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Converging Spiritualities: Observations of Anna Rosina Gambold, Moravian Missionary to the Cherokees, 1805 to 1821

In the early nineteenth century, two disparate groups came together on the American South landscape and fostered long-lasting relationships. One was German-American, the Unity of the Brethren or *Brüdergemeine* (later Moravian).[1] These dissident Brethren had a rich history as descendants of religious reformer John Hus called Hussites, some of whom settled in Moravia (located in present day the southeast Czech Republic), and adherers of mid seventeenth century Pietism, a movement within the Lutheran Orthodox Church known for heart-felt caring, a contrite heart, personal conversion, and most of all, an unconditional devotion to the Crucified Christ.[2] The other, the Cherokees, a Southeast tribe located in parts of present day states of Tennessee, North Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama, emerged from centuries' old Mississippian traditions that imbued the physical world with spiritual meaning and preserved a highly defined system of balance and order. Their very rocks and streams held life that transcended the secular Anglo-American world that would displace them in the infamous Trail of Tears, the 1838-1839 forced removal.[3]

Against this backdrop of heightened tensions over United States' dispossession of Cherokees from ancestral domains, one particular Moravian missionary, Anna Rosina Kliest Gambold, wife of Moravian minister John Gambold, took her pedagogical and people's skills and Moravian Christianity to the Cherokee Nation and lived from 1805 to 1821 among the Cherokees,[4] who had already had lost over two-thirds of their ancestral land base located in the American South. The pervasiveness of disputed lands and indiscriminate white settlement prompted Cherokees to seek out persons like the Moravians who could possibly provide them with tools to co-exist peacefully with their Anglo-American counterparts. Moravians appeared the very persons to live among the Cherokees because they were widely known, though heavily

criticized by other Americans, for their eighteenth century missionary activity and non violent stances among tribes of New England, New York, Pennsylvania, and the Old Northwest territories; Moravians held the belief that Indians did have souls allowing Moravians to seem more tolerant than other evangelical societies; other religious societies held hierarchical opinions of European superiority with the view that Indians had no more of a soul than a buffalo.[5]

The Brethren's commitment to proselytizing among the "heathen" resulted from a sense of their unique place in history that germinated from their common past of oppression.[6] They shared a history of persecution for objections to armed violence, the swearing of oaths, and the machinery of church and state had also caused firestorms in eighteenth century Central Europe as Lutheran Orthodoxists questioned founder of the Renewed Moravian Church (1727) Count Nicholas Ludwig von Zinzendorf's worship services as appearing to foster a "fourth species of religion" banned by the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia, which had allowed Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists freedom of worship though dictated by imperial rulers of some three hundred principalities throughout the Holy Roman Empire.[7]

Unwanted in Europe, they formed a close-knit society leading to undaunted courage and confidence to establish distant colonies. Known as non-combatants, Moravians created an intensive personal society, where every person was a "Brother's Keeper."[8] The Brethren carefully selected members whose occupations met community needs, and those chosen for the missionary field enjoyed the greatest prestige.[9]

The meaning of that shared experience also prompted them to record their spiritual journeys in cursive, the writing convention called German script. So with quill in hand, Moravian missionaries, far from their home congregations, corresponded with their co-religionists and with their far flung missionary counterparts in Greenland, Labrador, and Caribbean, and Africa by carefully recording their observations of non-European cultures in diaries. In addition to this sense of uniformity that epitomized Moravian coherence, their world-wide correspondence, and general penchant for producing copious documents sustained their distinctiveness for long periods of time.[10]

In the early nineteenth century, Moravian documents from Springplace, a site in present day northwest Georgia, in particular, the Gambold Springplace Diary, serve as examples of Moravian uniqueness. The two volume edition, *The Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees, 2 volumes, 1805-1813, and 1814-1821* is evidence of just how intense times were for the Cherokees and their sojourners, the Moravians, who recorded those encounters almost daily for seventeen years.[11] The first volume extends from 1805 to the beginning of the Creek War (1813); the second volume encompasses the following years,

1814-21.[12]

These documents illuminate why Cherokees welcomed Moravian missionaries; they had educational values they could pass on to their offspring. While multiple Moravian missionaries ministered to the Cherokees before their infamous forced removal, it was Anna Rosina's spectacular life that had origins in her teaching career at the Moravian Female Seminary for Young Ladies in Bethlehem beginning in 1785 and ending in May of 1805, when she married John to become his co-worker among the Cherokees.[13] Anna Rosina's success as a botany teacher at the Female Seminary caught the attention of the newly elected Bishop and President of Helpers Conference at Bethlehem, the Reverend George Henry Loskiel, and he decided in 1803 to take his wife, Maria Magdalena, and Sister Anna Rosina Kliest on a journey to Goshen, in Tuscarawas County, Ohio, to observe Moravian Indian missions first hand and hold a mission conference. Indians, once feared by her, became her all consuming goal. At the Goshen Mission, Indians and Moravians greeted one another with kisses; Indians prepared fine lodging and food. Anna Rosina met Delaware Indian convert, William Henry or Gelelemend, and other Indians from the "*brown flock*." She described her complete joy among those "*brown* ones, whom she loved," that such joy "could not be moved."[14]

