CHRISTIANITY AND THE CHEROKEES

1540-1860

A Thesis

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I

THE PRE-CHRISTIAN BACKGROUND

In its long association with the American Indian Christianity has more often met with failure than with success. Confronted by the frequent incompetence of its missionaries and by the indifference or inadequacy of the missionary boards, by the rivalries of the several denominations which often repelled rather than attracted the Indian, the Christian church has frequently witnessed defeat rather than victory in its evangelical labors.

The process of christianization has been faced, moreover, throughout much of its relations with the American Indian with the interference of its own Western civilization. The secular population often approached the red man with an attitude entirely antithetical to that of the missionaries, regarding the native American as an object to be destroyed rather than saved. With this attitude, they frequently directly opposed the efforts of the missionaries. Spreading lies among the Indians concerning the clergymen's designs and achieving an insidious influence through the distribution of liquor, the frontiersmen worked to promote their own interests—namely, commercial profit and the acquisition of the land—and negated rather than assisted the objects of the clerics.

The latter interest presented the process of christianization with one of its most formidable obstacles. The missionary, working for years with only minuscule success,
would sometimes begin to see the budding of fruition from his efforts and then find the tribe uprooted and removed beyond his influence. For some tribes, such as the Stockbridge, removal was repeated again and again, and with each repetition the work of the missionary became more difficult as the Indians lost faith in the word of the white man and, in so doing, came to equate the Word of his God with that of his secular society.

At best, many Indians failed to find a sufficient compensation in the Christian religion for their own tribulations. They often chose to cling instead to their ancient faiths which promised them rewards as appealing as those of Christianity and which threatened them with none of its hellfire. They found their own religion satisfactory for their needs and were not at all sure that the Christian God was not meant for the white man alone, particularly inasmuch as the power of that deity seemed to work to the advantage of his paler children.

A notable exception to the failures encountered in the missionary effort among the American Indians was the christianization effected among the Cherokees. A process begun at the beginning of the nineteenth century resulted in substantial success by its midpoint and was probably as comprehensive in its influence by the end of that century as in most white communities.

Yet the missionaries among the Cherokees encountered
many of the hindrances common among the other tribes—the contravention of ill-disposed whites, removal, a long period of intemperance following that removal, all these prevailed. But if the missionaries among the other tribes sometimes proved less than adequate, such cannot be charged against those assigned to the most advanced of the Five Civilized Tribes. While their ability and dedication were by no means unique, the service of the missionaries to the Cherokees was certainly outstanding. Numerous missionaries to this tribe, along with their wives, did not desist from their labors until withdrawn by death.

Those labors were difficult and often more discouraging than encouraging. Conversions for many did not come easily. The environment often proved insalubrious for people raised in a northern climate. Their daily lives were filled with hardship and, during the time of Georgia's provocation, with fear. But they persisted, and from their total persistence they promoted the civilization of the Cherokees and effected their christianization.

One factor which certainly contributed to the success of the missionaries was the impotence of the Cherokee religion at the time of their arrival. It is desirable for understanding the endeavor which followed to make a brief observation concerning the tribal religion and its status in the eighteenth century on the eve of Cherokee christianization.
The knowledge which exists concerning this religion is based primarily on relations by various travelers made during this time and upon certain manuscripts brought to light late in the nineteenth century. These manuscripts were written about 1840 by several Cherokees and were found on the Qualla Reservation in North Carolina. Virtually nothing is known concerning the more ancient religious forms.

Interpretations made by the early travelers and missionaries differ in many respects from those made by later studies, particularly those of James Mooney, but the difficulties associated with understanding the Indian languages readily account for the differences. Variations between the cultures of Western European Christians and those of the American aborigines have made exact translations of religious concepts a baffling task.

One of the earliest travelers among the Cherokees who has left a narrative concerning them was Lieutenant Henry Timberlake. This British colonial officer had considerable contact over a ten year span shortly after the middle of the eighteenth century. He concluded that in religion every Cherokee was free to think for himself, the result of which was a considerable variety of opinion among those who troubled to think. Timberlake observed, however, that very few put themselves to this trouble. There seemed to be a general agreement concerning the existence of a superior being, who created and governed them in all things. This gave them a
fatalistic attitude concerning their lives—whatever befell them was ordained by the man above.  

The priests or shamans governed the religious ceremonies. Timberlake calls them "conjurers" and compares them to jugglers in their ability to deceive the people, an art which they had perfected to the point of being able to illusion Europeans and which was, consequently, all the more influential on the natives, "an ignorant race, whose ideas will naturally augment the extraordinary of any thing the least above their comprehension, or out of the common tract." Ignorant or not, Timberlake found that the natives paid a profound respect to their conjurers.  

William Bartram, traveling among the Cherokees about a decade after Timberlake, found a high priest in every town, along with several apprentices who assisted in the rituals. The priests exercised great influence, in temporal affairs as much as in spiritual matters, being consulted whenever the nation considered a military expedition since it was necessary to determine whether the omens were propitious. By their ability to communicate with numerous invisible spirits, the priests were able to predict whether warfare might be favorably undertaken, whether there would be rain or drought, whether a disease could be cured, and they had the additional power to direct thunder and lightning. Bartram confirmed Timberlake's observation that the people believed that there was an omnipotent force
which governed the affairs of men. 4

Bartram noted that they adored "the Great Spirit, the giver and taker away of the breath of life, with the most profound and respectful homage." But they were not idolaters, praying to no images. They believed in a future state, a world in which the human spirit existed in companionship with the spirits of nature. In this heaven the spirits would dwell in varying degrees of tranquillity and comfort, depending on the manner in which they had lived on earth. The industrious hunter who had provided well, the intrepid warrior, those who had been upright and generous, would enjoy a more agreeable afterlife than those who had performed in a lesser measure in these respects. 5

James Mooney described the spirit as a ghost, saying that it went to the Night Land, which resided in the west and required a journey of seven days. Some Cherokees believed that the ghost returned from this after-world, but most doubted it. This land was a replica of the mundane world, according to Mooney. 6 But Bartram found that while it was similar to earthly existence, it was somewhat more idyllic, "a warm pleasant country where there were expansive, green, flowery savannas and high forests, watered with rivers of pure water, replenished with deer, and every species of game; a serene, unclouded and peaceful sky; in short, where there is a fulness of pleasure uninterrupted." 7

An early convert to Christianity among the Cherokees,
John Arch, sustained the diversity of opinion concerning religion to which Timberlake referred. Before his conversion, he accepted that there was a great being who dwelt above, a being indifferent, however, to human fate. Arch believed that a man was dead forever, enjoying no future life, but he was aware that there were others of his tribe who conceived that there was a bad place which was the repository of the wicked. Whether this view was the result of Christian influence is impossible to ascertain, but whatever its origin, until the missionaries were able to convince Arch of the infallibility of the existence of both heaven and hell, he was convinced that there was no hope for him since he imagined himself to be a bad Indian.\(^8\)

The Cherokee view of the supernatural was vague to their early white visitors, as well it might be to persons whose knowledge depended on translations and whose contacts were frequently of short duration. The missionaries, while recognizing that the Cherokee religion was polytheistic, garnered the impression that at the top of this structure was a supreme deity, a Great Spirit, not dissimilar to the Christian Jehovah.

According to Mooney, such impressions were erroneous. In the polytheism of the Cherokees there was an immense variety of gods which included animal, personal, and elemental spirits. The latter class included the wind, storms, the clouds, frost, fire, water, and the sun. The sun was called One"tanâ'hî, "the apportioner," and it was this
characteristic which the Cherokees assigned to the sun which Mooney says the missionaries misinterpreted as being synonymous with "creator." Prayers were offered to the sun, chiefly by the ballplayers, but the fire would be solicited by the hunters, and every important ceremony contained a prayer to the "Long Person," the formulistic name for water or the river. The Stone was invoked if the shaman desired to find a lost article and the Flint when he prepared to scarify a patient with an arrowhead before applying the prescribed medicine.9

Of the personal deities, the Red man was the principal. One of the foremost gods, his intercession was invoked in numerous curing formulas. Mooney was unable to positively identify the red man but believed that he was associated with the Thunder family. He regarded the red man as hardly insubordinate to the Fire, the Water, or the Sun in the Cherokee theological hierarchy.10

It is apparent that the spirits were not as indifferent to the fate of man as is generally alleged. Disease, injury, and death were invariably attributed to a spirit reacting because of an imagined slight, the lack of proper respect, or out of vengeance. Sometimes the spirits acted on their own initiative, sometimes they were called upon by people. Witches might cause disease, not out of vengeance, but simply because they were inherently evil. A shaman with a base or nefarious nature might call upon the spirits to disable a real or supposed enemy. A witch could
be killed by shooting him with a gun in which the powder had been mixed with the juice of particular plants, but for the expulsion of diseases and the curing of injuries it was necessary to call on a rival spirit to drive away the malicious one. 11

Thus the spirits, while they appear most often in the role of tormentors of men, had an element of benevolence in their natures which the Cherokees called upon for assistance. They were not benevolent, per se, but some, like the red man, never inflicted injury and could always be addressed to expunge pain or sickness. In the prayers it might be necessary, however, to invoke the aid of several spirits. Rheumatism, for example, induced by a deer in vengeance for his death at the hands of a hunter, required the aid of the red Dog, living in the land of the sun, the Blue Dog, from the frigid land, the Black Dog, in the darkening land, and the White Dog and the White Terrapin, both residents of a mountain far to the south. 12

Religious ceremonialism among the Cherokees in the eighteenth century played an inconspicuous part in their lives. Indeed, it seems to have been almost unnoticeable. Timberlake pointed out that they had no rites or ceremonies in connection with courtship or marriage, and both he and Bartram mention only the Green Corn Dance among Cherokee rituals, calling this the principal one. It was described as being performed in the town square, a dance with a slow
motion, accompanied by a song which offered thanks for the corn. It commenced in August when the corn reached matur-
ity and apparently marked the end of the old year and the beginning of the new. Originally performed on a single occasion at the capital, by the mid-1760's the festival had become a local affair enacted in each of the principal villages whenever the corn ripened in that area.13

Other ceremonies were associated primarily with medicinal practices. The gathering of roots, herbs, and barks for such uses required certain regulations. The Medicine Boiling Dance, second in importance to the Green Corn Dance, occurred just prior to that festival, lasted for four days, and involved the drinking of a concoction of herbs which acted as an emetic and purgative. Fasting and purification in water were associated with all their ceremonies.14

However vigorous Cherokee religion may have been in more ancient times, it was in a state of decline in the eighteenth century and, except for the curing rites, not a powerful influence in the people's lives. Much of its ascendancy even in this respect had been curtailed by a smallpox epidemic which broke out in 1730 and which the shamans had been unable to stop. Many threw away their old, consecrated psychic pots, believing that they had been pol-
luted. As the smallpox ravaged the land, the people lost confidence in these "old beloved men" who had lost their ability to evoke the spirits for their defense. Skepticism set in and religion declined. Bartram notices this decline,
writing: "The Cheerake are now a nest of apostate horns, pay little respect togrey hairs, and have been degenerating fast from their primitive religious principles, for above thirty years past." By 1780 the councils were no longer opened with prayers and the Green Corn Dance had absorbed most of the other ceremonies into a single festival.\textsuperscript{15}

The structure of Cherokee society did not contain the respect for age often associated with other societies. Although the young men were expected to show a certain deference to priests and priests were expected to sometimes mildly rebuke the younger for disorderly conduct, such direct relations were infrequent. An older person might glower at the antics of a younger one, but there was no authoritarian control of the youth by their elders. The chiefs ruled by politeness rather than through fear or any police structure. They guided by verbal persuasion. When the Cherokees went down in battle before the whites, both the chiefs who had led them and the priests who had consulted the spirits for favorable omens, lost an added portion of their influence.\textsuperscript{16}

Having lost faith in themselves, the Cherokees looked elsewhere for guidance. Their attention was drawn to the white culture which had defeated them and which was steadily pushing them back and infiltrating among them. No longer victors in war and with their hunting grounds vanishing in giant gulps, it was apparent that there must be a change. The best change to make, it appeared, was to adopt the cul-
ture of the white men. If their religion came as a com-
panion to their civilization, it might not prove to be an
undesirable acquisition, as it may well have been a part of
the white men's power. The Cherokee religion had lost its
own efficacy, at least where war was concerned; nothing
could be lost by looking into that of the victors.

But the civilization of the foe, rather than his re-
ligion, was the first requirement of the Cherokees. If they
were to live, they must find the means to provide themselves
with food. Cultivation of the land was the obvious answer.
Agriculture had been a subsidiary source of food for many
generations; with the game gone, it must become the primary
source. The way to make it so was to acquire the tools and
knowledge which the Cherokees knew the whites possessed.

They knew it because they had seen it. On their trips
to Charleston and Williamsburg and as far as London, they
had seen the farms and cities which were a part of the
white man's civilization. Moreover, many of them knew it
because their fathers (or, in some cases, their mothers)
were whites. The process of racial intermixture had begun
to make deep inroads into Cherokee society. It was not only
white contact but white blood which was beginning to make
itself felt. And unlike the white blood which mixed with
most other Indian tribes, that which mingled with the Chero-
kees often came from men with cultivated backgrounds, men
who accepted the advantages of their Western European culture
and were not content to assimilate themselves into the Indian mode of life in the manner of the trappers who married the women of the northern and plains tribes.

Many of the Cherokee mixed-bloods were to come to prominence in tribal affairs and give leadership to the people, and almost all of them accepted Christianity as an adjunct of the civilization which they saw as an imperative need for the survival of the tribe. James Vann, Charles Hicks, Nancy War, George Lowrey, John Watts, Bushyhead, and John Ross were just a few of the mixed-bloods who would play an important role in the future of the nation—sometimes by influencing the councils to favorable decisions concerning the introduction of missionaries, sometimes by becoming Christians themselves, and, in some instances, by preaching the new religion to their compatriots.

Internal frustration and a changing environment had acted to enervate the Cherokee religion. When some Christians began to take a serious interest in the religious welfare of this tribe at the beginning of the nineteenth century, they found a people almost destitute of theological concepts. The weakness of the Cherokee religion was such that Elias Cornelius, visiting their country in 1817, was able to write: "Let faithful missionaries be sent among them; and instead of finding a people tenacious to false religion, they will find a nation destitute of all religion whatever, and with no other prejudice against the
religion of Christ than that which is common to human depravity everywhere." Cornelius added that while the religion of their forefathers had not been entirely forgotten, the Cherokees gave no evidence of engaging in any religious practices and they had no system of idolatry to preoccupy their minds. Yet they gave serious attention to any discussion concerning the great Creator of all things, an interest derived from what Cornelius believed to be a continuation of an ancient reverence, the "only remaining trace" of their former beliefs.17

The Moravians, who had already labored among the Cherokees for sixteen years by this time, could have told Cornelius that the matter was not as simple as he imagined. And the missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions who followed in the wake of Cornelius' call would find, as well, that the task was difficult and often discouraging. However weak the condition of their own religion, many Cherokees were not easily persuaded to adopt a new one. The influence of the past, no matter how feeble it may be, is not easily removed.
Chapter I

1 There is no definite data available on this matter, but from the information available it appears that less than one-half and possibly as few as one-third of the present Indian population are associated with any Christian church. (Based on a current Indian population of 550,000 and the membership estimates of the Catholic and major Protestant denominations.)


7 *Bartram, The Travels of William Bartram*, 391.


13 *Timberlake, Memoirs*, 88-9; Bartram, *Travels*, 399;


14 "Mooney, "Sacred Formulas," 397-9. The Baptists would find later that the Cherokee water purification rites were similar to their own baptismal immersions and may have benefitted in their evangelization by this parallelism.


17 Walker, *Torchlights to the Cherokees*, 68.
II

EARLY MISSIONARY EFFORTS

The first white contact with the Cherokees is as uncertain as the first missionary endeavor among them. De Soto may have met them. References made during his expedition to a visit at the provinces of Chalaque and Xualia have been interpreted by some historians as evidence that De Soto was in contact with the Cherokees. De Soto had several missionaries in his company, but if they engaged in any evangelization, nothing is known to have resulted from their efforts.

The Catholic historian, John Gilmary Shea, records that in 1566 Father Roger was sent to Oriста in the Carolinas, and while there went inland to preach to the natives. He met a race superior to any he had previously encountered and these may have been Cherokees. He found them prosperous, engaged in cultivating fields, and a highly moral people without the polygamous society common to many other tribes. Mastering the language in six months, Roger was able to proclaim the doctrine of "a single almighty deity, who rewarded and punished as he had created man, and who reserved for them all mansions of bliss or woe, which it was theirs to choose...." They listened attentively, but when the time came for gathering their winter stores, they vanished. A return trip the next year proved equally unrewarding.¹

If these were the Cherokees, then Father Roger can be
sail to have been the first to attempt to christianize them. In 1570 he made another effort. Finding the people engaged in a great festival, he repeated the purpose for which he had come, telling them that he had only their good in mind and only asked that they accept the faith which he preached. But a chief arose and vehemently countered the priest's arguments and stirred his people to a frenzy from which the missionary barely escaped with his life. Huger promised to return at the first sign of their wish.²

The Jesuit evidently never received the sign, but Shea records that in 1643 the Franciscans established a mission at Achalaque where they baptized a chief. When an Englishman visited the mission ten years later, he found it to be in a flourishing state and located at a beautiful spot on a mountain side.³ But the presence of any Englishman in those days was not an auspicious event for Spaniards of any calling and their entrance into the area in larger numbers in the latter part of the century put an end to all Spanish missions in the Georgia and Carolina country.

Mooney discredits the existence of this latter mission, saying it is based on the report of a fraudulent author and that there is no mention of it elsewhere. He credits the work of Christian Gottlieb Riber as being the first missionary effort among the Cherokees.⁴

But it appears debatable whether Riber, who arrived in 1736, actually engaged in any missionary activity. Various-
ly described as a Jesuit, as a French intriguer, and as a Saxon communist, Priber seems to have been far more concerned with the political structure of the Cherokees than with the salvation of their souls. 5 A South Carolinian wrote during this time, either consciously or unconsciously of this enigmatic man's activities: "To the shame of the Christian name, no pains have ever been taken to convert them to Christianity; on the contrary their morals are perverted and corrupted by the bad example they daily have of the degraded professors residing in their towns." 6 Obviously, if he was aware of Priber's activities, he was not willing to attach to them any semblance of christianization.

While among the Cherokees, Priber had the chief Moytoy proclaimed emperor of his communist nation and set himself up as prime minister. The kingdom was to evolve into a republic with communal property ownership and a classless society. The law of nature would be the guardian of the children. Priber's ultimatum to the governor of South Carolina ordering his staff to leave the Cherokee country was received as it might have been expected to be—Priber was seized in 1743 and imprisoned in Frederica, Georgia, where he died a few years later. 7 Priber was more interested in creating an earthly paradise than in preparing the Cherokees for a future one, a hardly Jesuit inclination, and we must conclude that the South Carolinian's remarks concerning the christianization of the Indians was still applicable after
the age of Friday.

An entirely different attitude was evident in the Moravians whose principal concern in all their missionary work was the spiritual welfare of the natives. They were not particularly interested in civilizing their proselytes, accepting this role in their endeavors only as a subsidiary activity which, if engaged in at all, was forced to play a secondary role to their primary purpose of disseminating the Gospel and reclaiming souls.

