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Moravians and Cherokees at Early Nineteenth-Century Springplace Mission, Georgia

Rowena McClinton

In 1799, two years before Moravians began to build the Springplace Mission, near present-day Chatsworth in northwest Georgia, they came together in Salem, North Carolina, at the annual meeting of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Heathen to consider a mission among the Cherokees.¹ The Moravians wanted information about the “mind and circumstance” of their Cherokee neighbors who lived some three hundred miles distant.² When the congregation queried Brother Abraham Steiner about his extraordinary enthusiasm for a Cherokee mission, he answered by saying that the New Testament command, “Go ye into all the world” did not include the clause, “if they call you.”³ They went anyway.

Two disparate cultures, Moravians and Cherokees, interacted for over three decades in the early nineteenth century at a site called Springplace, so named for its three rich limestone springs located within the mission proper. The timeliness of the mission’s formation was particularly significant in that Cherokees wanted Moravians to teach their children English, not German, so they could live peacefully with settlers, though encroachment on Cherokee land and resources went unabated. Additionally, co-existence with Anglo-America, they reasoned, would forestall further land cessions. United

¹In 1787, Bethlehem Moravians reorganized the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Among the Heathen from the vestiges of the original society established in 1745. They applied for a charter through the Confederation Congress, which gave the organization governmental recognition and official status to its missionaries as proper agents to evangelize Indians. The headquarters for the society for both provinces of the Moravian Church remained in Bethlehem until Salem received its own charter in 1823. J. Taylor Hamilton and Kenneth G. Hamilton, *History of the Moravian Church: The Renewed Unitas Fratrum, 1722–1957* (Bethlehem: The Interprovincial Board of Christian Education, Moravian Church in America, 1967), 230.

²Adelaide L. Fries, trans. and ed. *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, 16 vols. (Raleigh: The North Carolina Historical Commission, 1922–68), 6: 2620, 2621.

³Edmund Schwarze, *History of Moravian Missions among Southern Indian Tribes of the United States* (Bethlehem: Times Publishing, Co., 1923; reprint, Grove, Oklahoma: Stauber Books, 1999), 42.

States design on Cherokee lands had already reduced the Cherokee Nation to a land base that was a fraction of their original ancestral holdings.⁴

The Moravian Church, or the Unity of the Brethren, predated the Protestant Reformation and had a history of persecution for its objections to armed violence, the swearing of oaths, and the machinery of church and state.⁵ The Cherokees, emerged from centuries-old Mississippian tradition that imbued the physical world with spiritual meaning. Their very rocks and streams held life-giving forces that were foreign concepts to Anglo-Americans who would dislodge Cherokees in the 1838–39 forced removal. Gradually, displaced Cherokees established a new homeland in Indian Territory, now the state of Oklahoma.

The Moravians originated from remnants of Czech Hussites, followers of fifteenth-century martyr Jan Hus and in the eighteenth century they attracted German Pietists. For several centuries, the Hussites remained a “hidden seed” in the hills and valleys of Bohemia, and along the Moravia River in what is now the southeastern Czech Republic. In the 1720’s, they emerged as Bohemian refugees, fearing repercussions from Hapsburg Roman Catholic authorities, and among the orthodox Lutheran Church as outcasts, known as Pietists, a people who viewed Christianity as a religion of the heart. In 1722, the exiles began to settle on friendly German territory: estates in southeast Saxony, in particular Herrnhut, the hereditary lands of the von Zinzendorf family. Under the leadership of well known Pietist Saxon Count Nicholas

⁴These treaty cessions totaled approximately 50 million acres ceded between 1721 and 1785. These lands included the following portions or all of present day states: South Carolina, Virginia, and Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama. For the definitive work on Cherokee land cessions, see Charles C. Royce, 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, DC: Government Printing Office, 1887) 129–371.

⁵Peter de Beauvoir 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; and *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, 4 July 1831. Peter de Beauvoir Brock, *Pacifism in the United States: From the Colonial Era to the First World War* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1968), 327–9.

