

Saved:

The Gambold Collection of Moravian Devotional Books

by Rose Simon

The box contained a couple dozen small, unmistakably old volumes. A few had paper covers; some wore leather bindings; most had cardboard covers with thin leather spines and corners. The pages were in good condition; the font a precise, exotic Fraktur type that varied only in size from volume to volume, an occasional word on a title page printed in red instead of black. The imprints listed unfamiliar, faraway places and printers: Barby, Gotha, Hirschberg, "Zu finden in den Brüdergemeinen." The years of publication ranged from 1724 to 1818. The only duplicates were copies of a title printed by Henrich Miller in Philadelphia in 1769 — the sole non-European imprint.

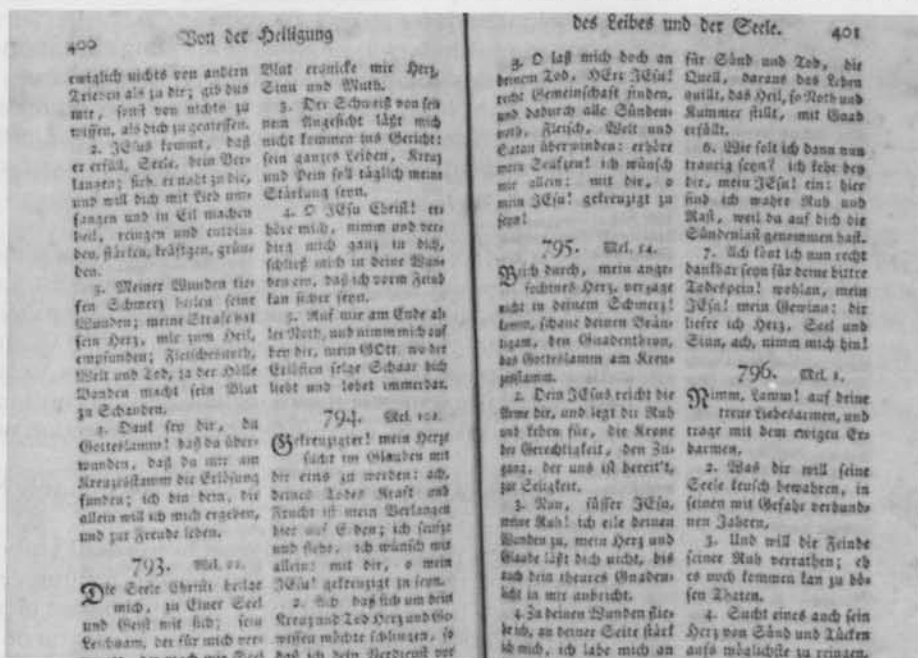
It did not take a sophisticated command of German to discern that these were religious titles: a *New Testament* in Luther's translation; Reichel's *Ghostly Hymns and Songs*; a biblical concordance; Gregor's *Prayers and Meditations in Verse for all the Days of the Year*; Risler's *Historical Excerpts from the Books of the Old Testament*; Spangenberg's *Life of Nicholas Lewis, Count and Lord of Zinzenberg and Pottendorf* (Part IV). These were not merely eighteenth century German devotional books; they were Protestant — specifically, Moravian — devotional books. Their connection to Salem College (founded by Moravians in 1772) was certain. First, they were a gift from a Salem alumna whose family once had lived at Salem and had kept the books for over 150 years. Second, an inscription in one of the books shows that it was given at Salem, on the 7th of September 1805, by Carl Gottlieb Reichel (future Inspector of the Salem Girls'

Boarding School) to John and Anna Rosina Gambold.

Inscriptions are plentiful in this little collection, and indicate that it was part of the personal library of Anna Rosina. Of the 23 volumes (20 titles) in the Salem Gambold Collection, eight bear her name, often with her maiden name, Kliest. Three more bear her father's name. Two are inscribed to both John and Anna Rosina. Four bear the name of John Gambold, albeit not in his own handwriting. Only three volumes have no inscriptions at all.

Within the history of the Moravian Church in America, John and Anna Rosina Gambold are relatively familiar figures, for they were the principal Moravian missionaries to the Cherokee nation. Ten days after the

presentation of Reichel's gift, the Gambolds embarked from Salem on the 400-mile journey to Springplace in northwest Georgia. They were accompanied to a place near Pilot Mountain¹ by a group of girls and teachers from the recently established Boarding School. Presumably, the Gambolds took Reichel's gift (the *Ghostly Hymns and Songs*² book compiled by his father, Carl Rudolph Reichel, in 1798) with them. Did all the volumes in the Gambold Collection go with the missionaries to Springplace? What other books did they have at Springplace, and how did the books printed after their departure from Salem come to be part of the collection? How did it come about that these particular volumes were preserved and brought back to



Hymnals with printed music were not the norm in the eighteenth century. Several different sets of lyrics could be applied to the same tune.