With bold and boundless confidence, she brought the "arts of civilization," reading, writing, arithmetic, and Christianity, to the Cherokees—the very activities that governmental agents deemed worthy for ones seeking the so-called "civilized" life.[15] In the intimacy of the Springplace Mission, along the Federal Road connecting Augusta, Georgia, to Nashville, Tennessee, as chief diarist of the Springplace Diary, Anna Rosina recorded what she heard from her students, their relatives. Frequently, visits of curious Cherokees testify to Moravian willingness to listen to them.[16]

Visiting Cherokees sometimes received a spiritual education whether they requested one or not.[17] Cherokees encountered paintings of the Crucifixion depicting the mutilations and agonies of Jesus and heard Biblical accounts of blood and wounds cleansing Moravians of sin.[18] One Cherokee guest, The Bird, at the Moravian's Springplace mission queried Anna Rosina about the mystical properties of blood, thereby setting the stage for mutual doubts about each other's spiritual soundness and intensifying their mutual incomprehension. Divergent beliefs about blood provide a good example, and The Bird is the centerpiece of this discussion.

On December 15, 1808, *The Bird*[19] had attended the Passion Liturgy, a common service held throughout the Moravian calendar year, though, it actually implied the days between Palm Sunday and Good Friday. As it was the case many times when the two cultures converged, Anna Rosina depended on her youthful translators studying at Springplace Mission to explain Passion

Week. Through Cherokee students, *The Bird* told her that he had "already learned a great deal about the birth, life, sufferings, death, resurrection, and ascension of the dear Lord, and he wanted to hear more." Consequently, the Cherokee pupils told him the "Old Testament story of the creation of the world, the first man and his fall, the unhappiness that came to all humans as a result of this, and the necessity of the Redeemer."[20] The Cherokee students at Springplace concluded by emphasizing the "love of God for His poor fallen humans." Pupils explained, "We humans have to prevail on Him *alone* to have mercy on us, to suffer in our place, to atone for our sins, and to pay with His blood." Following this Bible lesson, "*The Bird* sat in deep thought." Finally, the old chief asked "if Jesus shed *all* of His blood." Then he raised the crucial question: "Did His blood fall onto all the earth?"[21]

To the Moravians, blood represented Christ's mystical substance that could pardon sins and make the human heart pure and divine. The Savior's blood alone was powerful enough to atone for the sinfulness of human beings; it erased former and present wrongs. Therefore, a person who exhibited a contrite heart was not ultimately accountable for his or her behavior. The Savior had completed what no earthly being could do: Grant mercy and forgiveness for all human beings throughout the world. To the Moravians, His blood provided the means.

While attempting to adhere to Lutheran orthodoxy under the terms of the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia, Moravians became obsessed with "Blood Theology," a set of beliefs that made them unacceptable to Lutherans. So in addition to their unpopular stances on nonviolence, the established church, and political participation, Moravians brought to North America distinctive ways of worshipping that already had caused a furor in Europe.

Called the "Sifting Period" in the 1740s, when Zinzendorf cultivated in his followers an obsession with blood, this became a time of notorious practices that caught British North America's attention to observe Moravians also suspiciously of promoting religious fanaticism.[22] Later Moravian scholars began to use the words "sifting," or sometimes "winnowing," to describe a time when Moravians became devout extremists. Moravians derived the term from the Bible verse in Luke in which Jesus told Simon Peter that he would be tempted by Satan: "And the Lord said, Simon, Simon, behold Satan hath desired to have you, that he may sift you as wheat," Luke 22:31.[23] Though they came through this period intact as a community, it was a time of trial or testing for the Moravians. Due to obsession with Jesus' crucified body, Moravians accentuated the imagery of blood during the sifting period.

As result, members sought to keep Christ's death and suffering on the cross always before them; His wounds and blood signified the total sacrifice God had made for human kind. Members were to feel joy for His oblation by

uniting with Christ in a child-like way.[24] This *Lebensgefühl* or "joyful feeling for life" appealed to the sensual and emotional nature of the communicants. So during the time when Europe and British North America experienced the Age of Reason or Enlightenment, Moravians embraced the opposite: anti-rationalism. Zinzendorf discouraged members from using their own brains, their reason. Communicants did not need reason because they were only children in the arms of Christ Who banished all their cares and doubts. Self-named groups of little fools, little worms, baby chicks, "who could feel at home in the Sidehole and crawl in deep" formed throughout the "sifting" period. Some of the believers addressed Zinzendorf as *Herzens Papa* or "Daddy's Heart" or "Darling Daddy."[25]

Additionally, Moravian customs pertaining to the wounds of Jesus epitomized extreme and heightened lustful longings for His body. Christian Renatus, the son of Zinzendorf, built a "Side Wound" on the wall of the church at Herrnhut, Saxony, whereby the congregation experienced the Savior's blood by marching through it. Therefore, the side hole became symbolic of their wound theology.[26]

In the early nineteenth century, Moravians had not completely abandoned their obsession with blood and the wounds and suffering of Jesus, especially the stab wound in His side. Paramount to believers was the Savior, and His wounds kept that connection to Him intimate and personal, perhaps even erotic.[27] His blood and wounds cleansed Moravians of sin and made them pure like wheat when the chaff was blown away. Transparent pictures and living tableaus were part of worship services that depicted the mutilations and agonies of Jesus. Blood theology permeated everyday life of the Bethlehem and Salem congregations and even at the Springplace Mission. Central in the thoughts of each member was the shedding of the Savior's blood and why lowly humans could never be grateful enough for His ultimate bloody sacrifice on the cross.[28]

