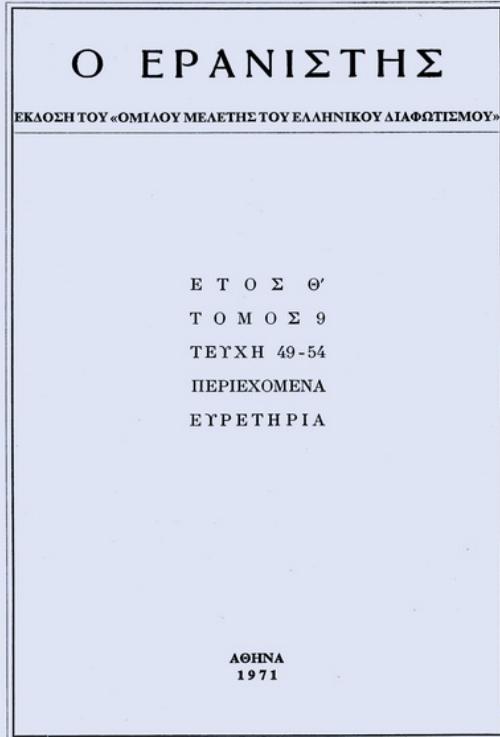


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**The Greek Press at Malta of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (1822-1833)**

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## THE GREEK PRESS AT MALTA OF THE AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS (1822 - 1833)

The first missionaries sent by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) to their Western Asia or Mediterranean Mission (the area which included the Mission to the Greeks) were the Reverends Pliny Fisk (1792-1825) and Levi Parsons (1792-1822). They left Boston, the Headquarters of the ABCFM, on November 3, 1819 aboard the ship Sally Ann and reached Smyrna in January of 1820<sup>1</sup>. On December 23, 1819 their ship stopped at Malta which was at the time the center of activity of the English Protestant missionaries, and there they met the Reverend William Jowett, the representative of the Church Missionary Society, the Reverend Samuel Sheridan Wilson, representative of the London Missionary Society and Dr. Cleardo Naudi, a native of Malta and active in the Bible Society which was formed there by the British missionaries in 1817. These gentlemen gave the American missionaries information and letters of introduction to influential people in Smyrna and Chios. When they arrived at Smyrna on January 15, 1820 they met the Reverend Charles Williamson, Episcopal minister and chaplain to the British Consulate and to the Levant Company's factory there.<sup>2</sup> After discussing their purpose with Reverend Williamson they decided that Smyrna had many advantages to offer for missionary

1. Accounts of their missionary activities are to be found in Alvan Bond, *Memoir of the Rev. Pliny Fisk, A.M. Late Missionary to Palestine* (Boston, 1828) and Daniel O. Morton, *Memoir of Rev. Levi Parsons, Late Missionary to Palestine* (Poultney, Vt., 1824). See also

Clogg (I) p. 177-193.

2. For information on Williamson and the activities of the Bible Society see R. Clogg, *The Foundation of the Smyrna Bible Society (1818)*, «Μιχραστικὴ Χρονικὴ», 14 (1970) 31-49. ABCFM. *Eleventh Annual Report* (Boston, 1820), p. 31-32.

activities «for extending the knowledge of Christianity in the Turkish Empire.» Because of its locations, busy port and active commercial life it was easy to come into contact with all the parts of the Ottoman Empire; also, it offered excellent opportunities for learning Greek, French, Italian and Turkish. They also agreed with Reverend Williamson that a printing press at Smyrna would be of great advantage for the printing and distribution of religious tracts and other materials. In a letter to the Secretary of the ABCFM dated Smyrna, February 1820 Reverend Williamson refers to the desirability of establishing a printing press at Smyrna and gives his ideas to the Board members: «Two other important parts of missionary labor remain to be entered upon. The first is Education; — the other a translation, not of the Scriptures, for that is accomplished, but of all other good religious books and tracts. The printing of a religious monthly publication in Modern Greek, not offending the institutions of the country, is of primary importance, and would be, in the hands of prudent conductors, of incalculable service. The extensive fields of education are not, to foreign Protestant missionaries, so easily and completely accessible, as the rich and most abundant streams of a fount of types, which would ere long, silently water every portion of the field sowed with the word of God; and, with the divine blessing, would render luxuriant and plentiful the Christian harvest.»<sup>3</sup>

As a consequence of this letter which was read to the members of the ABCFM in December 1820 and was favorably received, several members proposed a further meeting to discuss the possibility of establishing a press. This meeting was held in January 18, 1821 and it was then decided to raise a fund by subscription during five years of \$ 3.000 a year to support the expenses of purchasing and maintaining a printing press at Smyrna or some other place in that region to be used by the American missionaries under the Board for the purpose of publishing the Scriptures, tracts and school books.<sup>4</sup>

Thus we find that as early as 1820 the American missionaries were considering Smyrna as one of the most desirable centers

3. ABCFM. *Loc. cit.*, p. 33-34.

4. ABCFM. *Twelfth Annual Report* (Boston, 1821) p. 95-96.

for founding a permanent missionary establishment and introducing a printing press with Greek, Turkish and French types. The fact that it was Malta which eventually became the place where the first Greek missionary presses were founded was due entirely to the outbreak of the Greek War of Independence in 1821, which made Smyrna an unsafe place for such activities. It was not until December 1833 that the press which was originally intended for Smyrna moved there from Malta.

But to go back briefly to the Reverends Parsons and Fisk: as is well known, they spent some time in Chios learning modern Greek under the tutelage of Neophytos Vamvas, then Principal of the School at Chios. While there, they managed to have two tracts printed at the School's press. It is not the purpose of this paper to give details of the activities of the two missionaries which are known already from the above-mentioned sources. However, it is interesting to bring out here that while studying Greek with Neophytos Vamvas they translated into modern Greek, with the purpose of printing it at Chios, Legh Richmond's «The Dairyman's Daughter». The project fell through because permission to print it was denied them by the Bishop of Chios, although apparently Neophytos Vamvas liked the story and was in favor of its publication.<sup>5</sup>

Levi Parsons and Pliny Fisk travelled extensively in Asia Minor and other parts of the Mediterranean, sometimes together and at times separately, distributing the Scriptures and other tracts. After the death of Parsons in 1822, Fisk wrote an old classmate of his from the Andover Theological Seminary and requested that he join him in his missionary activities in the Mediterranean. This person was none other than the Reverend Jonas King (1792-1869) who at that time happened to be in Paris studying Oriental languages and literatures.<sup>6</sup>

5. Clogg (I) p. 182-183 and E. Layton, *The Modern Greek Collection in the Harvard College Library*, «Harvard Library Bulletin», 19 (1971) 233-234; Morton, *Op. cit.*, p. 329; ABCFM. *Twelfth Annual Report* (Boston, 1821) p. 89-90.

6. ABCFM. *Fourteenth Annual Report* (Boston, 1823) p. 119-121. Theodore Saloutos, *American Missionaries in Greece: 1820-1869*, «Church History», 24 (1955) 158. For a thorough study on the American missionary activities in the

In the meantime, three more missionaries of the ABCFM were being assigned to the Mediterranean and were getting ready to depart. These were the Reverend Daniel Temple (1789-1851), Isaac Bird (1793-1876) and William Goodell (1792-1867) all graduates of the Andover Theological Seminary. Of the three missionaries mentioned we need only concern ourselves with the activities of Daniel Temple, who played a major role in the establishment of the Greek press at Malta and who directed its activities almost continuously from 1822 until his retirement in 1844.<sup>7</sup>

Daniel Temple and his wife left Boston on January 2, 1822 and arrived at Malta fifty days later, bringing with them a press. In Malta they were welcomed cordially by Samuel Sheridan Wilson and Dr. Naudi and obtained permission for the operation of the press from the British authorities. At the time of Daniel Temple's arrival there was no Greek type available. It had been ordered from Paris and did not reach Malta until November 3, 1822. It was brought from Paris by Jonas King. As soon as the Greek type arrived it was put to use with the assistance of Pliny Fisk, who had come to Malta as soon as he heard of Daniel Temple's

Mediterranean see Peter Kawerau, *Amerika und die orientalischen Kirchen; Ursprung und Anfang der amerikanischen Mission unter den Nationalkirchen Westasiens*. (Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte, 31; Berlin, 1958). See also Clifton J. Phillips, *Protestant America and the Pagan World: The First Half Century of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1810-1860*. (Harvard East Asian monographs, 32; Cambridge, Mass., 1969), especially the section entitled, «The Gospel in the Near and Middle East», pp. 131-171.