Salem? The answers to these questions are interwoven with the story of the Gambolds themselves, their friends and supporters, and the nature and fate of the Cherokee mission.

The Moravian Church³ traces its origins back to the followers of the early Protestant martyr, John Hus (d. 1415). The Unitas Fratrum, as these believers were known, were largely suppressed for the next three centuries, and emerged again among those Protestants (many from Moravia, in what is now the Czech Republic) who took refuge on the Saxony estate of Nicholas Lewis, Count von Zinzendorf, in the early eighteenth century. Zinzendorf became an active patron of the group as it defined itself anew, emphasizing a commitment to serving the unfortunate throughout the world. This was the first Protestant sect "to declare the evangelization of the heathen the duty of the Church."⁴ As early as 1732, two Brethren sailed to the Danish West Indies to work among the slaves. Then came a mission to the Inuit peoples of Greenland. Moravian migration to the American colonies was undertaken with the clear intention of establishing missions to the Indians. In the northern colonies, the Delaware were served by the noted Moravian missionary, David Zeisberger, and his assistant John Heckewelder.⁵ In the southern colonies, there was some preliminary work among the Indians which had to be abandoned in 1740, when the Moravians were compelled to leave eastern Georgia for Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. The Revolutionary War and its turbulent aftermath fostered Cherokee hostility towards American settlers, precluding significant mission work before the end of the century.

Finally, in 1799, the Cherokees indicated that they were willing for the Moravians to come to the Cherokee Nation⁶ to set up schools for teaching English and other skills needed in dealing more successfully with the white culture. The missionaries, on the other hand, gave highest priority to imparting salvation, without which education was deemed to be of little value. Their vision was that as the Indians converted, they would join the established Moravian community, and their children would then be educated as members of that community. Consequently, the first Moravian missionaries concentrated their efforts on building the means of establishing and sustaining the physical community — houses, barns, fields — while allowing Indians, slaves, and other interested parties to

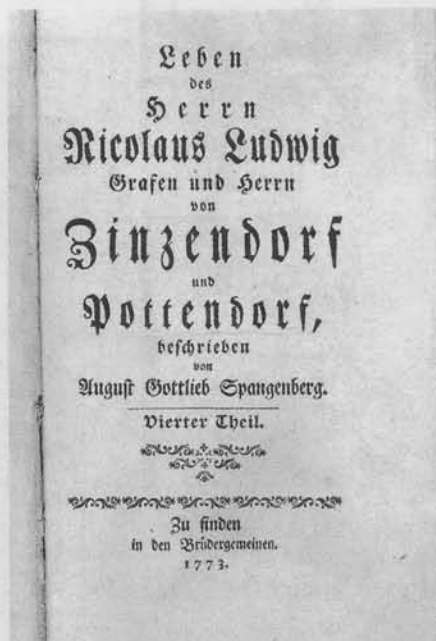
attend their worship services.

In 1803, and again in 1804, the Cherokees noted with impatience that the Moravians had not yet established a boarding school at Springplace, and should leave. Negotiators (for the Indians) and carpenters (for the missionaries) were dispatched from Salem. Meanwhile, a school established by the Presbyterians was opened at Hiwassee in eastern Tennessee, only 60 miles northwest of Springplace. A new, December 1804, deadline for an operating school was set and barely met. One of the two couples at the mission now asked to be released from their assignment. The survival of the mission seemed to depend on the careful selection of their replacements. The Gambolds proved to be a good choice.

Of the two Gambolds, more is known of Anna Rosina,⁷ owing largely to her 17 years as an exceptionally talented and popular teacher at the Bethlehem Female Seminary. Born in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in 1762, she was the daughter of the locksmith Daniel Kliest and Anna Felicitas Schuster (who died in 1765). At the age of 26, this Single Sister began her teaching career at the Seminary. Her range of

