Cherokee territory the Brethren noted: "Towards evening some surveyors came close to us. They are now busy measuring off this whole country into "lots" of 160 acres, to distribute it by a lottery in the future according to the custom of the Georgians."[712] Perdue and Green note: "All adult male citizens and widows qualified for a draw, war veterans and other worthies often got two draws, and winning tickets could be sold" if the recipient did not wish to take up their winnings personally.[713]

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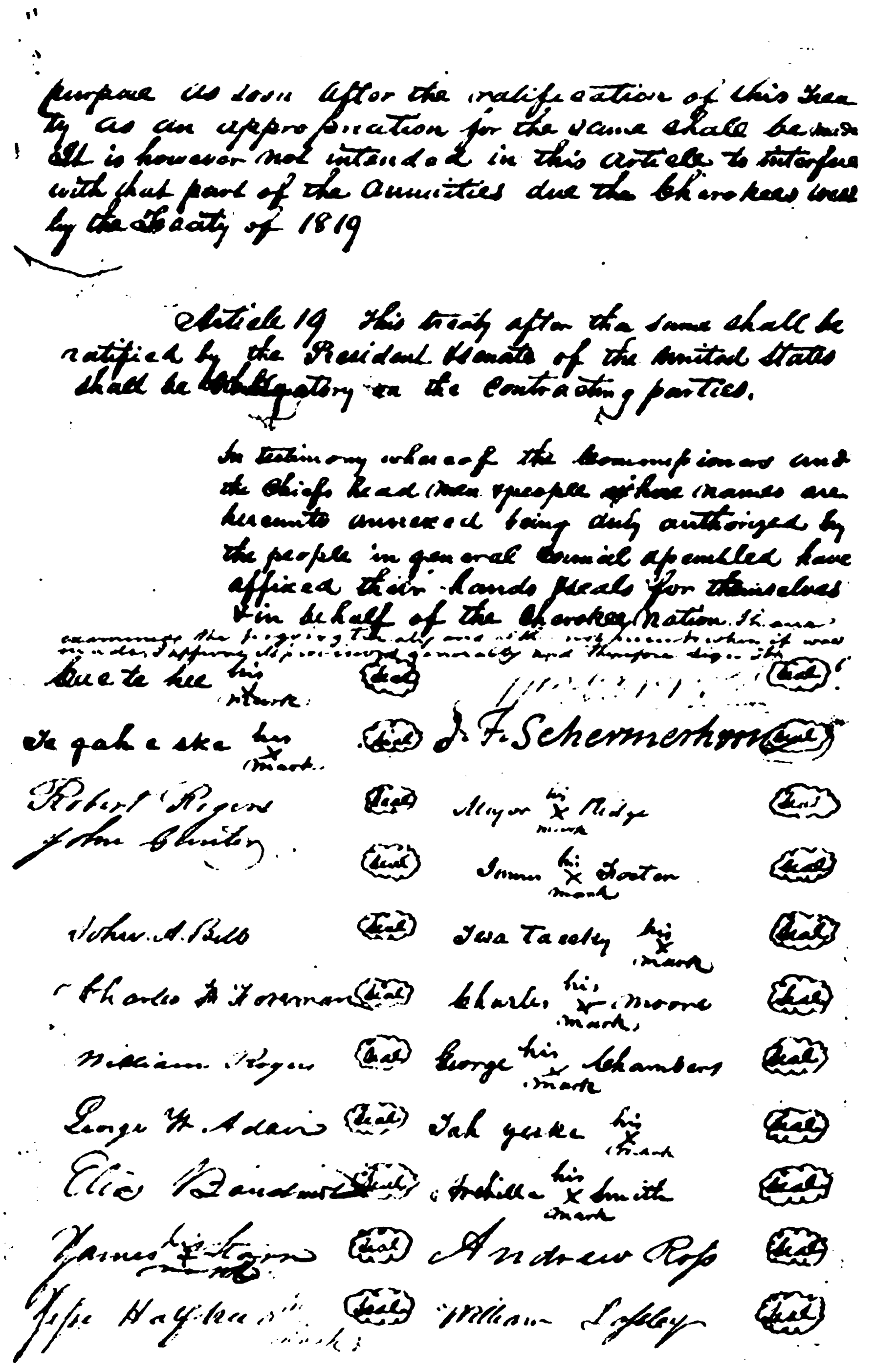
[710] MAS: Diary, August 9th, 1836.

[711] McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries*, 317.

[712] MAS: Diary, April 27, 1832. The lottery of 1832-33 was the sixth such lottery Georgia had held. The previous five, between 1805 and 1827, were held to distributed Creek lands in the state; Williams, "Gambling Away the Inheritance," 524, 526.

[713] Perdue and Green, *Cherokee Nation*, 70. See also Williams, "Gambling Away the Inheritance," 530; in total 85,000 people competed for 18, 309 prizes in the land lottery, and 133,000 people for 35,000 prizes in the gold lottery.



purpose as soon after the ratification of this treaty as an appropriation for the same shall be made. It is however not intended in this article to interfere with that part of the annuities due the Cherokees west by the treaty of 1819

Article 19 This treaty after the same shall be ratified by the President Senate of the United States shall be obligatory on the contracting parties.

In testimony whereof the Commissioners and the Chiefs head men & people whose names are hereunto annexed being duly authorized by the people in general council assembled have affixed their hands & seals for themselves & in behalf of the Cherokee Nation.

[illegible]

Cae te hee his mark (Seal) (Seal)

Te gah e ske his mark (Seal) J. F. Schermerhorn (Seal)

Robert Rogers (Seal) Major his x Ridge mark (Seal)

John Gunter (Seal) James his x Foster mark (Seal)

John A. Bell (Seal) Tesa Taesky his x mark (Seal)

Charles F. Foreman (Seal) Charles his x Moore mark (Seal)

William Rogers (Seal) George his x Chambers mark (Seal)

George W. Adair (Seal) Tah yeske his x mark (Seal)

Elias Boudinot (Seal) Archilla his x Smith mark (Seal)

James his x Starr mark (Seal) Andrew Ross (Seal)

Jesse Halfbreed his mark (Seal) William Lassley (Seal)

Figure 26: The first signature page of the Treaty of New Echota; Schermerhorn's signature is prominent at the top of the right hand column, and that of Elias Boudinot, third from bottom of the left hand column, and William Rogers, fifth from the bottom of the same column. Major Ridge left 'his mark' below Schermerhorn's signature. Picture taken from Thurman Wilkins, *Cherokee Tragedy: The Ridge Family and the Decimation of a People* (Second Edition; Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986), 288.

Intended to reduce land speculation it also gave individual Georgians the chance to benefit directly from a further cession of Cherokee lands, and they duly responded. The *Cherokee Phoenix* reported that the Georgians were "sick with the expectation of Indian land and gold."[714]

That Georgia was able to simply give Cherokee lands to its white citizens was a result of the extension of Georgia law over the Cherokee Nation, as passed in December 1828 and which had come into force on June 1, 1830. McLoughlin notes: "As the South moved toward its racial justification for black slavery after 1820, so it moved toward a decision to classify Indians as "people of color" within its caste system."[715] He continued: "In effect, the Cherokee Nation would disappear on [June 1, 1830] and all the Indians still living in Georgia would become "people of color" unable to vote, to testify in court, to serve in the militia, or to send their children to public schools."[716] As the 1830 legislation stripped the Cherokee of any rights under Georgia law, and also rendered the Cherokee Constitution of 1827 and its subsidiary laws null and void, the Cherokee were left without any legal rights whatsoever. Georgia lottery winners could thus literally dispossess Cherokee occupants of their property and not face any legal consequences. Georgian discrimination against the Indians was emphasized by the fact that the Cherokee were not eligible to enter the lottery to win Cherokee lands,

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[714] Quoted in Williams, "Gambling Away the Inheritance," 526-27.

[715] McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries*, 245.

[716] McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries*, 246; MAS: Correspondence, Gottlieb Byhan, Springplace, to Theodor Schulz, Salem, August 14, 1830, notes: "It is true; they are considered the same as the Negroes in this, because they cannot bear witness against a white man. This point is difficult for them, but even so it does not move them to the west."

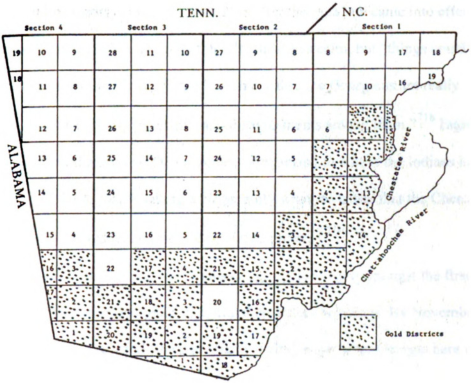
TENN.
N.C.
Section 4
Section 3
Section 2
Section 1
ALABAMA
Chestatee River
Chattahoochee River
Gold Districts

Figure 27: An 1831 map showing Cherokee territory within the boundaries of Georgia as it was surveyed and divided up into 160 acre 'land lots' and 40 acre 'gold lots.' Taken from H. David Williams, "Gambling Away the Inheritance: The Cherokee Nation and Georgia's Gold and Land Lotteries of 1832-33," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 3 (1989), 525.

but every white Georgian was.[717] Two days after Georgia law came into effect in Cherokee territory Byhan noted that the situation was calm, but "things could perhaps become less peaceful in the Nation because the Georgians are really trying to provoke unrest, arguments and disagreements among them."[718] Eight days later he confirmed that the Georgians were trying to harass the Indians into rash acts in order to justify taking their property when he wrote that the Cherokee were being "deceived and oppressed by the neighbors."[719]

Ironically enough the Moravians at Springplace were amongst the first to be displaced by white Georgians claiming their lottery winnings. By November of 1832 the Brethren recorded "there are many white people from Georgia here in Cherokee country who are looking for their lots which have been awarded them in the current land lottery. They are very rude and often offensive, especially towards the poor Indians, who tolerate everything with exemplary composure."[720] On Christmas Eve a white man from Georgia arrived, and with "the most sinful curses and oaths he declared that he was now the owner of our site and offered *to sell* it to us! Or to lease it!" Missionary Henry Clauder refused the man entry or possession stating "that the laws protect all private property of the Indians, and the largest part of this lot belongs to our neighbor Vann and is cultivated by him... and...we would not give up our property under any circumstances until we

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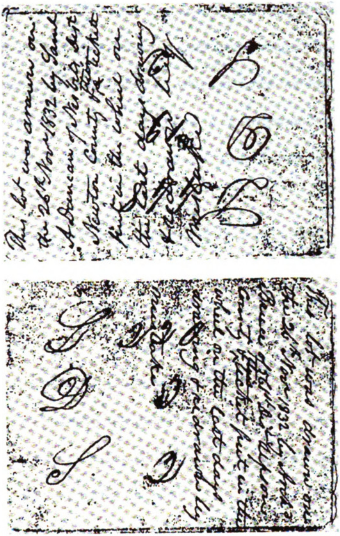
[717] Williams, "Gambling Away the Inheritance," 525.