7. After the death of his wife, Daniel Temple left Malta in late 1828 to take his children to the United States. He did not return to Malta again until February 1830.

During this period the press was under the supervision of the Reverends Eli Smith and William Goodell. In 1826 Homan Hallock joined the Malta printing operations as a missionary printer and remained at this post until the removal of the press to Smyrna. For further information on D. Temple see his *Life and Letters of the Rev. Daniel Temple, for Twenty-Three Years a Missionary in Western Asia* (Boston, 1855) and William Goodell, *Rev. Daniel Temple, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*, In: H.W. Pierson, *American Missionary Memorial. Including Biographical and Historical Sketches* (New York, 1853) p. 297-312.

arrival.<sup>8</sup> Among the American missionaries in Malta at that time he was the only one who knew modern Greek. We learn from a letter he wrote to the Boston headquarters dated December 25, 1822 about the first operations of the Greek press:

«... Our printer knew nothing of Greek. I taught him the alphabet, and have spent much of my time, for more than a month past, in the printing room, distributing and examining the types, and assisting to commence printing in Greek. We have just struck off the first sheet of «The Dairyman's Daughter», which brother Parsons and myself translated, while at Scio. I think the printing will go on tolerably well; but there will be continual difficulties, hindrances, and perplexities, until we have a missionary printer, — an able, faithful, pious man. We have taken a Greek boy on trial, to learn the art. He is from Scio; and when the island was attacked by the Turks, he escaped in a boat, with his mother and brothers, and arrived at Ipsera, whence he came to Malta. His father was at Constantinople, and was one of those who were put to death by the Turks, when the Scioites revolted».<sup>9</sup>

Pliny Fisk and Jonas King left Malta for Palestine and Egypt on January 3, 1823, leaving Daniel Temple in charge of the Malta Mission and the press. Since Daniel Temple did not know Greek at the time of his arrival at Malta he was lucky to have had the help of Samuel Sheridan Wilson, who had already translated several tracts and a primer into modern Greek. A list printed by the American Mission Press at Malta and sent to the Boston headquarters (see plate) enumerates the publications in modern Greek that the ABCFM press printed before November 1, 1827. Out of sixty-two titles (seventy-two editions) there were fourteen items designated with an asterisk which were «Procured by Rev. S. S. Wilson, and printed for him at the Am. Press, in 1823 and 1824 — one half of each edition was purchased by Mr. Temple for distribution...» In his own book, S. S. Wilson is proud of the fact that he was the first to have compiled an alphabetarion for the Greeks:<sup>10</sup>

8. ABCFM. *Thirteenth Annual Report* (Boston, 1822) p. 74-75.

9. ABCFM. *Fourteenth Annual*

*Report* (Boston, 1823) p. 123.

10. See *MH* 24 (1828) 107 and Plate.

«II. Greece wanted *books*. - Some Russian Greeks of the Zozimades [sic] family had, indeed, with a truly patriotic spirit, republished some of the early Greek classics, for gratuitous distribution among her aspiring youth. I also saw modern Greek translations of the Life of Napoleon, Johnson's Rasselas, Goldsmith's History of Greece, the Arabian Nights; and to these may be added versions of many German, Italian, and French publications. But of *elementary* books, — books for *schools*, — books for *youth*, — I would find nothing, save two or three trifles printed at Venice, and filled with the nostrums of the papal monks».<sup>11</sup>

Wilson's contention that he and the London Missionary Society were the first to have supplied Greece with a primer in the vernacular might be somewhat exaggerated. It is true that the Greek presses of Venice, Vienna and elsewhere were printing primarily for the educated and for the use of the Orthodox clergy, but a rapid glance in bibliographies available today has yielded a handful of ἀλφαβητάρια and other such school books prior to 1823. Of course, it is impossible to ascertain whether these books were indeed destined for the youth of Greece or whether they were primarily printed for the use of the Greek children of the Diaspora. At any rate, they were too few and printed far too infrequently. Thus, perhaps one should give credit to S. S. Wilson and to the other missionaries for focussing their attention on the youth of the country and for providing them with primers, readers and other school books based upon English and American prototypes of the time.<sup>12</sup> In their reports the missionaries inform us also where their publications were distributed: «The Tracts printed at Malta, have been sent into Egypt, Syria, the Morea, and the Ionian Islands, and the information which has been received from different quarters has contributed to strengthen the hopes

11. Samuel Sheridan Wilson, *A Narrative of the Greek Mission; or, Sixteen Years in Malta and Greece* (London, 1839) p. 205. The alphabeteion in question is *Τοῦ διδασκάλου ὁ ὁδηγὸς ἦτοι Ἀλφαβητάριον ἀπλοελληνικόν...*, no. 11 in the Catalogue.

12. Wilson, *Op. cit.*, p. 210. Γ. Γ. Λαδᾶς-Αθ. Δ. Χατζηδήμος, 'Ελληνική βιβλιογραφία τῶν ἑτῶν 1791-1795 ('Αθηναί, 1970) ἀρ. 60, 67. Ghinis-Mexas, nos. 391, 441, 570, 895(?), 1065, 6672, 6688, 6693, 1223, 1224.

of the Committee, as to the great and permanent utility of the printing establishment».<sup>13</sup>

Let us return for a moment to the *Publications of the American Mission Press at Malta (previous to Nov. 1, 1827)*. This document is the most reliable source for the American press at Malta and its Greek printing activities up until this time. Although it unfortunately does not give the dates of publication of each tract it nevertheless imparts other useful information: The number of pages of each tract, the number of editions made and the number of copies printed. It further provides information (in Daniel Temple's hand?) of the amount of copies which were distributed up until then as well as the number of copies deposited. Most important, it provides the title of each tract in Greek, which is extremely useful. The name of the author is invariably omitted in the Greek title, as it is omitted in the book itself. However, in many of the copies I was able to examine, originally belonging to the ABCFM archive and now deposited at Harvard, there is a pencilled note giving the author. Hints of authorship are at times also given in the English part of the *Publications*. Nowhere else are the titles given in Greek. Both in the Annual Reports and in the *Missionary Herald*, the official journal of the ABCFM, mention of Greek imprints are given in English.

An increasing number of American missionaries were assigned to the various parts of the Mediterranean and from their reports to the Boston headquarters about the conditions they found in each country they visited we are able to get glimpses of information on the state of education and other aspects of life which are of interest. As an example, Elnathan Gridley (1796-1827) writes in a letter from Smyrna dated March 18, 1827 commenting on the scarcity of books and the state of education among the Greeks :

«The extreme scarcity of books in Modern Greek, renders them [the American tracts in Modern Greek] highly acceptable. Children, especially, are delighted with them; many never before having possessed, or scarcely seen, a book in their own native dialect : ....

13. ABCFM. *Fifteenth Annual Report* (Boston, 1824) p. 111.

Parents often request books for their children, and instructors for their schools. One, a few days since, sent me a polite request for twenty copies of the «Mother's Catechism», that it might be recited by his pupils. Another came half a day's journey, requesting Tracts for the schools of his village. I gave him two hundred, that each scholar who could read might have two, and promised shortly to visit the schools to see what use was made of the Tracts, and to supply them with spelling-books and catechisms, should it be the wish of the village to introduce them into the schools. A priest from Casaba, twelve hours distant, has just requested books for his schools, in which are 60 scholars...

I have also visited the Greek schools in Smyrna, and in the neighboring villages, for the purpose of distributing Tracts, and ascertaining the state of education among Greeks. In the city, I have succeeded in finding *thirty-one schools*, containing in all about *one thousand scholars*. These are mostly boys, and under 12 years of age, the daughters being generally educated at home: this is also the case with many of the sons.