However, Cherokees did not believe human martyrdom could absolve sin and guilt; as noted, these are alien concepts. When the Moravian missionaries arrived in the Cherokee Nation, they encountered a people who valued order and believed things should stay in their place. Cherokees attached special meanings to anomalies because these occurred along the interstices of their categorical system. Substances that belonged inside the body but were expelled received particular attention, and thus blood, breath, and saliva possessed spiritual properties, which created, healed, or induced death.[29]

But when The Bird questioned the premise that did He shed all of His blood and did it fall over the whole world, the Moravians naively thought that the old chief honestly understood the Savior's force. In one sense, he did understand. Cherokees also ascribed mystical qualities to blood. To The Bird,

the sacred and secular were one. Historian of Religion and Cherokee scholar William Gerald McLoughlin has argued that Cherokees were monistic; spirituality was a sacred circle not dividing body and soul but serving as a continuum.[30] The Bird was probably astonished that any people, including the Moravians, could possibly conclude that a human being's body held enough blood to fall over the whole world much less be able to assuage guilt and sin. Yet that substance, blood, to Moravians, had those extraordinary capabilities.

The Bird's question, however, "Did He shed all of His blood?" held particular import for the Cherokees. For healing purposes, the blowing or spraying of a specially prepared concoction over a feverish body by post-menopausal women was common. Since these women no longer possessed hidden forces brought about by their menses, they lacked the power to harm or cause death. But their long experience with blood had imbued them with extraordinary spiritual power.

Therefore, post-menopausal women took care of warriors' wounds and attended to younger women while they secluded themselves in menstrual huts during menstruation and following childbirth.[31] Menstrual periods for Cherokees represented a time of exquisite bodily awareness and heightened spiritual power.[32] Likewise, substantial ancestral meanings emanated from menstrual blood. The ancient myth of Stoneclad, the wicked stone-skinned monster, portrays how his advances terrified a Cherokee village. A Cherokee shaman could stop him only when Stoneclad came in contact with the seventh woman, whose menstrual cycle had "just begun."[33]

Women's blood also signified creation. Women embodied the very essence of birth and it was their blood that held the future of the human race. In "Windigo goes South: Stoneclad among the Cherokees," Anthropologist Raymond Fogelson proposes that Stoneclad represented the masculine world in antithesis to the feminine realm and when he passed the female whose menstrual cycle had just begun, her blood stopped him immediately from going any further into the village.[34] Historian Gregory Dowd suggests that women, as "keepers of the village, as cultivators, stood in greater opposition to the monster than did men, who operated as hunters in 'nature."[35] When men shed blood, it meant death; female bleeding connoted life.

According to Cherokee historical origins, Selu, the first woman, had given her sons instructions on how to grow corn. Believing her a witch, they killed her and dragged her body around the circle. Wherever her blood spilled, corn grew. They took her around only twice; consequently, Cherokees work their corn twice. Her boys had only cleared seven spots and that was why corn is grown just in a few places.[36] Perhaps, when The Bird asked if Jesus' blood covered the earth, was he actually challenging the Moravians' concept

of blood's power? Was that power limited merely to assuaging guilt? If Christ's blood flowed over the entire world, why did the Moravians have so little to show for it in terms of converts? Obviously, to the Cherokees, Selu's female genius resided in the far more tangible results of her blood: reproduction and production, the ability to produce foodstuffs, the practical aspects of living.

Cherokees found little sensible value in blood as a means to absolve them of the sins that they had not committed. Because Indians did not believe in sin or guilt, any Moravian explanation of Christianity as the panacea to addressing guilt and sin failed to resonate with most adult Cherokees.[37] Equally, Cherokees were probably appalled that Moravians could not accept the notion of the universality of religious belief. Christianity probably seemed so mysterious to many Cherokees that they remained uncertain whether religion and western medicine even applied to them. Perhaps, Gott[38] had created two distinct peoples and cultures. McLoughlin has suggested that Cherokees believed that what was good for one group was not necessarily applicable to the other.[39]

After The Bird heard all the exclamations about Jesus' brutal sufferings and he asked, "Did He shed His blood over all the earth?" the missionaries could only assure him that was the case. But the spirituality of an early nineteenth-century Cherokee dictated otherwise. The Bird could only say he would not forget what the missionaries had told him about Christ's sufferings, bodily mutilations, and the importance of conversion; these beliefs were so alien. The Bird could just remark that he could ponder about these things. As he was unconvinced that Moravian concept of original sin had to be absolved by Christ's blood, he was equally resolute in the notion that assuaging guilt was achieved through a bodily sacrifice. Adding to his skepticism were Moravian stances that denounced all spiritualities except their own. Yet Cherokees considered all their beliefs appropriate for all. Yet both cultures believed blood held magical properties.