[718] MAS: Diary, June 3, 1830.

[719] MAS: Correspondence, Gottlieb Byhan, Springplace, to Theodor Schulz, Salem, June 11, 1830.

[720] MAS: Diary, November 25, 1832.



This lot was drawn on
the 26th Novr 1832 by Saml
A Duncan of Nesbits Dist
Newton County Ga his ticket
put in the wheel on
the last days drawing
& redrawn by
mistake

This lot was drawn on
the 26th Novr 1832 by Archd
Bruce of 561st Dist Upson
County & this ticket put in the
wheel on the last days
drawing & redrawn by
mistake

Figure 28: Examples of tickets used in the 40 acre gold lottery. Taken from H. David Williams, "Gambling Away the Inheritance: The Cherokee Nation and Georgia's Gold and Land Lotteries of 1832-33," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 3 (1989), 535.

were forced to do so."[721] As a result the man left, promising to send court officials and rent the land out to others. A week later a wagon arrived with the goods and possessions of several families who had rented the 'lot' from the winner, and on New Year's Day "at 3 o'clock in the afternoon 5 wagons and some carts and 15 to 20 people arrived here and demanded possession of all of our houses."[722]

Clauder initially resisted the attempts of the new claimants, but over the coming days the new arrivals forced their way into some of the mission buildings. On the 6th a man named Bishop arrived, who argued that because Springplace "was built by whites (missionaries) and the laws only protect *Indian* improvements the Governor of Georgia had distributed the Grant for this Lott and now we have no more rights to this property. Therefore, the sooner we go the better."[723] The Moravians thus bowed to the inevitable and moved to the property of David McNair, a trader married to James Vann's daughter Delilah, on Cherokee territory just across the border into Tennessee. The Brethren opened and operated a small mission school on McNair's property until August of 1836.[724]

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[721] MAS: Diary, December 24, 1832.

[722] MAS: Diary, December 31, 1832, and January 1, 1833.

[723] MAS: Diary, January 6, 1832; emphasis in original.

[724] MAS: Diary, June 9, 1836: "When we received permission in January 1833 from Mr. McNair, Senior, to move here, it was on the condition that we would give up this site as soon as he needed it for one or the other of his children." As McNair's son, Clement, had recently married and decided to move to his father's property that fall to start his business, the missionaries were obliged to leave.

Compensation

By this point some Cherokee had started to move west,[725] while others, still pinning hope on Ross and his attempts to negotiate in Washington, continued to ignore removal and lived as best they could with the Georgians swarming around them. In November of 1836 the Salem Elders received a letter from Joshua Boner, a Single Brother from Salem who had taken up a temporary teaching position in Knoxville, Tennessee.[726] Boner informed the Elders that the treaty commissioners appointed by President Jackson were now preparing to meet in New Echota to begin evaluating the property claims of the Cherokees in preparation for their removal west. Boner thus states that "this would be a favorable opportunity for the Moravians to present their claim" for compensation for the Springplace and Oochgeelogy missions.[727]

As noted earlier the Clauders had originally been forced to leave the Oochgeelogy mission in July of 1831 as the Moravians' refused to swear oaths to civil authorities, and thus could not comply with the new Georgia oath law.[728] Byhan was postmaster for the district and thus the Georgia authorities could not touch him at Springplace as he was a federal officer. As noted in Chapter Four, the Byhans requested a recall from service at Springplace, which was granted in April of 1832, and the Clauders returned to replace them, with Henry Clauder also taking over as postmaster.[729] Thus when Boner wrote to Salem in late 1836 the Moravians had been out of Springplace for just over three and a half years and out of Oochgeelogy for just over five years.[730] Boner encouraged the Salem Elders to apply because "[i]f the claim is allowed at all it will be allowed at an immensely high valuation."[731] The high valuations given by government agents were another attempt by the authorities to encourage emigration.

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[725] See, *inter alia*, MAS: Diary, December 25, 1831: "As we heard, this week and next week 102 people are moving to the Arkansas… People also hear that another company of half Indians etc. from Coosawatee and that area will also begin their journey to Arkansas in a couple of months. Their number should also amount to over one hundred."

[726] Boner accepted the job in November 1835, and left for Knoxville on June 1, 1836; Fries and Rights, *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina, 8,* 4187, and 4217. Boner was back in Salem by June of the following year, *ibid*, 4265.

[727] MAS: Correspondence, Joshua Boner, Knoxville, to Theodor Schulz, Salem, November 30, 1836.

[728] MAS: Diary, July 23, 1831. This entry notes the arrival of Brother and Sister Clauder, and Sister Gambold, at Springplace, after leaving the Oochgeelogy mission.

Four days later Boner wrote again as the omens looked propitious for the Moravians. While one of the commissioners was Wilson Lumpkin, the governor of Tennessee, another was John Kennedy, who was "very favorably disposed toward Salem, as he had several daughters educated [t]here and his impression of the place is certainly a very good one indeed."[732] Kennedy also knew Abraham Steiner, who had helped to found Springplace and others among the Brethren in

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[729] MAS: Diary, April 19, 1832, the Clauders arrive back at Springplace; April 23, the Byhans left to return to Salem. Clauder was officially freed of his postmaster duties a year later, MAS: Diary, April 15, 1833.

[730] MAS: Diary, Sunday, January 27, 1833 notes: "In the missions buildings in Ochgeloogy which we had to leave in July 1831 and which have been occupied by William Abraham Hicks since then, there are now two white families from Georgia who have forced their way in there. The houses and enclosures there, which we built with effort and expense, are very dilapidated and the otherwise pleasant site is almost unrecognizable."

[731] MAS: Correspondence, Joshua Boner, Knoxville, to Theodor Schulz, Salem, November 30, 1836.

[732] MAS: Correspondence, Joshua Boner, Knoxville, to Theodor Schulz, Salem, December 3, 1836. Fries and Rights, *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina, 8*, 4251 reprints a letter from Kennedy's wife, Elizabeth, in 1836, which requests the Salem girls' boarding school take in another of her daughters. Elizabeth also asks that her daughter Emily, who was already at the school, be told "that all of her relations at this time are in good health."

Salem. Boner concluded of Kennedy that "A more liberal, better disposed, Christian-like man, old Jackson could not have appointed."[733] In addition, one of the lawyers in New Echota putting forward claims was Joseph Williams, who was also known to the Moravians, as he had requested "instruction in reckoning" for his son John in 1828.[734] Boner also notes that Williams was on good terms with the commissioners, and that there were fifteen Cherokees on the commission, concluding: "if I mistake not some of *our Indians* are in that Number."[735] Williams had also said that he would only take a percentage if the claim was successful, and would not charge them if the claim failed, thus he just awaited power of attorney to submit the Brethren's claim to the commission.

As a final sweetener Boner added a postscript: "Col. Williams says that upon my authority he will get the Court to estimate the two places; to this I did not object, as it can *lead* to no further action without your consent. He does this because he says they will value it at an enormous rate."[736] All the years of effort and toil, not to mention Salem subsidies, spent building up the two Georgia missions finally seemed as though they might pay some dividend for the Moravians.

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[733] MAS: Correspondence, Boner to Schulz, December 3, 1836.

[734] Fries and Rights, *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina, 8,* 3847; Williams' request was granted as long as "he can find a place in town for him." Williams was also known to the Van Vlecks, who had stayed with Williams in Knoxville for three days in 1825; *ibid*, 3760.

[735] MAS: Correspondence, Boner to Schulz, December 3, 1836; emphasis in the original.

[736] MAS: Correspondence, Boner to Schulz, December 3, 1836. John Kennedy was a judge and a replacement for Governor Carroll, of Tennessee, who had resigned; Wilson Lumpkin, *The Removal of the Cherokee Indians from Georgia* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1907), 10; emphasis in original.

The Moravians and Neutrality

The only problem, of course, was that if the Brethren accepted compensation from the government for their improvements, then it could be construed that they were in favor of Indian removal and supported Jackson's plan. The only official public pronouncement the Moravians made came via their official journal, *The Missionary Intelligencer and Religious Miscellany.* Their annual report stated: "we cannot help entertaining a belief that finally their [Cherokee] removal from the territories of Georgia will be brought about."[737] Two years later the annual report noted: "circumstances may render it imperatively necessary" for the Cherokee to choose between assimilation and removal, as they could not simply remain where they were under their own laws. The report also noted that the Moravians' missionaries in Georgia found "the case peculiarly delicate" as "several of the Indians belonging to missions of the Brethren are among those to whom both their countrymen and the government look up for an influential decision." As a result the missionaries "strive to abstain from any interference" or expression of any views, in case they were accused to trying to influence Cherokee opinion.[738] While this was far from a ringing endorsement of the removal policy, it also made perfectly clear that the missionaries would not be making any attempt to oppose removal or work for the Cherokee to help them avoid it.