The principal school has one hundred and fifty scholars, divided into three classes, and superintended by a Greek priest of considerable learning, who has two assistants under him. It is, however, very far inferior to the school of Oeconomus, previous to the revolution, of which this now takes the place. The primary object of this school is the cultivation of the ancient Greek, the Turkish government prohibiting instruction in the mathematics and and the physical sciences...

There are, also, one or more schools connected with every church, in which children are trained up for public readers. These are generally small, and under the superintendence of a priest. The children are employed for years in merely reading the ancient Greek, and thus they acquire the habit of going over it very rapidly, and with all the peculiar tones and modulations, which are deemed so essential in both the Greek and Roman churches...

But by far the larger portion of the schools are private establishments, set up by individuals, who wish employment as teachers, and for which they receive from each pupil about three dollars the year. Numbers of these are kept by enterprising young men; some by priests, and some by females. These schools are

generally in small, dark, dirty apartments, and furnished with none of the necessary conveniences of a school-room. The children are seated in rows, cross-legged upon the floor. In one room, of very small dimensions, I counted *sixty* children. After completely covering the floor, the remainder were arranged on shelves attached to the sides of the room. In these schools, reading, writing, and arithmetic are taught. But such a thing as a book in a language they understand, I have scarcely met with in them all. A small first book for children, and the psalter, both in ancient Greek, badly printed, and on very coarse paper, are the only books deemed requisite, and even with these they are but poorly supplied. In writing they use their left knee for a desk. Yet in these schools, where I am sure none but a *Greek* would make any valuable acquisitions, many of the children learn to read fluently, to write a handsome hand, and become acquainted with the ground rules of arithmetic...

These schools seem to me to present an exceedingly important field for missionary effort; not the schools of Smyrna merely, but the thousands which are scattered wherever sons of the Greeks are found. I find no little Greek village in the country without its schools. Travellers in the Morea tell me, that amid all the desolations of war, these little schools are continued in every corner of their villages. I also here meet with Greeks from many different countries, and among those from every country, I find such as can read. Nothing is more evident, than that the Greeks set a high value on education, and they are now making very laudable efforts for the education of their children. But for want of proper books, and instruction in regard to the manner of conducting schools, three-fourths of that effort is lost...

The books now in use, which consist almost wholly of portions of the Scriptures, must be translated, and new elementary works adapted to the present state of knowledge among the Greeks, must be prepared and introduced as opportunity occurs...».<sup>14</sup>

Gridley also makes reference to the methods he used for distributing tracts farther afield than Smyrna and its vicinity :

14. *MH* 23 (1827) 265-267.

«I have also sent many little parcels, by captains who I thought would be faithful to their trust, to various ports frequented by the Greeks. My practice is to give not more than thirty or forty Tracts, and all of different kinds, to one captain, with the request that they be distributed only among such as can read.

A few days since, I visited seven Greek vessels in the harbor; and finding good readers on board them all, and a manifest desire for books to read on their voyage, I furnished each vessel with about 20 Tracts, telling them this was a present from the friends of the Greeks in America, who wished them to be carefully read, and well used».<sup>15</sup>

It was undoubtedly reports such as the above which prompted the Prudential Committee to send one of their most experienced representatives to confer with the missionaries of different societies and stations in order to determine the best course of action to be taken by the Board in spreading knowledge and the Gospel in that part of the world. The ABCFM sent none other than Rufus Anderson (1796-1880) who was at the time the Assistant Secretary of the ABCFM. The meeting took place at Malta and it became known as the Conference of 1829.<sup>16</sup>

Rufus Anderson arrived at Malta on January 1, 1829 and consulted with the American missionaries stationed there as well as with the missionaries of the English societies. Then on February 25, 1829 he left Malta for a tour of the Ionian Islands and the Peloponnesus accompanied by Eli Smith (1801-1857) and the Reverend John Jacob Robertson, who was the first missionary of the Episcopal Church of the United States to go to Greece. At Corfu they met with Neophytos Vamvas and Isaak Lowndes, the representative of the London Missionary Society there.<sup>17</sup>

15. Gridley, *Op. cit.*, p. 265.

16. *MH* 24 (1828) 394 and Kawerau, *Op. cit.*, p. 211-214.

17. Both R. Anderson and Eli Smith left reports of their trip to Greece. See R. Anderson, *Observations Upon the Peloponnesus and Greek Islands Made in 1829* (Boston, 1830). Of particular interest for this paper are Chapters II and

III which deal with the state of education and its prospects in Greece, p. 211-258. Eli Smith's journal entitled «Notes on Greece Taken During a Journey in that Country in 1829» remains in manuscript form and is deposited in Houghton Library, Harvard University. It has a wealth of information about the condition of the country and espe-

While still at Malta it became apparent to R. Anderson that the most important function of the American press at Malta would be to print school books in modern Greek. This decision was reinforced after his visit to Greece. Soon afterwards, the ABCFM issued its formal recommendations to Daniel Temple (who was at the time returning to Malta after a visit to the United States) with respect to the Greek department of the American press at Malta:

«A series of school-books in the modern Greek language will be one of your primary objects of attention on your arrival at Malta: and it is a simple but most interesting question, that is brought before you — *How you shall infuse the spirit of the Gospel into the elementary instruction of Greece...*

1) *Aim to render every work perfect in its kind, before it is allowed to go to the press.* — This may cause the number of your publications to be comparatively small, and, to the casual and superficial observer, the press may seem less active than it should be... To aid you in your work, you carry with you a variety of the most approved school-books in our country, and the Committee will gladly afford you such other help as shall be in their power...

2) *Direct your present efforts to such works as are most needed at the present time...*

Among the Greeks there are, indeed, cultivated minds; and, in the common mass of uninstructed intellect, there is not a little of that vivacious and elastic nature, which was so discernible in the ancient inhabitants of Greece... The works most needed, therefore, are those of an elementary character, and the more simple they are, the better...

3) When the elementary works have been provided, it will deserve consideration, *whether a series of books shall not be printed*

cially the state of education, number of schools in each province visited, type of schools, paucity of school books, etc. See also R. Anderson, *History of the Missions of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to the Oriental Churches* (Boston, 1872). In vol.

1, p. 73-76 he discusses «The Press at Malta, 1822-1833». Also of interest is the chapter «Greece and the Greeks», p. 141-163. In vol. 2, p. 504-505 there is a «Catalogue of Publications», for Modern Greek compiled by John Vinton which is highly inaccurate and incomplete.

*for the purpose of introducing them into the schools as reward-books, and for juvenile libraries.—Such a series might embrace a wide range of subjects and every description of writing, and might be adapted to every degree of youthful intelligence...».<sup>18</sup>*

Thus began an intensified effort to produce elementary instruction books for the Greeks. To aid them in their translations, the missionaries were glad to have the help of Nikolaos Petrokokkinos of Chios, one of the youths sent by them to be educated in the United States and who had joined the Malta mission in 1828 to aid in the translation of texts into Greek.<sup>19</sup>

With regard to the style of the Greek translations printed at Malta the missionaries admitted that their early ventures were not of the highest quality but since Mr. Petrokokkinos joined them they had improved considerably. Petrokokkinos wrote to Neophytos Vamvas in 1831 and sent him several tracts asking him to comment on the quality of the translations. He explained to Vamvas that his object was not to translate into the Greek spoken two or three hundred years ago but the Greek spoken at the present time taking as his models Koraïs, Vamvas and Hilarion. Vamvas' reply dated Corfu, July 30, 1831 is quoted in part, here:

«The books you recently forwarded to me, as well as those formerly sent, have been duly received. With regard to your translations, dear sir, all that I have had the honor of seeing have in general pleased me, on account of the purity and perspicacity and sweetness of the style. You have taken the right course, that which our national language pursues in its progress, and there is no doubt but that, with practice and the observation which attends it, you will be making continual advances towards greater perfection. Every language, whatever may have been its original form, as it is an expression of thoughts, naturally follows their state; so that when authors or translators adopt the present state of mental culture in the nation as the standard of their style, as well as of their matter, they cannot fail to become both useful and agreeable...».<sup>20</sup>

18. *MH* 26 (1830) 73-74.

*MH* 24 (1828) 351.

19. ABCFM. *Twentieth Annual Report* (Boston, 1829) p. 41 and

20. *MH* 28 (1832) 75-76.