As far as the Moravians were concerned, the Crucifixion was the focus of expelled, sacred blood. A case in point was Cherokee student, Dawzizi, son of The Tiger and Oodeisaski of Big Spring, near the Springplace Mission, who was asked to explain to his father and other Cherokees, The Little Broom and his wife, who all ate a noonday meal at the Mission; Anna Rosina imparted important and necessary truths of the crucifixion:

"The Tiger, The Little Broom, and his wife ate the noon meal with us. They meditated on the picture of the Crucifixion of our Savior. Dawzizi explained to them the important event and added several necessary truths. His father[40] listened thoughtfully; but The Little Broom laughed really loud in an Indian manner, as if it signified something new and strange."[41]

In the missionary houses and on the walls of the Mission school were

paintings of the crucifixion. These represented not just the death of a person, but the death of God. Again the side hole was the focal point. Perhaps, those representations evoked a sense of blasphemy for visiting Cherokees. The Moravians lamented the fact that the centerpiece of Christianity, the crucifixion, held little awe for the Cherokees. Some Cherokees politely listened to these stories but showed little genuine interest. Native American scholar Gregory Dowd notes that Indians, probably, found the Europeans' treatment of their God rather appalling: "Here were a people who admitted to having killed their God."[42] The Moravians also consumed the body and blood of their God, which to the Cherokees was taboo. The Cherokees placed blood and flesh in opposite categories, and they considered animals that ate flesh to be abominations.[43]

Perhaps as intriguing as the profound differences between Cherokee and Moravian beliefs, is the respect both Cherokees and Moravians exhibited for each other. Ever aware of possible expulsion of Christian missionaries from the Cherokee Native world, Anna Rosina Gambold unveils how dissimilar peoples created vitality in an uncommon world where each struggled to bring meaning to their lives. Perhaps, Moravians and Cherokees viewed their interaction as one of "contest," describing what colonialist and Indian scholar James Axtell calls primarily a conflict "between two concepts of spiritual power and the quality of life each offered."[44]

Although the Cherokees had little interest in adopting Moravian Christianity and expressed mostly skepticism about the Moravians' most profound truths, Moravian missionaries and the community at Salem consistently extended hospitality to Cherokees, treated them with respect, educated their children, and performed any number of services for them.

Similarly, the Cherokees were remarkably trusting of Moravians, who must have seemed incredibly bizarre to them. The Cherokees sent their children to be educated by the Moravians, they consulted them on important issues, and they visited them regularly. Cognizant of the missionaries' commitment to their fellow human beings, the Cherokees looked to the Moravians for ways to adapt peacefully to an ever-changing world that was far more intolerant of diversity than were the Moravians.

In a period of hardening racial attitudes, demands for Indian removal, a fraudulent treaty, and ultimately dispossession, a conscientious religious group, the Moravians, applied principles of peace and exemplified human understanding. Moravians constantly sought acceptance from the outside world. When negotiating with the Cherokees about Springplace Mission, Colonel Return Jonathan Meigs,[45] United States Indian agent to the Cherokees from 1801 to 1823, implored the Cherokees to trust the Brethren: "They are not speculators, nor merchants; they do not want your land, nor your money;

they wish to give that to you which is worth more than lands or money."[46]

Meigs's assessment was accurate. The Moravians believed in a theocratic *Gemeinschaft,*[47] or a close-knit community, where all people strove toward the realization of God's will on earth, but simultaneously, they sought to impart their values of brotherhood and forgiveness to the surrounding society or *Gesellschaft.*[48]

The Gambolds constantly referred to the surrounding area as their neighborhood, and the missionaries epitomized neighborliness throughout their sojourn. A truly integrated community, the missionaries invited Cherokees, slaves of African descent from nearby Cherokee slave-holding plantations, and traveling free persons of African and European descent, to come in and eat at *unser Tisch*, or "our table."

According to Moravian historian Jon Sensbach, "peoples of color" from all over the world have historically reached out to Moravians, and they have helped form the modern Moravian Church. While some Moravian beliefs and the words that express them may seem to have little place in the modern world, the Moravian experience in the Cherokee Nation has great relevance.

Sensbach contends that the Moravian Church worldwide embodies the notion that "there is no such thing as race."[49] The Gambolds, Moravian missionaries at Springplace, practiced a sense of acceptance for Cherokees as human beings, though they did not tolerant Cherokee spirituality or tried to understand it. Thus, the Springplace Diary provides an important link to the past even though Moravian beliefs seem medieval and their piousness appalling. Although the Cherokees had little interest in adopting Moravian Christianity and expressed mostly skepticism about the Moravians' most profound truths, Moravian missionaries and the congregation back in Salem, North Carolina, consistently extended hospitality to Cherokees, treated them with respect, educated their children, and performed any number of services for them.

In a period of hardening racial attitudes, the country's demands for Indian removal and somewhat later, a fraudulent 1835 treaty that forced Cherokees on the 1838-1839 Trail of Tears, a conscientious religious group, the Moravians, applied principles of peace and exemplified human understanding, but not agreement. Therefore, Moravians remained more concerned about Cherokees accepting Christianity than ways to alleviate their human suffering. In this sense, Moravians displayed little regard for human frailty. They believed in the humanity of mankind, but not every man's innate ability to determine his own life course. Thus Moravian missionaries thought of Cherokees as human objects worthy of assistance but not persons to be completely accepted.

Yet, the Cherokees were remarkably trusting of Moravians, who must have seemed strange to them. Perhaps, their stances on non-violence, their

humility, and simplicity incorporated the force of transnationalism and therefore access to the Cherokee people.[50]

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Notes

[1] I am using Craig Atwood's historical understanding and application of the term *Brüdergemeine* from his *Community of the Cross: Moravian Piety in Colonial Bethlehem* [Max Kade German American Research Institute Series] (University Park: Penn State University, 2004).