The Unitas Fratrum, or United Brethren, came to Georgia in 1735 for the specific purpose of christianizing the Indians. They established a school among the Creeks about five miles from Savannah, apparently making no contact with the Cherokees during this interlude in their history. Difficulties between the English and Spaniards interfered with Moravian efforts as they had done with the Franciscans, and they abandoned this southern territory and migrated to Pennsylvania between 1738 and 1740.8

A group returned to the South in 1753, locating on the Wachovia tract in North Carolina. Their purpose in returning was the same as it had been in the first case: the christianization of the Indians. But the area continued to be embroiled in strife and many of the Cherokees had been forced westward beyond the neighborhood of the Moravians.9 Their only contact with the natives during the next several decades was that which occurred through meetings with hun-
ters and from overnight stops made by parties of Cherokees on their way to and from Virginia. The Brethren fed these parties which were sometimes as large as one hundred, but they seem to have made little serious effort to evangelize them during their stays.10

A war party of Cherokees had some contact with Christianity when they met with Virginia militiamen in preparation for an allied attack on the Shawnees at Scioto near the Ohio River. While assembling at Fort Frederick, Presbyterian ministers preached to the biracial war party and sought the blessings of God for their expedition. No Cherokee is known to have been christianized from this experience.11

Reverend John Davies formed a society in Hanover County, Virginia shortly after this time for the purpose of missionizing the Indians, and Reverend John Martin, a Presbyterian, was sent to the Cherokees in 1757. Martin made no impression, being told by the Indians that they knew as much about religion as he. In compliance with their wishes he left the country. Reverend William Richardson undertook the task the following year, but the Cherokees were in a sulky mood and talked of killing an Englishman for every tribesman who had been lost in the recent war against Virginians. Richardson received the message and fled from his station at Chota to the town of Keowee, hoping to find here Cherokees with less malevolent dispositions. At Keowee the local ball team sought his magic to ensure their success, but
other than this Richardson found his knowledge unwanted and left. ¹²

When Lieutenant Timberlake took a group of Cherokee chiefs to London in 1765, they were approached by John Daniel Hammerer, an Alsatian from Strasburg, who informed them of his desire to preach among them. This young Lutheran had received the backing of several prominent Englishmen for the project. The chief Attakullakulla (Little Carpenter) agreed to it and promised to take Hammerer under his protection if he came. ¹³

An itinerant shoemaker brought the news of this impending mission to the Moravians, and in time Hammerer addressed a letter to them, advising them of his plan and saying that he wished to meet with them. The following year another letter was received at Bethabara in which Hammerer advised the Moravians that he was in the Cherokee country and had made a small beginning at learning the language and would "do anything in his power for our Brethren if one would come to him in this nation." ¹⁴ But when Brother Ettwein answered and queried him about the possibility of establishing a Moravian mission, Hammerer discouragingly replied that he believed the Overhill Cherokees were a fast-decreasing people who had a propensity for liquor and were doomed if they did not mend their ways. He believed the Lower towns would be a more favorable field since the people there had been tamed by the last war and
were of a more hospitable disposition. The Overhills were still wild and were surrounded by the worst type of traders.  

Ettwein had discussed the possibility of opening a mission as early as 1758 when some Cherokees visited Bethabara, but the Moravians had little contact with them for more than a decade thereafter. In 1770 Young warrior visited overnight and attended an evening service, but nothing came from this brief glimpse of Christianity. Five years later Attakullakulla appeared at the town and a question was put to him as to whether he would like for some of the Brethren to tell his people about the Creator and the Savior. He said that he would be glad to have them come and teach a school but gave no encouragement concerning their first wish.  

Eight more years passed before the Moravians made their first serious exploration to determine the attitude of the Cherokees about Christianity. Martin Schneider left in December, 1783 for the Indian settlements, talked with a number of Cherokees, and returned to Wachovia the following month. At the home of James McCormick, who had lived among the natives for thirty years and had an Indian wife, Schneider met with Tassel and several other chiefs. He told them that the Moravians never meddled in any of the wars, would never aim at trading with them, and had no desire for their lands. Their sole interest was in sending several of their Brethren to teach them about God, the Creator. The head chief recalled the time when Martin and
Richardson were among his people and said that he was glad Schneider was offering to tell them about Utijah, the Great man who dwelt above. But while he and the others present were favorable to the idea, it would be necessary to consult the council before giving a definite answer—an evasive tactic which the Cherokees commonly employed concerning such matters.¹⁷

McCormick, who acted as interpreter, emphasized that the Brethren were interested only in the Cherokees' good, that they lived in comfortable homes and would be making a considerable sacrifice in leaving them, but it was a sacrifice which they would willingly undertake in order to assure the Indians' happiness, both now and hereafter. McCormick told Schneider that he wished to see his proposal accepted and said he would contribute all he could to obtain a favorable reply.¹⁸

No answer was forthcoming. The Moravian board at Salem met on October 27, 1784, to determine whether the Savior approved of their sending Schneider again to determine whether the Cherokees had made their promised decision. The voice which they heard said "no."¹⁹

Three years later at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania "The Society for the Propagating the Gospel Among the Heathen" was organized by the United Brethren and a branch was established at Wachovia.²⁰ But for all their good intentions, the life in the wilderness which they would have had to endure as missionaries dissuaded them from abandoning the com-
fort of their own communities, and the Moravians made no further gesture toward their aboriginal neighbors for twelve years.

Then, stirred by a report from Reverend Joseph Bullen of the New York Missionary Society, the southern Brethren resolved upon action. Bullen's testimony that the Cherokees desired to have missionaries among them was read at a meeting in Salem and Abraham Steiner urged that an investigation be made. He and Christian Frederic de Schwinitz were assigned to visit the Indians to determine the veracity of Bullen's report.²¹

The two men met Colonel David Henley, the War Department agent, and he issued them a pass and promised to render all possible assistance. Henley told them of the progress which the Cherokees had been making, pointing out that in the past summer three hundred plows and as many pairs of cotton carding-combs had been sent to the Nation, and that the natives were raising cotton, selling it, and spinning and weaving it. The Cherokees had apparently begun to understand that their best hope for survival was in adopting the ways of the white man.²²

During their journey Steiner and Schwinitz were informed of a trip which had been made to the country by Moses Fisk at the instigation of John Wheelock, the president of Dartmouth College. They learned that Wheelock had secured the financial aid of the Scottish Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge. Little Turkey had given a favorable
answer to a letter from Wheelock concerning the establishment of schools, but nothing had resulted from the communication. The informant knew that the Scottish Society had considerable funds for the purpose and was unable to account for Wheelock's failure to go ahead with the project. 23

When an army captain questioned the Brethren about the likelihood of their having any success before the natives became more civilized and could read and understand English, they told him that based on the experiences of their missionaries in Africa and elsewhere that they knew this to be unnecessary, that the Moravians had been able to introduce the Gospel among the most barbarous heathen, and these had been entirely capable of believing and obeying it. 24

In spite of their assurance about this, the Moravians were to find that their ticket to admission to the Cherokee would depend on their willingness to forward secular education. While speaking to the chiefs about the great words which they bore from the Father above and being told that these things sounded agreeable, the decision of the Cherokees ultimately depended on the willingness of the Moravians to educate their children in the civilized arts. The Cherokees were not concerned about the salvation of their souls. Steiner and Schwinitz were not able to impress on those with whom they talked that a knowledge of Christ was essential to their happiness in the hereafter. The natives would act congenial, but they gave excuses to the travelers which resembled those given to their predecessor fifteen years be-
fore. One half-breed, Walker, listened amiably but was unable to assemble the people in his neighborhood to hear the story, giving the feeble excuse that his grandfather, an old man living on the other side of the river, could not easily come in the evening, and that was the end of that. The Moravians returned home, reporting: "Thus we were unable anywhere in this country to sow the seed of the divine word and had to content ourselves with planting single kernels here and there."25
Chapter II

2 Ibid., 52.
3 Ibid., 72-4.
6 Mooney, Myths of the Cherokee, 38.
10 Ibid., 195. For the year 1758 the Moravians estimated their expense at feeding these parties at £45, based on tavern rates of 8 pence for dinners and 6 pence for breakfasts and suppers.
12 Ibid., 104; Samuel C. Williams, "Christian Missions to the Overhill Cherokees," Chronicles of Oklahoma, XII, 66-7; Ernest Trice Thompson, Presbyterians in the South, Richmond, Va., 1863, I, 189.
13 Fries, Records of the Moravians, I, 304, 311-3.
14 Ibid., 337.
16 Ibid., 245, 247-8; Fries, Records, I, 399.
18 Ibid., 259.
19 Fries, Records, V, 2039.
20 Williams, Travels, 445.
21 Ibid., 445-6.
22 Ibid., 455-60.
23 Williams, Travels, 467; Williams, "Christian Missions to the Overhill Cherokees," loc. cit., 68.
24 Williams, Travels, 467.
25 Ibid., 472-3, 490-1.
III

CIVILIZATION, THE GATE TO CHRISTIANITY

The Cherokee advance toward civilization, begun in the last several decades of the eighteenth century, was an essential factor leading to the introduction of Christianity among them. Prior to this time all the petitions and efforts of the missionaries had been fruitless. If these endeavors had been weak, a fundamental reason had been the lack of response on the part of the natives. The missionary, a man of peace, does not resort, as a rule, to physical coercion and generally would be uncomfortable under conditions which secured his introduction in such a manner. The Moravians, in particular, have always disavowed any militancy. If their petitions have not been freely and willingly received, they have not chosen to promote their cause until there has been a change of mind.

The Cherokee change of mind came about through their interest in education. Christianity entered the Cherokee Nation through the back door. The Cherokees were forced to turn to the missionaries as their educators, and as educators the missionaries insisted on the right to preach. They were unwilling to teach unless the curriculum included instruction in the Gospels and, at the same time, the right to carry the Word to the elders.

Civilization was forced on the Cherokees as it was on all the American Indians. But unlike the other tribes, the Cherokees foresaw that if they were not to perish, as many
of the Atlantic Coast aborigines had already done, they must take up the "white man's path." This foresight was assisted by two basic elements: a native culture which included an agricultural background and a sizeable intermixture of the blood of progressive whites with that of the natives. It was prodded by severe military defeat and the destruction accompanying the war of 1760–61. It was assisted by the benign and interested attitude of President Washington's administration.

All the early travelers in the Cherokee country noticed the fields in cultivation—corn, beans, pumpkins, etc., garnished the land. Moreover, in conjunction with these fields, the Cherokees, although still warriors and hunters, had established sedentary communities with immovable dwellings—a condition which proved valuable to successful evangelization.

Trade, carried on with the British and French, had become a necessary part of Cherokee life, instituting a dependence on the white man which contributed to the alteration of their culture. Hunting was no longer able to fulfill the needs of the people. Although it served during the times of early contact in providing the goods with which to trade for the white man's trinkets and implements, as both the land and the game diminished, it became imperative to find sources other than hunting with which to continue the trade. A chief of the Lower towns expressed the predicament in which the people found themselves: they could no longer "live independ-
ent of the English... The clothes we wear we cannot make ourselves. They are made for us. We cannot make our guns. Every necessity of life we must have from the white people."¹

Along with the white man's goods came the steady and weighty infusion of white blood. The children from this union, while choosing to remain tied to their Indian environment, retained much of the cultural outlook of their Caucasian fathers, fathers who saw, or wished to see, that their sons enjoyed the educational advantages which they had received. Thus the half-breed father of John Ross secured the approval of the Cherokee council in 1799 for the establishment of a school on his premises at Maryville, Tennessee, and assured his son of the learning which his own white father had secured for him.²

The defeats which the Cherokees had suffered at the hands of the colonists under British rule and by the patriots during the Revolution did much to reduce their ancient zeal for war. Beaten in battle, they became chastened masters of a vastly reduced dominion. If they were to retain their authority over this shrunken principality, it was apparent that they must acquire the skills of their conquerors. Their existence as a people had become dependent on their ability to transform themselves. Education became in their minds the key to transformation.

President Washington maintained a friendly disposition toward the American aborigines and Secretary of War Henry
Knox exhibited the administration's attitude by directing that trade with the Indians should be limited to persons holding government licenses and by instituting a policy whereby their lands could be acquired only through treaties with the federal government. Knox favored the introduction of private property among the Indians, believing this would be the surest way to promote their civilization. He advocated the employment of missionaries as instructors in agriculture.³

By the Treaty of Holston in 1791 the United States government declared its willingness to assist in the transformation which the Cherokees desired. Article Fourteen of the treaty provided that the tribe was "to be furnished with useful implements of husbandry." Agents and interpreters were to be assigned to the Cherokee Nation to implement and assist in that program.⁴ Bloody Fellow, reacting to the terms of the agreement, expressed the plight of his people when he said: "The treaty mentions ploughs, hoes, cattle and other things for the farm; this is what we want; game is going fast away from us. We must plant corn and raise cattle, and we desire you to assist us...."⁵

Benjamin Hawkins was one of the men called upon to effect the government's policy. Asked by President Washington to sacrifice a few years of his life to the promotion of the civilization of the Indians, Hawkins accepted the challenge and was appointed in 1796 as Principal Temporary Agent for
Indian Affairs South of the Ohio River. Hawkins himself had encouraged the idea of placing a man among the tribes who would be willing to live among them in order to keep them at peace and to foster the agricultural and industrial arts.  

During a trip among the southern tribes in that year, Hawkins observed that some Cherokee women had expressed a willingness to learn and to adopt white ways:

They said they would follow the advice of their great father General Washington, they would plant cotton and be prepared for spinning as soon as they could make it, and they hoped they might get some wheels and cards as soon as they should be ready for them, they promised also to take care of their pigs and cattle....They told me they would make corn enough but that they could never sell it. That they were willing to labour if they could be directed how to profit by it.  

Although Hawkins' title remained that of "Temporary Agent," his service proved to be enduring, and he remained at this post until his death in 1816. Hawkins had charge of the agents to the Cherokees, Choctaws, and Chickasaws and reserved for himself the agency to the Creeks. He confined his interests primarily to secular matters and never endeavored to impose his religious views on the natives. He was cordial, however, with several Quaker societies
which expressed an interest in the education of the redmen, and, in a letter to President Madison, he related:

Tell Mrs. Madison we are all Quakers in the Indian Agency, and there is little or no difference now between our annual meetings and the annual meetings of our white brethren, we are full as silent, as grave, and circumspect here as in Philadelphia. We are under the guidance of reason, and they under the light of the gospel, in pursuit of the same object....If our doctrine of hereafter is uninformed in the opinion of our white friends, we will exchange our guide for their light and subscribe to whatever they recommend provided they will assist us here, to preserve the birthright portion of the planet we inhabit. To this end the little that we require is, that the followers of the meek and humble Jesus will believe we are their neighbors and treat us accordingly."

Another capable Indian agent during this period was Return Jonathan Meigs, sympathetic alike to the welfare of the Indians and to the promotion of civilization among them. Appointed in May, 1801 as Cherokee Indian Agent and Agent of the War Department in Tennessee, Meigs arrived among his charges in June of that year and, like Hawkins, devoted the remainder of his life to his assignment. As agent he distributed farm implements and household utensils and gave
advice about their employment. He was instrumental in fostering the establishment of constitutional government among the Cherokees and in protecting their rights against intruders. Directed by the War Department to cooperate with the missionaries, he often visited their stations and aided them in whatever manner he could. 9

Cherokee interest in the goods of civilization is indicated by their frequent requests to the agent for certain tools and materials. In 1803, for example, brass and tin kettles, cotton cards, needles, thread, scissors, linen, calico, handkerchiefs, blankets, and fur hats were several of the various items asked for. Although frequently called on by the United States government to secure land cessions from the Cherokees, Meigs generally sought to preserve the interest of his charges, often representing them in litigation about land claims and material losses in disputes with whites. He encouraged the missionaries to educate the children in "the measures of civilization," and to instruct them in "useful arts and the knowledge of letters" so that future generations might live in peace. Such education would hopefully spare both the Indians and the United States government from the conflicts which had in the past cost vast sums in human misery and death, as well as the monetary losses associated with such turmoil. In a letter to Jeremiah Evarts, Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Meigs promised to give his full sup-
port and cooperation to this cause. With his death in 1823 the missionaries lost a man who represented in himself the generally benign attitude of the government toward both their work and the welfare of the southern Indians.  

In 1816 Secretary of War William H. Crawford stressed the importance of the government's benevolent policy. He commented that while progress had been slow to date, it was imperative, if the civilization of the Indians was deemed superior to the extinguishment of their land titles, to continue the annuities and presents "along with the judicious supply of all their wants." This would introduce them to ideas of property without which knowledge "no man will exert himself to procure the comforts of life...."  

The government emphasized its faith in this policy by passing the Civilization Act in 1819, a bill to provide against the further decline and eventual extinguishment of the Indians. The President was granted the power to appoint persons of good moral character to instruct them in farming and to teach the children reading, writing, and arithmetic. Ten thousand dollars was set aside for the purpose.  

Most Cherokees gladly accepted this assistance. By the end of the eighteenth century they realized that their position was precarious, and as the new century advanced they increasingly proceeded to take up the white man's road. Lieutenant Timberlake, who had remarked that the
Cherokees had the means to make their nation considerable if they were so inclined, would have been amazed at the extent of their inclination. "But who would seek to live by labour, who can live by amusement?" he had asked, at the same time answering why the Cherokees made no effort to change in his day: "The sole occupations of an Indian are hunting, and warring abroad, and lazing at home. Want is said to be the mother of industry, but their wants are supplied at an easier rate."

A third of a century had drastically changed the Cherokee position. Game was no longer abundant and the land on which they could roam had been severely reduced; war had ceased to be a pleasure. The time had come when they could no longer spend their days "lazing at home."

The Cherokees did not give an immediate answer to the petitions of Steiner and Schwinitz, but at a council in 1800 they agreed to give the Moravians permission to start a school. The agreement was made with reluctance, many Cherokee leaders not being sure that this was the course their people should take. When the Moravians met with Doublehead, Little Turkey, The Glass, Bloody Head, the Boot, and about twenty-five other chiefs to discuss the matter again, nothing much was accomplished initially. The chiefs lost interest when the Moravians told them that they could not clothe and feed the children at no charge, saying that they were able to provide them only with free
instruction. But at a later meeting, Charles Hicks extended an invitation to come among his clan, the Pipe-Makers. On October 6th Major Thomas Lewis, the government's agent, broached the subject of missionaries at another council meeting. Gentleman Tom spoke for the Upper Cherokees and Doublehead for the Lower. Tom recommended that consent be granted. An agreement was reached to go ahead. The suggestion was made that one Moravian go to the home of James Vann and another to McDonald's place on Chickamauga Creek. The purpose for which the Moravians had come to Georgia sixty-five years before was about to be fulfilled.
NOTES

Chapter III

1 Cockran, The Cherokee Frontier, 14.
2 Williams, "Christian Missions to the Overhill Cherokees," loc. cit., 68.
5 Malone, Cherokees of the Old South, 50-1.
8 Pound, Benjamin Hawkins, 151-2.
9 Malone, Cherokees of the Old South, 57-8.
10 Ibid., 68-73.
14 Walker, Torchlights to the Cherokees, 26-7.
IV

THE MORAVIANS BEGIN THE WORK OF CHRISTIANIZATION

The Cherokee objections to missionary intrusion had been overcome, and on January 2, 1801 the War Department granted the necessary permission for the United Brethren to enter the nation. When the Cherokee consent had been assured, the Moravians held a conference at which they wished "to know the will of the Lord concerning Abraham Steiner, who feels a special call to the Indians," and they formulated the following question: "Does the Savior approve that we now consider Br. Abraham Steiner as destined for the mission to the Cherokees?" The answer came back: "Approved." On April 13th Steiner and Gottlieb By-han set out, glad that they were compensating at long last for the disappointment which Johann Hagan had felt for his inability to establish a mission among these people when the Brethren had first come to Georgia.¹

James Vann, a half-breed, set aside some land for them on his prosperous farm and they began to erect the essential buildings one-and-a-half miles from his house. Vann was both an accommodating assistant in their cause and a thorn in their side. Favorably disposed to the Moravian mission and generous in donating his time, aid, and property, he nevertheless caused them considerable anguish over the years. Often drunk and rash, his behavior was a constant source of irritation until his death in 1809 at the hands of an unknown gunman. But he had helped to secure
the approval of the council and had freely given them a place for their mission, and for these and his other kindnesses the Brethren chose to regard him as their friend and to endure his indiscretions.²

The mission was named Springplace. In March of the following year the school was opened with only a few students and only one hour's instruction was given each day. Brother and Sister Jacob Wohlfahrt arrived in the fall to assist in the work but remained only two months. Steiner also left the mission, having been ordained a deacon and sent to preach to the Moravian congregation at Hope.³