PUBLICATIONS

OF THE

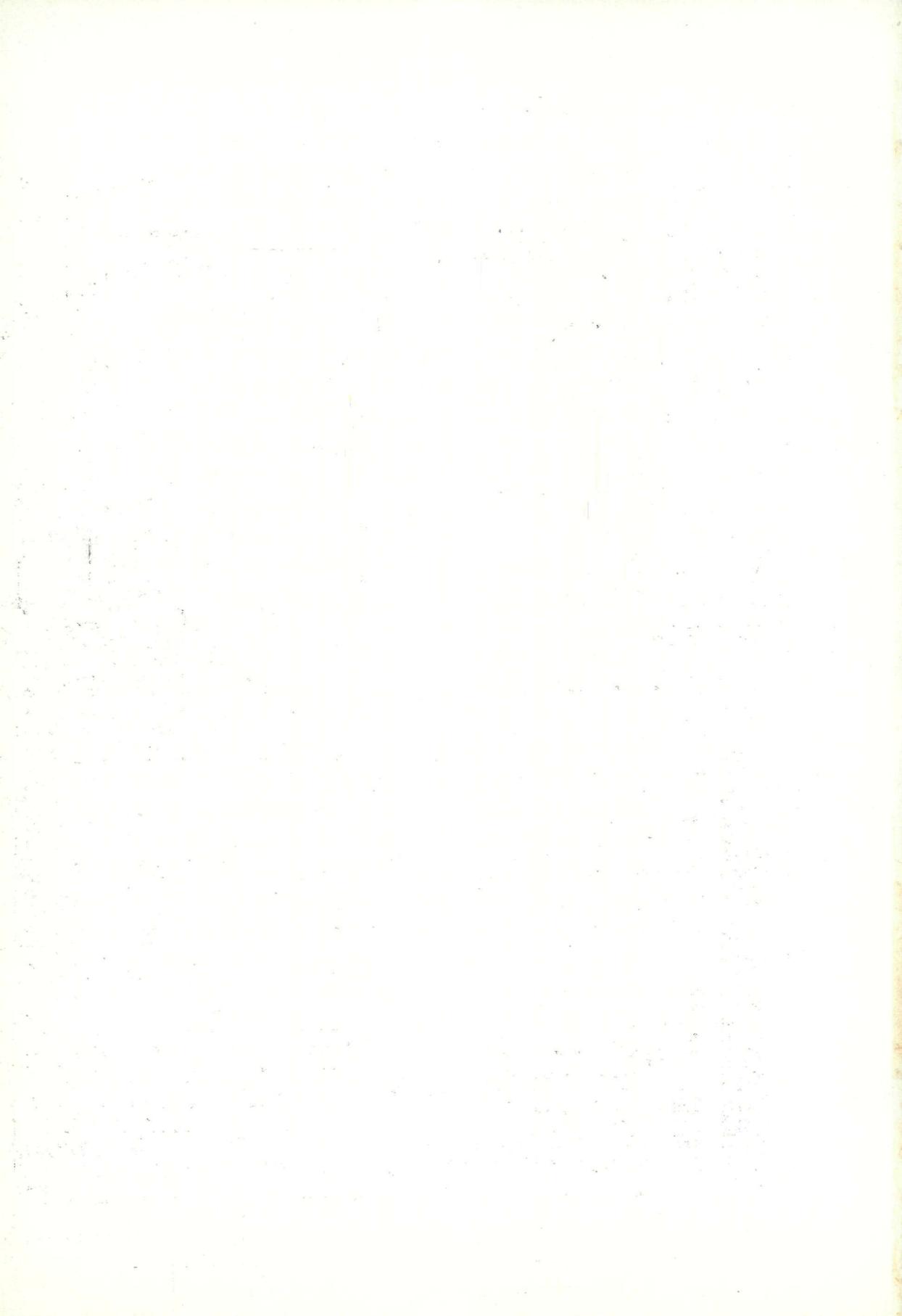
AMERICAN MISSION PRESS,

AT MALTA.

(PREVIOUS TO NOV. 1, 1823.)

GREEK.

No.	GREEK NAME.	CORESPONDENT ENGLISH NAME.	No. of Pages.	Price	Page 1	Page 2	Page 3	Page 4	Page 5	Page 6	Page 7	Page 8	Page 9	Page 10	Page 11	Page 12	Page 13	Page 14	Page 15	Page 16
1	Σπουδαὶ τὰ Ἑλλήνια	Advice to Children.	Rev. P. Fish.	1,400	5600	20	80													
2	Διάλογος περὶ τῆς Οἰκουμένης καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης	Dialogue betw. a Traveller and Yourself	16 2	2,000	32400	6	6													
3	Στοιχεῖα Πραγμάτων τῆς Ελλάδος τῆς Εὐρώπης τῆς Ασίας	Short Prayers for every Day in the Week	70 1	500	35000	4	4													
4	Ἡ Ἀρρενεῖα	The Young Cottage	98 1	1,000	38000	2	2													
5	Ποιητικὴ τέχνη τῆς Ελλάδος	The Shepherd of Salisbury Plain	76 2	2,000	152000	775	57125													
6	Σπουδαὶ τὰ Ελληνικά	Advice to Children, Rev. P. Fish.	110 3	4,500	143600	16320	115120													
7	Διάλογος περὶ τῆς Ελλάδος	Sixteen Short Sermons	48 2	2,000	96000	"	"													
8	Οἰκία τῆς Ελλάδος	Payson's Address to Seamen	16 2	2,000	32000	"	"													
9	Τοῦ Μαρίου Τελετῆς	The Negro Servant	54 2	1,500	81000	"	"													
10	Ιεράπετρα τῆς Ελλάδος	The Life of James Covey	16 2	2,000	32000	"	"													
11	Οἰκία τῆς Ελλάδος	Address to the Children of Israel	12 2	2,000	24000	"	"													
12	Ποιητικὴ τέχνη τῆς Ελλάδος	The Life of William Kelly	34 2	1,500	51000	"	"													
13	Στοιχεῖα Πραγμάτων τῆς Ελλάδος τῆς Εὐρώπης τῆς Ασίας	Christ's Sermon on the Mount	16 1	1,000	16000</td															



As early as 1832 the Prudential Committee had considered moving the printing operations of Malta as soon as it became politically feasible. The plan was to remove the Arabic part to Syria under the direction of Eli Smith and the remainder to some place near Constantinople. This was finally executed toward the end of 1833 when the Reverend Daniel Temple and Homan Hallock, the missionary printer, left Malta on December 7 arriving at Smyrna on December 23. Nikolaos Petrokokkinos accompanied the press to Smyrna.<sup>21</sup>

The most useful sources in compiling the catalogue of the ABCFM Greek imprints at Malta are the annual reports of the Society and the *Missionary Herald*. In addition to these, important information is furnished by the list of books published in 1827 (plate), a list of books and tracts published in 1839 which appears to be a continuation of the 1827 list, as well as another list included in the 1834 annual report. An extract of the 1839 list and the entire 1834 list are given below.<sup>22</sup>

### 1839

LIST of BOOKS and TRACTS  
 Published by Protestant  
 Missionaries in MALTA, CORFU,  
 GREECE, TURKEY and SYRIA; —  
 Prepared for the use of the  
 Missionaries of the A.B.C.F.M.  
 [Not Published.]

PUBLICATIONS OF THE A.B.C.F.M.  
 At Malta.  
 GREEK.

1. Force of Truth. Scott. 12mo. pp. 164.
2. British Syst. of Education, 8vo. pp. 188.
3. Progress of Sin. Fuller. 18mo. pp. 20.