Ludwig von Zinzendorf, the Unity of the Brethren asylum seekers and German Pietists continued to encounter considerable oppression due to their pacifism and unorthodox practices in the Lutheran Church.⁶ Zinzendorf's worship customs appeared to foster a "fourth species of religion" banned by the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia, which had permitted only Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists freedom of worship though dictated by imperial rulers of some three hundred principalities.⁷

A close-knit people, the Brethren attained trust for one another and used their courage and confidence to establish distant colonies. Reinforcing their sense of community, Moravians created an intensive personal society, where every person was a "Brother's Keeper." The Brethren carefully selected members whose occupations met community needs, and those chosen for the missionary field enjoyed the greatest prestige.⁸

Consequently, internally motivated by an impulse to proselytize, Moravians established foreign settlements. Their success in colonizing resulted from their stimulus to evangelize "forgotten peoples" and their impressive and resolute zealousness.⁹ Historically, Moravians struggled to assist "backward peoples to overcome their handicaps by means of psychological and economic regeneration."¹⁰ But they bowed to external pressures as well. Oppression and the threat of persecution prompted them to emigrate overseas, and as a consequence of migration, they spread the gospel to the heathen.

As many Brethren emigrated to become missionaries in British North

⁶For the most definitive biography of Zinzendorf, see John R. Weinlick, *Count Zinzendorf: The Story of His Life and Leadership in the Renewed Moravian Church* (Bethlehem: Department of Publications and Communications, 1989).

⁷Dale W. Brown, *Understanding Pietism* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1978), 6, 7, 21, 22, 159; Peter C. Erb, ed. *Pietists: Selected Writings* (New York, NY: 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; and A.J. Lewis, Zinzendorf, *The Ecumenical Pioneer* (Philadelphia, PA: The Westminster Press, SCM Press, LTD., 1962), 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. Brock, *Pacifism in the United States: From the Colonial Era to the First World War*, 196.

⁸Gillian Lindt Gollin, *Moravians in Two Worlds, A Study of Changing Communities* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1967), 20, 200.

⁹Jacob John Sessler, *Communal Pietism among Early American Moravians* (New York, NY: Henry Holt and Company, 1933), 14–18.

¹⁰John Gottlieb Ernestus Heckewelder, ed. and foreword by Paul A. W. Wallace *Thirty Thousand Miles with John Heckewelder* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh, 1958), 26.

America, they established two principal provinces, Bethlehem and Salem (now Winston-Salem, North Carolina), to govern their membership and support missionary activity. Colonial and Early Republic Moravian missionary enterprises stretched along the eastern seaboard and into interior America as far west as present-day northwestern Georgia, where they ministered to the Cherokees during the New Republic.

The Brethren's commitment to proselytizing among the "heathen" resulted from a sense of their unique place in history that germinated from a common past of oppression.¹¹ The meaning of that shared experience also prompted them to record their spiritual journeys in writing. So with quill in hand, Moravian missionaries, far from their home congregations, corresponded with their co-religionists in Europe and far-flung missions in Greenland, Labrador, the Caribbean, and Africa by carefully recording their observations of non-European cultures in diaries. The center of Moravian piety—grateful devotion to the crucified Savior and total abject humility for His shed blood—held the Moravian cultus together and tied spiritual and secular realms. In addition to this sense of uniformity that epitomized Moravian coherence, their world-wide correspondences, and general penchant for producing copious documents sustained their distinctiveness over long periods of time.¹²

Moravian documents from Springplace, in particular the *Gambold Springplace Diary*, serve as examples of distinctiveness. The two-volume edition, *The Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees, 2 volumes, 1805–1813*,

¹¹Moravian Bishop August G. Spangenberg wrote the treatise on Moravian perceptions of the heathen that included those people who 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. According to Spangenberg, God wanted to manifest His glory in them in a "peculiar, distinguishing manner." He postulated that other peoples, though no fault of their own, lacked knowledge of God's contract and historic perception to share "in this peculiar covenant of grace," so they were generally considered aliens and commonly called "heathen." Spangenberg admonished Moravians in this way: "Do not be terrified by the inhuman wickedness prevailing among the heathen and do not be deceived by appearances, as though the heathen were already good sort of people." 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; and Fries, *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, 1: 13.