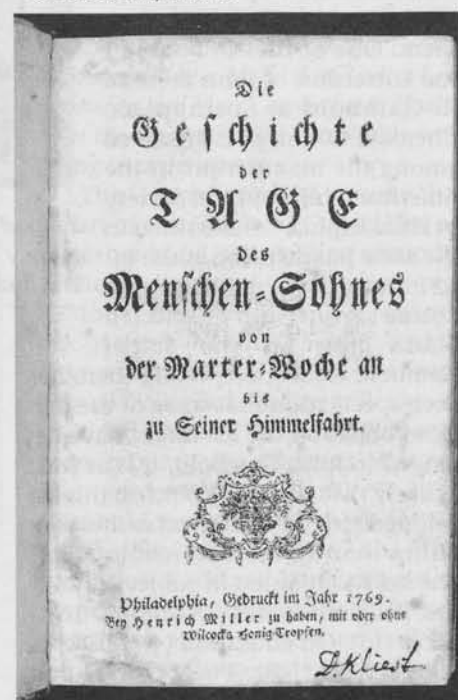
interests included the natural sciences as well as literature, and she wrote verse (English as well as German) for student recitations and other special occasions. She was imaginative, energetic, and clever—qualities often masked by the sober reports, diaries, and letters that make up the official record of her years at Springplace. In 1803, she accompanied George Henry Loskiel and others on a trip to Zeisberger's mission at Goshen on the Muskingum River in Ohio. Her personal interest in fulfilling the core Moravian commitment to serving the American Indian coincided with the expressed desire of John Gambold, hatter and leader of the Single Brothers at Salem, to serve in the recently established Moravian Mission to the Cherokees.

In 1802, Gambold had been selected to travel from Salem to Springplace to bring news and instructions to Jacob and Dorothea Byhan, the couple then serving alone at the Mission. He remained with them for six very satisfying weeks. He returned still willing and eager to serve the Cherokee, and willing servants were badly needed; but the Lot, to which the Moravians referred as an indication of divine will, determined that this was not the time for John Gambold to go to Springplace. Instead, he became assistant vorsteher (warden) at Salem, and married Catherina Lanius.⁸ Within two years, John was called to serve as pastor in nearby Friedberg, where both he and his wife were stricken with a severe fever. He recovered; Catherine died on October 30, 1804.



Above: Part IV of Spangenberg's biography of Count von Zinzendorf, patron of the Brethren, survived the trip to Springplace; it is quite possible the Gambolds did not own the other parts.

Right: The sole American imprint in the Gambold collection is *The History of the Days of the Son of Man from Martyr Week to His Ascension* (Philadelphia, 1769). The book first belonged to Anna Rosina's father, Daniel Kliest.



John Gambold was at last approved in early 1805 for his Cherokee mission—provided that he remarry. He promptly set out for Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and for the accomplished schoolteacher, Anna Rosina Kliet.⁹ They were married in May, and set out for Salem soon thereafter.

It is easy enough to picture Sister Gambold packing up as many as possible of her possessions, including books and pictures. Both parents were dead, and at the age of 43, she was marrying for the first time; she was leaving the community into which she had been born, and heading out for the frontier to serve the Lord and the Cherokee. She labored at Springplace for 16 years, following her close friend Peggy Crutchfield (the Gambolds' first convert) in death by four months.

The Moravians were meticulous record-keepers, and consequently the Gambolds' reports, diaries, and letters to their friends and supervisors back at Salem have been preserved.¹⁰ Regrettably, the correspondence that was sent to Springplace, like the Gambolds' many books, has disappeared. The Moravian missionaries who survived the Gambolds (John died in 1827) were forced to leave Springplace in 1831 for refusing to swear allegiance to the state of Georgia, one more disgraceful aspect of the government policies associated with the infamous removal of the Cherokees from their lands in the East.

While at Springplace, the Gambolds drew up two listings of the books they had with them. One of these, "Books in the Possession of John & Anna R. Gambold at Springplace Cherokee Country," is preserved among the manuscripts in the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia.¹¹ It is written in the same handwriting as the inscriptions that establish Anna Rosina's ownership of selected books now in the Salem Gambold Collection. While there has been speculation that some of the religious books on the list might have belonged to John Gambold, it is at least as likely that all of the books on this list belonged to the veteran schoolteacher rather than to the hatter/minister.¹² The books are listed in subject categories: Religious Works (15 titles), On Sciences (13), On Education (4), Miscellaneous Works (8), Poetry (11), and School Books (11). The most notable

thing about these books is that all 79 titles are in English. This is not entirely surprising, as the Gambolds were bilingual; despite the closeness of the German-speaking community in Bethlehem and Salem, both had been born and raised in the American colonies. Anna Rosina had taught most, if not all, of her classes at Bethlehem Female Seminary in English, and her fluency in English is clearly evident in her verse.