21. ABCFM. *Twenty-Fifth Annual Report* (Boston, 1834) p. 51-52.

22. The 1839 list consists of sixteen pages and includes, besides

the Greek Malta imprints, the publications of the ABCFM in Greek and Armenian at Smyrna, Arabic at Beyroot, Greek at Ath-

4. The Mother's Catechism, 18mo. pp. 56.
5. History of Andrew Dunn, 18mo. pp. 56.
6. Life of King Edward VI, 12mo. pp. 20.
7. Epist. to Seven Churches, 12mo. pp. 48.
8. The Lottery, 18mo. pp. 36.
9. The Lord's Day, 12mo. pp. 4.
10. Expl. of the Lord's Prayer, 12mo. pp. 12.
11. Danger of Idolatry, 12mo. pp. 12.
12. Inspiration of the Scriptures. **Edwards.** 18mo. pp. 36.
13. Authenticity of the Scriptures. **Horne.** 12mo. pp. 96.
14. The Bible above all Price. **Payson.** 12mo. pp. 16.
15. The Dairyman's Daughter. **Richmond.** 12mo. pp. 40.
16. Spelling Book — Part 1st. 12mo. pp. 60.
17. Spelling Book — Part 2nd. 12mo. pp. 60.
18. Address to Seamen. **Pays.** 12mo. pp. 20.
19. Young Cottager. **Richm.** pp. 56.
20. Way to be Saved. **Edwards.** 12mo. pp. 24.
21. The Sabbath a Blessing to Mankind. **Spring.** 12mo. pp. 20.
22. Divine Origin of the Christian Revelation. **Porteus.** 18mo. pp. 136.
23. The Praying African, 12mo. pp. 4.
24. Nature and Influence of Faith. **Woods.** 12mo. pp. 28.
25. Lessons for Children. **Niketoplos.** 24mo. pp. 18.
26. New Heart the Child's best Portion. **Burder.** 12mo. pp. 20.
27. Little Henry and his Bearer. **Sherwood.** 12mo. pp. 68.
28. Sermon on the Lord's Prayer. **Burder.** 12mo. pp. 24.
29. Dinah Doubney. **Griffin.** 12mo. pp. 44.
30. Christ the Way to God and Heaven. **Burder.** 12mo. pp. 24.
31. The Great Salvation. 12mo. pp. 24.
32. The Village in the Mountains. **Wilder.** 12mo. pp. 44.
33. The Worth of the Soul, 12mo. pp. 8.
34. Friendly Conversation, 12mo. pp. 8.

ens; in addition, it also lists the publications in Greek at Athens and Syra of the American Episcopal Missionary Society, the publications in Greek at Malta and Corfu of the London Missionary Society, and the publications in Greek at Malta of the Church Missionary Society. The

extract from the list given here is concerned only with the ABCFM Greek imprints at Malta. The entries are copied exactly as they appear. The items have been numbered in order to facilitate identification.

35. The Saint's Rest not on Earth. **Baxter.** 12mo. pp. 44.
36. Inspiration of the Scriptures. **Edwards.** 12mo. pp. 40.
37. The Old man. 12mo. pp. 4.
38. Subjects for Consideration. **Reynolds.** 12mo. pp. 16.
39. Without Holiness no man shall see the Lord. 12mo. pp. 8.
40. The Happy Waterman, 12mo. pp. 20.
41. Scripture Help. **Bickersteth.** 12mo. pp. 48.
42. Anna Ross. **Kennedy.** 16mo. pp. 264.

The list of books which is shown below was sent by Mr. Temple to the Boston headquarters of the ABCFM and was printed in the *Twenty-Fifth Annual Report* of the organization in 1834. It represents all the Greek books printed in Malta from the beginning of 1830 to July of 1833 and constitutes the last source of information for the Malta Greek imprints. It is copied exactly as given in the report. The numbering of the items is added by the present author in order to facilitate identification.

		Size	Pages	Copies	In Depository
1.	Selections from the Old Testament,	12mo	84	6,000	3,468
2.	Life of Abraham,	»	36	9,000	5,807
3.	Life of Moses,	»	36	6,000	3,767
4.	Life of Joseph,	»	60	10,000	4,754
5.	Life of Samuel,	»	24	6,000	2,220
6.	Life of David,	»	56	4,000	1,974
7.	Life of Esther,	»	20	9,000	5,920
8.	Lives of Elijah and Elisha,	»	40	4,000	3,527
9.	Life of Daniel,	»	36	6,000	1,323
10.	Abridgment of the Old Testament,	»	144	2,000	none.
11.	Abridgment of the New Testament,	»	48	6,000	1,950
12.	Abridgment of the Acts of the Apostles,	»	52	2,000	1,641
13.	Scripture Help, abridged,	»	48	2,000	1,520
14.	Conversion of St. Paul,	»	84	2,000	2,000
15.	Greek Reader,	»	156	6,000	1,699
16.	Little Philosopher,	»	72	6,000	3,898
17.	History of Greece,	»	60	6,000	2,131
18.	History of Rome,	»	92	4,000	2,346
19.	History of England,	»	84	4,000	2,151
20.	History of France,	»	60	4,000	1,770
21.	History of the Sandwich Islands,	»	84	2,000	460
22.	History of the Middle Ages,	»	56	1,000	none.
23.	Child's Assistant,	»	60	10,000	3,580

24. Child's Arithmetic,	»	48	5,000	none.
25. Adams' Arithmetic,	»	248	4,000	2,400
26. The Decoy,	»	36	4,000	none.
27. Priest and Catechumen,	»	12	2,000	1,000
28. Peter Parley's Geography,	18mo.	112	6,000	2,200
29. Pinnock's Catechism of Greece,	»	136	500	22
30. Ecclesiastical History,	»	26	4,000	3,500
31. Dialogues on Grammar,	»	72	4,000	1,000
32. Lessons for Children, by Niketoplos,	24mo.	24	4,000	none.
33. Decalogue,	[32mo.]	16	12,000	3,500

A chronological list of the Malta Greek publications follows. Reference is made to previously published bibliographies whenever possible. Additional locations in American libraries not already given in earlier bibliographies are furnished here. The entries are given in abbreviated form for the items which have already been described fully in previous bibliographies.

#### LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABCFM	American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.
BAL	Boston Athenaeum Library, Boston, Massachusetts.
BPL	Boston Public Library, Boston, Massachusetts.
Clogg (I)	R. Clogg, «Ο Parsons καὶ ὁ Fisk στὸ Γυμνάσιο τῆς Χίου τὸ 1820», <i>Ο Ερανιστής</i> , 5 (1967) 177-193.
Clogg (II)	R. Clogg, «Some Protestant Tracts Printed at the Press of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople: 1818-1820», <i>Eastern Churches Review</i> , 2 (1968) 152-164.
Ghinis-Mexas	Δ. Σ. Γκίνης - Β. Γ. Μέξας, <i>Ἐλληνικὴ βιβλιογραφία 1800-1863</i> . Ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1939-1957. (τόμ. 3).
HUL	Harvard University Library, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
Layton (I)	E. Layton-Zénios, «Ἐλληνικὴ βιβλιογραφία 1800-1863. Προσθήκες», <i>Ο Ερανιστής</i> , 3 (1965) 110-124.
Layton (II)	E. Layton-Zénios, «Ἐλληνικὴ βιβλιογραφία 1800-1863. Προσθήκες», <i>Ο Ερανιστής</i> , 7 (1969) 12-26.
List	<i>List of Books and Tracts Published by Protestant Missionaries in Malta, Corfu, Greece, Turkey and</i>

*Syria; Prepared for the Use of the Missionaries of the A.B.C.F.M. 1839.*

MH	<i>The Missionary Herald</i> . Published by the ABCFM, Boston, Massachusetts.
Moschonas (I)	E. Μοσχονᾶς, «Ἐλληνικὴ βιβλιογραφία 1800-1863. Προσθήκες», <i>ΟἘρανιστής</i> , 6 (1968) 76-97.
Moschonas (II)	E. Μοσχονᾶς, «Ἐλληνικὴ βιβλιογραφία 1800-1863. Διορθώσεις καὶ Συμπληρώσεις», <i>ΟἘρανιστής</i> , 3 (1965) 12-26.
NYPL	New York Public Library, New York, New York.
Paghone	X. Παγώνη, «Ἐλληνικὴ βιβλιογραφία 1800-1863. Προσθήκες», <i>ΟἘρανιστής</i> , 2 (1964) 247-253.
Publ.	<i>Publications of the American Mission Press, at Malta. (Previous to Nov. 1, 1827)</i> . (Plate).
Report	ABCFM. <i>Twenty-Fifth Annual Report</i> (Boston, 1834) p. 52. (See p. 183 of present article).
Sambanopoulos	B. Σαμπανόπουλος, «Ἐλληνικὴ βιβλιογραφία 1800-1863. Προσθήκες», <i>ΟἘρανιστής</i> , 2 (1964) 127-134.
UThSL	The Union Theological Seminary Library, New York, New York.
Veloudis	Γ. Βελουδῆς, «Ἐλληνικὴ βιβλιογραφία 1800-1863. Προσθήκες», <i>ΟἘρανιστής</i> , 4 (1966) 171-190.
Yale	Yale University Library, New Haven, Connecticut.