1803 was a year of tribulation for the missionaries. Their indifference to teaching had manifested itself in their laxness in pursuing that labor. The operation of the school had been abandoned as the missionaries concerned themselves with their main interest—the preaching of the Gospel. In June a letter arrived, signed by the chiefs Sour Mush and Chuleo, complaining of their failure and giving them until the beginning of the year to make good on their promise. Steiner returned to meet with the chiefs at Vann's home in an effort to secure a reconciliation. The Moravians said that the education which they had come to dispense was Christianity, to which the chiefs objected, "we have no ears with which to hear!" The unjust treatment which they had received in the past from the whites did not recommend Christianity to them. They were, however,
profoundly interested in schools and if the Brethren saw fit to provide such instruction, their favor could be gained. Vann spoke on behalf of the missionaries and the chiefs were persuaded to allow them to remain.\textsuperscript{4}

In spite of this prodding the school continued to languish until the fall of 1804 when Gentleman Tom brought his son to the school. Tom’s slowness in bringing the boy discloses that the shortage of scholars may not have been the Moravians’ fault alone. By taking in Tom’s son to live with them, as well as the grandson of another chief, the Moravians secured their position and from that time the school began to flourish.\textsuperscript{5}

John Gambold arrived as chief missionary the following year. According to the Moravian custom of preferring married couples at their missions, Gambold was accompanied by his wife. A talented woman, she was, in addition to being an accomplished teacher, a reputable botanist, and during her many years at the mission she collected and correctly named about fourteen hundred botanical specimens for an English scientist.\textsuperscript{6}

Gambold provided the spark which the mission needed. His arrival had been preceded by an outbreak among Vann’s Negro slaves which had upset the missionaries for a time, but the situation had settled down and the school work was begun in earnest. Eight students were enrolled. They received a goodly amount of Christian doctrine along with
their regular studies. They were taught to recite the Creed and the Lord's Prayer and attended the religious services. The Brethren made little progress on their own part, however, toward learning the language of their students, and the teachers were unable to turn to the children for enlightenment as they knew very little English.\textsuperscript{7}

The missionaries were disturbed again by the murder of their friend, Vann--a murder which they believed had been committed by a man formerly his best friend. The slaves ran berserk for a few days, giving the Brethren some anxious moments. Mrs. Vann was affected in another way, much to the joy of Gambold and Byhan. For some time they had seen a work of grace in her, bolstering their hopes that she might be converted. When she was baptized on August 13, 1810, the missionaries felt their first real joy after nine years of disappointing effort. After the baptismal rites had been completed, Vann's widow was given the name of Margarethe Ann--the giving of Christian names following this sacrament being a practice common to the missionaries of all the denominations.\textsuperscript{8}

This meager beginning did not lead to a rapid increase in conversions. The Moravians were very strict about admissions to their church--so strict, in fact, that during his Georgia sojourn John Wesley, the founder of Methodism, was denied admission to the communion of the Brethren.\textsuperscript{9} Moreover, they were never overly concerned about whether
the converted joined their particular church and would sometimes encourage them to join others. The representatives of the American Board were to prove almost as careful in respect to baptisms as the Moravians, in contrast to the Baptists and Methodists who indulged in a looser policy which did not require the strict evidence of the presence of the Holy Spirit in their proselytes as demanded by the others.

The jubilation which the missionaries felt concerning their first conversion was followed by several years of trial. Some of the school's most promising children were removed by their parents. The Brethren hoped that the spiritual seed which they had planted would not be lost. Then in 1812 Byhan's wife became ill and he was released in order to bring her to Salem. Gambold continued alone at the station and a new mission which had been started at Flint River was subsequently abandoned.¹⁰

But there was cause for celebration the following year when Charles Hicks, a chief who became second only to Pathkiller in the Cherokee council, became conscious of his sin and saw the need for Christianity to save his soul. When Gambold baptized Hicks, he gave him the additional name of Renatus and it became his middle name thereafter. Hicks remained a staunch Christian until his death and was one of the strongest advocates for Christianity among his people. The Brethren knew that he had the spiritual welfare of the nation on his heart as well as its material
prosperity. They were somewhat distressed when, shortly after his baptism, he promised to the government of the United States to give his aid in the war against the Creeks. Totally opposed to warfare, they were afraid that Hicks' action might have an ill effect on him as well as on the mission.\footnote{11}

The progress and good work of the mission is exemplified by the five pupils who were sent in 1818 to the Foreign Mission School at Cornwall, Connecticut. Leonard Hicks, John Vann, David Dazizi, John Ridge, and Buck were all deemed worthy of continuing their education at this northern school which had been founded a year before by the American Board for the specific purpose of training native missionaries. The five scholars from the Moravian mission were supported by the ABCFM during their residence at Cornwall.\footnote{12}

The school was to become the source of considerable controversy when John Ridge married the daughter of the school steward. This act of miscegenation was bitterly denounced by Isaiah Bunce, editor of a neighboring newspaper. He declared the relations which the Indian boys maintained with several of the local belles threatened an improvident depletion of New England's substance and that they were a violation of its moral sense. An editorial stated:

The affliction, mortification and disgrace, of the rela-
atives of the young woman, who is only about sixteen years old...will, it is believed, on examination be found to be the fruit of the missionary spirit, and caused by the conduct of the clergymen at that place and its vicinity, who are agents and superintend the school....the relatives of the girl, or the people of Cornwall, or the public at large, who feel indignant at the transaction, some of whom have said that the girl ought to be publicly whipped, the Indian hung, and the mother drown'd, will do well to trace the thing to its true cause, and see whether the men above named, or their system, are not the authors of the transaction as a new kind of missionary machinery.\textsuperscript{13}

The community, if it became reconciled at all to this marriage, had hardly done so when it was shocked by the announcement of another intermixed betrothal. Harriet Gold, the daughter of a deacon who was also a member of the school's Board of Agents, declared her love for Elias Boudinot, a Cherokee trained by the American Board. Herman Vaill, a relative of the girl and himself a missionary, wrote pleading for her to reconsider. While he had no objections to mixed marriages and was entirely satisfied with Boudinot, whom he knew well, he would, nevertheless, have thought more of him if he had not insisted on marrying a white woman. But the marriage threatened to destroy the school which had been founded, not to bring about a mixture
of the races, but to civilize and christianize the heathen, "and to prepare them to become...the sober, chaste, kind husbands of wives from among their own people; and to qualify them to become the enlightened, converted, and obedient subjects of the kingdom of Christ."14

If the school was closed, he added, there would be fewer sermons, money would be harder to collect, the missionary effort would be damaged. Thousands of red men, who might otherwise be saved, would be damned to hell. Both the cause of God and the Savior himself would be dishonored, and his wounds opened afresh. Will you marry him, Vaill asked. "If you are a hypocrite, and resigned for a reprobate, doubtless you will. But if you are a Christian, it must be you will listen, and regard the advice of friends, and the call of God and his church."15

Vaill's brother-in-law, Reverend Cornelius B. Everest, assured him that he and the others would be "steadfast, immovable, and almost continually abounding" in their efforts to break up the marriage. He knew that if the marriage was consummated it would be not just a "damper" but a "death blow" to the school. Resolutely he declared: "Fighting ag't God--I cannot endure such stuff....Stand firm. You need not fear about us."16

Harriet Gold languished in bed with a broken heart because of the clamor. Her father, fearing for her death, removed his objections. When Boudinot came to claim his
bride, the church choir wore crape to express their grief, the steeple bell tolled in mourning, and the bride and groom were hung in effigy, with Harriet's brother applying the match which sent it up in flames to symbolize their eternal damnation. The marriage was consummated. The town was unable to forget, and the school was closed in 1827. It is impossible to estimate how much this distorted religious frenzy may have damaged the missionary endeavor among the American Indians.

1819 became a year of rejoicing at Springplace for several reasons. The Cherokees had been in a state of commotion for several years, precipitated by the treaty which had been signed in 1817 and which had caused a large number of the tribe to remove to Arkansas. But now the United States government, after forcing a new cession of land, agreed that the Cherokees could hold those which remained in perpetuity. The missionaries, as well as the Cherokees, imagined that they could now proceed on a firm foundation for the work of civilization and christianization. Washington emphasized its support of the mission by promising to continue its aid. A new school house and mission building were dedicated on November 19th, and, in honor of the occasion, two persons were baptized, raising to five the total number who had been converted during the eighteen years of the Moravians' presence. Abraham Steiner, who had
returned for the occasion and who came as representative of the Wachovia Provincial Elders Conference (the supervisory agency of the mission), was pleased to note that several other persons appeared also to have been awakened to the need for Christianity.18

Johann Renatus Schmidt was called from the Fairfield mission in Upper Canada to assist the Cherokee mission. Gambold moved to Oochgeelogy (Oothcaloga), Georgia, having been impressed by the appearance of grace in that neighborhood, and established a new post. After his wife died in 1821, he worked alone at this station until the Brethren at Salem, concerned about his bachelorhood, asked him to return and find another mate. They asked him to do this for "the sake of his Saviour and His work...." Gambold agreed and without any difficulty found his third wife.19

By 1823 uncertainty again hung over the mission. Georgia was pressing for the federal government to live up to its agreement to remove the Indians within its borders. Congress and the President resisted the pressure for the moment, but all would find that the word "perpetuity," where concerned with Indian treaties, was bound not by the dictionary interpretation but by the government's will.

Steiner reported to Secretary of War John C. Calhoun about the progress which had been made since the Moravians first arrived among the Indians and wondered if it was desirable to interrupt the start which had been made. The
progress of the Cherokees had surpassed his expectations. More parents wished to put children in school than the missions were able to accommodate. A number of people, particularly the half-breeds, were as well educated as those persons commonly met in civilized life. In many areas their farms and homes equalled those of white neighbors. The progress had resulted from a combination of the labors of those associated with the several benevolent societies and from "the friendly countenance, aid, and measures provided by the government." Steiner asked: "Why not let the plan be fully tested? And why destroy the plant before it has come to maturity or nip it in the bud." 20

The threat of removal hung over the Cherokee Nation for a decade-and-a-half after Steiner made his report. How much this disturbing element interfered with missionary work is problematical. Some, foreseeing an uprooting in their lives, may have become more tenacious in clinging to their ancestral past, but it is improbable that many of the Cherokees were persuaded or dissuaded to alter their religion due to the disturbance in their civil life. The Baptists and the Methodists were able to make sizeable conversions in spite of the threat of removal; the Moravians and the Presbyterians saw little change in the extent of their success from the time of their entrance into the field until their abandonment of it.

Moravian activity during the last decade the Cherokees
remained in their old homeland was largely in a state of stagnation. One or two new members might be added to the church during a year, but the total membership never amounted to much more than a dozen. There was a change in the staff due to the death of Gambold in 1827. Byhan returned for limited service at Springplace and Schmidt was sent to Oochgeology to replace Gambold. Franz Eder and Heinrich Gottlieb Clauder were sent in 1828, after their arrival from Germany, to relieve Schmidt. Eder stayed until only the following year when he was assigned to the Danish West Indies.21

The pressure of the Georgia government began to be seriously felt by the Moravians in 1831. Clauder was ordered out of the state. Byhan was allowed to remain at Springplace because of his position as postmaster. When he requested that he be allowed to retire, Clauder returned and continued the mission at Springplace. Oochgeology was apparently allowed to shift for itself, an improbable feat in view of the fact that the Moravians never trained any of the natives as preachers. On January 9, 1833 Clauder reported that three families had arrived at Springplace claiming that they had rented the property from someone to whom it had been sold during the Georgia lotteries. Clauder was ejected from the mission and the new residents took possession without making any compensation to the Moravians. Clauder went to Tennessee, continuing to preach among some
of the families which he found there and helping the mis-
sionaries of the ABCFM at Brainerd.22

After the signing of the controversial Treaty of 1835,
some of the Cherokees started to drift westward. Clauder
was instructed to tell those who had been under Moravian
charge to try to keep together after their arrival in Arkan-
sas so that they could "rebuild together with their teachers
near them..." Assurances were given by the Moravians that
the emigrants would not be forgotten. The pressure for re-
moval increased and the Salem Memorabilia recorded: "The
situation of our missions among the Cherokees has been
serious on account of political relations and the outlook
is dark." In 1838 all hope for the Cherokees remaining in
their ancestral home vanished and the great migration began.
The Moravians had promised not to forsake their proselytes;
the time had come to fulfill that promise.23
NOTES

Chapter IV

1 Fries, Records of the Moravians, VI, 2654-5, 2665.
2 Malone, Cherokees of the Old South, 60.
3 Walker, Torchlights to the Cherokees, 28; Fries, op. cit., VI, 2659, 2704.
4 Ibid., 2722; Walker, op. cit., 29.
5 Malone, op. cit., 94; Fries, op. cit., VI, 2759.
6 Walker, op. cit., 31.
7 Fries, op. cit., VI, 2799, 2843.
8 Ibid., VII, 3065, 3074, 3105. Vann’s wife was not, however, the first Cherokee converted to Christianity. In the graveyard at Schoenbrunn, Ohio there is buried a man named Noah. He was a Cherokee captured in a war against the Shawnees. He came to the Moravian mission in eastern Ohio and was baptized in 1773. The epitaph on his tombstone reads: "First Fruit of the Cherokee Nation."
9 See Martin Schmidt, John Wesley (2 Volumes), New York, 1962, I, 162.
10 Fries, op. cit., VII, 3111, 3164.
11 Ibid., VII, 3192, 3392. Hicks became principal chief after the death of Pathkiller in 1827. But Hicks died very soon after and was succeeded in office by John Ross.
14 Ibid.; Gabriel, Elias Boudinot, Cherokee and His America, 82-4.
15 Ibid.
16 Ibid., 86-7.
17 Ibid.
18 Fries, op. cit., VII, 3395-6, 3416.
19 Ibid., VII, 3435, 3465, 3511.
21 Fries, op. cit., IX, 3795, 4012, 4064, 4094.
22 Ibid., IX, 3959, 4001-2, 4064, 4094.
23 Ibid., IX, 4095, 4213.
V

THE PRESBYTERIANS AND THE AMERICAN BOARD

When Gideon Blackburn settled in Tennessee in 1794, he wondered whether something could not be done to ameliorate the condition of the Indians. "Is it impossible they should be civilized, and become acquainted with the gospel of Christ?" he asked. Contemplating what could be done to combat their ignorance, their obstinacy, and strong prejudices, he conceived that the proper method would be to instruct them in the simplest ideas, recognizing that the intellectual gap between their primitive minds and Western European erudition was too great to permit the introduction of education on a high level.¹

He approached the Presbytery of Union, Tennessee in 1799 about his plan, but so many objections were raised to it that he abandoned any further overtures for the time. The poverty of the people in that neighborhood proved to be one of the principal obstacles. Four years later he presented his idea to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church. They agreed to advance two hundred dollars for the purpose. Blackburn pointed out that this would be an insufficient fund, whereupon the Assembly graciously provided him with a letter of recommendation which would enable him to beseech the general public for pecuniary aid. The citizens of Tennessee had evidently become more affluent during the intervening years and Blackburn was able to
collect $450 on his return. Armed with his treasury and a letter of recommendation from the Secretary of War, Blackburn set out to convince the Indians of the need for his services. ²

He appeared before the Cherokee council in October and they agreed to his proposal and promised to supply him with children for the school. ³ Unlike the Moravians', Blackburn's primary interest, although he was an ordained preacher, was in education. Undoubtedly for this reason, approval was granted to him more quickly by the Cherokees than it had been to the Brethren.

The school opened in the spring of 1804 with twenty-one students, "who all gave flattering evidences of promising geniuses." Blackburn strengthened their continued attendance by getting the parents to agree that if the children left the school, they were to forfeit the clothing which he had furnished. If this was not done, he was given the right to deduct the expense from the Cherokee annuity. He encouraged the interest of the students by offering a prize to one who showed the greatest progress. ⁴

Blackburn did not neglect religion in the school, but engaged in the common practice of using this contact with the youth to disseminate the story of Christianity. The first principles of religion as contained in the Shorter Catechism were a part of the curriculum. The school day started with a prayer, and the school was opened by reading
from the Scriptures and with praise and a public prayer. The children engaged in lessons until breakfast, after which they were given an hour recreation period, then more lessons until noon, after which there was a two hour play intermission, followed in turn by more lessons until evening. These were sometimes carried on until nine, at which time the school day closed with the singing of a hymn and a prayer by the master. At the bedside each of the students prayed on his knees.\(^5\)

The first school on the Hiwassee River was followed by another at Richard Field's place on the Tennessee. Blackburn reported encouraging progress. On one occasion he took a group of twenty-five scholars to a treaty meeting. They rode twenty miles in a canoe, Blackburn at one end, the master at the other, and the children in between. The students were dressed in homespun; they studied their lessons while traveling. Governor John Sevier of Tennessee was present at the council and the sight of the children, dressed in civilized habit and as knowledgeable as they were, unnerved him—a sensation he had never experienced before, even though he had been subjected to showers of enemy bullets in many engagements.\(^6\)

In his last letter to the \textit{Panoplist}, Blackburn related that over six hundred Bibles and Testaments had been circulated. But as yet there had been no church erected and few felt any impressions of grace. During his years
there he had given instruction to between four and five hundred pupils. Ill-health had disturbed him for some time, and in 1810 he was forced to curtail his activity completely and the schools were abandoned. A groundwork had been laid; Blackburn's work was not forgotten. But seven years passed before the schools were reestablished by a closely allied denomination—the Congregationalists.

Evidence of an awakening to the need for carrying on the work of this dedicated man appeared in an article published in 1816. It pointed out that the churches were bound to evangelize the Indians for several reasons. There was first of all the element of justice; as the original possessors of the land—land given to them by the Creator, from which the whites had no warrant to dispossess them—justice required that the Word of God be brought to them as compensation for the hardships they were enduring. Secondly, there was the "peculiar relation" which existed between the red men and the American churches; resident in the United States, the Indians looked to American benevolent societies for assistance; it would be impolitic to leave this field to foreign missionaries; to do so would be to weaken the ties of the Indians to this nation—ties which clearly were none too strong. Thirdly, humanity demanded that the churches do what they could to eliminate the constant alarm and peril which existed on the frontier.
Fourthly, by enlightening and civilizing the Indians, missionary effort would not only help to strengthen their association with the United States, but also help to reduce the expense necessitated by the constant warfare between them; the government could probably save ten times its present outlay for war by providing the means for instructing the Indians. Finally, there was the obligation of all Christians to send the Gospel to the heathen and save them from hell; these dark-skinned peoples had immortal souls destined to endless existence, the same as whites; they were now the slaves of Satan; if they perished, their blood would be on Christian hands. Even if the Indians were to vanish, it was imperative that the Gospel be spread among them to give them one ray of hope to carry with them to the "dark valley of the shadow of death."³

The following issue of the Panoplist suggested the method for effecting this duty. There were two choices: either to bring the Indian children to existing white schools or to establish schools in their own country. The first plan had already proven unsatisfactory [as exhibited by the results of Moor's Charity School and Dartmouth]. Children instructed in such schools felt inferior; they were not prepared to endure the discipline and confinement in an institution far from their homes; and when they returned among the natives, they quickly readopted their old ways. The best method was that which Blackburn had used:
build the schools in the Indian country. One school could educate several hundred children; there would be workshops and fields for cultivation; English was the preferable language for instruction as it offered the advantage of conversation. The article mentioned that if Blackburn had received sufficient aid that the Cherokees might already be in a respectable stage of knowledge and refinement.  

The organization which first took heed of this call was the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Conceived in 1810 at the instigation of some students from Andover Theological Seminary, this Congregationalist society directed its immediate attention to Burma and Ceylon, although taking cognizance at the time of its inception of a need for missionary work among the American Indians. But it required the element of patriotism to remind the society of the desirability of saving the souls of the native Americans.  