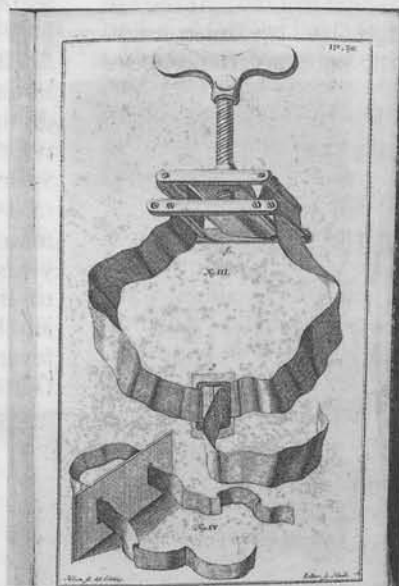
The titles on the "Possession" list include authors and titles still familiar to the well-read English major: Joseph Addison's *Evidences of the Christian Religion*; John Bunyan's *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners*; *Works of the late Dr. Benjamin Franklin*; John Gerard's *Meditations*; *The Book of Common Prayer of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the U.S.*; Gilbert Burnet's *Abridgement of the Reformation of the Church of England* and his *Some Account of the Life & Death of John, Earl of Rochester*; Samuel Johnson's *Lives of the English Poets*; James Thomson's *The Seasons*; Robert Burns's *Poems*; John Gay's *Fables*; Edward Young's *Night*

to the Use of the Globes; Joseph Moxon's *A Tutor to Astronomie and Geographie*; and James Ferguson's *Astronomy Explained Upon Sir Isaac Newton's Principles*. This large selection of moral but secular titles casts some light on the fact that among the books in the Salem Gambold Collection are three titles¹³ that are not part of the Moravian devotional canon.

The publishing history of these titles in English¹⁴ confirms the possibility that most of these books came with Anna Rosina from Bethlehem to Springplace in 1805. Those listed under "Schoolbooks," written in slightly larger, neater script than the other categories and titles, may have come from Bethlehem with Anna Rosina and/or from more than one source. In August 1808, for example, the reading material for the school was supplemented by a gift: "a boat from Major Anderson arrived here and brought various needed articles ... for each of our brown children as a present, a whole lot of useful — and what is the most important for us — very religiously written books for our school."¹⁵

The Springplace Diary and letters reveal that distant as it was from Salem, the mission was not cut off from travelers and area friends, White and Native American, who delivered packages and bundles and even casks of documents and gifts. Gambold always speaks of the delight and gratitude with which these materials, including books, were received — gratitude for the materials, and gratitude for their actual arrival, which could never be guaranteed. At least once, the delivery of a

packet to Springplace was delayed for some ten weeks at the home of people who could not read, and therefore could not determine to whom the packet should go.¹⁶ Another delivery (containing a \$100 bill) was set aside en route in a place "where the mice are playing post-master and wanted to forward it, but found it too large for their mail and reduced it to many small parts, of diverse shapes, perhaps like plots of land." The parts were discov-



Surgical instruments of the eighteenth century were illustrated in Richter's *The Rudiments of Surgery* (1782).



Thoughts; John Milton's *Paradise Lost*; William Cowper's *The Task*; Thomas Campbell's *The Pleasures of Hope*. Three of the titles listed under Education clearly reveal Anna Rosina's professional concerns at Bethlehem Female Seminary: Hannah More's *Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education*; Charlotte Smith's *Rural Walks*; and *Lessons of a Governess to her Pupils*. So, too, do the books On Sciences, including Daniel Fenning's *A New and Easy Guide*

ered some weeks later, with the address gone, and eventually made their way to the missionaries — with the bill “damaged only a little and can pass at full worth.”¹⁷ Some documents, usually reports of developments at various Moravian congregations, had to be sent on to others located in distant outposts; documents often had to be returned because it was too troublesome to make and disseminate multiple copies. Titles drifted in and out of Springplace.

At times, the demands of securing food and shelter precluded the writing of letters to Salem; at other times, the letters and diaries mentioned the desire for more reading material:

If there should be space left in the little chest, then you might find something useful for us, as for instance the last volume of Milner's *Church History*. N. B. the first three volumes are in the Mission Archives. (Don't be alarmed over this large effort, it is only in Diminutivo), and the first 4 volumes of the same work were given to us by a friend in Pennsylvania. Perhaps It would be best, if I would include here the catalog of the Springplace Archive, which we would indicate in the best way what might be sent to us when there is a good opportunity.¹⁸