**Catalogue of the Greek Publications of the Malta Press of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions**

1. Ἡ θυγάτηρ τοῦ γαλακτοπάλου. 1822. Layton (II) A864, Publ. no. 6.<sup>23</sup>
2. Ἐρμηνεία ἐπὶ τῆς ἀπολυτρώσεως. 1823. Layton (II) A866, Publ. [4].<sup>24</sup>

23. This is a translation of *The Dairyman's Daughter* by Legh Richmond (1772-1827). The translators were Levi Parsons and Pliny Fisk with the assistance of Neophytos Vamvas. See Clogg (I) p. 183 and p. 5 above.

24. Compiled and prepared by Dr. Cl. Naudi. See ABCFM. *Fifteenth Annual Report* (Boston, 1824) p. 111. Numbers given in brackets refer to the items at the end designated by asterisks which were supplied by S. S. Wilson.

3. Ἡ ἀγροικόπαις, ἦτοι Χωριατοπούλα. 1823. Layton (II) A867, Publ. no. 4.<sup>25</sup>
4. Ἡ θυγάτηρ τοῦ γαλακτοπώλου. 1823. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 1384. HUL. See no. 1.
5. Ὁ βίος καὶ ἡ μαρτυρία τοῦ Ἀγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Βαπτιστοῦ. 1823. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 1390, Publ. [1]. HUL (2 copies).
6. Ὁμιλία εἰς τοὺς ναύτας. 1823. Layton (II) A868, Publ. no. 8.<sup>26</sup>
7. Ὁ ποιμὴν τῆς ἐν Σαλισβερίᾳ πεδιάδος. 1823. Layton (II) A869, Publ. no. 5.<sup>27</sup>
8. Σοβαρὰ σκέψις περὶ τῆς ἀΐδιότητος. 1823. Layton (I) A230, Publ. [2].<sup>28</sup>
9. Σύντομοι προσευχαὶ διὰ πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ἑβδομάδος. 1823. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 1403, Publ. no. 3. HUL (3 copies).
10. Σύντομος σειρὰ μαθημάτων εἰς τὴν φυσικὴν ἱστορίαν. 1823? Layton (I) A237.<sup>29</sup>
11. Τοῦ διδασκάλου ὁ δδηγὸς ἦτοι Ἀλφαβητάριον ἀπλοελληνικόν. 1823. Layton (I) A231, Publ. [5]. HUL (2 copies).<sup>30</sup>
12. Ἀπανθίσματα ἐκ τῶν τοῦ ἀγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου. 1824. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 1406, Publ. no. 15.<sup>31</sup>
13. Βίος τοῦ Γουλιέλμου Κέλλου. 1824. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 1410, Publ. no 12. HUL.<sup>32</sup>

25. A translation of *The Young Cottager* by Legh Richmond.

26. A translation of *An Address to Seamen* by Edward Payson (1783-1827). A second edition of this work came out in 1824 but a copy has not yet been located. See ABCFM. *Sixteenth Annual Report* (Boston, 1825) p. 80.

27. A translation of *The Shepherd of Salisbury Plain* by Hannah More (1745-1833).

28. A second edition came out in 1824. See ABCFM. *Fifteenth Annual Report* (Boston, 1824) p. 111; a third edition appeared in 1825 see ABCFM. *Seventeenth Annual Report* (Boston, 1826) p. 90.

29. It corresponds exactly to pp.

54-72 of no. 11 below. However, it was printed with different pagination and distributed separately presumably either in 1823 or 1824.

30. Compiled by S.S. Wilson. See p. 174 above and note 11.

31. This was first published in Greek in 1818 by the Patriarchal Press of Constantinople (see Ghinis-Mexas, no. 1019). It was later reprinted by the Press of the Gymnasium at Chios in 1820 (see Ghinis-Mexas, no. 6694). The Harvard College Library has copies of both these imprints. For a more detailed discussion of how these editions came into being see Clogg (II) p. 156 and Clogg (I) p. 182-183.

32. This appears to be the second

14. Διάλογοι τρεῖς μεταξὺ ἑνὸς ὑπηρέτου καὶ ἑνὸς ἐνορίτου του. 1824. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 1415, Publ. [10]. HUL.<sup>33</sup>
15. Διήγησις ἀληθινὴ καὶ ὡραία... Ἰακώβου Κοβία. 1824. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 10160, Publ. no. 10.<sup>34</sup>
16. Ἐρμηνεία περὶ τῆς ἀπολυτρώσεως. 1824. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 1427. HUL. See no. 2.
17. Εὐαρέστησις καὶ δυσαρέστησις. 1824. Layton (I) A232, Publ. no. 17.<sup>35</sup>
18. Ἡ διατριβὴ τοῦ Χριστιανοῦ ἀποδημητοῦ. 1824. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 1428, Publ. [12]. HUL.
19. Ἡ ἔξετασις τῆς καρδίας. 1824. Layton (I) A233, Publ. [14].
20. Ἡ πρόδος τοῦ Χριστιανοῦ ἀποδημητοῦ. 1824. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 1431, Publ. [13]. HUL, BAL, NYPL, Yale.<sup>36</sup>

edition of the tract. The first Malta edition was printed in 1823 see *MH* 19 (1823) 25.

33. A translation of *Three Dialogues Between a Minister and One of His Parishioners on the True Principles of Religion* by Thomas Vivian (d. 1793).

34. No. 15 came out in two successive editions at Malta; see ABCFM. *Sixteenth Annual Report* (Boston, 1825) p. 80. Nos. 13 and 15 are later editions of the tracts originally published at the Patriarchal Press of Constantinople. For the first edition of no. 13 see Ghinis-Mexas, no. 1129 and of no. 15 see Clogg (II) p. 156. The title of no. 15 differs from the original Constantinople edition as recorded by Clogg: Διήγησις τῆς ἀνδραγαθίας καὶ τοῦ θανάτου εὐτυχοῦς Ἀγγλον τινὸς ναύτων... Perhaps it would be appropriate to mention here that recently, while rummaging through the boxes containing imprints of the ABCFM at the Andover-Harvard Theological Library, I came across four of the tracts published in Constanti-

nople and discussed in Clogg (II). In addition to no. 12 already mentioned they are: Ὁ αἰθίοψ ὑπηρέτης... 1818, Clogg (II) p. 155-156, Ghinis-Mexas, no. 1075; Τὸ τέλος τοῦ χρόνου... 1818, Clogg (II) p. 159-160, Ghinis-Mexas no. 1103 a copy of which was already in the Harvard collection. The most interesting discovery was the translation of Charles Leslie's, *A Short and Easie Method with the Deists* which Clogg was unable to locate see Clogg (II) p. 159. A full description is given here as an addition to Ghinis-Mexas: (A1146) *ΕΠΙΤΟΜΗ Βοαχεῖα τε Καὶ Ραδία Περὶ τοῦ ὅπως δεῖ διαλέγεσθαι μετὰ τῶν θεῖστῶν, συγγραφεῖσα παρὰ ΛΕΛΙΟΥ· Καὶ Ἀπόδειξις τῆς ἀληθείας Τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Πίστεως παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ. Μεταφρασθεῖσα ἀπὸ τὸ Ἀγγλικὸν εἰς τὴν Καθ' ἡμᾶς Διάλεκτον 'Ἐν Κωνσταντινούπολει. 1819. Εἰς 8ον μικρόν, σ. 51.*

35. The author is Mary Martha Sherwood (1775-1851).

36. A translation of *The Pilgrim's Progress* by John Bunyan (1628-1688).

21. Ἰστορία τοῦ Ἀβραάμ. 1824. Layton (I) A234, Publ. [8].