Spurred by this additional motivation, the Board sent Cyrus Kingsbury, Samuel J. Mills, and William Goodell on an exploratory trip in 1816, and they reported that the southern Indian tribes offered the most fertile field for operation. Kingsbury conferred with several officials in Washington, including Secretary of War William Crawford, and obtained an agreement by which the government would pay two-thirds of the expense of erecting the necessary buildings. President Madison was favorable to the venture.
Further instructions were issued to supply the mission with 2 ploughs, 6 hoes, and 6 axes for cultivation, and a loom, 6 spinning wheels, and 6 pairs of cards for weaving, to be supplied as soon as a female instructor was engaged for work with the latter instruments. The President asked in return for this governmental largess that an annual report be made concerning the state of the school, its progress, and its future prospects. 11

The Cherokee council consented to Kingsbury's proposal. A principal chief said: "We are glad to see you. We wish to have the schools established and hope they will be of great advantage to the Nation." After a trip to New England to relate his success, Kingsbury returned to the Cherokee Nation in January, 1817 and established the mission on Chickamauga Creek in Tennessee just above the Georgia border, naming it after the creek on which it was located. By September four small log buildings had been erected and twenty-six students were enrolled. When Jeremiah Evarts, the treasurer of the Board, and Reverend Elias Cornelius visited the mission the following May, their suggestion to rename it Brainerd in honor of an earlier renowned missionary was agreed to. 12

On their visit the representatives of the Board found one child "a hopeful convert, and others [were] thoughtful and inquiring." They saw the school which was organized on the Lancastrian pattern by which the older and more advanced
students served as monitors and taught the younger. Work in the fields provided the recreation in a day which lasted from sunrise until 9:00 P.M. A horn sounded for reveille and taps. In addition to the religious instruction, there were classes in reading, writing, spelling, and arithmetic. Attendance at the time of the visit had increased to forty-seven.  

The Sabbath was as full a day as the week days. After the morning prayer, the missionary families held an hour prayer meeting. Then at the regular services a chapter from the Bible was expounded in the morning session, and after a short intermission another sermon was preached in the afternoon. Some of the people came from as far as twenty miles away, the nearest had to travel two. Many of them spoke English, but an interpreter served if necessary.  

Catherine Brown, a young half-breed Cherokee girl, often acted in that role. Baptized on January 25, 1818, she was the first fruit of the mission. When the missionaries first met her, she had been excessively vain in her dress and wore a profusion of ornaments in her ears; after her conversion she was outfitted in simple garb and only a single trinket dangled from each ear. She became a model of piety. Some whites once endeavored to embarrass her about her belief in the Bible and other religious views, but she only affirmed her views and remarked that she hoped she would never doubt as they were doing.
Neither of Catherine's parents was able to read or write. But the missionaries found her father to be a well-informed person except about religious matters, in which respect they believed his opinions to be quite primitive. He acknowledged a Supreme Being, a Creator, and a system of rewards and punishments, but he had virtually no knowledge concerning the character of God, about who would be rewarded and who punished, and all the other elements of theology about which the missionaries were so sure.¹⁶

The missionaries frequently visited with families in the Cherokee Nation and discussed religious views with those who attended the church services. They found native ignorance concerning religion exceedingly painful. One woman with whom they spoke seemed to have no idea at all about it. She did not think much about God, did not regard herself as a sinner, and did not think her spirit would go anywhere after she died. After their discussion she "appeared solemn, and somewhat affected, and before the close of the conversation said she believed she was a sinner." She was glad to leave her son so he could learn "all these good things."¹⁷

The missionaries encountered many such people as they spread out from Brainerd over the ensuing years. A second mission was opened at Taloney (later Carmel) in 1818 under the direction of Moody Hill; it was located about sixty miles southwest of Brainerd. Creek Path, near Catherine Brown's home in what is present day Guntersville, Alabama,
followed in 1820. In the same year the missionaries answered a plea from John Ross and his brother to start a mission near their store located in the vicinity of Fort Armstrong, but the school which was set up was abandoned within a few months due to the inability of the missionary to secure provisions and because of poor attendance at the school. Hightower, on the Etowee River, Willstown, about eighty miles southeast of Brainerd, and Haweis, about fifty miles southwest in Alabama, were all started in 1823. A station in Tennessee at Candy's Creek was begun the year after. The pressure of Georgia for its lands forced some adjustments after the turn of the decade, closing the Hightower post in 1831 and leading to the creation of the Amohee mission in Tennessee near Candy's Creek. Red Clay mission, on the Tennessee River near the Georgia border, came into being in 1835 and Running Water mission, on the same river, had a short-lived existence from the same year until 1836. Most of the other missions, including Brainerd, continued in operation in one fashion or another until the exodus of the Cherokees came to an end in 1839. 18

The American Board was fortunate in having many dedicated missionaries on its staff. Those who were assigned to the Cherokees often carried on until ill-health or death removed them from their labors. Although Kingsbury left the Cherokee mission in 1818, it was only to start a
new one among the Choctaws, a tribe to whom he dedicated
his services for the remainder of his life. When he left
Brainerd on May 30th, the people assembled by the river to
watch him go, pouring out their hearts in prayer and ming-
ling their voices in song. The tears on the faces of some
of the natives manifested the attachment which they felt
for the man who had introduced Christianity among them. 19

In advance of Kingsbury's departure, the Reverends
Ard Hoyt and Daniel S. Butrick arrived in January and Wil-
liam Chamberlain in March, and all three saw many years of
devoted service—Hoyt until his death in 1827 and Butrick
and Chamberlain beyond the time of the removal to the West.
Milo Hoyt, the son of Ard, married a Cherokee girl and thus
assured his continued association with the tribe. It was
he who encountered the difficulties associated with the
short-lived school at Chatooga near Fort Armstrong. Milo
was admitted to full communion during the time of his as-
signment to Chatooga, having experienced a renewal of his
faith after entertaining some moments of darkness and doubt
during the prior year. The customary questions preceding
admission to the church found his answers satisfactory and
his petition for membership was approved. 20

Doctor Elizur Butler and Reverend William Potter ar-
ived at Brainerd on January 10, 1821. Butler was to show
his dedication, not only by his many long years of service
as a doctor, teacher, and minister, but also by his defiance
of the Georgia authorities, an act which was to lead to his imprisonment for more than a year. Potter was assigned to the Creek Path station in order to relieve Butrick for work on a Cherokee spelling book. Potter followed the Cherokees west and served until 1842.21

Samuel Worcester, the most famous of the American Board's missionaries to the Cherokees, arrived in 1825 as a young man of twenty-five, his recent bride, Ann, accompanying him on the journey from New England. After his arrival at Brainerd, he devoted much of his time to translations of the Bible. When the Cherokees acquired a press in 1828 he moved to New Echota and worked in conjunction with Elias Boudinot, the editor of the Cherokee Phoenix, in printing translations of various school and religious books and pamphlets. Although Worcester would retain his ministerial duties, printing was his passion and occupied the vast majority of his time until his death in 1859.22

The creation of a Cherokee alphabet by Sequoyah and the procuration of the printing press unquestionably contributed immensely to the spread of Christianity among the Cherokees. Sequoyah's alphabet made it easy for them to learn to read and the press disseminated news concerning religious events through the Cherokee Phoenix and enabled Worcester to print his translations of the Scriptures, hymns, and religious tracts for distribution to a large number of people. Worcester urged the adoption of Sequoy-
ah's syllabary, concluding that his books would be far more quickly read if printed in the native language than they would be if rendered in English. He was uncertain whether Sequoyah's alphabet was superior to the Roman, but the people were enthusiastic about it and were able to learn to read quickly with it, and this was reason enough for favoring it. 23

The missionaries of the American Board never depended on native Cherokees as ministers to the extent that the Baptists and Methodists did. In the later years of their activity the American Board ordained several natives as ministers, but for the most part they depended on the Cherokees for assistance in interpreting and teaching rather than preaching. A Cherokee youth, who was given the name of Samuel J. Mills on the occasion of his baptism, is mentioned as preaching at Turniptown in 1822. His preaching, however, seems to have been more on his own initiative than under the auspices of the Board, as the report notes that Mills had gathered his congregation together before he had obtained full communion in the church. On this occasion Mills brought two persons from his own congregation to Brainerd, both of whom were hopeful converts, evidence that Mills had no jurisdiction concerning church matters. 24

Not until late in 1833 were any natives licensed to preach by the American Board. In that year both Stephen Foreman and John Huss were authorized to act in such a
capacity. Foreman later became prominent in Cherokee affairs after their removal to the West, acting for a time as superintendent of schools and later serving as head of a Bible Society. Huss continued to serve as a preacher long after the removal had taken place.25

A sermon by Huss which has been preserved displays the approach which was commonly used in his day to induce others to a belief in Christianity. The basic element was an inculcation of fear, with the harrowing threat of eternal damnation. Huss reminded his audience that there was another world, a world whose existence was proven by the knowledge of others who had already gone there. It was a vastly different world from the mundane one which they knew—without the all-night dances and ball-plays and other earthly amusements. Christ had shown that one could choose either death or eternal life. Satan led men down the broad, evil way, teaching men to be like himself, desiring that they be accursed in hellfire. Drunks, cheats, thieves, murderers, quarrelers, fighters, liars, proud men, despisers of the poor, adulterers, breakers of the Commandments, followed the way of Satan. These would abide in darkness and fire and in endless pain, being gnawed by a worm which never dies; they would groan without intermission or end. Christ, on the other hand, had shown the narrow, perfect way. He had shed his blood to cleanse them of sin and given them laws to guide them to heaven. If men repented and came to
him. He could make them immortal and raise them to his right hand. They would abide in heaven where there was "great beauty and glory and happiness," a place without sickness, trouble, or death, a place in which they would dwell in the light of God and his friends, with Christ, the saints, angels, and the original inhabitants. There the people would unite in praising God and the sound would be sweet. The question then was which way a man would choose to follow.26

John Arch came to Brainerd at the age of twenty-five and asked for admission to the school. Wild in appearance, the missionaries were somewhat hesitant about allowing him to enter, but they learned that he had attended school for awhile as a child and still retained some of his education. When he agreed to put away his gun, their qualms were eased and they took him in as a scholar. Arch proved to be a well-founded risk. Within a year he had been accepted as a candidate for baptism and then, after the customary questioning which assured his auditors of his general knowledge of Christian doctrine and especially of the designs and nature of baptism, he was given the sacrament on February 20, 1820. The following month he accompanied Daniel Butrick to start the school at Creek Path and remained as an instructor while continuing, at the same time, his own education. He later helped in translating sections of the Bible, but like Catherine Brown and many of the other hope-
ful young converts, Arch's career was cut short at an early date. He suffered from dropsy and died in 1825.27

The records of the representatives of the ABCFM among the Cherokees are more accounts of anxious inquiries and hopes for the future than they are of fulfillment. Each year there was a conviction that the next would be better, but although the total number of communicants eventually rose to over two hundred, there was no year of tremendous upsurge. The peak was reached by gradual accretions, and when it was reached the threat of removal became an insurmountable barrier, resulting in a leveling off and then a slow decline.

As early as 1819 the missionaries noted a discouraging sign which dampened their first flush of enthusiasm. Their congregation had remained pretty much uniform for some time. They hoped that some were being edified each day, but there was an apparent hardening among a few which gave them cause for disconcertment. The Journal of Brainerd noted: "They attend with decency; hear as if they assented to all as true, and yet remain, like many thoughtless hearers in old congregations, unawakened and unconcerned."28

Butrick, who sometimes served as an itinerant preacher, observed on one of his trips that the Cherokees gave a "decent attention to the preaching of the word" but nothing more encouraging than this. There was "no serious conviction of sin," no "exposedness to the wrath of God...nor any
anxious inquiry of the way of salvation...."29

But there were moments of encouragement. Catherine Brown, while teaching a class of about twenty girls at Creek Path, received several "anxious inquiries" about religion. And, where before she had mourned for the ignorance of the people in her home neighborhood who had been unmoved by her discussions, she now beheld "with great joy...her parents, brothers, and sisters unitedly weeping for their sins, and earnestly inquiring after the good way...."30

Both the missionaries and native church members often talked with others who attended the services. Sometimes they found that an impression had been made which had taken hold. One man, for instance, said that what he had heard about eighteen months before had sunk down in his heart and had continued to weigh upon it. He had acquired a great love for Christians and was happy in their company; he received great pleasure from the things he heard. The members decided that he was worthy of consideration as a candidate for baptism.31

Others might be noticed listening with solemnity, and if there was a "moistened eye" this was a clear manifestation that they had been touched. One couple, so moved, spent five days at the mission and returned home with a changed heart. The Brainerd Journal recorded: "Religion seems to be almost the sole object of their attention." The couple expressed their determination "to walk in the light
which now shone on them and to seek further instruction by all the means in their power."

Toward the last of the 1820's the Presbyterians, noting the success of the Methodists, sometimes held camp meetings, occasionally in cooperation with the other denominations. Although they generally deplored the approach used by the Methodists, they could not help envying their results and decided that a more lively demonstration of the wonders of Christianity might be acceptable for their own purposes, especially if it proved productive. One such meeting was held at Haweis in conjunction with the Moravians and the Methodists. About 150 to 200 attended. Immediately after Chamberlain's sermon, ten came forward as candidates for baptism. John Huss held a candlelight service in the evening. Notice was taken that some backsliders were present. At a four day meeting held several years later, the congregations of Willstown and Haweis joined together. Chamberlain was assisted by Butrick, Potter, Adams, and Huss. In addition to the two congregations a large number of noncommunicants were attracted, so that the total number in the assembly was estimated at between five hundred and a thousand. After the services 70 to 80 came forward to manifest their penitence and around 150 signed a temperance paper.

In 1829 the missionaries reported to the Prudential Committee of the American Board a church membership of 159 and a school enrollment of 174. In this year there seemed
to be (as usual) a greater interest in the church and its preachings. Later in the year, however, a change took place and there was a drop in the membership at Brainerd from 34 to 19 (possibly due to Worcester's transfer to New Echota and the temporary absence of any resident minister). Membership at Carmel dropped from 31 to 29, but there was an increase at Candy's Creek from 10 to 17. Altogether, they continued to feel that there was an "increasing attention" to preaching and said that the meetings were much better attended than a year before. 34

By 1833 the membership had grown to 262, of which 213 were natives. In the sixteen year history of their presence the missionaries of the American Board had received 436 persons into their churches in the Cherokee Nation. Their current membership was recorded as equally divided between males and females. Services drew from 20 to 300, with the communions drawing the best. Morality in this year was regarded as being in a state of retrograde, although only 2 or 3 of the members were believed to partake of alcohol. Anxiety and despondency prevailed due to the pressure of Georgia for the land. Whites had already taken possession of Hightower and were threatening to oust the missionaries from Haweis. 35

From this time there was a steady decline in the state of the missions of the American Board in the Old Cherokee Nation. Nothing the missionaries could do could offset the
turmoil evoked by the removal threat. They watched with sadness the destruction of their mission stations and the dissolution of their many years of effort. But they did not lose the courage to try again in the Indian Territory, the land where the natives would no longer be disturbed by white encroachments and the missionaries could proceed without fear of interference by depraved persons of the same color.
NOTES

Chapter V

1 "Letter from Gideon Blackburn," Panoplist, III, 39.
2 Ibid., 40.
3 Ibid., 84.
4 Ibid., 55-6.
5 Ibid., 323.
6 Malone, Cherokees of the Old South, 97; Panoplist, IV, 417.
7 Ibid., 475; Malone, op. cit., 97-8.
8 Panoplist, XII, 118-22.
9 Ibid., 150-2. Because of the interrelated nature of the Congregational and Presbyterian Churches, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions is often thought of as much (if not more) in terms of the latter church than the former. It was not unusual for a missionary to preach under the auspices of either or both churches and one time as a Presbyterian and at another as a Congregationalist. In 1827 the United Foreign Missionary Society, composed of the Presbyterian and Dutch Reformed Churches, officially joined the American Board and worked thereafter under that name. See William E. Strong, The Story of the American Board, Boston, 1910, 41.
10 Thomas Smith, The Origin and History of Missions (2 Volumes), Boston, 1833, II, 234-6.
11 Memorial of the Prudential Committee of the ABCFM to the Congress, Senate Public Doc. #50, 21st Cong., 2nd sess., II, 1-10; Strong, The Story of the American Board, 36.
12 Panoplist, XIII, 508-9; Smith, History of Missions, II, 345.
13 Ibid.; Strong, op. cit., 36.
14 Panoplist, XIV, 543.
15 Ibid., 345; Smith, op. cit., II, 347.
16 Panoplist, XIV, 384-5.
17 Ibid., 414.
18 Walker, Torchlights to the Cherokees, 69; Missionary Herald, XVI, 313, XVII, 21 (hereinafter cited as MH).
19 Panoplist, XIV, 468-9.
20 MH, XVI, 316, 357, XXXVII, 13.
21 Ibid., XVI, 561, XVII, 285, XXXVIII, 9.
22 See Althea Bass, Cherokee Messenger, Norman, 1936 for a biography of Worcester.
23 Walker, Torchlights to the Cherokees, 215-6, 232.
24 MH, XVIII, 306.
25 Ibid., XXIX, 473.
26 Walker, op. cit., 126-33.
27 MH, XV, 326, XVI, 122, 186; Walker, op. cit., 211.
28 MH, XV, 326.
29 Ibid., XVI, 83.
30 Ibid., XVII, 47.
31 Ibid., 341.
32 Ibid., 342.
33 Ibid., XXIV, 281, XXIX, 96.
34 Ibid., XXV, 8, 318.
35 Ibid., XXIX, 459.
VI

THE BAPTISTS IN THE OLD NATION

The Baptists and the Methodists were by far the most successful evangelists among the Cherokees. Not requiring the rigorous evidence of piety demanded by the Moravians and the Presbyterians for admission to their particular churches, the number of Baptist and Methodist converts blossomed into a substantial garden which in time was able to give the name of "Christian" to the entire Cherokee Nation.

But while the extent of their missionary labor was voluminous, the records concerning them are minuscule. Failing to keep the journals and memorabilia and not maintaining the regular correspondence with their parent boards in the manner of the missionaries of the American Board and, to a lesser extent, the Moravians, it is impossible to piece together more than a scant record of their work. Perhaps the fact that they spent less time keeping accounts and writing letters partially explains the reason for their greater success.

The Moravian emissaries to the Cherokees, Steiner and Schwinitz, learned of the existence of two Seventh Day Baptists within the nation. One of these, Bartram, had been accidentally killed sometime before. The other, Friderici, was still alive at the time of the Moravians' visit and had come there many years before. A native of Germany, Friderici, knew very little English and had made practically no
progress in understanding the native language. The Brethren visited him and were able to converse with him in his original tongue. Friderici's father had been a clergyman, but he had trained as a linen-weaver. A very pious man, he believed in preaching and teaching by example rather than with words. At the time of their visit, Friderici told the Brethren that he was hoping to teach his neighbors weaving since they were expecting to secure looms in the near future. It is impossible to measure the magnitude of the influence of men such as Friderici, but it may well be more than the records would suggest.

Local Baptists may have done some missionary work among the Cherokees in the eighteenth century. Evan Jones passed through their country in 1805, baptizing some as he went, but formal Baptist missionary work did not begin until 1817.

There was a split among the Baptists at this time as to the value of missionary work. Those who favored the effort found different reasons than those which influenced the American Board. One Baptist, John M. Peck, wrote: "The blessings of the Gospel and civilization ought to be carried to the 'red-skin,' not because he is an honest, inoffensive personage, but because he is ferociously wicked, delights in war, and will commit such depredations as described for the love of fighting, and his insatiate desire for plunder."