This was where Zinzendorf's edict on neutrality began to bite, just as it had over slavery. For removal, as for slavery before it, the Moravians were inclined by reasons of justice, to side with the oppressed against their unjust oppressors until overt pressure was brought to bear, at which point they deferred to constituted authority and retired into neutrality. The passive nature of the Brethren's support for the Cherokee can be seen in Gottlieb Byhan's rather lukewarm response upon meeting the Cherokee Agent, Colonel Hugh Montgomery, in 1828. Byhan found him "an extremely stiff Presbyterian" and his wife even more so, and although he had not been able to question Montgomery directly about his views on Cherokee removal Byhan concluded: "if I follow my feelings, I believe that he will not put in many good words for their staying." Byhan, however, did not intend for his views on Montgomery to become public, as he concluded his letter by saying "Please do not make use of the above. He, or both of them, treated me very cordially and invited me sincerely to visit him again soon with my wife." [739] A similar case of neutrality before authority came three years later during the visit of a member of the Georgia Guard, General Newnan. Byhan was careful not to pass any comment about the treatment of Butler and other missionaries after their arrest, noting "[g]enerally we must be as careful as possible not to make the slightest comment in political matters, because the less said about the current circumstances between the Georgians and the Cherokees, whether it is said to someone from Georgia or from Tennessee, the better it is for us."[740] Thus circumspection and avoidance of overt public statements on the matter of removal remained the order of the day.

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[737] Quoted in McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries*, 286.

[738] *Ibid.*

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[739] MAS: Correspondence, Gottlieb Byhan, Springplace, to Theodor Schulz, Salem, June 24, 1828.

Such passive support for the Cherokee was echoed in Byhan's comments about the 1828 annual Cherokee council: "It can already be noted...that the Cherokees will not be persuaded in any manner to move. As they say, they will sit quietly and see what the Government will do with them further. I think the plan is good. The more calmly they act, the better it is for them."[741] However, when directly challenged about their thoughts on the issue by their Cherokee congregation, Byhan retires back into the Brethren's trademark studied neutrality, as this diary entry for 1829 illustrates:

> Also today we were asked for the first time by Brother Samuel what we would do if the Indians had to move west. We answered him that we would not leave them, but our directors would take care that teachers would go with them. They seemed to be very satisfied with this. Further, he asked us what we then actually thought about the whole matter. *We told him that we really did not know what to think about it.* Admittedly we clearly see that the Cherokees currently are in a besieged and difficult situation, and we can do nothing more or better than commend them to the Lord of all in our prayers, because he has the hearts of humans in his hand and can guide them to the best ways for the poor Indians. At this [Samuel] said that he also does this. When he had sat deep in thought for a little while, he said, "We are not going!" And this ended the discussion of this. Afterwards everyone went home quite satisfied, which we could clearly see from their looks.[742]

The theme continued the following year, when Conondoah and his wife visited Springplace, and asked what the missionaries knew of the relationship between Georgia and the Cherokees. Byhan replied that "we knew nothing except what we saw in the newspapers from time to time."[743] The following day they were visited by Choctaw chief Greenwood LeFlore, who was visiting all the missions in the Cherokee Nation to see how they progressed in religion and civilization. LeFlore lamented that the Cherokee were disunited on the removal issue as the fact that some Cherokee were leaving gave whites the impression that the Nation as a whole might be willing to leave voluntarily.[744] Byhan commented "we have to be very careful on such occasions that our words do not make us dissatisfied with one party or the other. We must ask for grace from our dear Lord for this."[745]

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[740] MAS: Diary, August 15, 1831.

[741] MAS: Correspondence, Gottlieb Byhan, Springplace, to Theodor Schulz, Salem, October 1, 1828.

[742] MAS: Diary, September 13, 1829; emphasis added.

The following year, after the Byhans had finally been able to move into the new house, the 1829 diary concluded with Byhan's query of "whether this newly built house can now be occupied for a time yet by our missionaries among the Cherokees, [is something that] can certainly not be known in advance, since things look more and more like the poor Indians will have to give in after all in the end." Byhan noted "However, we do not want to worry about this, but leave it up to the one who has human hearts in his hands, and who guides them as he sees fit."[746] In short, it was up to the Lord to decide what to do, not the Moravians themselves, who would merely follow his directions.[747]

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[743] MAS: Diary, January 15, 1830. Conondoah's wife, Hannah, was a Moravian convert, and the couple had stayed at the mission overnight.

[744] This was a view echoed by Joseph Vann a few months later when told Byhan "it would depend a great deal on the Cherokees *themselves* to keep their land for a while yet, if they behaved peacefully and did not move west. The more Cherokee families who now move west, the more families of white people will come into the country." MAS: Diary, June 16, 1830.

[745] MAS: Diary, January 16, 1830. Four months later Byhan noted "Yesterday we also heard that the Choctaw Indians killed their new *Chief*, Mr. Greenwood Leflore, after they had turned their land over to the U.S. and that they are also after the life of the [second] *Chief* - it could not be said for sure what his name is - so that he had to be guarded by his party. Time will tell whether this news will be confirmed."

Of their own personal feelings, however, the missionaries were rather more forthcoming and direct. Early in November 1829 Byhan recorded that he had just received a pamphlet in the mail from the Secretary of War about Indian removal.[748] Byhan noted not only the usual Moravian wish to avoid taking sides, but also adds what appear to be his own personal thoughts:

> We do not like to get involved in this matter and we will take care as far as we can and it is possible for us to do, because *as soon as the Indians find out that we would also be in favor of them moving west, they would be more than a little distrustful of us*. Things are beginning to get somewhat critical here now, so that we have to be extremely careful not to arouse suspicion towards ourselves, and I might also wish nothing like this had been sent to us. *It is not our place to tell the Indians that moving is the best thing for them*, as the Pamphlet asks of everyone who wants to seek the best for the Indians.[749]

Henry Clauder, at Oochgeelogy told his congregation that "government and the law must be obeyed," but was more forthright in his personal diary, noting of the Georgians denial of the Cherokees right to testify in court: "This is a specimen of Republicanism - of Liberty and Equality! O, America - Thou Land of Liberty, where are thy boasted 'People's Rights.' Alas! It's all a mere name."[750] In June 1829 Clauder thought that recent positive reports on the Cherokee situation were too optimistic because things were "rapidly approaching to a crisis. The consequences thereof will be undoubtedly of the most calamitous nature and I expect to be, should I remain here, an eyewitness to heartrending Misery on the part of the poor Cherokees."[751] In a long letter just over a month after the Removal Act had been signed into law Clauder responded to a query from Salem about how the Moravians should tackle the issue of moving west:

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[746] MAS: Diary, December 31, 1829.

[747] See, for example, MAS: Diary, July 19, 1832. On this occasion the Brethren joined in the 'prayer day' called for by Ross. As most of their Cherokee congregants were at the service the Moravians simply "asked the only wise regent of the circle of the earth to grant the leaders of this people wisdom to recognize what will be best for them, to prevent all bloodshed, and if it [is] his will that the Cherokees should move to the west, to go with them in grace and power and protect them from all further dispersal."

[748] MAS: Correspondence, Gottlieb Byhan, Springplace, to Theodor Schulz, Salem, November 10, 1829. The pamphlet was entitled *Documents and Proceedings relating to the Formation and Progress of a Board in the City of New York, for the Emigration, Preservation, and Improvement of the Aborigines of America, July 22, 1829*. Byhan noted it was "interesting to read."

[749] MAS: Correspondence, Gottlieb Byhan, Springplace, to Theodor Schulz, Salem, November 10, 1829; emphasis added.

> My view is this: we wait patiently until we see what our Brothers and Sisters will *do*. We cannot rely on talk. By being too hasty we will bring suspicion upon ourselves and it is well-known that this is a great problem among the Indians. By acting this way we would naturally have to suffer a lot from the Georgians when they saw that the Indians with the missionaries really do not like to give in, but if we wanted to stay with the Indians and enjoy their trust, we must show our loyalty during suffering and oppression.[752]

Clauder thus towed the party line, but favored the Cherokee in order to maintain the Brethren's work amongst them.

There was but one occasion when the Moravian missionaries in Georgia broke their public silence, and this came at the end of 1830. Even this action was taken in concert with others, rather than a specific stand by the Brethren, or the Salem Elders. The occasion was a meeting called by the ABCFM's Samuel Worcester in New Echota, attended by thirteen missionaries from all four of the major denominations working amongst the Cherokee. Byhan noted of the meeting:

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[750] Crews and Starbuck, *With Courage for the Future*, 270; the quote from Clauder's diary is found on the same page.

[751] MAS: Correspondence, Henry Clauder, Oochgeelogy, to Theodor Schulz, Salem, June 26, 1829.

[752] MAS: Correspondence, Henry Clauder, Oochgeelogy, to Theodor Schulz, Salem, July 1, 1830; emphasis in original.

> The cause of this gathering was actually this: to express freely and publicly the views and thoughts of the missionaries about the current situation and circumstances of the Cherokees, primarily also because it had been said that the missionaries were holding the Indians back from emigrating, which was refuted in this meeting. It was also said in this meeting that if the Indians move west, all the missionaries are of the opinion that this would serve their harm and misfortune. Also it was explained what progress the Cherokees had made the last 30 years in "civilization," religion and so on, all of which is shown in the proceedings which appear in print.[753]

It was the first and only joint action taken by the four denominations and twelve of the thirteen missionaries present signed their names to the resulting document. Only the Methodist attendee, who had been warned against political meddling, did not sign, though he personally sympathized with the intent.[754] Both Gottlieb Byhan and Henry Clauder signed for the Moravians, and this, in the words of the Brethren's official history, "despite the long-standing policy of the Moravian Church that missionaries were not to involve themselves in political affairs, but were strictly to attend to their own business of quietly spreading the gospel."[755] It was also a rare example of an action taken by the missionaries without first having submitted it to the Salem Elders for advice, and as a result, "Worcester expressed surprise at their signing."[756] The Salem Elders views on Byhan and

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[753] MAS: Diary, December 28, 1830.