22. Ὁ βίος καὶ ἡ μαρτυρία τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Βαπτιστοῦ. 1824. Layton (I) A235. See no. 5.

23. Ὁ βίος τῆς εὐλογημένης παρθένου Μαρίας. 1824. Layton (I) A236, Publ. no. 14.

24. Ὁ κίνδυνος τῆς ἀναβολῆς. 1824. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 1447, Publ. no. 18.

25. Οἱ δύο γέροντες ἢ Τίς ἡ μεταξύ των διαφορά. 1824. Layton (II) A870, Publ. no. 29.

26. Περὶ τῆς ἀμαρτίας καὶ τοῦ κινδύνου ἐκ τοῦ ἀμελεῖν τὸν Σωτῆρα. 1824. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 1450, Publ. [3].

27. Σοβαρὰ αὐτεξετασία ἀρμοδιωτάτη εἰς γέροντάς τε καὶ νέους. 1824. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 1466, Publ. [11]. HUL.

28. Συμβουλὴ εἰς τὰ παιδία. 1824. Layton (II) A871, Publ. no. 1.<sup>37</sup>

29. Τῶν γονέων ὁ δόδηγρός... Χριστιανικὴ διδασκαλία. 1824. Layton (I) A238, Publ. [6].<sup>38</sup>

30. Ἀλληγορία ἢ Ἰστορία ἐνδεικτική τῆς Ἀγίας Γραφῆς. 1825. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 10165, Publ. no. 34. BAL.

31. (A1147). Ἀλφαβητάριον συντεθὲν διὰ τὰ μικρὰ παιδία. Ἐν Μελίτῃ. Ἀπὸ τὴν ἑξ Ἀμερικῆς τυπογραφίαν. 1825.  
Eἰς 12ον, σ. 72, εἰκονογραφημένον. BAL. Publ. no. 21. Addition to Ghinis-Mexas.

32. Βαλαισάνη, ἢ Χωρίτισσα γυνὴ τῆς Σβεκίας. 1825. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 1478, Publ. no. 22. HUL.

33. Βίος τοῦ βασιλέως τῆς Ἀγγλίας Ἐδουάρδου ἑκτου. 1825. Layton (II) A872, Publ. no. 28. BAL.

34. Δύναμις τῆς ἀληθείας. 1825. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 1493, Publ. no 20 HUL, Yale.<sup>39</sup>

35. Λόγος περὶ φιλαργυρίας. 1825. Layton (I) A242, Publ. no. 35. BAL.<sup>40</sup>

36. Λόγος πρὸς τοὺς σπουδαστὰς τῆς Θεολογίας. 1825. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 1506, Publ. no. 26.

37. The work of Pliny Fisk. See ABCFM. *Seventeenth Annual Report* (Boston, 1826) p. 90.

38. A translation of *Catechism for Children* by Isaak Watts (1674-1748).

39. A translation of *The Force of Truth* by Thomas Scott (1747-1821).

40. A translation of *On the Love of Money* by Thomas Chalmers (1780-1847).

37. Ὁ ἐν Γενέβρῃ δυστυχῆς ὡρολογοποιός. 1825. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 1511, Publ. no. 25.

38. Ὁ θεόπνευστος λόγος ὑπάρχει... Παλαιᾶς καὶ Νέας Διαθήκης. 1825. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 1512, Publ. no. 32?

39. Ὁ ξυλοκόπτης Γερμανός. 1825. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 1513, Publ. no. 23. HUL.

40. Ὁμιλία πρὸς τοὺς νίοὺς Ἰσραήλ. 1825. Layton (II) A874, Publ. no. 11.<sup>41</sup>

41. Βάσανος τῆς εἰλικρινείας. 1826. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 1564, Publ. no. 41.<sup>42</sup>

42. Ζωὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. 1826. Layton (II) A875, Publ. no. 39.<sup>43</sup>

43. Θυγάτηρ τοῦ γαλακτοπώλου. 1826. Layton (II) A877. See nos. 1 and 4.

44. Ἰστορία τοῦ μικροῦ Ἐνρίκου. 1826. Sambanopoulos, no. A158, Publ. no. 40. BAL.<sup>44</sup>

45. Λόγος περὶ τῆς ἀναπαύσεως τῶν Χριστιανῶν. 1826. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 1594, Publ. no. 42.<sup>45</sup>

46. Παρατηρήσεις περὶ τῆς ἐπιστροφῆς τοῦ Παύλου. 1826. Layton (II) A879, Publ. no. 38.<sup>46</sup>

47. Τὸ λαχνεῖον ἢ τοῦ Ροβέρτου ἴστορία. 1826. Sambanopoulos, no. A159, List no. 8.

48. Βίος τοῦ Ἐδουάρδου ἔκτου. 1827. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 1645, List no. 6. See no. 33.

49. Ἐπιστολαὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐπτὰ Ἐκκλησίας. 1827. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 1668, List no. 7.

50. Ἐπιτομὴ τῶν ἀξιοπίστων μαρτυριῶν τῆς Ἀποκαλύψεως. 1827. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 10175, Publ. no. 46. See no. 69.<sup>47</sup>

41. This seems to be the second edition of the work. The first edition was printed in 1824. See ABC-FM, *Sixteenth Annual Report* (Boston, 1825) p. 80.

42. A translation of *The Touchstone of Sincerity* by John Flavell (1630?-1691).

43. A translation of *The Life of God in the Soul of Man* by Henry Scougal (1650-1678).

44. A translation of *The History of Little Henry and His Bearer* by Mary Martha Sherwood (1775-1851).

45. A translation of *The Saint's Rest* by Richard Baxter (1615-1691).

46. A translation of *On the Conversion of St. Paul* by George Lyttelton (1709-1773).

47. A translation of *A Summary of the Principal Evidences for the*

51. (A1148). **Ιστορία** τῆς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ αἰχμαλωσίας καὶ ἔξουσίας τοῦ **Ιωσήφ**, μὲ ὡφελίμους τινάς παρατερήσεις [sic]. 'Ἐν Μελίτῃ. 'Απὸ τὴν ἐξ Ἀμερικῆς τυπογραφίαν. ἀωκζ'. Els 12ον, σ. 94+1φ. BAL. Publ. no. 45. Addition to Ghinis-Mexas.

52. **Ιστορία** τοῦ Ἀνδρέου Δούννου. 1827. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 10176, Publ. no. 48, List no. 5. UThSL.

53. Publications of the American Mission Press, at Malta. 1827. Layton (I) A246, Plate.

54. Σύστημα ἀγγλικὸν διὰ τὰ σχολεῖα. 1827. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 1713, List no. 2. HUL, BAL.

55. Ἀπλοῦν ἀλφαβητάριον. 1828. Moschonas (I) A797, List no. 17.

56. Γνησιότης τῆς Παλαιᾶς καὶ Καινῆς Διαθήκης. 1828. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 1739, List no. 13. HUL.<sup>48</sup>

57. Ἡ Ἀγία Βίβλος ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν τιμὴν. 1828. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 1764, List no. 14.<sup>49</sup>

58. Ἡ τῆς μητρὸς κατήχησις. 1828. Moschonas (I) A799, List no. 4. HUL.<sup>50</sup>

59. Κίνδυνος τῆς εἰδωλολατρείας. 1828. Layton (II) A880, List no. 11.

60. Τῆς ἀμαρτίας ἡ πρόοδος. 1828. Layton (II) A882, List no. 3. BPL.<sup>51</sup>

61. Τοῦ γαλακτοπάλου ἡ θυγάτηρ. 1828. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 1800, List no. 15. See nos. 1, 4, 43.

62. Ἀπλοῦν ἀλφαβητάριον διὰ τὰ παιδία. 1829. Veloudis, no. A518, List no. 16. See no. 55.

*Truth and Divine Origin of the Christian Revelation* by Beilby Porteus (1731-1808).

48. A translation of *Authenticity of the Scriptures* by Thomas Hartwell Horne (1780-1862).

49. This is the second edition of *The Bible Above All Price* by Edward Payson (1783-1827). The first edition (see Publ. no. 31) was printed in 1825 but a copy has not yet been traced. See ABCFM. *Seventeenth Annual Report* (Boston, 1826)

p. 91.