Gambold did indeed draw up such a catalog, listing English titles on one side of the page, and German titles on the other. What is truly revealing about this document is the extent to which it does not correlate with the titles in the Salem Gambold Collection or with the titles on the “Possession” list. Very little overlap exists among the three. Two titles, *Elements of Useful Knowledge* 2 vols. and *The American Young Man's Best Companion*, on the “Archives” list appear on the “Possession” list, and three other “Archives” titles (Pastor Reichel's *Ghostly Hymns and Songs*, Zinzendorf's *Thoughts Concerning Various Evangelical Truths*, and Gregor's *Prayers and Meditations in Verse for All the Days of the Year*) are represented in the Gambold Collection, which also includes the Brethren's Hymn Book. (The “Archives” list also includes a standard hymn book and its supplement.) Both lists — one by Anna Rosina and one by John — may have been

drawn up around 1816; they suggest that the Gambolds made a clear distinction between their personal books and those belonging to the mission.

Busy as they were in their work, the Gambolds obviously were eager to receive reading material as well as the official publications needed for holding services. The Gambolds' work — teaching as well as preaching — was all conducted in English, meaning that the German books in their possession mostly were read privately, perhaps providing the basis of ad hoc translation for use in public services. The letters and diaries reveal that the services and devotions, including Singstunden,¹⁹ they observed were carried out much as they would have been back in Salem or Bethlehem, albeit in English, and required the use of standard materials. An important Moravian devotional volume was the “Losungsbuch,”²⁰ which established the framework and theme for daily worship. The Gambolds were always especially grateful to receive a copy of the next *Daily Text* book from friends in Bethlehem or Salem, and great satisfaction when enough copies arrived to give each member of the mission his own.²¹ The Gambolds

held a second daily service in which they frequently incorporated a prayer or meditation from “Gerhard” — most likely the “Gerard's Meditations 1635” on the “Possession” list. Another frequently cited source for this second service was Zinzendorf's *The Harmony of the Four Gospels*, which appears on the “Archives” list, as was the case with “news of the visit of the blessed Brother John ... read from the mission history of Greenland.”²² Use of the German titles in the Gambold collection is considerably less evident.

Despite the late date at which the two lists of books were drawn up, they do not include all the titles the Gambolds had at Springplace. In March 1818, they wrote friends in Salem, “In the evening we are reading together the *History of the Missions of the Propagation of the Gospel among the Heathen Since the Reformation* by William Brown, with particular pleasure.”²³ This title appears on neither of the surviving lists nor among the surviving books. Yet it is a significant title, representing core professional reading for these missionaries. Similarly, in reporting on the personal injuries and illnesses that befell the missionaries far too often, the Gambolds refer to a medical book (Ewell's *Medical Companion*)²⁴ not listed in the surviving documentation. The titles they did have, however, are of interest. William Buchan's *Domestic Medicine* (on the “Possession” list) bears a revealing subtitle: *A Treatise on the Prevention and Cure of Diseases by Regimen and Simple Medicines: with An Appendix Containing a Dispensatory for the Use of Private Practitioners, to Which are Added Observations on the Diet of the Common People, Recommending a Method of Living Less Expensive and More Conducive to Health than the Present.*²⁵ The Gambolds were living inexpensively.

The German medical volume that is part of the Gambold Collection, on the other hand, is a chilling reminder of the missionaries' remove from professional medical help. It is volume one of the *Rudiments of Surgery*, and its engravings provide pictures of some singularly wicked-looking tourniquets and instruments. The Gambolds were more prone to the ailments of arthritis, and “neurasthenia.” John Gambold reported in 1817, for example, that “Little Mother Anna Rosel has to suffer with all kinds of pain, in particular with arthritic attack, for several weeks already, the thumb of her left hand has been quite lamed and 4-5 days her walking has been made dif-



“She sings so beautifully!” — one of four “historical engravings” from Suvarov and the Cossacks in Italy (1800), one of the few non-devotional volumes in the Gambold collection.

ficult by similar pains in her right leg."²⁶ Indeed, the letters of the Gambolds reveal increasingly frequent allusions to the physical limitations of these hard-working and unmistakably aging people. Anna Rosina died ("passed over"), in Gambold's arms, in early 1821, as they were packing to move to a new mission outpost in Oochgelogy, Georgia.²⁷

The bereaved widower went on to Oochgelogy, and then returned to Salem for a period of recovery; but he did not ask to be excused from his service to the Cherokee. The mission board determined that he clearly needed help at his new post, and so he was married to the Widow Anna Maria Grabbs Schultz, who left her two daughters at the Salem Girls' Boarding School, and accompanied Gambold to Oochgelogy in 1823. Anna Maria was perhaps less prepared than her predecessor for mission work (which included establishing a school for both Cherokee girls and boys, the school at Springplace having become a boys' school in 1819); but with experience, she grew into the job. Gambold himself died at Oochgelogy in 1827, and yet she remained — unmarried — with the other Moravian missionaries in Georgia until they all finally were expelled by the state government in 1831.