[754] McLoughlin, however, notes that on September 25, 1830 eight of the ten Methodist circuit riders signed a resolution expressing their support for the Cherokee. It was the model for Worcester's manifesto three months later. The problem was that while the missionaries on the ground were sympathetic to the Cherokee, they were employed by mission boards from the surrounding Tennessee white communities who were decidedly in favor of Indian removal.

[755] Crews and Starbuck, *With Courage for the Future*, 270, footnote 1.

[756] McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries*, 287.

Clauder's action can be inferred from the fact that Worcester's manifesto was subsequently published in the *Cherokee Phoenix*, but not in the Moravian's own publication, the *Missionary Intelligencer*.

Despite signing Worcester's manifesto and their passive support for the Cherokee and their refusal to take the Georgia oath, the rest of the Moravians' attempts to stay neutral actually paid off with the Georgia authorities. As already noted, all white males living in the part of the Cherokee Nation now under Georgia law were required to take an oath of allegiance, a measure directed specifically at the ABCFM due to their political efforts against removal. However, the law also affected the Moravians and initially Henry Clauder and Nathanael Byhan, as noted earlier, had moved across the border into Tennessee to stay with McNair until the situation cleared up. March brought word that all missionaries were considered agents of the government, and thus they were free to return to Georgia, and the Moravians duly returned to Springplace.[757] June, however, saw Clauder arrested but then set "free again with the announcement that he had to get his things in order within 10 days and leave the state of Georgia."[758] Three days later the Brethren received a letter from Coloriel Nelson, sub-commander of the Georgia Guard:

> The character which you have sustained; being contrary to that of others; I have determined to shake you a *distinguished object* of our forebearance [sic], you will therefore remain with your family in quiet, or pursue your own inclination untill [sic] further directed. Should you be in future directed to comply with the Laws or leave the territory, time will be given you to comply with at least as much convenience to you as at this time. With my best wishes for your success

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[757] MAS: Diary, March 22, 1831. A Georgian court passed this ruling in consideration of other missionaries who had been arrested.

[758] MAS: Diary, June 1, 1831.

> in the cause which you are labouring [sic] in be pleased to accept my personal respect & esteem.[759]

This regard by the Georgia Guard, who were less than pleasant to the ABCFM's Worcester and Butler after their arrest, continued.[760] A month later another contingent of the Guard arrived and billeted at Springplace for the night. Their commander, a Lieutenant Brooks, played on the theme of how much they would lose by leaving Springplace, leaving Byhan to conclude: "In brief, he tried everything possible to move us to take the oath. When he saw that he could do nothing, he finally said, "Well, you will not be molested here, because we are convinced that you have not meddled with our political affairs, like other Missionaries, they, for their impertinence will have to abide by the consequences."[761] Two weeks later Colonel Nelson sent word that "we can live here peacefully and that we and our families would not be disturbed."[762]

The Brethren's political neutrality was echoed by Cherokee Agent Colonel Montgomery the following January. The diary notes:

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[759] MAS: Correspondence, C.H. Nelson, Springplace, to Theodor Schulz, Salem, June 5, 1831; emphasis in the original.

[760] MAS: Diary, July 12, 1831; it was noted that upon his arrest Butler was tied behind a horse and forced to walk. At one point the horse was spooked and Butler dragged "over fallen down trees and through thick bushes. People say that Doctor Butler almost lost his life. The soldier who was riding the horse to which Doctor B. was tied broke a Rib when the horse fell."

[761] MAS: Diary, July 16, 1831. See also Diary, August 10, 1832. On this occasion "We received a visit from General Newman, who is a member of the Congress of the United States. He asked about the current state of the Nation and what the opinion of the Indians is about moving away." That is all the entry contained, so presumably Newman got as little information out of them as we can out of the diary entry.

[762] MAS: Diary, July 30, 1831. See also Diary, January 19, 1832; on this occasion the commanding officer, a Colonel Henderson again tried to convince the Moravians to take the oath, noted that Nathanael Byhan and the missionaries 'outside worker' Naeman Rominger were still subject to arrest, but that he would write to the governor of Georgia about it and let Byhan know the outcome. In the meantime "he said we should just continue on as before."

> In a conversation which Brother Byhan had with the Agent, the Agent assured him, or at least said he believed, that if Brother Byhan remains here or if Brother Clauder should return from Salem, the Georgians would certainly not disturb them in their mission calling, because people say they have *never* heard of the Moravian Missionaries getting mixed up in political matters. Therefore he, the Agent, believes that we would be able to carry out our calling here without being disturbed.[763]

A final, if erroneous example of the authorities leaving the Moravians alone came in October of 1832, when General Newman called on his way back to Washington, and "assured us that we would not be disturbed in the possession of this post by the division of Cherokee land among the citizens of Georgia."[764] Newman was wrong, however, and the Brethren's luck finally ran out when Springplace was claimed by its winners in the Georgia lottery the following January. Clauder then wrote to the commander of the Georgia Guard "with news of our desperate situation and the request to free us from this if possible. However we received no answer to this."[765] Nor did Clauder have any more success with an earlier letter to Wilson Lumpkin, the governor of Georgia, as "no answer arrived from these authorities" and with no immediate advice available from Salem either, the missionaries were obliged to move out.[766] Thus, when push came to shove, the Georgia authorities failed to support the Moravians, just as the Brethren had failed to support removal when challenged to do so.

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[763] MAS: Diary, January 9, 1832; emphasis in the original.

[764] MAS: Diary, October 25, 1832.

[765] MAS: Diary, January 3, 1833.

[766] MAS: Diary, January 7, 1833. Clauder had written to Lumpkin on December 24. It is instructive that in Lumpkin's two volume study *The Removal of the Cherokee Indians from Georgia* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1907), the Moravians, either collectively or as individuals, do not have a listing in the index and do not appear anywhere in the work, despite its running to nearly 700 pages.

Compensation under the Treaty of New Echota

This brings us back to the dilemma facing the Moravians that resulted from John Williams offer to represent the Brethren before the government commission to decide compensation for Cherokee improvements. The issue of compensation was one that faced the other denominations working amongst the Cherokee, but for none was it as problematic as it was for the Moravians. This is because, as the quotation at the beginning of this chapter shows, money was never plentiful for the Moravians, and thus the expense of purchasing, building up and then maintaining the Springplace and Oochgeelogy missions was a major financial burden for the Brethren.

The Methodists did not face this problem because they employed circuit riders and held services and even their temporary schools in the homes of converts. As such they had no mission stations to maintain. The Baptists had started with a fixed model farm, but then scaled back in favor of itinerancy. Initially the Baptists were in favor of gradual, voluntary removal west but once Jackson had been elected and it became clear that removal would not be voluntary doubts began to creep in, leading to "sharp controversy within the denomination."[767] Their cause was colored by the actions of Duncan O' Briant, a Georgia Baptist minister and schoolmaster at Tinsawatee who had taken Georgia's the loyalty oath. In 1831 he indicated he was willing to move his congregation west, and his supervisory board, the Sarepta Baptist Missionary Society in Georgia, contacted the government and asked if they would pay for O' Briant's travel and reimburse them for their property. In return they would not seek to replace O' Briant in the east. The removal of such a congregation might thus be a spur to others and encourage emigration. O' Briant's group duly left in 1831, "all of course considered traitors by those who remained to uphold their homeland." The government did not pay for O' Briant's transport or salary. This attempt to promote emigration by the Sarepta Baptists did not go down well with the Cherokee, "nor did their continued efforts to obtain reimbursement for their mission stations from the government."[768]

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[767] McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries,* 266.

Money was never an issue for the ABCFM missions, which were fully funded by their mission board and their wealthy New England supporters. As noted earlier, the ABCFM had initially been in the forefront of the lobbying effort against Cherokee removal, but following the Worcester case the ABCFM changed tack and turned their attention to the west, seeking to open new stations there rather than in the east. Worcester's departure west in 1835 left many regarding them as "treaty men."[769] The ABCFM had numerous missions, four in Georgia, two each in Alabama and Tennessee, and two more were temporarily opened in Tennessee, in 1832 and 1835, to serve those who had fled from harassment in Georgia.[770] The Board not only rejected suggestions that they claim the compensation and then pay it back to the Cherokee, but also denied it was 'blood money' when Daniel Butrick reminded them of the written guarantee given to the

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[768] McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries,* 282.

[769] *Ibid*, 310.

[770] For more on the ABCFM missions see Joyce B. Phillips and Paul Gary Phillips, eds., *The Brainerd Journal: A Mission to the Cherokees, 1817-1823* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998). For details of the missions moving and closing down, see pages 398 - 400.

Cherokee in 1817 that their mission stations would cost the Cherokee nothing. The ABCFM said the Cherokee had benefitted from the missions, and that they money would be used to fund missions in the West. The Board thus accepted payment of $28,638.25 for their mission property.[771]

Money, though, was always an issue for the Moravians. Mission stations were supposed to be self-sustaining, and the missionaries sent out to them were generally not university-trained clerics, but devout artisans who would earn their living with their hands. This held true for the Moravians at Springplace. Jacob Wohlfarth, who served from 1801-1805 was a millwright; Gottlieb Byhan, who served 1801-1812 and 1827-1832 was a baker, organist, and weaver; John Gambold who served from 1805 to 1827 was a cooper, mason, carpenter and tailor.[772] The basic format of the Brethren's missions was to build a station and church, and then once sufficient converts had been made, bring those converts to the mission to create an independent community of faith. The low number of converts at the Cherokee mission meant that this form of settlement community never developed, leaving the missionaries struggling to exist. It was for this reason that the Moravians took so long to open the mission school in the opening years of Springplace, as they were so busy consolidating the mission buildings and establishing a firm foundation that they did not have time for teaching.

Initially against the idea of claiming for their missions as this would give the impression of favoring removal, the compensation issue was made thornier for the Brethren by the fact that they had only recently funded a major rebuild at Springplace. The old log cabins which were erected in 1801 were in desperate need of replacement, and the topic had arisen with the return of the Byhans to Springplace in November 1827. Gottlieb Byhan started to make plans for construction soon after his arrival. By October the following year Byhan wrote his annual report to the War Department, one of the conditions attached to the annuity that the Moravians received from the government. He explained the proposed building, noting that while construction had been delayed by "the unstable state of the Cherokee Nation" it would have to begin the following year in order for the mission to continue its work.[773] Byhan noted the estimated cost of the project was $900-1000 and that he had received a reply from the War Department which approved of the construction, and hoped some government support would be forthcoming.