¹²Craig D. 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.

and 1814–1821, now in press at the University of Nebraska Press, 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.¹³ The first volume extends from 1805 to the beginning of the Creek War (1813); the second volume encompasses the following years, 1814–21. These diaries are, handwritten in German script, for the most part transcribed and translated from approximately 1,490 pages. In editing and translating the *Gambold Diary*, I felt duty bound to the principal diarist, Anna Rosina Gambold, to remain as close to the era and region as she understood her time and space.

In keeping with a quote from Julian Boyd's 1958 article, "God's Altar Needs Not Our Polishings," in translating, I adhered to precision of meaning rather than literary grace.¹⁴ Passive voice is preserved. This is significant because the passive voice is especially notable when the Savior, the centerpiece of Moravian theology, is addressed in prayer and other supplications. According to the Moravians, the sacrifice God made through His Son was so overpowering that addressing God and Savior directly would signal improper conduct. Capitalizing He, Him, and His in reference to God and Savior not only reinforces Moravian perspectives, but also strengthens precision of meaning.

In the same article, Boyd pointed out how Zoltan Haraszti edited an early colonial work, *The Whole Book of Psalms*, written by Reverend John Cotton, the Puritan minister, without compromising the true language of the times. I tried to uphold the same editorial values when addressing the particularities of early nineteenth-century German. I used nineteenth-century English in the translations which, Haraszti points out, means that past usage often runs counter to modern sensibilities. For example, when the diarist writes "alte Frau," or old woman in English, I did not substitute "elderly" for "old." The term "chief" appears throughout the diaries, applied to a number of people whom the Cherokees themselves would not have considered "chiefs," but the translation does not substitute "leader," an ethnographically more accu-

¹³The contents of this essay are derived from the Editorial Policy of the following work in press, McClinton, *The Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees*, 2 volumes, volume 1: 1805–1813; volume 2: 1814–1821. Endorsed in June 1996 by the National Historical Publications and Records Commission with subvention grants (2) of \$10,000 to defray publication costs.

¹⁴Quoted from the preface of *The Whole Book of Psalms* (Facsimile edition in two volumes, ed., Zoltan Haraszti, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1956); I am quoting from Julian P. Boyd's "'God's Altar Need Not Our Polishings'" in *New York History*, Vol. XXXIX, no 1 (January 1958), 3–21

rate term. Native American scholars today often avoid the term “chief,” except in specific cases when it is clear that Indians themselves applied an equivalent term, because Europeans widely used “chief” erroneously. Moravians used the term when they perceived individuals as “chiefs” and recorded their observations accordingly. Contextualizing such words lies at the center of my methodology.

For instance, the very language of the diaries gives us considerable insight into the world of nineteenth-century Moravians. Obsolete terms such as “Welschhuhn” or turkey and “Welschkorn” or Indian corn refer to foodstuffs indigenous to the Western Hemisphere.¹⁵ Moravian Springplace missionaries preferred a corn developed in the late eighteenth-century rather than the Indian variety. “Welschkorn” and “Welschhuhn” also means foreign corn and chicken, respectively, so to make sense out of what they encountered, Moravian missionaries recorded what they saw and modified common nineteenth-century terms to indicate Native origins as well as exoticism. The southeast landscape of North America in all its flora and fauna was foreign to them.