What happened to the books that had been in the possession (whether listed or not) of John and Anna Rosina at Springplace? Most of the books, including those inherited by Anna

Rosina from her father Daniel, would have been inherited by John Gambold in 1821. Some or all of them might have returned with him to Salem in that year. It is far more likely that they remained in Georgia. They might have been divided between Springplace and Oochgelogy, but — especially given the sort of distinction made between the Mission Archive and the personal possessions of the Gambolds — it is more likely the library was moved *in toto* to the latter. When Anna Maria returned to Salem, she probably brought her late husband's library with her.

By 1831, the extent to which German was the preferred tongue among the Moravians was probably diminishing. It is probable that the German books in the Gambold library were becoming increasingly appreciated as quaint artifacts by Anna Maria's descendants, while the books in English would have remained "in circulation" — more ordinary, more easily replaced, and less likely to be preserved over the years. It is possible that the inscription of John Gambold's name in the three volumes of Risler's *Historical Excerpts from the Books of the Old Testament* was written by Anna Maria or one of her daughters; it appears to be the same hand that wrote "Sister Gambold" in two of Anna Rosina's volumes. Yet another hand, probably later but also probably within the family, wrote "(Anna Maria's husband)" next to John Gambold's name in one of the Risler volumes. We do know that Anna

Maria's daughter Dorothea married the book binder David Clewell in 1839, and through their descendants the German books that now constitute the Salem Gambold collection survived.

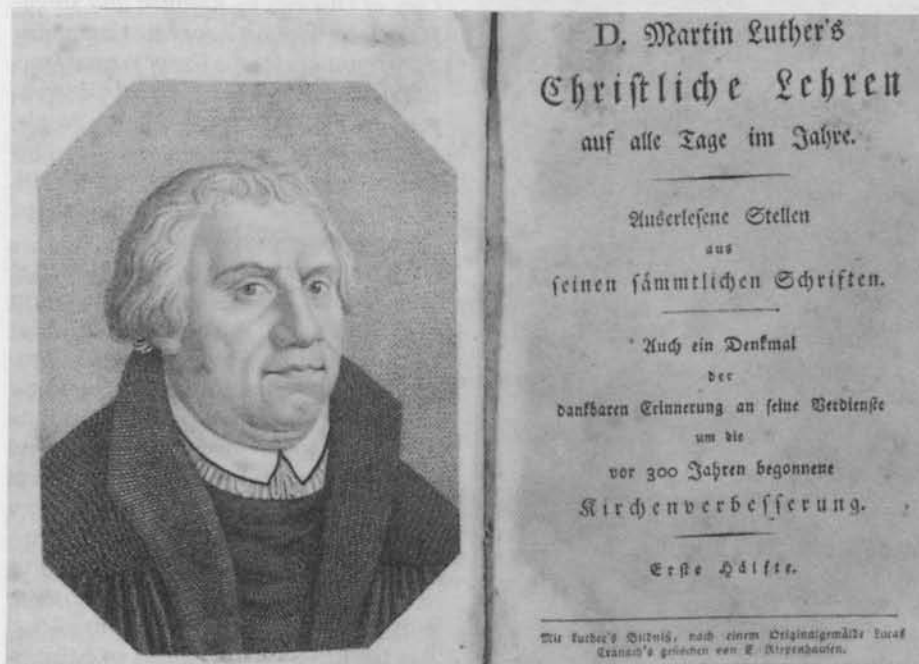
It is in this light that we look at the last book to be added to the Gambold Collection during Anna Rosina's lifetime, *Dr. Martin Luther's Exegesis of the Fifteenth Chapter of St. John*. (Neudietendorf: 1818). The inscription shows it to be a gift to Anna Rosina from Elisabeth Horsfield, almost certainly the Eliza M. Horsfield who had taught with her at the Bethlehem Female Seminary some twenty years before.²⁸ Like an earlier gift²⁹ from their friends, Christian and Maria Schaaf, this book was part of the wave of Luther celebrations that came with the tricentennial of the Reformation. The Horsfield gift is an 1818 edition of a German text originally printed in 1538—an early Reformation text. That is the point: for these spiritual descendants of John Hus, Luther's triumph is ultimately their triumph.