The Triennial Convention of the Baptist Church was held in Philadelphia in 1817 and during its sessions the matter
of Indian missions was discussed. An amendment was made to the constitution of the church setting aside funds for domestic missions. Reverend Isaac McCoy was given an appointment to the Wabash area and Reverend Humphrey Posey received an assignment to the Cherokees.4

Posey went to Valleytowns on the Hiwassee River, largely at the insistence of Currahee Dick, a prominent mixed-blood. He established two or three schools but remained only a few months, leaving for a journey beyond the Mississippi. He returned in 1820 and settled on an eighty acre farm which was fully outfitted with stock and implements. Buildings were erected and a school was begun with fifty children. Instruction was given in the Scriptures and the knowledge and arts of civilized society. The Baptist Board later discouraged the operation of the farm. Where at first it had been regarded as essential for securing the interest of the natives, the Board came to the conclusion that this was not true and ordered that the farm be gradually abandoned so that the missionaries could devote themselves exclusively to instruction in the verities of Christianity and "lead them to repentance and faith in Jesus Christ."5

Evan Jones, a native of Wales, appeared at the mission in 1821 to resume the work which he had undertaken haphazardly before. Jones was originally assigned to work as a teacher, but when Posey left again not long after, Jones
assumed the burden of preaching as well. Isaac Clever, a blacksmith, and John Farrier, a weaver, were ordered to the mission at the same time as Jones, but their stay proved ephemeral and Jones was left with almost the entire weight of the mission on himself. It is apparent that he found the task to his liking as he dedicated the rest of his life to the Cherokees.

In the same year that Jones arrived, Duncan O'Briant, a teacher, established a second station at Tinsawatee, about sixty miles south of Valleytowns. Reverend John Roberts was appointed superintendent of the entire mission, but he resigned the post in 1825 and Jones, now an ordained minister, replaced him.

Conversions did not come quickly to the Baptists or in immediate abundance once the ground had been broken. John Timson and his wife became the first Cherokee Baptists in 1823, and both of them served as interpreters in subsequent years. O'Briant worked at Tinsawatee with indifferent success. It was not until he moved to Hickory Log, ten miles down the Etowah River, that his labors proved fruitful. There eighty families quickly came under his direction. Jones noted that the Indians had been reluctant at first to accept the Biblical stories as more than legendary tales—as little meant for them as their own for the white men. The profligacy of many whites and their denials of Christian ethics confirmed the natives in their views. It re-
quired a long time for the missionaries to convince the
Indians that what they told them was true and that Chris-
tians were really their friends.8

An important factor in future Baptist success was the
enthusiasm of several converts and their employment as pros-
elytizers. One full-blood, who was a member of the National
Council, had such an intense concern for the salvation of
his people "that he hastened to tell them all he knew of the
great Deliverer, and prayed with them, giving them the most
earnest exhortations to fly to Christ, without a moment's
delay."9 On Jones' circuit to Notley, sixteen miles south-
west of Valleytowns, he made the conversion of Kaneedea, re-
named John Wickliffe, and ordained him as a minister in 1829.
Wickliffe was assiduous in his new cause and contributed
many years of valuable service to the Baptist Church.10

The most important Baptist conversion may well have
been that of Jesse Bushyhead. Bushyhead came to the Baptists
rather than they to him. He was a man of superior intelli-
gence and had attended an academy in Tennessee. He had
learned his Christianity by reading the Bible and was or-
dained a minister while in Tennessee. After returning to
his home town Amohee, he collected a large Christian con-
gregation. It was not until then that he became acquainted
with the Valleytowns mission and determined to associate
with it. He served as a faithful minister for the Baptist
Church for many years and became chief justice of the Chero-
kee supreme court after the removal of the tribe to the Indian Territory.¹¹

The Baptists were never as extensively engaged in teaching as the Presbyterians. Some of the children under their jurisdiction were sent, however, to the Choctaw Academy at Great Crossings, Kentucky. This school was begun in 1818 under the auspices of the Baptist Missionary Society of that state. It was closed for a few years due to lack of funds, but was reopened in 1825 when several Choctaw chiefs asked the superintendent, Richard M. Johnson, to educate their children. The government promised to provide $6000 as an education fund for this tribe. By 1828 the school was filled with one hundred students, including some Cherokees. Cherokee participation was always slight and when the Choctaw council decided to discontinue patronizing it, it ceased to serve after 1845 as an educational institution for either tribe.¹²

Isaac McCoy, the Baptist missionary who had been sent among the tribes in Indiana and lower Michigan, was one of the persons most vociferous in arguing for the removal of all the tribes beyond the Mississippi. He saw there a domain in which the Indians could remain in permanent possession of the land and where they would be removed from the influence of dissolute whites. A massive removal to the West seemed to be an ideal solution for eliminating the constant pressure for Indian land which existed in the East and
which was relentlessly disturbing not only the Indians but those who were trying to change them into civilized Christians. McCoy, like the others who spoke for this panacea, ignored the fact that white settlements had already pushed well beyond the river barrier into Missouri, Arkansas, and Texas. In preparation for the proposed removal, McCoy made an exploratory trip beyond the Arkansas country in 1828 to determine the suitability of the land. His reports were favorable and assisted the cause of those who were pushing for the ejection of the southern Indians.\textsuperscript{13}

McCoy was aware of the opposition of many missionary societies to the removal concept, particularly as it would affect the Cherokees. The American Board staunchly opposed the plan and even the Baptist Board differed with him for a time on the subject.\textsuperscript{14} If the Baptist missionaries among the Cherokees expressed themselves about removal, little is known about what they said. If they were silent, it may have been because their own work was less directly affected by the agitation which came principally from Georgia. As their main stations were in Alabama, they were not as exposed to the irritations which confronted the Moravians and Presbyterians whose missions lay either entirely or mainly within Georgia.

Moreover, the Baptists were enjoying in the early 1830's a period of religious awakening. A decade of effort was bearing fruit in numbers which were a cause for
rejoicing regardless of the political situation. For example, on June 6, 1832 Jones reported having "the un-speakable pleasure" of "burying in baptism thirty-six full Cherokees." The congregation on this day was large and serious and about fifty came forward expressing a desire to forsake sin and seek salvation. The Baptist Church at this time had one hundred forty-nine Cherokees. Twenty more were added in July, 1833 and by 1835 the membership was listed as around three hundred. Two native preachers and five exhorters were assisting in the work. Jones vouched for the pious character of the converts, saying that the heads of the families conducted morning and evening worship in their own homes. The churches held weekly prayer meetings in addition to the regular Sunday services.\textsuperscript{15}

But the shadow of removal overlay the work of the Baptists as well as the other denominations. As early as 1831 Duncan O'Briant had gone to Arkansas along with some of his converts who had chosen to no longer resist the pressure for their lands. By May of the following year he had opened Baptist missionary endeavor in the West, assembling 15 church members and a school of 20 at a station about seventy miles north of Fort Smith.\textsuperscript{16} The groundwork had been laid for extending the Baptist doctrine in the new territory to which the rest of the nation would follow a few years later.
Chapter VI

2 Malone, Cherokees of the Old South, 106.
4 Ibid., 324-6.
6 Ibid., 324-5; Mooney, Myths of the Cherokees, 108.
8 Malone, op. cit., 108; Smith, History of Missions, II, 492.
9 Ibid.
11 Ibid.; Gammell, op. cit., 326.
12 Posey, The Baptist Church in the Lower Mississippi Valley, 84.
13 See Isaac McCoy, History of Baptist Indian Missions, Washington, 1840, Chapters XIII, XIV.
14 Ibid., 398-9.
15 Smith, History of Missions, II, 495.
16 Posey, The Baptist Church in the Lower Mississippi Valley, 86.
VII
THE METHODISTS

John Wesley came to America for the specific purpose of preaching to the Indians, but he found such a widespread field for evangelization among the whites that he never got around to doing anything for the aborigines. From the little contact he did have with the natives, he became ambiguous in his opinion about them, sometimes praising them and at other times speaking derisively. Nevertheless, Wesley did express his concern for their fate, writing in 1787:

...one thing has often given me concern...the progeny of Shem seem to be quite forgotten. How few of these have seen the light of the glory of God since the English first settled among them! And now scarce one in fifty among whom we settled, perhaps scarce one in an hundred of them are left alive! Does it not seem as if God had designed all the Indian nations not for reformation, but destruction? How many millions of them (in South and North America) have already died in their sins! Will neither God nor man have compassion upon these outcasts of men? Undoubtedly with man it is impossible to help them. But is it too hard for God?

Methodist missionary work among the American Indians was stimulated by the labors of an unordained mulatto among the Wyandots near Sandusky, Ohio. John Stewart came to this
area to exhort the natives and employed a Negro captive of the Wyandots as interpreter. The work of these men inspired the Ohio Annual Conference at its 1819 session held in Cincinnati to initiate formal missionary work among this tribe. By 1823 the spirit of missionary endeavor had spread to the Tennessee Conference and work was undertaken in that year among the Cherokees, placing on a formal basis informal Methodist preaching among this tribe which had taken place the year before.³

Prior to that time the Moravians at Salem, North Carolina had reported the visit of a Methodist, James Taylor, to their city on August 7, 1807. Taylor said that he often traveled in the Cherokee country, but he confined his preaching to whites.⁴ Evidently, like Wesley, he found a sufficient amount of heathenism among his own race to occupy his full attention, but undoubtedly, as well, like most missionaries, he suffered from an inability to speak the language of the natives.

Methodism among the Cherokees was inaugurated at the behest of one of their own citizens. In the spring of 1822 Richard Riley requested that the Reverend Richard Neely preach at his house. Neely went and along with Reverend Richard Boyd raised a society of thirty-three persons. The Methodist missionaries, however, had no regular appointments to this place, and when they left they placed Riley in charge. Shortly after, Reverend Andrew J. Crawford was
officially appointed to fill the gap, and he, after a Cherokee council declared itself in favor of the establishment of a school, began operation of such an institution. The parents were pleased by the early results and offered to build a boarding school if teachers could be supplied.5

Conscious of the work of the other denominations and moved by this direct appeal for Methodist indoctrination, the Tennessee Conference appointed Richard Neely, Nicholas D. Scales, and Isaac W. Sullivan as preachers for the Indian nation.6

They maintained circuits in the Methodist manner, preaching from two to five times a week at various locations. Camp meetings were a popular feature of Methodist evangelization. A large tent would be erected and clean beds provided. All who attended would be generously fed and comfortably lodged—the free hand-out being an inducement among Indians as well as whites and unquestionably an important element in the success which the Methodists enjoyed among the Cherokees. Some of the people came from as far as sixty miles. At one two day meeting, Reverends William McMahon and Crawford reported that one man was "powerfully converted to God" and that altogether 25 adults and 20 children were baptized.7

The Methodists divided the nation into Upper, Lower, and Middle Missions. Neely, operating in the Lower Mission, formed a four week's circuit at Wills Valley, Oostanaula,
Coosawattke, Mount Wesley, Ashbury, Chattooga, Sullacoie, Neely's Grove, Conasagua, and New Rochota. The latter school was established at the request of the natives and was maintained by Francis Asbury Owen, who quickly created a church with twenty-one members.\footnote{8}

Richard Boyd died in 1824, but the Methodists had already trained a number of Cherokees as exhorters, so that they were not as embarrassed for missionary help as the Presbyterians often were. Neely suffered for a time from lack of an interpreter and found this a great impediment to his progress, but with the increasing use of natives as exhorters this difficulty was overcome. In addition to Riley, some of the Cherokees who acted in this capacity were Edward Gunter, Joseph Blackbird, and W. S. Coody. Coody operated at a post one hundred miles from Riley's and had a church membership of eighty. Feeling that he was incapable of operating the church on his own, he, at one time, offered to pay one hundred dollars a year of his own money for the support of a missionary.\footnote{9}

The most important of the Methodist native exhorters was Turtle Fields. He was characterized as "truly an evangelical man, deeply devoted to God, and earnestly, zealously and laboriously engaged for the salvation of his people." By 1827 he had brought one hundred-forty members into the church. His talent and the value of his work were recognized by his appointment as a regular itinerant preacher,
making him the first Cherokee fully ordained as a Christian minister. ¹⁰

In the early days of Methodist missionary endeavor among the Cherokees, Neely reported that they had found it easier to preach the Gospel than to teach the children. But in 1827 the schools were said to be flourishing. The people, moreover, were said to have changed from hunters to cultivators of the fields and were now attending to their domestic duties. Information concerning Methodist work in the field of secular instruction is even sparser than that concerning their preaching, and nothing much more can be said about it than to agree with the writer of an article which appeared in 1847 that "There is a lamentable deficiency of statistics and other precise reliable information" concerning all phases of Methodist missionary activity. ¹¹

In the early years of their work the missionaries to the Cherokees were requested to make quarterly reports to the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and from these it is possible to gain some idea of the extent of their success. At the beginning of 1826 there were 131 persons on the roster of the meeting societies in the Upper Mission and 152 on that of the Lower Mission. But in a letter which Neely wrote on March 9th of that year, he observed that not very many of these had been converted as yet. However, prospects were flattering in several places and there were "tolerably large" congregations at the ser-
vices, particularly considering how the weather had been. By August Neely had admitted thirty members as probationers and had baptized fifteen, only one of whom, however, was an adult; many more appeared to be of a serious demeanor. Some of their seriousness was demonstrated by their rebuilding of a meeting-house which had burned down, and at no cost to the Methodist Church. Neely mentioned that at another spot the natives had built a meeting-house on their own, even before he had visited them. They had not built it especially for the Methodists, but for the use of any denomination which would send someone to preach there; they had already hired a teacher who was giving instructions to eighteen students.¹²

Neely told the Missionary Society that the field was "white and ready for harvest," and that the only thing that was lacking was personnel to take advantage of the situation. The language of the Cherokees was: "come over and help us." The Methodist missionaries who were there helped to the best of their ability and the Cherokee response was (comparatively, at least) spectacular. Four hundred members were counted in their society in 1827, 670 by February, 1828, and 1028 by the end of 1830. By the latter date there were 5 schools in operation and 17 missionaries were traveling on 5 circuits; of the missionaries, only 7 were white; of the 10 natives, 2 were licensed preachers and the rest were classified as exhorters.¹³
Reverend O. C. McLeod related early in 1832 that missionary work was continuing well on the three circuits outside of Georgia. "But it is lamentable to see," he said, "how the cause has suffered, and is impeded within the Georgia dominions...." Most of the converts insisted, nevertheless, that they had no intention of giving up their religion or of relinquishing "their title to the promised heavenly country." McLeod added that the Cherokee converts had a strong belief in the efficacy of fervent prayer. Its power was obviously not sufficient to overcome the wills of the Georgia authorities and of President Jackson. When the time came for removal, the Methodist Cherokees were forced to leave along with all the others.
NOTES

Chapter VII

1 Schmidt, John Wesley, 131-2.
4 Fries, Records of the Moravians, VI, 2052.
5 Smith, History of Missions, II, 520.
6 Ibid., III, 521.
8 Ibid., IX, 193; Woodward, The Cherokees, 143; Malone, Cherokees of the Old South, III.
9 Woodward, op. cit., 143; The Methodist Review, VII, 192-4. Riley died on April 26, 1824. His last words were: "My faith in God is unshaken." He had made some money from his interest in a saltpeter mine and was a member of the national council. His death at the age of thirty-three was caused by consumption. Ibid., XI, 259.
10 Ibid., XI, 113-4; Malone, op. cit., 112.
11 Smith, op. cit., II, 521; Methodist Review, XXIX, 253.
12 Ibid., IX, 35, 193, 393.
13 Ibid., XI, 276, 394; Malone, op. cit., 113; Smith, op. cit., II, 521-2.
14 Ibid.
The almost constant threat of interference with their work due to the removal controversy hung over the missionaries from 1817 until the final exodus took place. The sizeable migration to Arkansas which occurred following the signing of the Treaty of 1817 resulted in a division of families, tempting those who remained in the East to join their relatives in the supposedly more serene and forever permanent abode in the West. There was some letup in the threat during the early 1820's as a result of the conclusion of the Treaty of 1819, but this proved to be no more than a hazy sunrise obscuring the clouds still hanging on the horizon.

The several Protestant denominations were divided, not only between themselves about the removal of the Indians, but often within their own ranks. Attention has been paid to Isaac McCoy's advocacy of removal. Among his fellow Baptists, those living on the frontier gave their vigorous approval to his proposition, while those sitting on the church Board in remoter Boston tended to be sympathetic to the viewpoint of the members of the American Board who were staunchly opposed to removal whenever it threatened the position of the Cherokees.

McCoy was able, however, to secure the backing of the Baptist Mission Board in the distribution of his pamphlet "Remarks on Indian Reform," which outlined his ideas, and,
by encouraging his frontier partisans to flood the Baptist Board with letters favorable to his scheme, he was able to force it to take a stand in support of removal. The Board even went so far as to reprimand its missionary among the Creeks for his opposition to the policy, claiming that he had offended his brethren in Georgia and that he had "deviated from the path of strict prudence, for missionaries can scarcely have too little to do with the politics of the world." The Board conveniently ignored its own engagement in the political aspect of the matter and McCoy's outspokenness concerning the rights of the State of Georgia, with which he allied himself completely while choosing to ignore the claims of the Cherokees.¹

An earlier position in favor of Indian removal as expounded by Dr. Jedidiah Morse had been reversed by the American Board when the threat to the Cherokees became increasingly pronounced. In the first years of the 1820's Morse, noting the disastrous decline of the Indians in the New York area, had conceived that the colonization of the tribes on lands far removed from white settlements would be the proper solution to the problem. In a memorial which the American Board presented to Congress in 1824, Morse secured the inclusion of a statement advocating such a plan. Morse believed that in an isolated location the Indians, guided by missionaries, would be able to satisfactorily advance toward civilization and christianization.²
The plan presented to Congress was intended to apply only to the tribes in the North, however, although Morse's original concept had envisioned a colonization area in both the North and the South. But it was clear by this time that the amazing progress of the Cherokees would be handicapped by any geographical dislocation. Jeremiah Evarts, who successively occupied the positions of treasurer, secretary and treasurer, and corresponding secretary of the American Board, firmly supported the rights of the Cherokees from the time of his visit among them in 1817. During several trips to Washington he spoke with Congressmen and other influential persons, seeking to win them to a position in opposition to removal, or at the very least to guarantee the Indians adequate protection in case it could not be prevented. In a discussion with President-elect Jackson, he was discomforted by learning that Jackson wished to avoid any confrontation between state and national interests and would not, therefore, support the claims of the Indians.3

Evarts continued his campaign to prevent the removal by writing a number of articles under the pseudonym of William Penn and these appeared in the National Intelligencer and other newspapers and periodicals. Evarts called attention to the improved condition of the Cherokees and marshalled for their defense the arguments of religion, law, and morality. Before his death, which was hurried by his tireless battle on behalf of the Cherokees, he prepared
a memorial which was presented to Congress by the American Board in January, 1831. It stated:

Such of the natives as are truly converted to Christianity need all the aid which they can receive from each other's contiguity, familiar acquaintance, and mutual interests...and bereft of the ordinary supports of religion and virtue, it would seem impossible but that they must be great sufferers in their moral as well as in their temporal position.

It called attention to the intemperance which had already set in, particularly in Arkansas where the whiskey traders were lurking and waiting for the arrival of immigrants with money in their pockets. Aside from such immediate evils, the Memorial pointed out that removal was contrary to the good faith of the country, would counteract the progress of civilization and christianization, was opposed to the wishes of the natives, would subject them to terrible hardship during migration, and that there was every evidence that the whites would swarm upon them just as quickly in the Indian Territory as they had done in the East.

In a similar memorial the Representatives of the Yearly Meeting of Friends and Quakers of Baltimore revealed the attitude of a denomination not directly concerned by the removal. The Memorial stated their heartfelt concern at the disposition to forcibly dispossess the Cherokees of
their land—soil to which they had a native claim and which they had never relinquished. They pleaded with Congress to do all in their power to "save these aborigines from the injustice and oppression which not only threaten their ruin, but which bring opporubrium and a stain upon our national character." 

Samuel Worcester wrote to the Secretary of War, pointing out the progress which the Cherokees had made. Almost all now wore civilized clothes, agriculture was the principal employment and support of the people, none lived any longer by means of the hunt, they were housed in log cabins and even in elegant mansions, most, he believed, acknowledged Christianity as the true religion. Moreover, the people wished to remain; it was not true, as some claimed, that they were deterred from going because of the compulsion of the chiefs; nothing was clearer than that it was the wish of the whole body of people to remain.