A major problem in translating was maintaining the cultural context for racial terms such as the German word “Neger,” negro in English. Moravians looked upon all peoples as worthy for salvation and did not equate Africans with chattel slavery. As used by the missionaries, “Neger” lacked the negative implications by which other European cultures justified slavery. Despite modern conventions of using African American or Black to refer to people of African descent, this translation of the *Gambold Diary* adheres to the words closest to early nineteenth-century terms the Moravian missionaries used that is, Neger (negro) and Indianer (Indian), but in annotations, I explain the context.¹⁶ Early nineteenth-century Moravians considered all “heathens,” in this case Africans and Cherokees, in a non-European cultural rather than racial context. Moravians applied the term “Heiden” (heathens) to denote non-Christian believers and persons lacking a European education; this expression also refers to non-Christian foreigners more generally. Count von Zinzendorf exhorted his followers to go among the “forgotten peoples of the world” and demanded that Moravians not look upon other cultures with contempt.

Throughout the manuscript, the diarist incorporated an “in-house”

¹⁵*Deutsches Wörterbuch von Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm* (Leipzig: Verlag von S. Hirzel, 1854), 16, 14: 1456. (The Grimm brothers prefer the spelling Wälsch.)

¹⁶Unless the term “Schwarze” (Black) is used.

vocabulary. Many terms in the Glossary of the edited diary illuminate the particulars of the Moravian vocabulary. For example, “das Sprechen” or speaking: Every communicant prior to Holy Communion was required to have an interview or speaking about his or her spiritual life and fitness for Holy Communion. These “speakings” did not resemble confessions; rather they allowed communicants to confide in the spiritual leader the condition of their hearts and their matters of “soul searching.” The term “Anbeten” means adoration of the Lord. But the term in Moravian usage has further meaning, literally prostration. In Moravian services, worshippers prostrated themselves by lying down and stretched out, with their faces to the floor, hands clasped on their heads, and elbows out to the side of their heads. Other Moravian terms are: “Gottes Acker” or God’s acre. It signifies God’s field in a broader sense than graveyard or cemetery. Moravians believe that “bodies of believers are sown awaiting the Resurrection.” At Springplace, God’s Acre was on the eastside of the property between the lane and the fence surrounding the mission.

While the *Gambold Diary* expresses a decidedly Moravian point of view, I have been careful to denote the Cherokee world view, even though Moravians recorded the words. For example, Chief Elk of Pine Log came into the mission and related his story of the origin of the Cherokees. The following is a quote from the *Gambold Diary*:

At first there was a man and a woman on the earth.¹⁷ They had two sons, who made an attempt on the life of their mother on the pretext that she was a sorceress because she procured sufficient food for them without planting and they could not discover where she got it. And this was her way: she went out and quickly returned with the necessary provisions. The bad intentions of the sons against the mother were finally found out, and she talked this over with them and requested they stop, because she would not stay with them much longer but would go into the sky; they would never see her again. However, she would

¹⁷McClinton, “*The Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees*,” volume 2: Diary entry, 13 October 1815. The Elk story held further relevance for the Cherokees because he explained the significance of Cherokee attachment to land and the source of food. Later Cherokee shaman Swimmer explained to ethnologist James Mooney that the first man and woman, Kanati and Selu, held the secrets to the origin of the hunt for game and the mystery surrounding the growing of corn. Mooney, *Myths of the Cherokee and Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees from 19th and 7th Annual reports B.A.E.* (Nashville: Charles and Randy Elder-Booksellers, reproduced; 1982), 242–49. For a similar translation, see Clemens De Baillou, “A Contribution to the Mythology and Conceptual World of the Cherokee Indians,” *Ethnohistory* (1961): 100–102.

attentively watch all of their behavior. If they resolved to be evil, gloom would surround them. Soon thereafter she left her sons and quickly rose into the heights. The father was not home at that time. When he came home, he expressed his displeasure at his sons' conduct toward their mother, and he admonished them to improve themselves.¹⁸

Instead of using the term heaven for the German word for "Himmel," I chose heights or sky which better reflects the Cherokee point of view. Concepts of heaven and hell in the Christian tradition were almost nonexistent, but the Cherokees had definite ideas about the cosmos and their connection to it. The Cherokees believed that the sky was a stone vault to which the earth was attached by four cords. The cords represented the cardinal directions and the color of each was symbolically important. The red east exemplified vitality; the blue north symbolized divisiveness; the black west represented death; and the white south signified harmony and wisdom.¹⁹ "This world," where the Cherokees lived, existed somewhere "between perfect order and complete chaos." Order and predictability reigned in the "upper world," and disorder and change characterized the "under world." So their ideas about the cosmos differed dramatically from the Christian concept of the universe.