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[771] *Ibid*, 308-313.

[772] McClinton, *Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokee,* I, 22.

References to the slow moving construction of the house litter the records for the next couple of years.[774] The Salem Elders never queried the need for a new house for the missionaries, but following Jackson's election in late 1828 they did start to question the timing, suggesting that construction plans be put on hold for the moment until they knew what Jackson and Congress would do. Byhan responded by saying "I have already gone *too far*" to be able to stop now, and they would have to build the house in the summer as most of the materials were already assembled. Furthermore, even if the Cherokee were displaced then the Brethren would be compensated for the house by the Government or whoever took it over next.[775] By the following July the Elders apparently no longer believed they would receive compensation and instructed Byhan to scale back.[776]

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[773] MAS: Correspondence, Gottlieb Byhan, Springplace, copy of Report to the Secretary of War, November 15, 1828.

[774] See, *inter alia,* MAS: Correspondence, Gottlieb Byhan, Springplace, to Theodore Schulz, Salem, May 27, June 24, and July 9, 1828, and January 22, February 24 and 29, March 2 and 11-12, April 21, May 22, June 17, July 4 and 31, August 12 and 17, September 16, October 20, and November 10, 1829; Diary, January 26, February 12, March 2 and 16, April 20, June 10-11, July 11, September 28-30, October 6 and 22, November 11, December 11 and 15, 1829.

Byhan wrote his first letter from the new house on December 1st, 1829 and he and his wife moved in on the 15th. A month later Byhan wrote to say the new house was a great improvement, especially the kitchen, but requested money as he still owed $260 in construction costs. Shortly afterwards he received $130 from Salem, but begged for yet more as he was "overrun daily" by his creditors.[777] More money was forthcoming but by April Byhan has to defend himself against charges that the accounts at Springplace "seemed unusually high" to the Salem Elders. Byhan claims that "Everything…was necessary and had to be acquired." The cost of construction was high, and Springplace needed two workers for the outside farm work. "I have always said, and I still claim, that of *all* the heathen posts the Unity of the Brethren has, the missions among the Cherokees are the most difficult heathen posts for the missionaries posted there and for those who will be posted there in the future, primarily because of their location, character, circumstances, and situation, which no other mission has. Therefore it cannot help but be expensive…" Byhan wrote.[778]

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[775] MAS: Correspondence, Gottlieb Byhan, Springplace, to Theodore Schulz, Salem, January 12, 1829; emphasis in original.

[776] MAS: Correspondence, Gottlieb Byhan, Springplace, to Theodore Schulz, Salem, July 4, 1829: "Following your advice, I will now do just the most necessary things in the construction of my house, but enough that we can move into it before winter."

[777] MAS: Correspondence, Gottlieb Byhan, Springplace, to Theodore Schulz, Salem, December 1 and 15 1829, and January 13 and 19, 1830.

The money issue became worse a couple of months later when Jackson ceased to pay the Cherokees their annuity, claiming that as they now fell under Georgia law and their own were null and void the Cherokee Nation no longer had a treasurer or treasury whom he could pay. Following the ABCFM's lobbying against the Removal Act, Jackson also stopped payments to the Education Fund for all tribes east of the Mississippi in June 1830. This was aimed at the ABCFM as they received the bulk of this money but it also hit the Moravians who had been receiving $200-250 per year since the fund's inception in 1819.[779] This money, which helped support Springplace and Oochgeelogy, would now have to come from Salem itself as the missionaries had no way of raising funds, and with no annuity the Cherokees were in no shape to help financially either.

Such was the conundrum that faced the Salem Elders in late 1836 as they considered the Boner/Williams offer to apply for compensation from the government under the Treaty of New Echota. The Elders' principled stand on turning down government compensation so they were not seen to agree with removal must have been a difficult one, especially in light of the increased strain on their finances that the rebuild and subsequent support of both mission stations imposed. By Christmas 1836, the Elders were starting to waiver, and Boner spurred them on. On Christmas Eve he wrote:

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[778] MAS: Correspondence, Gottlieb Byhan, Springplace, to Theodore Schulz, Salem, April 16, 1830; emphasis in original.

[779] McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries,* 252-53.

> Why should our taking this indemnity prejudice the Indians against our Mission? Is not our claim a *just One*? And do we not intend to make this indemnity defray the expenses of our Missions beyond the Mississippi? Yes Sir, if you do not intend to send Missionaries with them to the West, then don't press you claim; but if you do, then justice requires that *we* should have our claim satisfied. You are perhaps not approved of the fact that the residue of the 5 millions will be left at the disposal of the Council. Suppose that the five millions are not adequate to cover all claims, do you think that the Gen. Government will hesitate to grant another million? Mr. Williams has this moment informed me that the disbursing agent had told him that he had near 6 million to go upon. What does this prove but that the Gen. Government is willing to have *all and every* claim satisfied, even if it should require more than the regular appropriated sum...The other Missionaries, I am informed, do not hesitate to bring forward their claims. Why should we? The truth is simply this, the Nation is divided..." [780]

For Boner the issue was made simpler by the fact that both Joseph Crutchfield and William Hicks had also put in claims for the Oochgeelogy improvements.[781] Boner argued that the Moravians deserved the compensation more than either Crutchfield or Hicks as it was not they but the Brethren who had built up the station.

Not only that but all the other missionary groups were also claiming their money, and there would be cash made available should claims exceed the already appropriated amount, so keen were the government to see all claimants satisfied and removal thus ensured. If the Salem Elders did not claim compensation then they would not gain any benefit from the Oochgeelogy mission, but the less deserving Crutchfield or Hicks might. This would have been especially galling for the Brethren as the money could be used to fund the opening of Moravian missions in the West to continue their work amongst the Cherokee. Boner wrote again: "If you wish the Indians to have it, draw the money and make them a present of it," and that the other missionaries had claimed their money and the Indians expected the Moravians to do so as well. Boner concluded by stating: "If I had the slightest idea that it would injure our Missionary cause with them [the Cherokees]; or that they would be profited any think in a pecuniary way by our declining it *I* would certainly be the last person to advocate your taking it."[782] The Salem Elders finally capitulated and agreed to submit their claim, which was duly accepted, and the Brethren were awarded a total of $7,554.50 for their Georgia improvements.

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[780] MAS: Correspondence, Joshua Boner, Knoxville, to Theodor Schulz, Salem, December 24, 1836; emphasis in original.

[781] The Brethren bought the original improvement at Oochgeelogy from Crutchfield, and William Hicks had moved into and lived at Oochgeelogy for two years once the Clauders had been forced to leave in early 1831 after the imposition of the Georgia oath law.

At this point it should be noted that Boner was an upright member of the Moravian community and not looking to profit himself. After returning to Salem from Knoxville he took up several positions within the Moravian community, related to leading the choirs or providing sacred music for services and festivals. By the time of the Civil War he was mayor of Salem, thus he looked only to the benefit of the Brethren, not himself.[783] This point is reinforced later by Boner's actions once the compensation money had been paid out. The issue of the acceptability of paper money from different banks and financial institutions in different states had been a bugbear for the Moravians for some time, with the Springplace missionaries often having difficulty passing on bills in Georgia and having to return some sent to them by the Elders in North Carolina. Boner offered to exchange one of the initial payments himself for expenses only.[784]

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[782] MAS: Correspondence, Joshua Boner, Knoxville, to Theodor Schulz, Salem, January 1, 1837; emphasis in the original.

[783] For service in Salem see Smith, *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina, 9*; see, *inter alia*, 4462, 4707, 4771, and 4996. For Boner as mayor in the Civil War, see Crews and Starbuck, *With Courage for the Future*, 154 and 357.

That he was not out for himself, however, could not be said of Joseph Williams. Whereas Boner had sought to calm the Elders' fears by noting that the other denominations had claimed their compensation and that the Cherokee would not resent them for it, Williams chose a different tack:

> But you have been brought to a wrong result - Your indemnity, is not to be taken from a fund belonging to the Cherokee Nation. The treaty appropriates $5,600,000 for various objects - One is to pay for Missionary establishments - the Cherokee people have no claim on any part of this item. The other Missionary societies will receive their indemnity without a [scruple] as far as I am informed - I presume there is not a Cherokee who does not wish that you should receive your share - They have provided for it with treaty - There is no principal either in morals or religion (or judgment) which will debar you from receiving this debt any more than any other debt which may be due your society. It would be difficult to explain to the Indians why it was that you refused to receive justice at their hands...[785]

The only problem with Williams' statement that any claim the Moravians made would not take money away from the Cherokee was that it was completely false. The Treaty of New Echota had been negotiated by John F. Schermerhorn, a retired Calvinist Dutch Reform minister, who had been picked for his strongly pro-removal views, and had offended the Cherokee at the treaty negotiations by his bullying and his condescending manner. Schermerhorn had also set out to disrupt the missionary boards working amongst the Cherokee by intentionally inserting a clause into the treaty that all mission boards would be compensated for their buildings and improvements once removal had taken place, and that this money would be paid out of the $5million set aside for the Cherokees.[786] Williams was thus misleading the Moravians both as to the amount of money available for compensation, and also on the fact that they would not be taking money away from the Cherokees should they claim it.

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[784] MAS: Correspondence, Joshua Boner, Knoxville, to Theodor Schulz, Salem, February 19, 1837.

[785] MAS: Correspondence, Joseph Williams, Knoxville, TN, to Theodor Schulz, Salem, December 30, 1836.