[2] Dale W. Brown, *Understanding Pietism* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1978), 6,7,21, 22, 159; Peter C. Erb, ed. *Pietists: Selected Writings* (New York: Paulist Press, 1983), 1-9; Edward Langton, *History of the Moravian Church: The Story of the First International Protestant Church* (London: Great Britain East Midland Allied Press, 1956), 85; A. J. Lewis, *Zinzendorf: The Ecumenical Pioneer* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: The Westminster Press, SCM Press, LTD., 1962), 33, 34; and F. Ernst Stoeffler, *The Rise of Evangelical Pietism* (Leiden, The Netherlands: E.J. Brill, 1965).

[3] Charles C. Royce, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of Ethnology, *The Cherokee Nation of Indians: A Narrative of Their Official Relations with the Colonial and Federal Governments,*; Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology for the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1883-1884 Washington: Government Printing Office, 1887) 129-371.

[4] For the most recent study of Springplace Mission and relationships between female Cherokee and Moravian missionaries, particularly Anna Rosina, see Anna Smith, "Unlikely Sisters: Cherokee and Moravian Women in the Early Nineteenth Century," in *Pious Pursuits: German Moravians in the Atlantic World*, Michele Gillespie and Robert Beachy, editors (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2007), 191-206.

[5] For study of the missions among the southern Indian tribes, see Edmund Schwarze, *History of Moravian Missions among the Southern Indian Tribes of the United States* (Bethlehem: Times Publishing Company, 1923; reprint, reprint, Grove, Oklahoma: Stauber Books, 1999)). For further investigation of Moravian overall history and communal practices, see J. Taylor Hamilton and Kenneth G. Hamilton, *History of the Moravian Church, The Renewed Unitas Fratrum 1722-1957* (Bethlehem: Interprovincial Board of Christian Education Moravian Church in America, 1967; reprint, 1983); George Henry Loskiel, *History of the Missions of the United Brethren Among the Indians of North America*, trans., Christian Ignatious La Trobe (London: Brethren's Society for the Propagation of the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, 1794); Jacob John Sessler, *Communal Pietism among Early American Moravians* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1933; reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1971).

Recent publications pertaining to eighteenth century Moravian mission work among Natives are: Katherine Carte' Engel, *Religion and Profit: Moravians in Early America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 200); William E. Petig, The First Moravian Missions in the Midwest," *Yearbook of German-American Studies*, vol. 42 (2007): 39-52; Amy C. Schutt, *Peoples of the River Valleys: The Odyssey of the Delaware Indians* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007); Corinna Dally-Starna and William A. Starna, edited and translated, *Gideon's Peoples*, vol. 1 and vol. 2 (London and Lincoln: University of

Nebraska Press, 2009); Carola Wessel and Hermann Wellenreuter, eds.; trans. Julie Tomberlin Weber, *The Moravian Mission Diaries of David Zeisberger* (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005); and Rachel Wheeler, *To Live Upon Hope: Mohicans and Missionaries in the Eighteenth Century Northeast* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2008).

[6] Moravian Bishop August G. Spangenberg wrote the treatise on Moravian perception of "heathen" that these particular peoples had not entered into a covenant relationship with God and His Son Christ. He conceptualized the bond as resembling the way "God called the people of Israel to be his people and to bless and protect them as his people." Thus God consented to enter into a covenant with "a certain race of men," a people who recognized God's calling as a reciprocal agreement binding one to the other. It was no fault of their own that they lacked knowledge of God's contract and historic perception to share "in this peculiar covenant of grace." August Gottlieb Spangenberg, *An Account of the Manner in which the Protestant Church of the Unitas Fratrum, Or United Brethren, Preach the Gospel and Carry on their Missions among the Heathen* (Barby, Germany, 12 December 1780), 1, 2; 45-46. See also Adelaide L. Fries, ed. and trans., *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, 11 vols, (Raleigh, North Carolina: The North Carolina Historical Commission, 1922 - 1968), 1: 13.

[7] Brown, *Understanding Pietism,* 6,7,21, 22, 159; Peter C. Erb, ed. *Pietists: Selected Writings,* 1-9; Langton, *History of the Moravian Church, The Story of the First International Protestant Church* 85; and A.J. Lewis, *Zinzendorf, The Ecumenical Pioneer,* 33, 34.

In America church adherents became known as Moravians, a name signifying the Moravia region in present-day southeast Czech Republic. But in Germany, the society, the Unity of the Brethren, managed to survive under the auspices of the recognized state Lutheran Church and by 1748, it assumed a legal status and in 1924, the state recognized the church as a separate entity. Peter de Beauvior Brock, *Pacifism in the United States: From the Colonial Era to the First World War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), 196.

[8] Brock, *The Political and Social Doctrine of the Unity of Czech Brethren in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries* (The Hague: Moulton and Co., 1957), 46-81, 98, and 191; Brock, *Pacifism in Europe to 1914* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1972), 36-41. During the German War of Liberation, many Moravians became imbued with nationalism and congregations in Saxony and Prussia officially abandoned their position on non-combat. In 1815, Prussia, now controlling all Saxon congregations, withdrew the grant of exemption and the Brethren registered no objection to the state. In 1818, the Pennsylvanian Moravian stand on armed participation ended when that synod "officially withdrew the ban on members performing military service." Whether to bear arms or take a conscientious objector's position was left up to the individual. Somewhat later, the more conservative North Carolina Brethren adopted the position that allowed their young men to bear arms, Independence Day, July 4, 1831. Brock, *Pacifism in the United States: From the Colonial Era to the First World War,* 327-29.