The Springplace grave of Sister Anna Rosina Kliest Gambold was, and is yet, unmarked. A small part of her personal library is preserved in the Salem College Library, a memorial to her, and to her remarkable fulfillment of the ideals of her faith.

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References

¹ The best route from Salem to Springplace went north over the Blue Ridge Mountains to a place near Abingdon, Virginia. They followed the valley from Bristol to Knoxville, and then took the more difficult road to Springplace. Frances Griffin, *Less Time for Meddling A History of Salem Academy and College 1772-1866* (Winston-Salem, NC: John F. Blair, 1979), 59, observes that this field trip was an unusually



Dr. Martin Luther's *Christly Precepts for All the Days of the Year* (1817) was one of the many titles published to celebrate the tricentennial of the beginning of the Protestant Reformation. The title page proudly explains that the engraving is based on the Cranach portrait of Luther.

distant venture for the students.

² At this time, hymnals contained words, but not the notes, staves, and other representations of the music that we are used to finding in modern hymnals. Dr. Nola Knause of the Moravian Music Foundation and Dr. C. Daniel Crews of the Moravian Church Archives, have explained that very different verses (songs) with a common meter could be sung to the same tune. That is, a given set of words did not belong exclusively to a given tune. (Joint interview, Winston-Salem, December 4, 1997.)

³ The Moravian Church maintains a very informative Web page (<http://www.moravian.org>). The basic histories of the Moravian Church include E. A. DeSchweinitz, *History of the Church Known as Unitas Fratrum* (Bethlehem, PA: Moravian Publications Office, 1885); J. E. Hutton, *A History of the Moravian Church* 2d ed. (London: Moravian Publications Office, 1909); and J.T. and K.G. Hamilton, *History of the Moravian Church: The Renewed Unitas Fratrum 1722-1957* rev. ed. (Bethlehem, PA: Interprovincial Board of Christian Education, Moravian Church in America, 1967).

⁴ Muriel Wright, *Springplace Moravian Mission and the Ward Family of the Cherokee Nation* (Guthrie, OK: Co-operative Publishing Co., 1940), 34. The standard history of the Springplace Mission is the Rev. Edmund Schwarze, *History of the Moravian Missions Among Southern Indian Tribes of the United States* (Bethlehem, PA: Times Publishing Company, 1923) *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society, Special Series*. Vol. I. Wright borrowed extensively from Schwarze.

⁵ Heckewelder's daughter Polly was reportedly the first White child born in Ohio, and a student at the Bethlehem Female Seminary in the first years of Anna Rosina's tenure there. One of the

volumes in the Salem Gambold Collection, *Some of the Last Discourses of the Blessed Count Nicholas Lewis von Zinzendorf* (Barby, 1784), is a gift from Polly to her former teacher inscribed, "Johanna Maria Heckewelder to A. RO. G." The book might have been presented just before Anna Rosina's 1805 departure from Bethlehem, or it might have been sent out to Springplace at any time up to 1821.

⁶ William G. McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries, 1789-1839*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984). This and the next paragraph are drawn from McLoughlin's chapter, "The Cherokees and the Moravians, 1799-1803," pp. 35-53. In general, the books by McLoughlin and Schwarze provide the basis for the general summary of the Moravian Mission to the Cherokees in this paper.

⁷ Daniel L. McKinley provides a splendid biography of the Gambolds in "Anna Rosina (Kliest) Gambold (1762-1821), Moravian Missionary to the Cherokees, with Special Reference to her Botanical Interests," *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society* 28 (1994): 59-99.

⁸ Adelaide Fries, trans. and ed., *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*. 13 vols. (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1927-47; reprinted 1970), v. 6, 2688. I have made extensive use of this invaluable resource in this paper.

⁹ Anna Rosina and John had both inhabited the small Moravian community of Bethlehem from 1773 to 1782 and from 1785 to 1790. John's age during those periods would have been 13 to 22 and 25 to 30 years; Anna Rosina would have been two years younger. In short, they would have made one another's acquaintance, however separate their lives must have been as Single Brother and Single Sister. (Moravians were divided into "choirs,"

or social groups based on age and marital status.)

¹⁰ The Gambolds' letters and other documents are preserved in the Archives of the Moravian Church in America, Southern Province, Winston-Salem, NC. In 1802, Salem received official oversight of the Cherokee mission activities. Gambold addressed letters (as well as reports) to his supervisors in the Diacony and General Helpers Conference there. The letters have been translated into English by the late Elizabeth Marx of the Moravian Church Archives. Three years (1815-1817) of the Springplace Diary have been translated and edited by Rowena McClinton, *The Moravian Mission Among the Cherokees at Springplace, Georgia*. (Ph.D. Dissertation. University of Kentucky, 1996).