Boner, it appears, was also led astray, as he wrote: "Mr. Williams informs me, that, although the Indians were very much opposed to this treaty, they now say that they have made a very good bargain, and are in the whole well pleased with it. As evidence of this fact, he states that Ross's best friends are making active preparation to emigrate."[787] While this last claim about Ross's friends may be true, it seems Williams fed Boner some misinformation in the expectation it would be passed on to Salem, such as the amount of money available and who it would revert to mentioned in Boner's letter above.[788] Williams wrote to the Elders at the end of January 1837, after the compensation had been claimed, and noted that as things had gone so well he had decided to charge them only 15 per cent commission rather than 20 per cent.[789] Boner wrote later to note Williams had charged others 20 per cent and thus the Moravians had gotten a good deal.[790]

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[786] McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries,* 308-09.

[787] MAS: Correspondence, Joshua Boner, Knoxville, to Theodor Schulz, Salem, December 24, 1836.

[788] MAS: Correspondence, Miles Vogler, Brainerd, Tennessee, to Salem, January 8, 1838 (the letter is simply addressed "Dear Brothers" rather than to a specific individual). Here Vogler notes government commissioners at the local agency had issued a circular instructing the Cherokee to prepare to leave, and Ross had responded to it by (supposedly) saying that "they had nothing, to do now but to submit to Government." However, MAS: Diary, August 9, 1836 notes that Ross, just back from Washington, told the Cherokee not to respect the Treaty of New Echota and hold out until the next Congress of the United States which he hoped would reverse the treaty. However, "since the Nation is in an unbearable situation of oppression and suffering, many of the most respected and influential Indians have decided to emigrate under the proper conditions of the treaty." MAS: Diary, August 31, 1836 sees Clauder visit George Hicks who "assured him that the Cherokee would move regardless of what John Ross counseled as "the people were tired of oppression and suffering.""

Three months later, however, Henry Clauder wrote that he believes the only reason Williams pushed for a swift conclusion to their compensation claim was:

> that his object was to get a fat commission - at our cost and responsibility. Our board stands alone. The American board which has property to the am[oun]t of $30,000 at stake, has not yet determined upon taking one Dollar under present arrangements, and although some of that property is claimed by others, like our Oochgeelogy was ... yet as long as the treaty is not acknowledged by the Nation, they hesitate, and will probably refuse to receive compensation under the present arrangement.[791]

Clauder notes the ABCFM had made requests for an alteration to the Treaty of New Echota so that missionary claims were satisfied from moneys other than the "5 millions which Cherokees consider their own. The Sec[retary] of War answered "that if the Cherokees consented to a peaceable removal, such an alteration could easily be effected.""[792] As Clauder was staying with Elizur Butler at the ABCFM's Red Clay mission station in Tennessee at the time his view has validity, although, as noted above, the ABCFM would later claim their compensation. However, as Ross and the Cherokee did not agree to leave voluntarily the New Echota Treaty went unchanged, and the ABCFM's compensation came directly from the same $5 million fund as the Brethren's.

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[789] MAS: Correspondence, John Williams, New Echota, to Theodor Schulz, January 31, 1837.

[790] MAS: Correspondence, Joshua Boner, Knoxville, to Theodor Schulz, Salem, February 19, 1837.

[791] MAS: Correspondence, Henry Clauder, Red Clay, TN, to Theodor Schulz, Salem, May 1, 1837.

[792] *Ibid.*

It seems, then, that the Moravian Elders in Salem, as well as Joshua Boner, were duped by Williams, a more worldly individual, into acting in a way that breached one of their cardinal rules, and did something that publicly associated them with a political issue. It may be that the Brethren were simply naïve and thought that their prior association with Williams meant that they could trust him and that there truly was nothing to lose and much to gain by taking the compensation, especially on the terms that Williams claimed it would be under. On the other hand, the Moravians had been dealing with the realities of life in the 'real world' in the American South for several generations, and the fact that they winked at breaches of the regulations on slavery in Salem itself, and oversaw the establishment of a separate church for the Salem black community showed that they were aware of racial hierarchies and the need to take cognizance of the views of surrounding white communities. The Salem Elders knew how the world worked, especially those who oversaw the Brethren's financial interests, and they oversaw the purchase and sale of slaves, the last one indeed, as noted in Chapter Four, being Betty, bought for the Cherokee mission, in 1836. The possibility remains, however, that church leaders, beset by increasing financial demands, allowed themselves to be convinced by Williams' offer, and that the money outweighed the principle in this case.

Overall, it seems that amongst the Cherokee opinion was divided on the issue. Several months later Clauder noted that their congregation was split and some families were being forced by necessity to draw provisions from the government. Others "speak very hard things against them [the Moravians]" and do not spare Clauder in allotting blame. Of the Cherokee more generally, however, Clauder noted:

> I have spoken at various times with some of the leading men of the Nation about the motives which influenced us in securing the amount of indemnification for our improvements; and upon the whole I can not say that I discovered any thing like a disposition to censure us for so doing. The persons to whom I related the circumstances rather thought we had fallen into the selfish scheme of a wily barrister - who at our responsibility improved his own circumstances.[793]

As many other families had also drawn from the government rations made available to them and taken compensation for their improvements, the Brethren were not alone in their situation. Nor was the compensation amount the Moravians claimed - $7554.50 - all that great when compared to the claims of others. The ABCFM claim totaled $28,638.25; others amongst the Cherokee claiming compensation included the Brethren's friend David McNair whose property was valued at "over twelve thousand dollars," John Ross, whose plantation at the 'Head of Coosa' was appraised at "about $20,000, and Joseph Vann, whose Diamond Hill estate and other holdings gained him compensation of $19,605.[794] While the ABCFM, McNair, Ross and Vann might not have represented the size of the average Cherokee claim, they do show that the Brethren's payment was far from excessive, or far from the largest.

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[793] MAS: Correspondence, Henry Clauder, Cherokee Mission, to 'Dear Brother' (probably Jacob Van Vleck), Salem, August 1, 1837.

[794] McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries*, 312; McClinton, *Moravian Springplace Mission*, 2, 489; Wallace, *Long, Bitter Trail*, 9; and "Chief Vann House," *The New Georgia Encyclopedia*, http://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/nge/Article.jsp?id=h-2726

With compensation settled, the only thing that remained for the Moravians to decide was whether or not they would accompany the Cherokee during removal. The decision to continue the Cherokee mission had already been taken and several of the individual Brethren had stated their intentions of either joining the Cherokee on the trip west, or of joining them there. Clauder, for example, had stated as early as 1829 that he would go west with the Cherokee, and in 1836 he noted that to "abandon the Cherokees altogether I have never had the most distant desire - on the Contrary it has ever been my wish to continue among them as long as circumstances will permit and we could be useful to them." [795] The strains of the situation began to tell on Clauder especially after an incident in August of 1836 when he attempted to alleviate the suffering of starving Cherokees by explaining to them that the food aid the government had sent to them was not connected to the New Echota treaty and that accepting it would not mean that the Cherokee agreed with or accepted removal. However, Clauder was later accused of having "gone over to their enemies" and of being in league with the government to get their land.[796]

In April the following year Clauder was named as one of the missionaries that the Treaty Party would like to have accompany the Cherokees on their trip west. While this gave the uncomfortable impression that the Moravians favored the Treaty Party and removal Clauder wrote "I feel determined, tho[ugh] with trembling, to risk my life, health and everything and to stick to them [the Cherokee] to the last and my conscience would never rest, until…fully satisfied that I had done my duty to the last possible extremity."[797]

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[795] MAS: Correspondence, Gottlieb Byhan, Springplace, to Theodor Schulz, July 4, 1829. Byhan recounted this news to Schulz, having spoken to Clauder "some time ago" about the issue. MAS: Correspondence, Henry Clauder, Connesauga, to Theodor Schulz, Salem, July 5, 1836.

[796] MAS: Diary, Sunday, August 14, 1836.

The accusation over the food aid and the fact that removal was being enforced under the hated minority Treaty of New Echota made Clauder slowly change his mind. He was worried for the safety of his wife and young family, and the uncertainties of life in the far west. Thus, "on account of various circumstances relative to my family," he finally gave up on the idea of accompanying the Cherokee west in August 1837. Clauder then asked for a recall due to the unsettled nature of the mission, which had been a purely itinerant one since the Brethren had lost their house at the McNair plantation a year earlier.[798] By November Clauder was ready to return to Salem and wrote "I hope, yes, I hope sincerely that I may consider myself here on this once beloved spot for the last time, since everything I now see reminds me most painfully of times and seasons for ever past and now changed to that which is repugnant to…refined feelings."[799]

With Clauder back in Salem the remaining Moravian amongst the Cherokee, Miles Vogler, "was tempted in March 1838 to go west with a group of Cherokee but church leaders refused permission since to do so might be