But arrayed against this support for the Cherokees was the determination of Georgia to exercise full authority over the lands within its boundaries and the sympathy of President Jackson for Georgia's claims. Jackson, quick in upholding the laws of the United States in regard to the tariff, resolved on a different course when the issue was the rights of the Indians. Refusing to support the Supreme Court ruling that the United States government had exclusive jurisdiction over Indian lands and that Georgia did not
possess the authority to extend its laws over them, Jackson made it clear that he deemed the rights of the State of Georgia superior to those of the Indians, no matter what the treaties and laws of the United States might say to the contrary.

Jackson, like many other men who favored removal, may have sincerely believed that he was acting in the best interests of the Indians by insisting on this course. John H. Eaton, the Secretary of War, explained the administration's view in a letter to General William Carroll, saying that if the Indians would emigrate to the West that the government "could, and would protect [them] fully in the possession of their soil...." There they could grow up as equals to the white man in privileges, both civil and religious. By acceding to the "kind wishes" of the President they could confer upon their posterity lasting benefits and honors, whereas, by refusing to comply, they would only hasten their destruction.8 And in another letter to John Forsythe, Eaton asserted that however much Jackson respected "the motives which have induced Missionary Societies and others to meliorate the condition of the Indians, he nevertheless feels it a duty to employ all the rightful means which have been placed at his disposal, to produce more enlarged and beneficial results towards this peculiar race of people."9 In the year of final removal of the Cherokees, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs was able to righteously
declare: "The case of the Cherokees is a striking example of the liberality of the Government in all its branches."\textsuperscript{10}

A number of Moravian, Presbyterian, and Baptist missionaries met at New Echota on December 29, 1830 to determine how to react to this "liberality" and how to defend the Cherokees from the attacks and incursions instigated by the State of Georgia. They unanimously subscribed to a resolution in defense of the Cherokees and took note of the progress they had made. This progress, the resolution declared, was due not to the efforts of the missionaries alone, but also to the Cherokee government and the intermarriage and proximity of whites. They realized that the propinquity of whites was often harmful, but as a general rule it led to a happy assimilation of the cultures.\textsuperscript{11}

But well-intended resolutions had little power in the face of a determined state, reinforced with its armed guards. A law was passed requiring that all who resided on Cherokee land within the State of Georgia must take an oath of allegiance to the State and obtain a license from the governor; failure to do so would be a high misdemeanor which would be subject to imprisonment at hard labor for not less than four years. The missionaries decided to defy the law, agreeing that concession would be an admission of the justice of Georgia's position and an abandonment of the rights of the Cherokees.\textsuperscript{12}

In March, 1831 Isaac Proctor, Samuel Worcester, and
John Thompson were arrested and imprisoned for their defiance. At the trial the judges ruled that the missionaries were under the jurisdiction of the United States government and could not be interfered with by the state. Jackson refused to acknowledge such jurisdiction or any association between the missionaries and the government except for several who were acting as postmasters. Worcester was rearrested, along with Dr. Elizur Butler, a Methodist minister, Reverend J. J. Trott, and eight other whites. Found guilty, they were sentenced to four years' imprisonment. All but Worcester and Butler agreed, however, to take the oath and were released. When the United States Supreme Court issued a writ of error and served it on the governor of Georgia, he denied its authority and the Georgia legislature instructed local officers to decline to obey its orders. The American Board brought suit on behalf of its missionaries, and in the case of Worcester vs. the State of Georgia the Supreme Court declared that Georgia did not have the authority over the Cherokee Nation which it was attempting to exercise. But the decision was of no immediate benefit to the missionaries as Jackson refused to enforce it.  

Georgia offered a pardon to Worcester and Butler but they chose to refuse it, inasmuch as acceptance would have implied an admission of guilt. When they threatened another suit in the Supreme Court, the governor sent emissaries to inform them that they would be unconditionally released if
they withdrew their suit. The law which had been responsible for their imprisonment was repealed and the missionaries, after consulting with the Prudential Committee, decided that nothing could be gained by prosecuting the matter.

The two men were released from prison on January 14, 1833, at which time the governor issued a proclamation asserting that they had appealed to the magnanimity of the State and that it had chosen to exhibit its generosity. Worcester and Butler, for their part, stated that the grand motive which had induced them to accept their hardship had been "the good of the Cherokee." They had dedicated their lives to the promotion of Christianity and civilization among them. This was a sacred work which demanded sacrifice. If they had yielded, they would have discouraged the Cherokees and have proven to them that the faith of the United States would be violated.14

Whatever elation the missionaries may have felt over this triumph could have proven only temporary. Georgia was already taking possession of the Cherokee lands and missionary property had been included in the lotteries along with everything else. Dr. Elizur Butler was confronted by a man claiming title to the buildings at Haweis and Worcester by a similar claim to his residence in New Echota. Butler's protest that the claimant had no title to the land was to no avail. The Georgian went ahead and appropriated for his own use the schoolhouse, several of the best rooms of the
home, plus the stables and other improvements. He then induced the Indian owner of the land to sign a fraudulent paper and, backed by the Georgia guard, ejected Butler from the remainder of the property.15

The stations at Carmel and Hightower were abandoned and Isaac Proctor, disheartened by the events and doubtful of the future of the mission, left the service and moved to Indiana. Worcester went to Brainerd and, along with other persons of a pious and charitable spirit, wondered at the pernicious behavior of other whites. "No art," the Journal at Brainerd observed, "is left untried to draw them [the Indians] into intemperance and every kind of debauchery...."16

When the Reverend John Schemerhorn, acting as agent for the United States government, secured a treaty in 1835 from a removal faction headed by Major Hicks and Elias Boudinot, the fate of the Cherokees was finally sealed. Although the Cherokee national council rejected this treaty, the Jackson administration remained adamantine in accepting its validity. The machinery had been set in motion which ultimately forced the removal of the entire nation.

Worcester followed west those Indians who decided to immediately remove. He left Brainerd on April 8, 1835, choosing to retain the company of Boudinot with whom he had been so long associated in the operation of the Cherokee press. Some of the other members of the American Board continued as best they could to administer to those who re-
mained. Daniel Butrick still went to Carmel; Stephen Fore-
man, stationed at Candy's Creek, visited at New Echota,
Hawes, and Creek Path. William Chamberlain and William
Potter continued to serve, and Elizur Butler still func-
tioned in his many capacities. John Huss and another native,
named Jesse, worked as itinerant preachers. By 1837 the
boarding school at Brainerd had been closed. Religious
services were thinly attended except on special occasions;
more and more of the natives were succumbing to the temp-
tation of alcohol. The congregation of Carmel was inte-
grated with that of Brainerd, and in one of the last sermons
preached before the year of removal the audience was re-
ported by Butrick as being the largest he had ever seen.17
The future, if not bright, at least was not totally dark.

The Moravians preached their last sermon in the Old
Cherokee Nation on September 16, 1836. Miles Vogler, Her-
man Ruede, and Johann Renatus Schmidt prepared to follow
their charges to their distant home. Among the Baptists,
Duncan O'Briant, as already noted, had crossed the Missis-
sippi with his proselytes as early as 1831. The indefati-
gable Evan Jones packed his belongings and headed out with
an emigration party in 1838. Wickliffe and Oganaya and
others from the church at Valleytowns proceeded to the
staging point at Fort Butler, seven miles from the mission,
and continued their religious worship and evangelization
while in the encampment. One Sunday the commandant gave
the Baptist ministers permission to go to the river to baptize ten members who had been recruited while at the fort; soldiers guarded the assembly as they went to and from the river. Bushyhead, traveling with Jones, continued religious labors all along the Trail of Tears, enabling the church members in his party to bear that much better the hardship and pain of the journey. The Methodists, almost always transitory in their missionary residences, regardless of the tribe, left the fate of Christianity to the hands of their converts and of other ministers of their denomination who would carry on in the West. \(^{18}\)
1. R. Pierce Beaver, Church, State, and the American Indians, St. Louis, 1966, 96-9. Beaver points out that the Baptist Board may have been influenced as well by its dependence on the government for financial support for its missions. The lack of popular support for missions among its own church membership necessitated reliance on outside pecuniary aid for its domestic missionary endeavor. The government furnished this, by providing funds for buildings and by virtually paying the salaries of the Baptist missionaries among the Indians by employing them as teachers. Ibid., 101.

2. Ibid., 103.


4. Ibid., 107-111.

5. Memorial of the Prudential Committee of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to the Congress, Senate Public Doc. #50, 21st Cong., 2nd sess., II, 9.


15. Walker, Torchlights to the Cherokees, 308-9.


17. MH, XXXI, 189-91, XXXII, 21, 186-7, XXXIII, 19, 349.

18. Grant Foreman, The Five Civilized Tribes, Norman, 1934, 359; Posey, The Baptist Church in the Lower Mississippi Valley, 36; Grant Foreman, Indian Removal, Norman, 1932, 289, 309-10.
Missionary endeavor among the Cherokees after their removal was in many respects a repetition of the story begun in the Old Nation. The Moravians continued to count a small number of converts, the Presbyterians varied only slightly from their former figures, the Methodists and the Baptists continued to grow and be the largest of the sects. If any variation at all can be said to have occurred prior to the Civil War, it would have to lie in the increasing growth of the Baptists, who in time equalled and then surpassed the influence of the Methodists.

Removal presented the missionaries with one overwhelming problem which they had faced only slightly before. In their ancestral home the menace of intemperance was only a shadow of what it was to become in the country which the whites had chosen for them. For years after the migration much of the time and effort of the missionaries was occupied in the formation and guidance of temperance societies. The situation had changed drastically from the days of William Bartram who had eulogized the southern Indians for their sobriety and their wisdom in repelling the introduction of spirituous liquors. He noted that some of the tribes in their treaties with the government saw to it that the first article prohibited the bringing to or selling of whiskey within their towns.¹

But the traders never ceased persisting in their ef-
forts to introduce this profitable merchandise, and with the increase in their numbers and the reduced resistance of the Indians, as aggravated by their tribulations, intemperance became a major problem immediately before and for a long time after removal. By 1853 the Cherokee agent was able to report that he believed the demand for whiskey was diminishing, but only a year later a Moravian missionary called attention to the fact that it was the "scourge of the nation." A Cherokee Cold Water Army was formed to combat the problem, but in 1857 the marshal of that army was forced to report that liquor was flooding the country and that much of it contained strychnine and other poisons. The laws against it were good, he said, but were constantly evaded; if the Cherokee neighbors in Arkansas and Missouri would cooperate, the problem could be improved.  

The factionalism which had evolved over the removal issue was magnified among the Cherokees into murder and internal strife which lasted for many years after the resettlement took place. How much this preoccupation with dissension may have diverted the minds of the Cherokees from religious regeneration is completely problematical. It is improbable that any who may have been impressed by Christianity would have been dissuaded from completing a theological metamorphosis by the cares of everyday events. The Cherokees, like many of their white counterparts, were undoubtedly capable of being Christians on the Sabbath, if
they so desired, and heathen through the week.

The American Board was the first of the religious associations to enter the arena of the Western Cherokees. Following the removal of 1818, the Board had recognized the need for not neglecting this branch of the Cherokee Nation. Alfred Finney and Cephas Washburn were assigned to the Arkansas Cherokees in 1819. They stopped at Brainerd for awhile on their journey to the western outpost. From there they went to Elliott, Kingsbury's station among the Creeks, and were detained for several months after their arrival by flood conditions on the Mississippi. They finally reached Arkansas in July, 1820, eight months after leaving Brainerd. They were joyfully greeted by the principal chief and, at a council meeting on August 19th, the Cherokees expressed their approbation of the missionaries' purpose and invited them to select a site. 3

They chose to locate on the Illinois River about five miles above its junction with the Arkansas. Then they set to work and built four cabins and a schoolhouse. They named the new mission Dwight in honor of the late president of Yale and former member of the American Board. Finney, impressed by the hardships of the long and hazardous journey to this strange land and by the strenuous exertions entailed in getting it under way, penned a warning to others who might contemplate a missionary life. He reminded the
treasurer of the American Board that there would be some who "will enter the lists, without counting the costs, or with minds unprepared for the rugged course on which they enter." It was important that they should know the dark side of missionary work which required "stability, decision, faith, patience, perseverance, and a holy, enduring zeal."  

Progress was slow in the early years of the mission. The Cherokees were often engaged in war with the Osage although the ABCFM also had a mission among these northern neighbors at Union under the direction of William F. Vaill. In 1821 a farmer and two female assistants for the schools arrived at Dwight. By the following year Finney was reported preaching to a congregation of seventy-five, but it was not until May, 1824 that two women became the first Cherokee members of the church. David Brown came to the mission and helped with the work. The missionaries began to see encouraging signs; Washburn related that he had visited a number of settlements and was pleased by what he found. In one settlement he talked with all thirty families and did not find one (except for a few infidel whites) who were not willing and anxious to receive instruction. The ministers reported: "We believe it is the general impression of the people that the institution at Dwight is for their good, and that missionaries are their friends."  

Washburn and Finney believed the ABCFM should take advantage of this favorable attitude and send reenforce-
ments before "wandering stars, strolling preachers" came and alienated the minds of the people against themselves, "as such loose and designing men, pretending to the sacred character of Ministers of the gospel" had done in the Old Cherokee Nation. Finney offered to take a post in some remote part of the nation and to spend the remainder of his life there if someone could be sent to take his place at Dwight.  

The mission staff was supplemented by the addition of a doctor who not only cared for the sick, but assisted in teaching the school. But ministerial help did not arrive as they wished and the two original missionaries continued to handle the clerical duties. In spite of their lack of help, they wrote in 1827 that they were more encouraged than in any previous year. On one occasion the chiefs asked Washburn to preach and an attentive audience of four hundred listened to his sermon. The growing acceptance of Christianity was revealed also by an invitation which he received to open a session of the National Council with a prayer.  

In 1828 the Western Cherokees learned the ambiguity which can be associated with the word "perpetuity" when it was used in the treaties between the United States government and the Indian tribes. Asked to remove from Arkansas, they docilely acceded and seem not to have been particularly perturbed since the removal in this case was not far and
the new lands which were set aside for them were regarded as better than those they were forced to leave. The missionaries disclosed, however, that evangelization was very limited during this time. 8

The mission station was moved sixty miles to the west, but retained the name of the earlier post. Finney died while this change was taking place and Dr. Marcus Palmer, a licensed physician and preacher, moved down from Union where the Osage were failing to show much interest in either Christianity or the wonders of civilization. Finney had lost his reason before his death, remaining lucid only at short intervals. Washburn reported that Finney had been greatly beloved by the natives and that he possessed "great sensibility and delicacy of feeling." 9

The schools were reopened and preaching was carried on at several points. There was little improvement in the religious state. Intemperance, on the other hand, was on the upswing, more drunkenness being noted in the past six months than in the previous six years, and a consumption which once could be measured in gallons now required a measurement standard of barrels. Fields were left uncultivated and gambling, murder, and debauchery were everywhere. However, the blessings and progress of civilization were apparent in the dress of the people, which now saw the men wearing pantaloons rather than leggings, and hats instead of handkerchiefs adorned the heads of the women, and
all of them now lived in houses, many of which had floors.  

The Western Cherokees showed themselves capable of making a rapid recovery from the derangement which once again had afflicted their lives. As early as 1831 Washburn expressed thanks for a noticeable revival in religion; five Cherokees stood propounded for admission to the church and it was hoped that ten more were about to be reborn. Palmer was preaching at several stations, and the Methodists had opened a mission in the northeast part of the nation where they had gathered twenty into their church.  

The religious outlook continued to be "very encouraging." Washburn's church at Dwight grew to 58, with 9 additional candidates. Palmer was established at Fairfield and a new assistant, Samuel Newton, was performing as teacher and catechist at a station on the Forks of the Illinois. Plead for instruction were being heard from every quarter; the whole area was "white for harvest." The biggest problem was a deficiency of ministers; it was impossible for three men to operate capably in an area as large as Massachusetts. The missionaries apprized: "If all the instruction could be given which now seems to be needed, there is reason to believe that the whole nation could be converted to Christ."  

But by 1833 the exigency was not so impelling. There had been a decline in religious fervor. The Indians were excited by protracted meetings, but smaller, abbreviated
functions failed to arouse their interest. Visits to their homes, small neighborhood meetings, and simple discussions in an unostentatious way failed to evoke any enthusiasm for the benefactions of Christianity. Regular preaching was carried on only at Dwight and Fairfield and then only about half the time. The total church membership was 102, and the greatest cause for thanks was the fact that all but 2 of these were of a good moral character.13

After the emigration resulting from the Treaty of 1835, there was a temporary resurgence in the demands for the missionaries' services. Worcester took a post at Park Hill where the new printing press was to be located, but even with his assistance the calls for preaching were more than they could supply. Attendance at church exceeded the congregations of a few years before which had ranged from one to three hundred. But again the enthusiasm proved fleeting and in the year of the final massive emigration Washburn was forced to write that the situation was not hopeful. "There is and has been for a long time a lamentable degree of coldness," he said. Only the temperance society was prospering—about five hundred had pledge complete abstinence.14

With the arrival of the emigrating Cherokees in 1838 and 1839 the temperance societies continued to flourish and the missionaries of the ABCFM among the Eastern Cherokees aided and eventually entirely replaced those who had labored
so tirelessly in the West in combating this evil. The job of bringing Christianity to the reunited tribe was assumed largely by those who had been toiling in the Old Cherokee Nation, as both Washburn and Palmer faded from the scene.

In addition to Worcester, Chamberlain, Butrick, Butler, William Potter, and the two native ministers, Foreman and Huss, removed to the Indian Territory. They moved into the three existing stations at Dwight, Fairfield, and Park Hill; in a short time Huss was able to organize a new church at Honey Creek. Some of the men were not immediately given assignments and both time and stress were beginning to take their toll. Both Palmer and Chamberlain were released in 1840 due to ill-health and Washburn was discharged at his own request in the same year. Butler and Foreman thereupon went to take charge of Park Hill and Butrick was sent to Fairfield; Potter returned to Tennessee, severing his connection with Indian missions.15

The condition of the missions of the ABCFM proved exceedingly discouraging in the first years of the resettlement. "Religion is in an exceedingly low and languishing state," the report for 1841 read. The church at Dwight was suffering from many backsliders; out of 58 members only 37 were in good standing, and of the total membership only 26 were Cherokees. Huss's church at Honey Creek was proud to count 43, all in good standing, and a new post at Mount Zion had 28 in an equal state of behavior. Fairfield
counted 66, with only 5 not living according to the church's expectations, and Park Hill had managed to keep 25 out of 31 on the narrow road, but only 12 of these were Cherokees. Numerous natives from the Old Cherokee Nation had moved into the established churches, but many of them had failed to join and the missionaries could only manage to hope that some of them would. They witnessed with sorrow that "in general they appear as reprobates." 16

The profundity of their indoctrination was often a matter for distress among the missionaries, as it has commonly been for clergymen everywhere. Conscious of their own unflinching faith and unquestioning acceptance of a rigid puritanical standard, any lesser conviction or any deviation from those principles among others was a source of anguish. Drunkenness and immorality among the converts were particularly painful, but even a less than wholehearted devoutness could prove annoying and cause them to bemoan that "the members of our churches do not manifest that desire for personal improvement in religion, that zeal for the glory of God, and that anxiety for the conversion of sinners that we wish. Though but little gross immorality is manifest, calling for the discipline of the church, yet great stupidity and indifference prevail." 17

The impression which the Presbyterians made apparently never deepened sufficiently to induce many of the converts to take up the call of the ministry. Whereas the Methodists
and Baptists continued to rely on a sizeable number of natives for their evangelization efforts, the Presbyterians (after Foreman became superintendent of Cherokee schools) listed only John Huss among their fully-ordained staff. Jesse and Epenetus are mentioned in the reports of 1842 as being licensed by the Association of Ministers to hold meetings for prayers and exhortations and to act as catechists, but their service was either brief or unimportant as they are not mentioned again in the reports of the Missionary Herald.\(^{18}\)

The Prudential Committee called attention to what it believed to be a deficiency among its missionaries in the recruiting of natives for clerical work. Repeatedly petitioned by the missionaries for additional help, the Committee sent a letter in 1852 to its associates among the Cherokees, Choctaw, Sioux, and Oregon Indians, asking whether it was not time for the resident missionaries to look for a home supply to fill the shortages. The Committee published an appeal a few months later for volunteers for service among the Cherokees and Choctaws, but none were obtained and the situation continued as difficult as always.\(^{19}\)

The personnel of the Presbyterians among the Cherokees underwent a number of changes in the several decades before the Civil War as the old missionaries continued to vanish from the picture. Elizur Butler stayed at Fairfield during
the 1840's, but more in the capacity of doctor than minister; at this location he maintained a thirty acre farm on which Cherokees did most of the work. In 1851 he was assigned to the National Female Seminary as both doctor and missionary and spent his waning years at this institution. Daniel Butrick became ill in 1844 and his station remained unattended for most of the following year; he died on August 3, 1847. Worcester Willey arrived in 1846 to take up the gap at Dwight and Timothy E. Ranney came in 1850 to open a church at Lee's Creek. James Orr appeared two years later at Fairfield and then served as assistant to Edwin Teale when he was assigned to that location. Horace A. Wentz joined the staff in 1854 and took over the work at Dwight when Willey was disabled by sickness. The stay of Teale and Wentz was transitory, the former being released from his connection with the American Board and the latter being reassigned to the Creeks. In 1859 John Huss died and the long service of Worcester was severed in April of the same year for the same cause. Bitten by a rabid dog four years before, Worcester, although plagued by rheumatism, had continued his work with the Cherokee press until his death. The work of translating the New Testament, which he had begun with Boudinot and in which he had been assisted since 1854 by Charles C. Torrey, had been completed except for part of the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Epistle of Jude, and two-thirds of the Book of Revelation. 20
In spite of the fact that the Old Nation Presbyterians had found a church establishment with over one hundred members when they reached Indian Territory, they were never able to rebuild the organization to equal the membership which had been known in the East alone. Maintaining four to five stations during the two decades prior to the Civil War, they never reported a church community of more than 235, a mark reached in 1844. The report for 1856 showed that this figure had declined to 218, and both figures included 40 or more who were not Cherokees. But in spite of their lack of success, hardly a year went by in which the missionaries did not find the "prospects more encouraging" than in past years. There were always some people appearing to be on the verge of a change who gave the missionaries hope that the next year would be better than the former.