For a discussion of Quaker and Moravian stances on personal military service, refer to: Adelaide L. Fries, "Parallel Lines in Piedmont North Carolina Quaker and Moravian History," The Third Lecture delivered at the Two Hundred and Fifty-second Session of North Carolina Yearly Meeting Eighth Month, the Third, 1949, North Carolina Friends Society, 11-12.

[9] Gillian Lindt Gollin, *Moravians in Two Worlds, A Study of Changing Communities* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), 20, 200.

[10] Atwood and Peter Vogt, eds., *The Distinctiveness of Moravian Culture: Essays and Documents in Moravian History in Honor of Vernon H. Nelson on the Seventieth Birthday* (Nazareth: Moravian Historical Society, 2003), "Introduction" by Peter Vogt, 4.

[11] The contents of this essay are derived from the Editorial Policy of McClinton's *The Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees*, 2 vols. 1805-1813 and 1814 -1821 (Lincoln

and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2007).

[12] The Springplace Diary was partly transcribed by McClinton; however, all 1490 pages were translated from the original document located at the Moravian Archives Salem; hereafter cited as MAS.

[13] In addition to his position as minister, her husband, Brother John Gambold, was a cooper, mason, carpenter, and tailor. Anna Rosina was the principal teacher in the mission school and was in charge of the kitchen as well as the gardens. Kenneth G. Hamilton, ed. and trans. "Minutes of the Mission Conference Held at Springplace," *The Atlanta Historical Bulletin,* 15(Winter 1970): 85-87; Hamilton, "Minutes of the Mission Conference Held at Springplace," *The Atlanta Historical Bulletin,*16(Spring): 49; and Schwarze, *History of Moravian Missions Among the Southern Indian Tribes of the United States,* 82 83.

[14] George Heinrich Loskiel, *Extempore on a Wagon; a metrical narrative of a journey from Bethlehem, Pa., to the Indian town of Goshen, Ohio, in the autumn of 1803* (Lancaster, Pa.: S. H. Zahm, 1887), iii, iv, 1; 41.

[15] Early Republic leaders reasoned that continuing Indian wars would be costly to the Early Republic. Washington's Indian policy, under the Department of War, fostered the concept of beneficent imperialism toward Indians. The president and Secretary of War Henry Knox wanted the new government to replace the Confederation Indian policy of conquest, the one that denied treaty rights and rightful Indian ownership of land, with a "civilization" program that would promote Indian rights to lands, peaceful acculturation, and quiet white expansion. So they introduced the "clean hands policy"; the Washington administration believed posterity would judge it benign toward Indians, if it displayed such imperial beneficence. Through the passage of various Trade and Intercourse laws between 1790 and 1823, philanthropic measures included paying missionaries to live among the Native Peoples to Christianize Indians and educating them in the European sense. This plan supposedly would make Indians not only predictable but less reticent to preserve ancestral land holdings. Policy makers encouraged male Indians, hunters and meat producers, to vacate the hunt and become agriculturalists, traditionally belonging to the female realm, and substitute digging sticks for the plow and oxen; they demanded that women should abandon fields as vegetable producers to one of republican womanhood: tend to the hearth. Reginald Horsman, *Expansion and American Indian Policy, 1783-1812* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1967; reprint, 1992), 53-83. For discussions of early U.S. philanthropic gestures toward Indians and their questionable benefits, see Bernard Sheehan, *Seeds of Extinction: Jeffersonian Philanthropy and the American Indian* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1973).

[16] For a comprehensive study of Cherokees and missionaries, see William G. McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries: 1789-1839* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984); and for an in-depth insight into Cherokee culture in the early new nation, see McLoughlin, *Cherokee Renascence in the New Republic* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986).

[17] McClinton, *The Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees,* 1: 292.

[18] John Jacob Sessler, *Communal Pietism Among Early American Moravians* (New York, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1933; reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1971), 166-67; and Beverly Prior Smaby, *The Transformation of Moravian Bethlehem from Communal Mission to Family Economy* (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988), 28, 29.

[19] The Springplace Diary in German script had its own nuances. Anna Rosina wrote English words such as Chief in the Roman script and those words as well as words underlined in the script are italicized.

[20] McClinton, *The Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees,* vol. 1: 292-93.