¹¹ "Books in the Possession of John and Anna Rosina Gambold at Springplace Cherokee Country," *Miscellaneous Manuscripts Collection* (MLS-3), American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia. The list itself has survived by an extraordinary stroke of luck. It is accompanied by a note explaining that in 1934 the list had been "found on the street by a passerby and brought in, thinking that it belonged to the American Philosophical Society."

¹² Daniel McKinley has written a detailed analysis of the English titles on this list, *The Books of John and Anna Rosina Gambold* (S.l.: n.p., n.d.) 47 pp. Two copies are in the Moravian Collection of Reeves Library at Moravian College, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

¹³ These are *Fruits of my Nightwatches in Cayenne*, originally in French, (Gotha, 1799) and a play, *Rinaldo Rinaldini's Suvarov and the Cossacks in Italy* (Leipzig, 1800). The latter includes an engraved portrait of the Russian general Suvarov and four "historical engravings"—i.e., illustrations of the text; one portrays the next best thing

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to Coleridge's damsel with a dulcimer — a genuine image of the Romantic era. The third non-devotional title is a medical book.

¹⁴ A title and/or author check of the list entries in the LOCIS databases, PREM and BKSA, confirms that editions of most were in print before 1805. Two exceptions are *Christian Correspondence ... the late Rev. John Wesley &c. to the Late Mrs. Eliza Bennis* (1809) and Elias Boudinot's *Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. William Tennent, Late Pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Freehold in New Jersey*, which first saw print in 1806. McKinley, *The Books*, provides a thorough study of the titles on this list.

¹⁵ August 22, 1808. Gambolds to Brother Benzien. Moravian Church Archives, Winston-Salem M411:6:22. All following letter citations are abbreviated to date, writer, and addressee. They are found in boxes M411 and M412. While the "Possessions" list has a School books category, the books received in this gift may never have been listed separately. In his "Archives" list, Gambold gives these gift items a single entry, "different Schoolbooks presented by Col Meigs and Col. Anderson & others," while also entering two other titles that appear on the "Posses-

sions" list.

¹⁶ February 28, 1808. Gambolds to Brother Benzien. This had happened some 18 months before, when the Gambolds had been at Springplace for less than a full year.

¹⁷ July 8, 1816. Gambolds to Brother van Vleck.

¹⁸ July 1, 1816. Gambolds to Brother v. Schweinitz.

¹⁹ "Singstunde" means an hour of singing. This was a form of worship service that was based on selecting a series of hymns that developed a particular theme. Otto Dreydoppel, Jr. and C. Daniel Crews, "Moravian Meanings A Glossary of Moravian Terms," <http://www.moravian.org/meanings.htm>.

²⁰ Dreydoppel and Crews, "Losung" means watchword, in this case a selected Bible verse for the day. Count von Zinzendorf began the practice of sending out a daily watchword to the Moravians at Hernnhut in 1732. The *Daily Text* books are annual compilations of these verses, selected by lot and in advance, and translated into over 40 languages around the world.

²¹ April 22, 1816. Gambolds to Brother Van Vleck.

²² Diary, January 7, 1816; McClinton, pp. 369-70.

²³ March 23, 1818. John and A. R.

Gambold to Brother and Sister Stoz.

²⁴ June 11, 1818. Gambolds to Brother Van Vleck.

²⁵ This title is an early North Carolina imprint: Halifax, NC: Printed and sold by Abraham Hodge, 1801.

²⁶ August 17, 1817. Gambolds to Jacob Van Vleck.

²⁷ Schwarze, p. 143.

²⁸ William C. Reichel, *A History of the Rise, Progress, and Present Condition of the Bethlehem Female Seminary with a Catalog of its Pupils, 1785-1858* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1858), 294.

²⁹ Dr. Martin Luther's *Christly Precepts for All the Days of the Year...Also a Memento of Thankful Remembrance of his Service in Having Begun the Reformation of the Church 300 Years Ago. With Luther's Picture After the Original Painting by Lucas Cranach ...* (Neudietendorf, 1817). The Schaafs moved from Bethlehem and arrived in Salem on May 20, 1819. Two months later, John Gambold wrote that the Schaafs "shall have a loving kiss in spirit for their love that they have brought something for us from Bethlehem as far as Salem and have turned it over for further sending." (July 24, 1819. John Gambold to Brother Van Vleck.)

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