The *Gambold Diary* also reveals Cherokee sense of humor and again Cherokee attachment to their cosmos. In April of 1812, John Gambold went to the Cherokee Council at Oostanaula, some thirty miles from Springplace, to quell Indian concerns about recent earthquakes and aftershocks.

All the Indians, and especially the older chiefs, were very friendly to Brother Gambold.²⁰ When old Chief Sour Mush had once spoken with much affect in the Council, he had Brother Gambold told through an interpreter that he was not

¹⁸The story implied that the "bad intention" was her boys' threat on her life because they thought she was a sorceress. Raymond D. Fogelson, "The Conjuror in Eastern Cherokee Society," *Journal of Cherokee Studies*, vol. 5 (Fall 1980): 60–87.

¹⁹Charles 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.

²⁰At this Council Gambold met the oldest and most respected chiefs, persons he had never before met. Correspondence, John and Anna Rosina Gambold, to Simon Peter, 11 May 1812, Moravian Archives Salem; hereafter cited as MAS. Furthermore, the missionaries noted that repeated requests by the United States to the Cherokees to relinquish their lands caused considerable consternation among their chiefs. They noted that prudent chiefs stood firm. Some viewed the United States government's promise to continue to bring the "arts of civilization" to them as a reason to stay. But others wished to stay if they could live by hunting. Correspondence, John Gambold to Simon Peter, 22 September 1812, MAS.

angry at all with the white people, but with his own people's misbehavior and recklessness. Among other things in his talk, he told those present, 'Recently the earth has sometimes moved a little. This brought you great fear, and you were afraid that you would sink into it, but when you go among the white people to break into their stalls and steal horses, you are not afraid. There is much greater danger, because if they catch you in such a deed, they would certainly shoot you down, and then you, indeed, would have to be lowered into the earth.'²¹

* * * * *

The translation does not adhere to strictly grammatical German but follows the essence of meaning, carefully preserving the significance and the era's or Moravians' characteristics.²² In the translation-annotated section (years 1805–21), dates are italicized for readability. Indentations for paragraphs are throughout the translation (years 1805–21) even though the German manuscript lacks paragraph indentations. Italics are used to denote underlined words in the German manuscript, printed texts, and also German-Moravian terms not translated such as "Singstunde," "Lebenslauf," and "Kinderstunde," which are rituals and customs idiosyncratic to Moravians.

The historically significant materials, both at the Bethlehem and Salem archives, were consulted for annotations and identification because they add to our understanding of the dynamics of cultural contact. In particular, the correspondence of missionaries from Springplace to Salem, translated by the late Elizabeth Marx, was crucial for annotations. The correspondence elucidated contacts the missionaries had with other mission schools. For example the following annotation pertains to Moravian missionary Gottlieb Byhan's visit to a Presbyterian school at Hiwassee (Tennessee) located near the mouth of the Hiwassee River:

During his visit, Byhan witnessed a public exam. Student Fox

²¹McClinton, *The Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees*, [Volume 1,] Diary entry, 30 April 1812.

²²The unique nature of the project required that I collaborate with many translators and that some of the editorial procedures closely match the characteristics of the text, and as a result standard English grammar and punctuation replaced German structure and usage. Translators included Dr. Steven Rowan and Roy Ledbetter, both of St. Louis, the late Dr. Lothar Madeheim and the Reverend Vernon Nelson of the Bethlehem Archives, Northern Province of the Moravian Church, the Reverend Dr. C. Daniel Crews of the Salem Archives of the Southern Province of the Moravian Church, and the late Professor Hans Bungert of Regensburg, Germany. Dr. Crews was instrumental in finalizing the manuscript.