[21] "In the afternoon a *chief,* named *The Bird,* arrived here and attended our Passion Liturgy in the evening. The children told us that they had already told him much about the

birth, life, sufferings, death, resurrection, and ascension of our dear Lord; he wants to hear more about this. Then we then told him the story of the creation of the world, the first man and his fall, the unhappiness which came to all humans as a result of this, and the necessity of the Redeemer. With warm hearts we told him about the love of God for his poor fallen humans, who prevailed upon Him *alone* to have mercy on us, to suffer in our place, to atone for our sins, and to pay with His blood. He sat there deep in thought. Finally, he asked if He shed *all* of His blood. And did it fall onto the earth? We answered affirmatively and spoke further about this great matter. Then he asked, "Who had made *God*?" We answered that God had always been here, that He tells us this in His book, which He left behind; it tells us about His love and His whole existence and will. It is not our place as His creations to brood about His *Divine Being*, since we are not in a position to investigate this or to grasp it. The work of our hands could not make judgments about our existence. Rather, the Son of God became human to comfort us and save us and in Him we can imagine the dearest Brother and Friend of humans. We can call to Him for help in all distress, spiritual and physical, and through Him to His dear heavenly Father, Who sees us as also as *His children* for His Son's sake. If we learn to know and love the Son of God here on earth and pray to Him diligently, He will take us to Himself in heaven when we depart from this world. At that time we will also see His dear Father with our eyes and have grace, etc. He seemed to be very taken in by these matters, and at his request, the children talked with him about the love of our Lord until late in the night. In the morning *on the 17th*, the admirable old *chief* very cordially left and added that he would often think about what he had heard from us, so that he would not forget it."

Transcription below is that of the author's. Boldface indicates Roman script.

. . . Nachmittags langte ein **Chief**, **The Bird** genannt, hier an; u wohnte Abends unsrer Passionsliturgie mit bey. Die Kinder sagten uns, sie hätten ihm schon vieles von der Geburt, dem Leben, Leiden, Sterben, Auferstehung u Himmelfahrt unsers l. Herrn erzehlt, u er verlange noch mehr davon zu hören. Wir sagten ihm daher die Geschichte der Schöpfung

Schöpfung der Welt, der ersten Menschen, deren Fall, u das Unglück so durch denselben auf alle Menschen gekommen; die Nothwendigkeit eines Erlösers - u priesen ihm die Liebe Gottes zu Seinen armen gefallenen Menschen, mit warmen Herzen an, welche allein Ihn bewogen, sich unsrer zu erbarmen, an unsrer Statt zu leiden, unsre Schuld zu büßen, u mit Seinem Blute zu bezahlen. Er saß in tiefen Gedanken da - Endlich frug er: Und hat Er alle Sein Blut vergoßen? Und ist es auf die Erde gefallen? Als wir ihm dies bejahet, u weiter von der großen Sache geredet hatten, frug er: Wer hat denn Gott erschaffen? Wir antworteten, Gott sey immerdar gewesen, dies sage aus Sein Buch, welches Er uns hinter laßen; u welches uns Seine Liebe u Seinen ganzen Sein u Willen kund thun: Uns, als Seinen Geschöpfen, gebühre nicht über Sein Göttliches Wesen zu grübeln, da wir auch nicht im Stande daßelbe auszuhorschen, oder zu begreifen, weil weniger noch, als das Werk unsrer Hände über unsre Wesen urtheilen könne. Uns zum Trost u Heil sey der Sohn Gottes ein Mensch geworden; u an Ihm dürften wir uns den liebsten Bruder u Menschenfreund vorstellen Ihn in aller Noth, Geist u leiblich, um Hülfe anrufen, u durch Ihn, Seinen l. Vater im Himmel, der uns um Seines Sohnes willen auch als Seine Kinder ansiehet - Wenn wir nun hier auf Erden den Sohn Gottes kennen u lieben lernten, u fleißig zu Ihm beteten, so würde Er uns bey unserm Scheiden aus dieser Welt zu sich in dem Himmel nehmen; als dann würden wir auch Seinen l. Vater mit unsern Augen zu sehen, die Gnade haben, u.s.w. Er schien von der Sache ganz hingenommen zu seyn; u die Kinder unterhielten ihn, auf sein Verlangen, bis spät in die Nacht, mit Gesprächen von der Liebe unsers Herrn. Am 17ten Morgens nahm dieser würdige alte **Chief** sehr freundschaftl. Abschied von uns, u sagte noch, er wolle dem, so er bey uns gehört, öfters nachdenken, damit ers nicht vergeße.

[22] Brown, *Understanding Pietism*, 6,7,21, 22, 159; Erb, ed., *Pietists: Selected Writings*, 1-9; Langton, *History of the Moravian Church: The Story of the First International Protestant Church*, 85; and Lewis, *Zinzendorf: The Ecumenical Pioneer*, 33, 34.

[23] Daniel B. Thorp, *The Moravian Community in Colonial North Carolina: Pluralism on the Southern Frontier* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1989, 22.

[24] Sessler, *Communal Pietism Among Early American Moravians*, 170-71.

[25] Gollin, *Moravians in Two Worlds, A Study of Changing Communities*, 10-15; and Thorp, *The Moravian Community in Colonial North Carolina*, 22. See also Atwood, "Blood, Sex, and Death: Life and Liturgy in Zinzendorf's Bethlehem," (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton Theological Seminary, 1995), 4.

[26] Sessler, *Communal Pietism Among Early American Moravians*, 166-67, 170-71.

[27] Arthur J. Freeman, *An Ecumenical Theology of the Heart: The Theology of Count Nicholas Ludwig von Zinzendorf* (Bethlehem: Board of Communications, Moravian Church in America, 1998), 13.

[28] Sessler, *Communal Pietism Among Early American Moravians*, 166-67; and Smaby, *The Transformation of Moravian Bethlehem from Communal Mission to Family Economy*, 28, 29.

[29] Charles Hudson, *The Southeastern Indians* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1976; reprint, 1992), 121-25. For further study of the Cherokee cosmic world, see Hudson, *Elements of Southeastern Indian Religion* (Leiden: E.J. Brill Press, 1984), 1-15.