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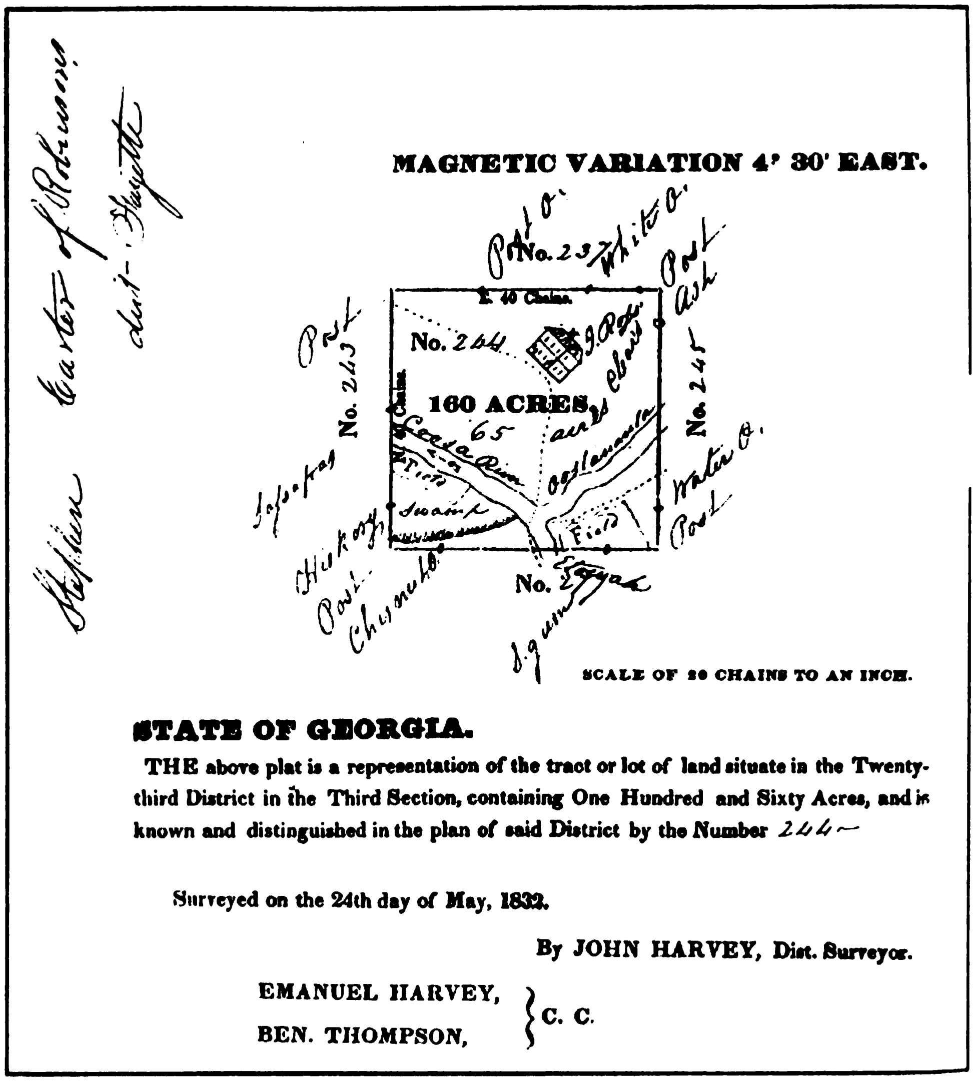
[797] MAS: Correspondence, Henry Clauder, Connesaga, TN, to 'Dear Brother', Salem, April 17, 1837.

[798] MAS: Correspondence, Henry Clauder, Cherokee Mission, to 'Dear Brother', Salem, August 1, 1837.

[799] MAS: Correspondence, Henry Clauder, Bradley County, TN, to 'Dear Brother' (probably Theodor Schulz), Salem, November 14, 1837.


Stephen Carter of Robinsons
dist- Forsythe
Post O
No. 237 White O
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Ash
E. 40 Chains.
No. 244
160 ACRES
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No. 245
Post
Sassafras
Coosa River
Oostanaula
Field
Swamp
Field
Hickory
Post
Chesnut
Post
Water O.
Post
No.
Etowah
S. gum

MAGNETIC VARIATION 4° 30' EAST.

SCALE OF 20 CHAINS TO AN INCH.

STATE OF GEORGIA.

THE above plat is a representation of the tract or lot of land situate in the Twenty-third District in the Third Section, containing One Hundred and Sixty Acres, and is known and distinguished in the plan of said District by the Number 244—

Surveyed on the 24th day of May, 1832.

By JOHN HARVEY, Dist. Surveyor.

EMANUEL HARVEY,
BEN. THOMPSON, } C. C.

Figure 29: The survey record of John Ross's plantation; taken from Theda Perdue and Michael D. Green (eds.), *The Cherokee Nation and the Trail of Tears* (New York: Viking, 2007), 76.

interpreted as agreement with the unjust treaty."[800] In May Gottlieb Hermann Ruede and Johann Renatus Schmidt, the latter returning to the Cherokee again after serving at Springplace and Oochgeelogy from 1820 - 1828, set out for the Cherokee in Tennessee, prepared to travel west with some of their congregation, under the leadership of George Hicks. Hicks' party was delayed, and thus the Moravians went on ahead of them. As a result, no Moravian missionary accompanied the Cherokee west on what would become known as their 'Trail of Tears.'

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[800] Crews and Starbuck, *With Courage for the Future*, 272; see also Smith, *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina, 9,* 4374 and 4418.

Conclusion

On March 4th, 1809, thirteen days after the death of James Vann, as noted in Chapter Three, Anna Rosina Gambold recorded two incidents in the Springplace Diary that summed up the Moravians' approach to the conversion of the heathen and the Brethren's role in the federal government's 'civilization' program. She noted:

> At the news of their master's death, some of the Negro people in our neighborhood became unrestrained, some of them completely confused, so that nothing could be done with them. Those who sought advice from us were advised to continue working faithfully as if their master were still living and to hold fast to the Savior, Who would gladly take *good* care of them in the future as well. Our words touched a few of them, but not others.[801]

This interaction with Cherokee-owned slaves was followed by another with their owners:

> In addition to this, we received a trial from one quarter where we had least expected it. Of course, we had repeated our visits with the distressed Mrs. Vann and each time tried to give her a few words of comfort from the gospel. One could not say *a lot* because of the loud crying...However, one on of these visits, her old mother-in-law, who moved in with her for several weeks, expressed herself in a very offensive manner, completely unexpectedly, toward Brother and Sister Gambold. She gave their words a twisted meaning, and then explained that they were *Indians*, and they did not understand our teachings. It did not end with that; she spoke very maliciously toward us and even to the Negroes and led people to believe that we were only visiting because we [were] trying to get part of her son's fortune. Furthermore, she added, we did not know anything to talk about except the *Savior*...the thought that the enemy was now busy trying to tear away the poor Mrs. Vann, who had already cried to the Savior and had experienced His help, not only from us but from all closer community with *Him*, were bitter sufferings for us. Nonetheless, we were silent in front of all...it was grace and honor for us to suffer shame for His name's sake.[802]

Taken together these two incidents encapsulated the contradictions inherent in the Brethren's mission to the Cherokee.

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[801] McClinton, *Moravian Springplace Mission,* 1, 304.

[802] *Ibid.*, 304-305.

The incident with Vann's slaves shows the contradiction that the Moravian's lived with every day over the issue of human slavery. The missionaries began by playing the role of good slaveholders and supporters of the institution of human bondage by advising Vann's slaves to continue in their work faithfully as if James Vann were still alive. However, the Brethren then completely undercut their support for slavery by telling Vann's slaves that if they were to convert to the Christian faith the Moravians would not just evangelize them, but take "*good* care" of them, and do so "gladly." For Vann's slaves listening to this, cognizant of the treatment bondsmen often received at Diamond Hill - the frequent whippings, the threat of being shot during a drunken rage, or the immolation, hanging, and shooting of the three slaves who had robbed Vann less than four years previously - such a statement must have been a revelation, and not one of the kind the missionaries had hoped to induce.

By holding out the promise of good treatment to any slave who converted to Christianity, the Moravians undercut their outward stance as slaveholders, supporters of the slave system, and upholders of the South's racial hierarchy, and thus also undermined their role in the federal government's 'civilization' program. Indeed, this incident reveals that the Brethren were just as indifferent to the goals of the 'civilization' program as the Cherokee were, being instead interested only in their own goal of religious conversion. The Moravians showed their apathy for the 'peculiar institution' by accommodating to it, but without adopting the ethos that supported it. Over the course of nearly four decades among the Cherokee in Georgia, the Moravians stooped to the physical punishment of slaves they owned only twice, and in their indulgent treatment of Pleasant, their recalcitrant slave woman at Springplace, showed just how little they agreed with prevailing opinion as to the proper treatment of blacks in the South. Of all the missionaries, the Gambolds in particular treated Pleasant as a fellow human being, not as a chattel. Despite frequent exasperation with her behavior neither of the Gambolds sought to force Pleasant's obedience. Sister Gambold excelled at chivvying Pleasant into action by flattery and encouragement. John Gambold expressed himself vigorously in speech on occasion, sharply rebuking Pleasant for her behavior, but as the slave woman knew that whatever she did was unlikely to ever to lead to physical punishment such verbal chastisements had little effect upon her. In attempting to engineer a tranquil and conflict-free relationship with Pleasant via negotiation rather than force, the Gambolds made their relationship with her one of equals, rather than one between masters and their servant. By doing so, the missionaries recognized Pleasant's humanity and denied her status as mere property, thus completely undermining the whole ethos of Southern slavery, based as it was upon the concept that blacks were less than human and thus only to be regarded as property and not people, and certainly not equals.

The Brethren, however, did not stop there in their failure to support the South's racial hierarchy. Not only did they recognize the humanity of slaves, but they offered them the chance of true and complete spiritual equality. This was shown by the example of Jacob's conversion and subsequent burial in the Springplace God's Acre. Even though Jacob was a slave belonging to Joseph

Vann, the Moravians accepted him into their congregation, baptized him, gave him communion at the same time and during the same service as they took communion themselves, and when he died buried him in their own cemetery, alongside his owner's mother, and one of the missionaries who had taken part in services alongside Jacob for many years.[803] Jacob was also given a full burial service, and interred at the same time as a white Christian woman. By so doing, despite Jacob's slave status, the Brethren made it perfectly clear that they considered blacks to be equal before the Savior, and they made no distinction in their behavior towards Jacob whatsoever, and his skin color or ethnicity was never taken as reason enough for inferior treatment. Jacob had fulfilled all the stringent religious requirements the Moravians made of their converts, and once he had done so he was admitted to the Brethren's congregation on grounds of full equality.

Such equality undermined the South's racial hierarchy in an obvious way, but it also undermined the federal government's 'civilization' program to the Cherokee. By the end of the eighteenth century, Americans were already starting to move away from earlier beliefs in a shared ancestry with Native Americans, and as the South's reliance upon slavery increased, beliefs in the inherent inferiority of all non-white peoples were extended to cover Indigenous peoples as well. As a result, when the United States government formulated its new 'civilization' policy during George Washington's first term as president, the program was based upon the premise that all Native American peoples remained primitive hunters, peoples at an earlier stage of development or evolution than white Euro-Americans. Thus the Cherokee and all other Indigenous peoples were clumped together with African Americans as 'non-white' and consigned to the lower level of the South's racial hierarchy, though the Cherokee were possibly still a little higher up than slaves and free blacks. The actions of the Brethren at Springplace, in the heart of Cherokee territory and the slave South, to accept an African slave like Jacob into their religious community on grounds of full equality did not just challenge the South's racial hierarchy, but completely obliterated it. In so doing they also exploded the premise upon which the federal government's 'civilization' program was based. As the Moravians accepted both Cherokee and slave converts unreservedly into their congregation, both the Indians and slaves could see that the Brethren, with their avowed interest only in spiritual matters, considered earthly status immaterial, and thus all races equal. And if all races were equal, what need was there for a 'civilization' program?