50. This is a later edition of Publ. no. 36 which appeared either in 1825 or in 1826.

51. A translation of *The Progress of Sin* by Andrew Fuller (1754-1815). The first two editions (Publ. no. 30) printed in 1823 and 1825 respectively remain untraced. See ABCFM. *Fifteenth Annual Report* (Boston, 1824) p. 111 and ABCFM. *Seventeenth Annual Report* (Boston, 1826) p. 90.

63. Διδαχὴ περὶ τῆς φύσεως καὶ ἐπιφροῆς τῆς πίστεως. 1829. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 6762, List no. 24?
64. Ἡ Κυριακὴ εὐλογία εἰς τὸ ἀνθρώπινον γένος. 1829. Ghinis - Mexas, no. 1861, List no. 21.
65. Ἡ μικρὰ Ἀννα. 1829. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 1862, List no. 42. HUL.
66. Ἡ νέα καλυβῖτις. 1829. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 1863, List no. 19. HUL (2 copies).
67. Ὁ μικρὸς Ἐρρῦκος καὶ ὁ φορεὺς αὐτοῦ. 1829. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 1877, List no. 27. See no. 44.
68. Ὁμιλία πρὸς τοὺς ναύτας. 1829. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 1878, List no. 18. See no. 6.
69. Σύνοψις τῶν ἀποδείξεων τοῦ Χριστιανισμοῦ. 1829. Ghinis - Mexas, no. 1895, List no. 22. See no. 50.<sup>52</sup>
70. Ἀριθμητικῆς στοιχειώδη μαθήματα. 1830. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 1926, Report no. 24. HUL.
71. Ὁ εὐδαίμων πλοίαρχος. 1830. Moschonas (I) A800, no. 40.
72. Περίληψις τοῦ Ἱεροῦ Εὐαγγελίου... N. Νικητόπλου. 1830. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 1970, Report no. 11.<sup>53</sup>
73. Τίμησις ἀμαρτιῶν. 1830. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 10215.
74. Τὸ θέλγητρον... τὰ στοιχειώδη μέρη τῆς γραμματικῆς. 1830. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 1990, Report no. 26. HUL.
75. Τοῦ τέκνου ὁ βοηθός. 1830. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 1994, Report no. 23. HUL.
76. Ἀπανθίσματα ἴστορικὰ ἐκ τῆς Παλαιᾶς Διαθήκης. 1831. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 2010, Report no. 1. HUL, BAL.
77. Βίος τοῦ νομοθέτου Μωϋσῆ. 1831. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 2033, Report no. 3. HUL.
78. Διάλογος μεταξὺ δύο φίλων. 1831. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 2043. HUL.

52. A translation of *The Divine Origin of the Christian Revelation* by Beilby Porteus (1731-1808).

53. N. Niketoplos from Demetsana had been the Principal of «the best instructed Lancasterian school in the Peloponnesus» according to Rufus Anderson who visited the school at Nauplia in 1829. See

Stephen A. Larrabee, *Hellas Observed; The American Experience of Greece 1775-1865* (New York, 1957) p. 187. Aside from Petrokokkinos, Niketoplos was the only other Greek who made translations and adaptations which were published by the ABCFM press at Malta.

79. 'Ιστορία τῆς ἀρχαίας Ἑλλάδος. 1831. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 2077, Report no. 17. HUL (2 copies), NYPL.
80. 'Ιστορία τῆς Βασιλίσσης Ἐσθήρ. 1831. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 10227, Moschonas (II) 10227, Report no. 7.
81. 'Ιστορία τοῦ Πατριάρχου Ἀβραάμ. 1831. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 2079, Report no. 2. HUL, BPL.
82. 'Ιστορία τοῦ Πατριάρχου Ἰωσήφ. 1831. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 2080, Report no. 4. HUL.
83. 'Ιστορία τοῦ Προφήτου Δανιήλ. 1831. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 2081, Report no. HUL (2 copies), BPL.
84. 'Ιστορία τοῦ Προφήτου Σαμουήλ. 1831. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 2082, Report no. 5. HUL.
85. Κατήχησις τῆς ιστορίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος. 1831. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 2085, Report no. 29. HUL, NYPL.<sup>54</sup>
86. 'Ο ἀναγνώστης ἡγουν εὔκολα μαθήματα. 1831. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 2099, Report no. 15. HUL, BAL.
87. 'Ο μικρὸς φιλόσοφος. 1831. Ghinis-Mexas. no. 2103, Report no. 16. HUL (2 copies), NYPL.
88. Περίληψις τοῦ Ιεροῦ Εὐαγγελίου... N. Νικητόπλου. 1831. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 2106. HUL. See no. 72.
89. Σύνοψις τῆς Ρωμαϊκῆς ιστορίας. 1831. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 2130, Report no. 18. HUL (3 copies), NYPL.
90. Τοῦ τέκνου ὁ βοηθός. 1831. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 3245. HUL (2 copies), NYPL. See no. 75.
91. 'Αριθμητική. 1832. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 2160, Report no. 25. HUL, Yale.
92. Διάλογοι περὶ γραμματικῆς. 1832. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 10246, Report no. 31. See no. 74.
93. Διήγημα περὶ τῶν Σανδουνικῶν νήσων. 1832. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 2177, Report no. 21. HUL, NYPL.
94. 'Ιστορία τοῦ Βασιλέως Δαβίδ. 1832. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 2199, Report no. 6. HUL.
95. 'Ιστορία τοῦ Ἡλιού καὶ Ἐλισαιέ. 1832. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 2200, Report no. 8. HUL.
96. 'Ιστορία τοῦ μεσαίωνος. 1832. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 2201, Report no. 22. HUL, NYPL.

54. The work of William Pinnock (1782-1843).

97. Περίληψις τῆς Παλαιᾶς Διαθήκης... N. Νικητόπλου. 1832. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 2216, Report no. 10.
98. Περίληψις τῶν Πράξεων τῶν Ἀποστόλων. 1832. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 2217, Report no. 12.
99. Σύνοψις τῆς Ἀγγλικῆς ἱστορίας. 1832. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 2235, Report no. 19. HUL (2 copies), NYPL.
100. Σύνοψις τῆς Γαλλικῆς ἱστορίας. 1832. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 2236, Report no. 20. HUL (2 copies), NYPL.
101. Σύνοψις τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας. 1832. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 2237, Report no. 30.
102. Τῶν παιδίων ἡ γεωγραφία ὑπὸ Πέτρου τοῦ Ὁμιλητοῦ. 1832. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 2240, Report no. 28.<sup>55</sup>
103. Βοηθήματος ἱερογραφικοῦ ἐπιτομή. 1833. Paghone, no. A197, List no. 41, Report no. 13. HUL.<sup>56</sup>
104. Διάλογοι περὶ γραμματικῆς. 1833. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 2265. See nos. 74 and 92.
105. Ἰστορία τῆς Βασιλίσσης Ἐσθήρ. 1833. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 2281. HUL. See no. 80.
106. Ἰστορία τοῦ Βασιλέως Δαβίδ. 1833. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 6787. HUL. See no. 94.
107. Ἰστορία τοῦ Πατριάρχου Ἰωσήφ. 1833. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 10263. See no. 82.
108. Παρατηρήσεις περὶ τῆς ἐπιστροφῆς καὶ ἀποστολῆς τοῦ Ἀγίου Παύλου. 1833. Ghinis-Mexas, no. 2303, Moschonas (II) 2303, Report no. 14. HUL (2 copies). See no. 46.<sup>57</sup>

*Eero Layton*

55. Peter Parley was the pseudonym of Samuel Griswold Goodrich (1793-1860).

56. The work of Edward Bickersteth (1786-1850).

57. Copies of the following items have not yet been located: Publ.

nos. 2, 7, 9, 13, 16, 19, 24, 27, 33, 37, 43, 44, 47, [7], [9]. List nos. 1 (unless it refers to no. 34 of the Catalogue), 9, 10, 12, 20, 23, 25, 28-39. Report nos. 27, 32 (which appears to be the same as that of List no. 25) and 33.