Taylor won a silver medal worth about \$2.00. On one side of the medal were the engraved words: "The Second Presidency" [of George Washington] and the other side had the letters U.S.A. and an engraved cotton gin "designed very neatly." The rest of the pupils received knife straps, coral beads, and money.²³

A concerted effort was made to identify all Springplace visitors. This was difficult because the Murray County (Georgia) Courthouse, the site of Springplace, burned around the middle of the nineteenth-century which meant that many sources for identification were lost. Biographical materials of mission visitors appear in the Biographical Index at the end of Volume 2, which is divided into the following sections: Cherokee visitors, non-Cherokee visitors, Moravian missionaries and visitors, and visiting missionaries from the America Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) to the Cherokees and Choctaws. Additional appendices, also at the end of volume 2, are Bibliographical Essay; "Catalogue of Scholars at Spring Place Mission School, 1804-42" (includes the names of parents and domicile); "Glossary of German-Moravian Terms"; "Moravian Customs and Calendar"; sample of German script from 1807; and maps of Springplace, ferries, Vann's plantation, and the Cherokee Nation about 1820.

Most spellings of Cherokee and Anglo-American names and place names are standardized; however, there are exceptions. For example, when the author Anna Rosina is showing special affection, Springplace student Dick becomes Dickey when ill. There are varying names given to Moravian convert Peggy Scott Vann [Margaret Ann] Crutchfield to reflect the progressive stages of her relationship with the missionaries. For example, the Moravians address her first as Mrs. Vann, Peggy, then our Peggy, and finally our Sister Peggy. The same holds true for Moravian convert Second Principal Chief Charles Renatus Hicks; initially he is known as Mr. Hicks, Charles Hicks, and then our Brother Hicks. James Vann's mother is recognized as Mother Vann, old Vann woman, and then Mother Vann (again), and when she is baptized a Moravian, Sister Mary Christiana. Automatically when Cherokees were baptized, they received the title of "Brother" or "Sister."

Spelling variations for names are common. Many times the diarist used the letter "G" for "K" or "C" interchangeably. Though some missionaries were born in America, all spoke and wrote German, and the conversational

²³McClinton, *The Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees*, volume 1: Correspondence, Gottlieb Byhan to Christian Lewis Benzien, 7 April 1805, MAS.

German reflects the dialect of Saxony where a “softer” enunciation of certain consonants was common. So the “K” and “C” sounds in English cognate with the German “G.” This is true with Timberleg or Timberlake, Gunrod or Conrad, and Gotoquaski or Kotoquaski. The same holds for Ghigau or Chiconehla (perhaps, Nancy Ward). In other regards, throughout the diary, the family name for David Watie, father of Buck or Elias Boudinot, appears as Ooaty. However, for purposes of clarity, the spelling reflects the more commonly known spelling Watie. For lesser-known Cherokees, the spelling of personal names has not been altered.

Anna Rosina Kliest Gambold is the author of the primary diary unit or “parent document” in German script.²⁴ In addition to providing important insights in the Springplace mission through her diary entries, Anna Rosina led quite a spectacular life. She was born in 1762 and educated in Bethlehem at the Female Seminary for Young Ladies, where she lived in the Single Sisters House, a dwelling place for unmarried Moravian women. Her employment was as fine arts teacher in the school, where she was the first instructor of painting. She was known in Moravian circles as a poet and her poetic talent was in constant demand for the love-feasts and celebrations of all kinds. Anna Rosina Kliest was a student of nature and the science that lay behind the secrets of nature. When she married John Gambold in May 1805 and accompanied him to Springplace the following October, she took her love of teaching art and science with her. The expansive gardens she created caught the attention of travelers through the Cherokee Nation. After the Reverend Elias Cornelius of the American Board Commissioners for Foreign Missions of Boston visited Springplace, he recommended her extensive horticultural pursuits to the *American Journal of Science*. In 1818 the *Journal* published her article and list of plants at Springplace.²⁵ She served the mission from 20 October 1805 to 16 February 1821, the time of her death.