[30] McLoughlin, "Native American Reactions to Christian Missions," *The Cherokees and Christianity, 1794-1870: Essays on Acculturation and Cultural Persistence*, Walter Conser, ed. (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1994), 16

[31] Hudson, *The Southeastern Indians*, 320-22; and James Mooney and Fran Olbrechts, "The Swimmer Manuscript: Cherokee Sacred Formulas and Medicinal Properties," *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 99*, (Washington: GPO, 1932), 34, 58-60, 84. Hereafter cited as "The Swimmer Manuscript."

[32] Theda Perdue, *Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700-1835* (Lincoln: The University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 36-38.

[33] Gregory Evans Dowd, "North American Indian Slaveholding and the Colonization of Gender: The Southeast Before Removal," *Critical Matrix*, vol. III (Fall 1987): 13.

[34] Raymond D. Fogelson, "Windigo Goes South: Stoneclad among the Cherokees," in Marjorie M. Halpin and Michael M. Ames, eds., *Manlike Monsters on Trial: Early Records and Modern Evidence* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 1980), 133-35; James Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee and Sacred Formulas of the Cherokee," in the *Nineteenth Annual Report, 1897-1898* (Washington: Bureau of American Ethnology, 1900; reprint, New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1970), 250-52.

[35] Dowd, "North American Indian Slaveholding and the Colonization of Gender: The Southeast before Removal," 13.

[36] Fogelson, "Change, Persistence, and Accommodation in Cherokee Medico-Magical Beliefs," *Symposium on Cherokee and Iroquois Culture*, eds., John Gulick and William N. Fenton, *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 180* (Washington: GPO, 1961) 215, 216; and Fogelson, "The Conjuror in Eastern Cherokee Society," *Journal of Cherokee Studies*, 5(1980), 60-87; and Mooney and Olbrechts, "The Swimmer Manuscript," 99-101.

[37] Other works pertaining to blood, women, and/or conversion, see: Jane Merritt, "Dreaming of the Savior's Blood: Moravians and the Indian Great Awakening in Pennsylvania," *The William and Mary Quarterly* (October 1997): 723-46; Theda Perdue, "Catharine Brown," Theda Perdue, ed., *Sifting* (New York: The Oxford University Press, 2000); and Nancy Shoemaker, "Kateri Tekakwitha's Tortuous Path to Sainthood," Nancy Shoemaker, ed.,

Negotiators of Change: Historical Perspectives on Native American Women, (New York: Routledge, Inc., 1995), 49-71.

[38] The German term meaning God (Gott), not Great Spirit, was used extensively in the Moravian Springplace to the Cherokees.

[39] McLoughlin, "'The First Man Was Red' -- Cherokee Responses to the Debate Over Indian Origins, 1760-1860," *American Quarterly*, 14(June 1989): 245.

[40] Or The Tyger, father of Moravian student Dawzizi.

[41] Moravian Springplace Mission Diary, vol. 2: 86. Yet, each believed blood held magical properties.

The Tiger, the little Broom u deßen Frau speißten mit uns zu Mittag. Sie betrachteten sich das Bild von der Kreutzigung unsers Heilandes. Dawzizi erklärte ihnen den wichtigen Vorgang, u fügte mehrere nützliche Wahrheiten bey; sein Vater hörte andächtig zu, - the little Broom aber lachte, nach Indianerweise, wenn ihm etwas neu u fremde deuthet, ganz laut.

[42] Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745-1815* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 42.

[43] Hudson, *The Southeastern Indians*, 147,148, 318, 324.

[44] James Axtell, *The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America*, (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 19.

[45] William G. McLoughlin, "Who Civilized the Cherokees?" *Journal of Cherokee Studies* 13(1988): 63, 64.

For further discussions of Meigs and his influence among the Cherokees, see James Sean McKeown, "Return J. Meigs: United States Agent in the Cherokee Nation, 1801-1823," Ph.D. dissertation, Pennsylvania State University, 1984; and Henry Thompson Malone, "Return Jonathan Meigs: Indian Agent Extraordinary," *The East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications*, No. 28 (1956):3-22.

[46] Schwarze, *History of Moravian Missions Among the Southern Indian Tribes*, 77-79; Meigs' quote is on page 77.

[47] See footnote 47.

[48] *Gesellschaft* signifies society or community at large, and the meaning implies a less personal relationship than the one of *Gemeinschaft* that pertains to a closer connection. Jerry L. Surratt, "The Role of Dissent in Community Evolution among Moravians in Salem, 1772-1860," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, 52(Summer 1975): 241.

[49] Jon F. Sensbach, "Race and the Early Moravian Church: A Comparative Study," *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society*, vol. 31(2000): 1-11. For the relationship of Moravians and peoples of African descent, see Sensbach, *A Separate Canaan: The Making of an Afro-Moravian World in North Carolina, 1763-1840* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1998).

[50] This idea was expressed at a University of Chicago graduate seminar, November of 2001. Parts of this entire essay was presented at American Society of Ethnohistory,. "Native and European Divergent Worldviews: How Early Nineteenth Century Cherokees and Moravian Missionaries Responded to Each Other's Concepts Pertaining to the Mystical Properties of Blood"; American Society for Ethnohistory, London, Ontario, October 14, 2000.