There were always areas where many were asking for instruction (which more often than not went unanswered), but which, at least, helped to restore the faith of the missionaries in their work. They pursued their course in spite of the intemperance and civil strife which turned the people's attention away from religious and social improvement. They took pride in the progress which they saw—the increasing cultivation of the fields, the moral regeneration of those they were able to turn from their vices, the growth in education to which they had contributed so much. They were thrilled to see the children read the 23rd Psalm and passages
from the New Testament and to be able to distribute Bibles through the National Bible Society and know that a once illiterate people could now read and understand the Gospel. They found joy in dedicating a new church building at Park Hill in 1854 and in being able to announce that the attendance was better than ever.  

Indeed, there was much for which the missionaries of the American Board could be proud. We can imagine the pride with which Samuel Worcester related that 1,065,400 pages had rolled off his press in 1844, including not only translations of the Bible, but hymns and an almanac as well. But we can also imagine that there was much which gave this selfless man cause for sorrow and disappointment as he neared the end of a career which had spanned more than three decades. The last of those who had gone to the Cherokees in the early years when hopes were brightest, he must have been discouraged in looking on a mission which found only four stations in operation in the year of his death, and which saw dwindling rather than increasing numbers of church members and congregations which were very small. Even the number of pages from his press had decreased. When Worcester sat down to report both this and the fact that the religious prospect was not only "less cheering" than before but was, in fact, "very dark," he might well have sunk down in melancholy if he, like so many of his cohorts, had not been able to look back on it all and believe that he "had not
been left without some manifestation of...[God's] mercy.
NOTES

Chapter IX

3. MH, XVI, 122, 178-3; Smith, History of Missions, II, 363.
4. MH, XVIII, 107-8. Timothy Dwight was one of the original members of the American Board and the first of that group to die.
5. Ibid., XVIII, 288, XXI, 245; Smith, op. cit., II, 363.
7. MH, XXIII, 383.
8. Ibid., XXVI, 10; Smith, op. cit., II, 363.
9. Ibid.; MH, XXVI, 299. The Missionary Herald does not account for Finney's insanity, but at Union the wife of William Vaill suffered from a similar debilitation, apparently caused by the hardships of missionary life.
11. Ibid., XXVI, 299.
12. Ibid., XXVII, 320.
14. MH, XXIX, 459. The report stated that 116 members had been taken into the church since its incorporation in April, 1822. In the following year (1834) the membership was given as 106, of which 91 were Cherokees. MH, XXXI, 23.
15. Ibid., XXXIII, 301, XXXIV, 95.
16. Ibid., XXXVI, 13-4; XXXVII, 13, XXXVII, 10.
17. Ibid., XL, 389, XLIII, 249. Some of the complaints about "indifference" may have been activated by the paltry donations which the Cherokees made toward their religious instruction. For one year these were listed as $150 at Park Hill, but only $3.75 at Fairfield in 1857 and $5 at the same site in 1858. C. C. Torrey to George Butler, Sept. 12, 1859, Ann. Rpt. Com. Ind. Aff., Senate Exec. Doc. #2, 36th Cong., 1st sess., I, 541-2.
18. MH, XXXVIII, 347.
19. Ibid., XLVIII, 12, 298.
20. Elizur Butler to P. M. Butler, June 19, 1843, Ann.

21 MH, XL, 10, L, 260, LII, 220.
MORAVIANS, BAPTISTS, METHODISTS, AND MORMONS
IN THE INDIAN TERRITORY

When N. Sayre Harris, secretary of the Protestant Episcopal Church, visited the various missions in the Indian Territory in 1844, he found the Moravian David Z. Smith (Schmidt) living alone with only a cat for company. Smith's loneliness epitomizes the Moravian presence among the Cherokees after the removal. Confounded by the civil strife and disheartened by an insalubrious environment, they never maintained a vigorous evangelism. As in the Old Nation, they seem to have preferred to let the Indians discover them than to have gone out and earnestly sought the Indians. Since the efforts of the Cherokees were no more zealous than those of the Moravians, the mission never prospered and by the beginning of the Civil War had almost withered away.¹

The Moravians, as a matter of policy, never entered into political debate. Unlike the American Board, they refrained from making any gesture which the United States government might construe as either favorable or adverse to its removal policy. Nevertheless, their sympathies were clearly with the Cherokees, and by not having any of their missionaries accompany the emigrating parties they endeavored to show that they were not in sympathy with the treaties which had been forced upon them.²

But as they promised not to forsake the Cherokees in
the new land, the Moravians felt an obligation to respect the pledge which they had made. Assurances were given to the United Brethren of assistance and a friendly reception in a letter from Samuel Worcester, and the Cherokees themselves had asked Miles Vogler to go with them during their journey. In view of all these factors there could be no question of the course which the Moravians should pursue. Accordingly, Vogler, Johann Renatus Schmidt, and Gottlieb Herman Rudee set out on horseback and arrived in the new territory on October 27, 1838.3

The missionaries went to the Barren Forks of the Illinois where some of the Cherokee Brethren had already established a settlement. This location proved unhealthy for the missionaries and they moved to Beattie's Prairie. When some of the Cherokees refused to move to this location, a compromise site was selected in 1843 and the mission moved to Spring Creek, half way between the two. This community was named Spring Place in honor of the original mission in Georgia.4

A school was erected at Barren Forks during their stay at this location and a second one was constructed at Spring Place. Schmidt returned to Bethabara in 1839 due to ill-health, but his son David was sent to replace him and he continued to operate the school at Barren Forks. Both of the schools were day schools. The Moravians felt that boarding schools were more effective, particularly in view
of the indifference of some of the parents and their unwillingness to force their children to attend, but boarding schools were beyond the financial means of the Brethren. 5

Miles Vogler continued to live at Beattie's Prairie (renamed New Canaan) until he left in 1844. Gilbert Bischof (Bishop) replaced him and three years later Brother and Sister Jacob Mack arrived. Rude was sent to administer to a congregation of Delaware Indians who had settled at Westfield in the Indian Territory after migrating from the Moravian mission at New Fairfield, Canada. 6

Preaching was maintained on the Barren Forks about once every two weeks. At the church services in Spring Place there was a membership varying between 75 and 80 and the two schools had an average attendance of 35 to 40. When a public school was built by the Cherokees near Spring Place, the Moravians decided that it would be desirable to move their own to Mount Zion three miles away where there was none to compete with theirs. However, by 1856, although they were sustaining preaching and a Sabbath school at this site, they still had not constructed any building for a secular school and were hesitant about doing so. Sickness and death had put the mission under very trying circumstances, and these along with the other continuing tribulations of intemperance, indifference, and a paucity of funds made it questionable whether it was worth continuing the labor. Many of the people did not appreciate the
school privileges which were offered, either because of their own ignorance or indolence. Cherokee morality was questionable; there seemed to be little to show for more than a half-century of contact by this denomination which was never satisfied with anything less than the strictest piety. The Indian, perhaps even more than mankind in general, continued to be a perplexing problem to the Moravians.

Duncan O'Briant opened his Baptist mission in the Indian Territory in May, 1832. Twenty children attended the school; it was represented as being in a flourishing condition. When O'Briant died in 1834 a man named Aldrich succeeded him. Aldrich felt that the school and mission had a promise of success, but he was troubled by the increasing addiction to liquor.

After the Cherokees had been resettled in 1839, Evan Jones returned east, visiting in Tennessee and several Atlantic Coast states, as well as with the Baptist Board in Boston. His trip stimulated interest in the mission and induced the Board to expand its activities. Arriving back in the Cherokee country in June, 1841, Jones was able to begin a period of prosperous evangelization. By 1843 the Baptists claimed seven hundred-fifty communicants, an increase of such import that the Presbyterians took note of it in their letters to the American Board. There were
2 ordained and 5 licensed native preachers working at this time under Baptist auspices. Two schools—one for boys and one for girls—were under the operation of this sect. 9

The Cherokee Baptist Mission was formed as an auxiliary of the parent board. They set to work building churches at each of five stations, of which the principal one was Cherokee, three miles west of the Arkansas border. The other churches were included within a circuit of forty miles. Outstations were attended with preaching at regular intervals. By 1845 the membership of the Going Snake District was listed at three hundred and that of the entire nation at one thousand. 10

A printing press was acquired by the Baptists in the autumn of 1843 and placed under the supervision of H. Upham. Translations into Cherokee were made of Genesis and most of the New Testament. School books, religious tracts, Pilgrim's Progress, Parley's Ancient History, hymns, and other religious works rolled off the press, and a periodical, The Cherokee Messenger, was inaugurated in 1844. 11

Baptist success continued unabated. Reverend W. P. Upham was sent to assist Jones in the preaching chores and management of the mission. They spent their time educating the youth, preaching, and translating the Scriptures and religious essays. Jones reported that 95 were baptized in one six month period, raising the number of communicants to 1200 in 1854. They were attended by 2 white and 5 native
ministers at 6 organized churches and 4 branches. Most of the Baptist converts were full-bloods, and the degree of their piety was attested to by the formation of the missionary society which collected contributions for the spread of the Gospel in destitute parts of the world.\textsuperscript{12}

The churches were log meeting-houses, built by the natives. The largest of these, 30 feet by 30 feet, was located at Delaware Town. Here a bell called the time for services and two stoves were available for preparing meals for camp meetings. A camp ground was surrounded by thirty cabins to accommodate those who attended the meetings. A schoolhouse also existed at Delaware Town. Other churches were smaller, measuring no more than 23 feet by 19 feet in one case. At Vann there was a "good framed shed well-covered, a lot, and two or three cabins." At the outstations they sometimes found sufficient covering in an arbor.\textsuperscript{13}

A few years before the outbreak of the Civil War, Evan Jones became involved in the slavery controversy. The holding of Negroes in bondage was an old and common practice among the Cherokees and a source of discomfort to most of the missionaries, who were generally natives of the North. The attitude of some of those associated with the American Board had been expressed as early as 1820 when an Osage boy had been captured by the Cherokees and sold into slavery. Speaking of this event, the \textit{Journal} at Brainerd asked: "0 when will this highly favored land, called the
land of freedom, cease to traffic in human blood."  

The Osage boy was rescued from slavery, but the missionaries did not intervene in the Cherokee practice of holding Negro slaves, except to occasionally raise their voices against it. To have done so would have been to have rendered their position even more difficult. Like ministers everywhere and during all ages, they had to adapt their viewpoints to the social environment. But as the slavery question gripped the nation in the 1850's, the missionaries were drawn into the controversy and more frequently spoke out against this institution. The Cherokee agent George Butler was often critical of them on this score, believing that their religious occupation did not include a right to speak on secular matters. Proslavery in his own opinions, Butler ascribed Cherokee progress to their slaveholding, insisting that it had acted as an incentive to industrial pursuits. He avowed that if each family owned a slave who could teach them how to cultivate the soil, that this would act as a greater civilizing agent than anything else. He declared that some missionaries were making themselves obnoxious to the Cherokees by their opposition to slavery, and he deplored whatever influence they were exerting in favor of abolition. Most of the Indians were strongly national or democratic, Butler observed, but there were a few Black Republicans "who are the particular fondlings of the abolitionist missionaries.
that have been, and still are making themselves very of-
ficious on the subject of slavery."\textsuperscript{15}

Butler's dogmatism on the matter and refusal to brook
any interference from the missionaries went to the point of
addressing them sharp and demanding letters. Samuel Wor-
chester was the recipient of such correspondence in 1858.
"You have been reported to me, as an abolitionist," Butler's
missive retorted, "teaching and preaching in opposition to
the institution of slavery in this Nation. You will please
attend immediately to the truth or falsehood of this
charge." Worcester answered: "I plead not guilty."\textsuperscript{16}

The American Board left no doubt of its position con-
cerning slavery and prodded its ministers to speak in op-
position to it. The Board's missionaries were placed in a
compromising position. To yield to the Board's advice
would have endangered their status among the Cherokees; by
refusing to accede to it they caused the ABCFM to withdraw
its support from the schools under its supervision in that
Nation, and to eventually disassociate itself from its own
missionaries. This step was taken in 1859, the American
Board completely severing its link with its ministers among
the Cherokees and allowing the Presbyterian (Old School)
Board of Foreign Missions to assume responsibility for
them.\textsuperscript{17}

Evan Jones' opposition to slavery involved him in a
more direct and active participation than that of some of
the others. He and his son John were responsible for the reorganization of a native society, the Keetowahs. Its ostensible purpose was to perpetuate tribal traditions, but its real aim was to fight slavery and to offset the militant Knights of the Golden Circle, an organization sympathetic to the South. After the outbreak of strife, the Keetowahs developed into the rather notorious "Pin" Indians and carried out raids against those who supported the Confederacy. The Baptist Board disapproved of such aggressive behavior on the part of Jones, and in 1861 it asked him to withdraw from the Cherokee Nation for the duration of the war.\textsuperscript{18}

The slavery issue, which had been splitting the churches as well as the country, brought a new branch of the Baptist Church into the field a few years before Lincoln's election ruptured the nation. The Southern Baptist Convention sent J. A. Slover to Tahlequah, the Cherokee capital, and in a short time he had organized three churches with one hundred members. Four natives assisted him with the preaching. In his first report to the Cherokee agent he mentioned that no money had been contributed as yet "for I have not asked for any.\textsuperscript{19}

Jones' report for 1859 gave evidence that the northern Baptists were continuing their progress. Three white and 4 native preachers, along with quite a number of licentiates and other native Christians, were now carrying the message of the Gospel to 1300 to 1400 members. There were 6 organ-
ized churches, plus 30 places where preaching was conducted at irregular intervals. Large and attentive congregations appeared each Sabbath and many persons indicated a serious concern for their spiritual welfare. Jones had done his work well. The groundwork which he had laid during nearly forty years of uninterrupted effort served to make the Baptists the strongest denomination in the years to come.

Wade Crawford Barclay, historian of American Methodist missions, states: "It cannot be fairly claimed that the Church had an Indian mission program. Although the Missionary Society nominally sponsored the missions it exercised no real supervision over them." Methodist missions were appendages of local conferences, and if supervised at all were directed by these. Using the itinerant system, appointments were made annually and seldom renewed for a second or third year. Sometimes missionaries appointed to full-time work were recalled for other work.

Because of its local nature, the frequent changeovers, the lack of substantial records, and, finally, the division in the Methodist Church, the story of this denomination's missionary activity during this period is largely dependent on brief reports from the missionaries to the Cherokee agents. Nevertheless, it is apparent from the records which do exist that there were some Methodist missionaries whose residence was more than fleeting, and, judging by the continuing suc-
cess of Methodist evangelization, that those who were among the Cherokees, however, long their stay, were able to exert a substantial influence, either through their own preaching or their guidance of native exhorts on whom the Methodists continued to depend to an even greater degree than the Baptists.

The Missouri Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church was the first branch of that denomination to direct any attention to the Indian tribes of the West. Nine missions were appointed by that Conference to the neighboring tribes in 1830. John Hurrell and Allen M. Scott were appointed to the Cherokees in the following year. In 1836 the responsibility for missionary work among the Cherokees, Creeks, and Choctaws was transferred to the Arkansas Conference, and this in turn was relinquished to the Indian Mission Conference established at Tahlequah on October 23, 1844. This organization was attached to the southern branch of the Methodist Church, following the split in that year between North and South segments as a result of an inability to agree on the slavery issue.22

Reverend Thomas Bertholf was one of the Methodists whose longevity as a Cherokee missionary was considerably longer than a passing season. Beginning with an assignment in 1832 to the Adair School No. 2 in the Western Cherokee Nation, his association, except for a short stay among the Creeks and a period of inactivity from 1850 to 1857, was to
last for three decades until the Civil War brought a final termination to it.23

After moving to the Keys School two miles south of Tahlequah, Bertholf acquired a substantial incentive for prolonging his attachment to the Cherokees through his marriage to the daughter of Isaac Keys. Bertholf proceeded to build a church and named it Riley's Chapel in honor of his wife's grandfather, Richard Riley, who had been so instrumental in introducing Methodism among the Cherokees. It was at this chapel that the Indian Mission Conference was organized. Bertholf's brother, Marcus O., arrived in 1837 and set to work as a preacher and proceeded to make his tie equally binding by his marriage to a native girl. Thomas Bertholf raised a family of nine children, which perhaps contributed, as well, to his attachment to a narrow geographical area throughout the remainder of his life.24

Described as a "weeping prophet," although not for the above noted reason, but rather for his manner of preaching, Bertholf followed a practice commonplace among Methodist missionaries of this period. He carried his message and his tears to the Creeks in 1843 and then to the Grand River Mission in the Cherokee Nation the year after. In 1859 he was named Presiding Elder of the Cherokee-Creek District. His children accepted their Indian heritage and may be assumed to have given a continuing durability to the faith which their father, a native New Yorker, had brought to
D. B. Cumming was another Methodist who appears to have had a long association with the Cherokees. Appointed as minister to the Upper Cherokees in 1839, Cumming was selected as host preacher at the conference which organized the Indian Mission Society. From 1852-1855 he was writing the missionary reports to the government agent, but the full extent of his participation cannot be deduced from these letters and only the dates call attention to his longer than usual association with the Cherokees.26

While under the supervision of the Arkansas Conference, the Methodists divided the Cherokee Nation into Upper and Lower districts and appointments were made on this basis. A. O. Smith and J. Fields were assigned to the former division and J. Boston to the latter on November 7, 1838. The following year Cumming received his appointment and J. F. Boot was sent to the Lower District. John Thompson Peery, who preached at Park Hill from 1847-1850, and John Harrell, missionary from 1856-1859, are two whose assignments were of a longer duration than those of most.27

The Methodists reported 8 whites and 4 natives as working under their auspices in 1843. Three of the whites who were appointed for school work were restrained from keeping their assignments due to the alleged bias of the school superintendent. There were also fifteen native local preachers who together with the others were serving
a church community of about fourteen hundred. Sunday schools were flourishing at a number of points.\textsuperscript{28}