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[803] Peggy Vann and Anna Rosina Gambold, respectively.

The second incident Anna Rosina noted also illustrates how little interest the Moravians had in the 'civilization' program, and how both they and the Cherokee were using it as the umbrella under which to pursue their own goals. Old Mother Vann's reaction is the most instructive. By stridently reaffirming that the Vanns "were *Indians*, and ... did not understand" the Brethren's Christian teachings, and her attempts to push the missionaries away from her daughter-in-law, Old Mother Vann shows how the Cherokee took only what they wanted from the 'civilization' program. In this case it was the literacy the Moravian school provided, but not the religious message that accompanied it. As would become clear in the ensuing months and years, Old Mother Vann and her family also sought to keep Peggy Vann away from the Brethren as much as possible in an attempt to prevent her conversion to Christianity, and drew on vibrant Cherokee traditions to shame and ostracize Peggy for her interest in Christianity. The use of communal policing to set the boundaries of acceptable community behavior amongst the Cherokee remained, literally, in rude health. Literacy allowed the Cherokee to thrive in the white man's world, and was necessary for their survival, and did not demand the extinction of the Cherokee language. Conversion to Christianity, however, not only undermined traditional Cherokee beliefs, but was also unnecessary for survival in the American mainstream - it brought no significant benefits in business or trade and was thus rejected. The harassment Peggy Vann endured at the hands of her in-laws continued long after she had moved out of Diamond Hill, and long after her conversion. Old Mother Vann's emphasis on being "*Indian*" confirms her interest in maintaining traditional Cherokee behaviors, and accepting no more of white culture than was absolutely necessary for the survival of the Cherokee as a people.

The reaction of the Moravians to the invective aimed against them also reveals the real motivation for the Brethren's presence amongst the Cherokee. The reaction of the missionaries to the attack on their characters and motive is instructive, as well as the grounds upon which they felt truly aggrieved. Anna Rosina noted that both she and her husband John listened to Old Mother Vann's insults and did not respond, but "were silent in front of all" and made no attempt at self-defense. Instead, Sister Gambold continued, they "just told those who wanted to show us compassion due to the unfair accusations, that we commended the poor old woman. She did not know *what* she said to the Savior for His grace; it was grace and honor for us to suffer shame for His name's sake."[804] The Moravians were not confrontational in their attempts to gain converts amongst the Cherokee, so the Gambolds meekly waited until Old Mother Vann had blown herself out, and then quietly left, stopping only to tell the few bystanders that they commended Old Mother Vann to the Savior for this grace and help in her time of grief. As with all members of the Vann family, the Brethren at no point challenged the Vanns continued adherence to Cherokee ways and refusal to become more 'civilized' after the fashion the federal government hoped. Old Mother Vann and her family were not challenged to stop the "loud crying" that traditionally accompanied a death in Cherokee culture, nor for being "*Indian*." Neither James Vann during his lifetime, nor Joseph Vann later, was ever challenged by the Moravians for their failure to become directly involved in agricultural labor, as the 'civilization' program demanded. By failing to ever challenge any of the Vanns over any aspect of their endeavors to remain culturally Cherokee, the Brethren undermined the role they were supposed to play in the 'civilization' program, of making the Cherokee white in thought as well as deed. Instead, the Gambolds noted they were sorry that "the enemy [i.e. the devil] was now busy trying to tear away the poor Mrs. Vann, who had already cried to the Savior and had experienced His help, not only from us but from all closer community with *Him*." The missionaries' only concern, then, was that Peggy

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[804] *Ibid.*, 305.

Vann, who had shown some interest in their Christian teachings, was being prevented from greater communion with God, and not because of the rest of her in-laws' continued heathen practices.

The Moravians were interested only in converting the souls of the heathen to Christianity, and in doing so quietly. They were not like the Methodists or Baptists who sought to push and harass Indigenous peoples into converting. The Brethren operated by quietly imploring the Cherokee to join their congregation and welcomed all who sought this benefit, but offered no chastisement to those who did not. There was no element of compulsion involved. As had been the case with slavery, the Moravians played along with the 'civilization' plan by opening a school to teach the Cherokee literacy, but this was not from any wish to make the Cherokee more 'white' and less Indian, but because this would further their own cause of assisting the Cherokee in understanding the Bible and thus aid in their conversion to Christianity. The Brethren thus accommodated certain aspects of the 'civilization' program that aided their own goals, but did not buy into its ethos completely. It is also probable, considering their involvement in business and trade, drinking and gambling, and various other examples of the less savory aspects of white culture, that the Moravians felt the Vanns were white enough already. This left the missionaries free to concentrate on their own religious goals rather than any other aspect of the 'civilization' program.

Old Mother Vann's reactions also highlight the Cherokees determination to maintain their own cultural traditions and practices. She vociferously claimed that her family remained Indian and their behavior in the ensuing years proved this. The Vann's rejection of Christianity and use of traditional Cherokee practices of shaming and ostracism for individuals felt to have overstepped the bounds of acceptable community behavior has already been noted. This treatment, however, extended over many years and Peggy remained the target for communal harassment long after she had left the Vanns and formed intimate bonds with the missionaries. This is evidenced through the Vanns long-running attempts to claw back the property Peggy was left by James Vann in his will, and which was increased by the Cherokee National Council.

Traditional Cherokee inheritance practice saw the deceased's property revert to their blood relations - their mother and siblings. In James Vann's case, this would have been Old Mother Vann, and his two sisters, Nancy and Jenny. The Cherokee National Council attempted to push the Cherokee towards inheritance practice more in line with Euro-American standards. The Council sought to undermine the traditional matrilineal control of family property by moving to a more patrilineal, Western understanding of inheritance that would see property shared out between a deceased man's wife and children. James Vann, who wrote his will a few months before the National Council passed their law, sought instead to leave his property to his favorite son Joseph, with some little property also going to his wife Peggy. The National Council nullified the will and ordered a more egalitarian division of Vann's property amongst all his children, with Peggy getting an equal share. This set the stage for Old Mother Vann and her daughters to spend more than a decade clawing back every last scrap of the property that the National Council had left to Peggy from James Vann's estate that they still considered to be their own, regardless of the will or the National Council's ruling on it.

The campaign of harassment that Peggy endured at the hands of her in-laws was just another facet of this campaign to regain what they felt to be their rightful property on the part of Old Mother Vann and Nancy and Jenny. The legal wrangles of the first few years after James' death served to keep the disputed property under the control of the Vann family, and away from Peggy. Although Peggy eventually secured that part of her husband's estate that the National Council decreed she should have, her death in 1819 sparked off a new round of contention. That same year the Cherokee National Council passed a law that stipulated that white men who married Cherokee women would not have the right to control their wives property, acknowledging the Cherokee understanding that women, not men, owned the homes they lived in.[805] As Peggy Vann had married Joseph Crutchfield, a white man, in 1812, the Council also confirmed Peggy, and Joseph, as the rightful holders of the property Peggy had gained from James Vann's will. Despite this, the Vanns began a new campaign of harassment against Joseph Crutchfield after Peggy's death that did not stop until 1823 when they had wrested every last scrap of property that Joseph received in Peggy's will that she had inherited from James Vann. Only then did the Vanns consider the matter settled, once they had reclaimed all the property they felt should have been theirs upon the death of James Vann in 1809.

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[805] Miles, *Ties That Bind*, 19.

Another aspect of Cherokee cultural continuity and the Moravians' disinterest in the true goals of the 'civilization' program emerged from the Brethren's failure to challenge either of James or Joseph Vann for their refusal to engage in agricultural labor. Traditional Cherokee practice saw women in the role of agriculturalists and men as hunters and warriors. The federal 'civilization' program would have turned this relationship on its head, and made Cherokee men do the 'women's work' of laboring in the fields, tending crops. Both James and Joseph Vann refused this challenge to their notions of masculinity, and both diverted their energies away from hunting and war into trade and mercantile enterprises, bolstering their masculinity through the cut and thrust of the business world, rather than combat.[806] The fact that the Springplace missionaries never once challenged either of them on these grounds simply underscores the Moravian's disinterest in the wider goals of the 'civilization' program, and their belief that the Vanns were white enough already, and becoming farmers rather than businessmen would not change that.

All told, then, the Springplace mission saw both the Moravians and the Cherokee pay lip service to the federal government's 'civilization' program, but neither group fully invested in it. Both the Brethren and the Cherokee accommodated 'civilization' - the Moravians by opening a school to teach literacy, the Cherokee by learning that literacy and becoming traders and businessmen - but both also refused to accept the ethos behind 'civilization' and adopt all of its practices. The Moravians sought only to promote Christianity, not all aspects of white culture. The Cherokee sought to learn those aspects of white culture that would allow them to survive and thrive in the white world that increasingly threatened to overwhelm them, but equally sought to maintain their own cultural identity as Cherokees, and not become fully acculturated 'white Indians.' With the coming of the Trail of Tears in 1838 the tenure of both the Brethren and Indians in the Cherokees traditional homelands in the East came to an end. Neither group fully succeeded in their aims, nor completely failed, but both persevered to the bitter end.

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[806] Theda Perdue, "Southern Indians and the Cult of True Womanhood," in *Half Sisters of History,* ed. Catherine Clinton (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1994), also notes that Cherokee women often attempted to incorporate aspects of the white nineteenth-century ideal of "true womanhood" into their lives, while also maintaining Cherokee gender roles and values as far as possible.

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