Anna Rosina was the principal diarist for the month and year beginning

²⁴Anna Rosina Gambold’s penmanship in English, which matches her German script style, can be found among the microfilmed letters of the National Archives, Washington, D.C., Bureau of Indian Affairs, Records of the Cherokee Indian Agency in Tennessee, 1801–1835, Record Group 75.

²⁵C. B. Mortimer, *Bethlehem and Bethlehem School* (New York, NY: Stanford & Delisser, 1858), 152–53. For a list of her Springplace plants, see “Mrs. Anna Rosina Gambold Plants of the Cherokee County: ‘A list of plants found in the neighborhood of Connasarga River, (Cherokee Country), where Springplace is situated,’” in *The American Journal of Science* (New York, NY: J. Eastburn and Co., 1818, 1819), 245–51, made by Mrs. Gambold, at the request of the Rev. Elias Cornelius; and Daniel L. McKinley, “Anna Rosina (Kliest) Gambold (1762-1821), Moravian Missionary to the Cherokees, with Special Reference to her Botanical Interests,” *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society*, vol. 28(1994): 59–99.

1 October 1805 to 30 June 1820. Springplace missionary Gottlieb Byhan wrote from 1 January 1805 to 1 October 1805. Her husband John Gambold wrote in her place at various times, although it is unclear why: 1 April to 30 September 1812; 1 August to 2 November 1813; and 22 July to 31 October 1816. Beginning summer of 1820, Johannes Renatus Schmidt and his wife Gertraud Salome came to Springplace from New Fairfield, Canada, but authorship is not certain. Neither Salem Archivist Daniel Crews nor I are certain about the handwriting even upon re-inspecting from the diary dated 1 July 1820 through the year 1821.²⁶

The repository for the *Gambold Diary* is in the Salem Archives in Winston-Salem, North Carolina. Both the Salem and Bethlehem Moravian Archives catalogue the complete group of diaries, along with extracts, as the *Springplace Diary*, all of which attribute Gambold as author.²⁷ Since the Salem congregation sent the Gambolds to the Cherokee Nation, their records returned to that congregation.

Due to Anna Rosina's illness and subsequent death in February of 1821, John did not leave Springplace until March 1821, when he was reassigned to the recently opened Moravian Cherokee mission, Oothcaloga, some thirty miles south of Springplace. To complete the entire tenure of the Gambold years, the year 1821 is included in this edition.

Transcending time and archaic language, this edition of the *Gambold Diary* provides an important link to the past. Through careful translation, contextualization of particularly sensitive words, words that epitomize Cherokee world view, preservation of vocabulary and usage typical of the era, and the identification of place names and of the many Cherokee and non Cherokee mission visitors, this publication of the *Gambold Diary* opens a window into public and private spheres of a bygone era. Furthermore, the documents disclose just how the Cherokee people sustained considerable opposition while remaining resolute to remain in the American South, though forced removal was a few years away.

²⁶To determine actual writers from time to time in other time frames, Assistant Archivist Mr. Richard Starbuck and I studied the various missionaries' handwritings and checked them against letters they wrote to members of the Salem congregation. Crews and I both perused the documents again 9 July 2004 at the Moravian Archives Salem.

²⁷Note: The Salem Archives houses several "diaries" attributed to Gambold. The dissertation, "The Moravian Mission among the Cherokees at Springplace, Georgia," was a documentary edition of the *Gambold Diary* (1815-1817) extracted from Anna Rosina's non-circulating manuscript, yet attributed to the Gambolds. It was written at Salem and sent to the Bethlehem and Herrnhut (Germany) congregations.