Four circuits were operating in 1846: the Upper Cherokee, Tahlequah, Lower Cherokee, and Barren Forks. At this time four whites and an equal number of natives served these circuits—a system which James McKissick, the government agent, believed superior to that of the ABCFM. The Methodist correspondents Thomas B. Ruble and Edward T. Perry related that their church owned no property, those churches which they used being both built and owned by the Cherokees.\textsuperscript{29} Camp meetings continued to be a favorite Methodist means of evangelization and they had produced favorable results and were well attended. As in the Old Cherokee Nation, these meetings were sometimes shared by several denominations under the guidance of both white and Indian preachers. Their effectiveness is apparent in the increasing growth of Methodist membership which reached 1679 in 1852 and which often noted the addition of several hundred during the course of a single year.\textsuperscript{30}

One of the missionaries, E. B. Duncan, recognized that all of these were not, however, ardent and enthusiastic church members and began a weeding out process at his station at Sallisaw. He determined that he would retain "none but such as were very faithful in the church." He believed the result of his action had been to stir up the members to Christian duty and he felt that the church would prosper as
a result. He commented that he did not feel discouraged about working among the Cherokees. 31

Duncan's action is reflected in the membership figure for 1853, stated as 1520, and may account for the still lesser figure of 1379 a year later. In 1855 there was a slight increase to 1450. The report for 1856 was only able to announce that two hundred new members had been added to the church during the year, the corresponding missionary being unable to determine whether this represented a change, as some had died and some had dropped out. The congregations were generally large and taken all in all "as respectful and well behaved as can be found anywhere." 32

Methodist interest in education never equalled that of the Presbyterians. As the Cherokee public school system came to take over more and more the operation of the educational institutions, Methodist participation decreased along with that of the other denominations. Of the 21 public schools in operation in 1856, only 3 were taught by whites associated with religious organizations: Esther Smith of the ABCFM, Reverend W. P. Upham, Baptist, and Reverend James Essex, Methodist. Three years later the Methodist report indicated that they were no longer associated with secular instruction. 33

Just prior to the outbreak of the Civil War, 6 white and 7 native ministers were attending to 76 Methodist meeting places. At some of these there were churches, at
others a schoolhouse or residence served the purpose for disseminating the Word according to the concepts laid down by the Wesleys. The Word was adapted to the interpretation of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South and approved of the institution of slavery. This branch appropriated $4200 in 1859 for carrying its interpretation to the Cherokees. For the same year the Cherokees contributed $300 to hear it—an amount which represented an increase from prior years. The native preachers were able to speak to the people in their own tongue; the white preachers still had to depend on native linguists.34

Regardless of its divided interpretation of the Scriptures, the Methodist Church had contributed much to the christianization of the Cherokees. It had not only gathered the greatest number under its banners, but also the long and honored chief of the Cherokees, John Ross. If the northern branch had forfeited the right of carrying the Gospel to the Cherokees by leaving this right and obligation to its southern counterpart, it perhaps wisely recognized that the missionary endeavor would be seriously handicapped by trying to preach a principle in disharmony with the social institutions. It remained for the civil conflict to determine whether slavery was contrary to humanitarianism and the will of God.

One final religious group demands our attention before
closing the story of the christianization of the Cherokees in the period before the Civil War. The Church of Latter Day Saints, zealous in its religious beliefs and regarding the Indians as one of the Lost Tribes of Israel, undertook a mission among the Cherokees and Creeks in 1855. As there is a common usage of Anglicized names for both whites and natives, it is difficult to determine which the Mormons were working with from one time to another, as they generally made no distinction in their reports. On the whole, however, it appears that Mormon influence was minimal among the natives, but of some effect among the whites.

An earlier visit was paid to the Cherokees by Bishop George Miller and two other Saints. During a stay from July to December, 1847 they worked as mechanics and built several brick houses at Tahlequah. Meetings were held in Miller's home to preach the Gospel according to Joseph Smith, but local resentment forced the exit of the three Saints.35

Elder Henry W. Miller and several other Mormons were instructed to see what they could do about bringing the Gospel to the Civilized Tribes and they left Salt Lake City on May 7, 1855, arriving at the home of Captain Jacob Croft, a white, two months later. Four days after their arrival they made their first baptism and only two days later baptized Croft and his entire family, which numbered seven in addition to himself.36
The following Sunday Miller rode to a nearby Baptist meeting which he had been asked to attend. In the afternoon he preached through an interpreter to the congregation which was normally serviced by two Cherokee ministers. The Baptists invited Miller to attend further meetings and offered him the use of their pulpit as he saw fit. Whether Miller availed himself of this invitation is not indicated, but he and his cohorts went throughout the country spreading their word to natives and whites alike. On at least one occasion Miller spoke at a courthouse, demonstrating his willingness to orate wherever anyone could be found to listen. At another time he listened to a sermon by the Moravian Jacob Mack who had promised to give a true exposition on Mormonism. When Miller demanded the right to reply, he was refused, but he gathered some of the congregation at a nearby residence and, having found nothing in Mack’s sermon worthy of rebuttal, merely gave a sermon on the first principles of the Gospel.37

In an excursion among the Creeks, Miller visited a Presbyterian camp meeting and ridiculed both the small crowd and the minister, Robert M. Loughridge, who in twelve years had assembled a church of only thirty-two members. Miller, willing to baptize at the nod of a head, could only feel contempt for such a performance. Several Creeks at the meeting had been baptized by Miller and, although Loughridge had said nothing about this or anything else antagon-
istic to the Mormons, Miller called the Presbyterian min-
ister both corrupt and dishonest. 38

Miller twice visited John Ross at Tahlequah, spending
the night there on his second visit and attending Methodist
church services with him. Miller gave Ross a letter from
Brigham Young and related that he enjoyed a cordial recep-
tion. But whatever Ross's personal feelings might have
been about Miller, a writ for his arrest was served by the
Cherokee agent, Pierce W. Butler, in May, 1856, and in the
following October Ross issued an order for all Mormon elders
to leave the nation. Miller talked Butler out of making
the arrest, but Ross was not altered from his decision.
Miller returned to Utah in November, but one elder, William
Ritchie, remained among the Cherokees, avoiding molestation
by not engaging in public speaking. 39

The complaint against Miller had been lodged by a
Methodist, Lewis Rogers, who objected to the Saints' coun-
sel that those whom they baptized should go to the Mormon's
Promised Land. One party of 65 whites left for Utah in
May, 1856, but no natives were among them, and it is likely
that Rogers' complaint was lodged at the insistence of the
several religious denominations who found Miller's methods,
teachings, and interference extremely repugnant. 40

In spite of the ban against them, the Mormons con-
tinued activity among the Cherokees until 1860. Washington
N. Cook succeeded Miller as Presiding Elder, and after his
death in 1858 Henry Eyring assumed the post. Eyring organized a Lehi branch of the Saints among the Cherokees, but it fell apart when the local elder and teacher moved to Utah. In 1859 there were only 43 Saints in the Cherokee Nation and 40 in the Creek Nation. Only a few of these were deemed alive in the cause, the majority being careless and indifferent. One elder remained in 1860, but found little cause for joy. As Foreman notes: "The prospect of doing further good at that time was not encouraging."
Chapter X

2 Fries, Records of the Moravians, IX, 4417-9.
3 Ibid.
5 Ibid., Fries, op. cit., IX, 4452, 4655.
6 Ibid., IX, 4714, 4758-9, 4989. The Delaware Indians had looked to Westfield as a "Promised Land," but difficulties over land with the Wyandots and other problems caused many of these Delaware Moravians to return to Canada. See Elma E. Gray, Wilderness Christians: The Moravian Mission to the Delaware Indians, Ithaca, 1958, 278.
10 Evan Jones to P. M. Butler, Aug. 11, 1845, Ibid., Senate Exec. Doc. #1, 29th Cong., 1st sess., 593; Gammell, op. cit., 337.
12 Ibid.
14 Panoplist, XVI, 85.
16 Bass, Cherokee Messenger, 340-1.
17 Foreman, The Five Civilized Tribes, 83; Thompson, Presbyterians in the South, 448. This group split from the parent board in 1837 and sent its own missionaries to several of the Five Civilized Tribes.
20 Evan Jones to George Butler, Sept. 5, 1859, Ibid., 543-5. Although Jones moved out of the nation at the start of the war, he acted as liaison between the Federal and Cherokee governments during the time when the Cherokees chose to cast their lot with the Confederate States.
24 Ibid., 1022.
25 Ibid., 1022-3.
28 J. F. Collins to P. M. Butler, June 16, 1843, Ibid., Senate Public Doc. #1, 28th Cong., 1st sess., I, 431. Stephen Foreman, the Presbyterian convert was Superintendent of Schools at this time. Whether there was any validity to the charge cannot be ascertained.
29 James McKissick to W. Armstrong, Sept. 20, 1846, Ibid., Senate Exec. Doc. #1, 29th Cong., 2nd sess., I, 269-71; Thomas G. Ruble and E. T. Peery to James McKissick, Aug. 22, 1846, Ibid., 359-60.
31 E. B. Duncan to George Butler, July 27, 1852, Ibid.
Senate Exec. Doc. #1, 32nd Cong., 2nd sess., I, 402.
32 D. B. Cumming to George Butler, Sept. 8, 1853, 
Ibid., Senate Exec. Doc. #1, 33rd Cong., 1st sess., I, i, 
387; Cumming to Butler, Aug. 10, 1854, Ibid., Senate Exec. 
Doc. #1, 33rd Cong., 2nd sess., I, 324; Cumming to Butler, 
Aug. 1, 1855, Ibid., Senate Exec. Doc. #1, 34th Cong., 
1st and 2nd sess's., I, 449; John Harrell to George Butler, 
Aug. 24, 1856, Senate Exec. Doc. #5, 34th Cong., 3rd sess., 
II, 690.
33 W. A. Duncan to George Butler, Sept. 25, 1856, 
Ibid., 694; Harrell to Butler, Aug. 31, 1859, Ibid., Senate 
Exec. Doc. #2, 36th Cong., 1st sess., I, 543.
34 John Harrell to George Butler, Aug. 31, 1859, Ibid., 
Senate Exec. Doc. #32, 36th Cong., 1st sess., I, 543.
35 Grant Foreman, "Missionaries of the Latter Day 
Saints in Indian Territory," Chronicles of Oklahoma, XIII, 
106.
36 Ibid., 197.
37 Ibid., 198, 200, 202.
38 Ibid., 208. Foreman points out that the criticism 
was undoubtedly ill-deserved, as Loughridge was held in 
great reverence and esteem by the Greeks.
39 Ibid., 199, 201, 205, 211.
40 Ibid., 205, 207, 211.
41 Ibid., 211-3.
XI

THE EASTERN CHEROKEES AND A POSTSCRIPT

During the process of removal a group of Cherokees escaped and made their way to the Smoky Mountains. More than a thousand managed to break loose from the stockades or the line of march and reach this ancestral stronghold. Secreting themselves in natural caves to avoid capture, they were approached by General Winfield Scott who had been in charge of the removal. Scott effected a compromise by which these refugees would be allowed to remain in North Carolina provided Tsali (Charley) and his party, who had killed a soldier while making their break, gave themselves up. Tsali agreed and he, his brother, and two eldest sons were shot for their part in the affair; only a younger son was spared from the death penalty imposed on the others.¹

William H. Thomas, a trader in the area, had acted as intermediary in securing the surrender of Tsali. Deeply interested in these refugees, he spent six years negotiating with Washington before securing official permission for them to remain. Buying up land in the area, he provided it as a home for the Indians, a home which remains theirs today as the Qualla or Eastern Cherokee Reservation. Thomas devoted his life until his death in 1893 as benefactor and part-time agent to these Cherokees.²

The Kituhwa (Eastern) Cherokees acquired a brief acquaintance with Christianity shortly before the removal
episode through the efforts of Samuel Worcester. Without missionaries after their flight, a translation of Matthew served as their sole contact with the strange religion for which many had already felt a strong devotion. This book was passed from family to family and kept alive the Christian faith until a Methodist minister, Ulrich Keener, began to make visits whenever he could. Baptists followed a few years later and the new religion acquired a substantial foundation among them. 3

When Charles Lanman journeyed through this area in the late 1840's, he found that the Cherokees were well advanced in the civilized arts, that most of them were engaging in agriculture, and that the tribe as a whole was providing their own mechanical needs, such as plows, axes, and guns. About three-fourths were able to read in Cherokee and the majority understood English, although few spoke it. Unlike the Western Cherokees at this time, they were "probably as temperate as any people on earth." Their morals were of a high degree, exhibiting honesty in their business practices and rectitude in their thoughts, words, and deeds, and they were distinguished for their faithfulness in performing the duties of religion. 4

Lanman found that their religion was chiefly Methodist and Baptist and that many had abandoned the old superstitions. Regularly ordained preachers held services every Sunday. Lanman visited a Methodist church during
one service which was held in a rude, but spacious log meeting-house. The first hour of the service was spent in instructing the children with a Cherokee catechism. The chiefs of the several clans acted as teachers. At noon about one hundred-fifty assembled for the church services. The women were dressed in fancy calico gowns and had handkerchiefs wrapped around their heads. Their deportment was as circumspect as any which could be seen in the churches of New England. They sang hymns with a "wild and plaintive sweetness" which reminded him of "the caroling of birds." Three prayers were offered by various individuals and two sermons were delivered. One of these, by Big Charley, had as its topic the story of Noah and the flood and lasted for about thirty minutes. Big Charley's "facts were cemented together by a great number of flowery expressions, which made it quite poetical. His manner was impressive, but not particularly eloquent." Following the sermons, William Thomas gave a short talk on temperance and several secular matters.5

Christianity, planted by the missionaries and nourished by the natives, had become the dominant source of spiritual inspiration for the Eastern Cherokees. The old beliefs were still present, but these found their application more in medical practices than in theological credence. The Eastern Cherokees, like their Western relatives, had become essentially a christianized and civilized people
before the Civil War.

What had the missionaries accomplished? What can be said for the long and dedicated work of the representatives of the several Christian denominations who gave their attention to the Cherokees?

Pierce M. Butler, about to retire from service as the Cherokee agent, wrote in 1845 that these people were "en masse, ...justly entitled to attributes of morality and intelligence...." Their improvement in religion was very observable. He believed that they more readily received instruction from their own people, but he could only praise the missionaries. "At the same time they are inculcating sentiments of religion, imparting moral instruction, and impressing religious truth on the minds of those who are associated with them, they exhibit in their lives an elevated purity and virtue delightful to behold." Their work in relation to temperance had been a "God-send" to the nation.6

Grant Foreman points out that at the start of the Civil War the Cherokee government was functioning, their schools were flourishing, education had become a passion, and agriculture and industry were progressing, all in a degree never before matched by them. They shrewdly strove to imitate the white man by establishing a stable and enlightened social order and by the formation of a consti-
tutional government. Foreman adds:

This achievement was made possible primarily by the intelligence, character, and fortitude of the Indians. But in a measure that can never be adequately appraised, the missionaries were responsible by reviving the morale, hope, and resolution of these harried people.7

In 1852 the Prudential Committee of the American Board made an analysis of its own Indian missions. In regard to the Cherokees it concluded that the results of the missionaries' labors had been to: 1. Convert a large number into Christians and thereby provide a happy exit into death for those who had been changed; 2. Guide hundreds of Cherokees to make a manful struggle against intemperance; 3. Provide them with a knowledge in agriculture which enabled them to productively cultivate farms, almost all of which were equipped with the necessary implements and livestock; 4. Help them to advance in knowledge and implant a yearning for it which had become almost universal; 5. Watch them advance to a position where they had been able to form an excellent government fully capable of managing their civil affairs.8

The value which the Cherokees attached to the missionaries is best shown by the quick invitation which Chief Will Ross extended to all the old denominations, including both branches of the Methodist Church, to resume their work
following the end of the Civil War. Many missionaries answered the call and the people responded to their message once again. E. J. Mack returned to find a church burned down during the war, but he held services in the diningroom of the Female Seminary until such time as a new structure could be built. The southern Methodists created a new circuit in 1868 and John Harrell was able to report: "The present year has been one of great prosperity. Park Hill...and several other places have been favored with revivals of religion and some 311 have been added to our communion." Evan Jones had remained with the Cherokees in spirit, if not in body. He returned to the people he loved, but was now disabled by age and in poverty. The Cherokee government, noting his condition, expressed its gratitude for his devotion by awarding him $3000 and by making both he and his son John citizens of their nation.9

At a missionary conference held in 1871 in conjunction with the Commissioners of Indian Affairs, Ross, representing the Cherokee government, reported that his people were a Christian nation. Baptist, Methodist, Moravian, and Presbyterian churches were still functioning among them and a large proportion of the people belonged to these churches, especially the first two.10 The struggle begun seventy years before had been productive.

How complete was the christianization? Figures do not exist to put it on a percentage basis, but it is likely
that it would be as high, or nearly so, as for most white communities. From the lack of any precise figures, we can only judge by statements such as were made by the Baptist representative to the above mentioned conference, who said that the communicants of their denomination numbered in the thousands, which in itself would be a sizeable share of a people who generally numbered around fifteen thousand.\textsuperscript{11}

But we can ascertain that while the Cherokees had become nominally a Christian people, there were still some who clung to the old beliefs, continuing to find in them an attraction of greater power than the white man's religious story. Mooney, in searching for the ancient myths of this noble people, discovered a man Inâ'li (Black Fox), who, although he had once been licensed as a preacher for the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, had died in the faith of his forefathers. Carefully preserving in writing many of the stories handed down from the former generations, Inali had been unable to shake the magnetism of his ancient culture. But Inali's atavism was not characteristic. The ethnologist concluded that "The pressure of the new civilization was too strong to be withstood, however, and though the prophets of the old religion still have much influence with the people, they are daily losing ground and will soon be without honor in their own country."\textsuperscript{12}

The past was not quite ready to give up, and in the 1890's some of the Cherokees, seeing their lands dwindling
away once again, felt that the universal order had gotten out of balance. The government was applying pressure to force land allotments, white squatters were infiltrating everywhere— it was apparent that the Cherokees were facing social death. The old Keetowah Society (the same which Evan Jones had reorganized ostensibly to preserve ancient Cherokee customs) met in 1896 and discussed what could be done to prevent the further fragmentation of their society. Redbird Smith, a staunch traditionalist, was appointed to direct the search. A committee, which included several Baptist ministers, assisted him. They reached the judgment that God had turned his face on them and that they had lost his rule. The traditional dances were revived and for a time followed at night the Baptist services held in the daytime. Eventually the Christian rites were dropped completely.  

When Smith was imprisoned in 1902, the movement lost its momentum and the resistance to land allotments was broken. The Keetowahs withdrew from participation in tribal affairs. The Cherokees who had been active in the revival said to the whites who interrogated them: "We just depended on your religion from then on." But their statement is not entirely valid, for in the next decade ceremonial centers had been erected in numerous villages and a generalized Cherokee religious rite reconstructed. By these actions they felt that they had "got the rule back." As
late as 1957 Cherokees in North Carolina were expressing an interest in reviving the old religion.14

Whatever spiritual value these movements may have had for some Cherokees, Christianity had become too deeply ingrained by the middle of the present century to be easily removed. A church community had superseded the old town organization. The church was the focal point of the community's activities. The pastor was Indian, preaching in a church usually of one of the original Protestant denominations. If everyone did not attend the services, all were regarded, nevertheless, as members of the community—if for no other reason than that they would be buried in the church cemetery. This depository, as much as the church house, expressed the unity of the group.15
NOTES

Chapter XI

1 Rights, The American Indian in North Carolina, 196, 201.
2 Ibid., 201-4.
3 Mooney, Myths of the Cherokees, 165.
4 Charles Lanman, Letters from the Allegheny Mountains, New York, 1849, 94-5.
5 Ibid., 95-9.
7 Foreman, Five Civilized Tribes, 421-2.
8 MH, XLVIII, 307-12.
9 Woodward, The Cherokees, 312-3; Mooney, Myths of the Cherokees, 150.
10 Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1871, 179.
11 Ibid.
14 Ibid., 164-5.
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