



Papoulidis Kiriakos, *The Protestant expansion in the Eastern Mediterranean: the presence and the editorial activities of the American Protestant Missionaries Societies in the Greek-speaking geographical space (1808–1856)*, „Balcanica Posnaniensia. Acta et Studia” 2011, vol. 18, p. 151–162.

<https://doi.org/10.14746/bp.2011.18.14>

<https://pressto.amu.edu.pl/index.php/bp/article/view/54650>

Instytucją przechowującą materiały źródłowe jest Biblioteka Collegium Historicum Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu.

<http://bch.amu.edu.pl>

Zadanie zostało zrealizowane w ramach konkursu „Społeczna odpowiedzialność nauki II – Wsparcie dla bibliotek naukowych”. Projekt zatytułowany „Digitalizacja archiwalnych wydań czasopism naukowych zgromadzonych przez Bibliotekę Coll. Historicum UAM”. Projekt dofinansowany ze środków budżetu państwa, przyznanych przez Ministra Nauki w ramach Programu Społeczna odpowiedzialność nauki II. Wsparcie dla bibliotek naukowych (umowa nr BIBL/SP/0092/2024/02 z dnia 05.12.2024). Całkowita wartość projektu: 247 236,00 zł. Kwota dofinansowania: 220 836,00 zł.

The institution storing the source materials is the Library of the Collegium Historicum of the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań.

bch.amu.edu.pl

The task was carried out within the framework of the competition “Social Responsibility of Science II – Support for Scientific Libraries”. The project entitled “Digitization of archival editions of scientific journals collected by the Library of the Coll. Historicum of Adam Mickiewicz University”. The project was co-financed from state budget funds granted by the Minister of Science within the framework of the Programme Social Responsibility of Science II. Support for Scientific Libraries (agreement no. BIBL/SP/0092/2024/02 of 05.12.2024). Total value of the project: PLN 247,236.00. Amount of co-financing: PLN 220,836.00.



UNIWERSYTET
IM. ADAMA MICKIEWICZA
W POZNANIU



Ministerstwo Nauki
i Szkolnictwa Wyższego



Społeczna
Odpowiedzialność
Nauki II

THE PROTESTANT EXPANSION IN THE EASTERN
MEDITERRANEAN: THE PRESENCE AND THE EDITORIAL
ACTIVITIES OF THE AMERICAN PROTESTANT MISSIONARIES
SOCIETIES IN THE GREEK-SPEAKING GEOGRAPHICAL SPACE
(1808-1856)

KIRIAKOS PAPOULIDIS

ABSTRACT. Kiriakos Papoulidis, *The Protestant expansion in the Eastern Mediterranean: the presence and the editorial activities of the American Protestant Missionaries Societies in the Greek-speaking geographical space (1808-1856)*.

Balcanica Posnaniensia. Acta et studia, XVIII, Poznań 2011, Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, pp. 151-162, ISBN 978-83-7177-857-5, ISSN 0239-4278. Text in English.

Kiriakos Papoulidis, Assistant Professor, Section of Modern Greek Philology, Department of Linguistics, Faculty of Modern Languages and Literature, University Adam Mickiewicz (Poznań), Al. Niepodległości 3/5, Polska-Poland.

Introduction

The geographical expansion of the Protestant Churches dates since the end of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th century, and it was accomplished across the European migrations towards the New World (North America). More particularly, this confessional expansion, across organized religious missions, had in mind place to provide a pastoral help and a spiritual assistance to the emigrants, the civil servants, the servicemen, the settlers and the dealers of the British colonies¹. This chronological delay concerning the organization of the first Protestant missions across the world is initially owed to complete rejection, on behalf of the Protestants, on spiritual missionary structures (Cartesian spirit/culture, monastic life) of the Catholic Church².

¹ See relatively *Encyclopedia Britannica: A new survey of Universal Knowledge*, Chicago-London-Toronto, 1959, vol. 15,1. *Missions*, p. 599.

² *Ibidem*.

a) The spiritual basis of the American religious expansion and the creation of the first Protestant Missionary Societies

The foundation of the first Protestant missionary societies dates from the end of the 17th century (SPCK / Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in 1698) as well as of the beginning of the 18th century (SPGFP / Society for the Spread of the Gospel song in Foreign Parts in 1701). These missions aimed geographically, at the territories of expansion, to broadcast the Protestant ideas which should get in a stage of followed efforts among the Greeks, the Bulgarians, the Turks, the Arabs, the Jews etc. to the East (Balkans, Asia Minor, Palestine, Syria, Caucasus, Mesopotamia, Persia), and to Asia (India, Indonesia). In other words it means that this protestant missions should, by every possible mean, proceed to the „enlightenment” of the Eastern Christians (Greeks Orthodox, Slavs, Armenians, Syrians, Jacobites, Nestorians, Maronites, Chaldeans) before the „evangelisation” of the Middle East unbelievers (Jews, Muslims) in the perspective of the Protestant New Zion refunding in Jerusalem³.

Nevertheless, the first organized Protestant missions were those of the Germans Pietists, who were based at the University of Halle and the had established there their initial siege. The historical pattern of this instructive institution in an international missionary centre is especially owed to the activities of the German erudite persons of August Hermann Francke (1663-1727) and Philip Jacob Spener (1635-1705), who trained and sent in India (Tranquebar) the first mission organized in 1705 under the aegis of the King of Denmark Frederic IV⁴.

Instead of this, the foundation of the first Anglo-Saxon missionary societies leaned on the edited text by William CAREY, *Enquiry into the Obligation of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens* (1792), which became the constituting charter of these same societies across the world later. The adoption of this historical text as constituting charter of Protestant missions drove to the foundation of two types of societies:

a. The *missionary societies*⁵ like the London Missionary Society (1795), Scottish Missionary Society (1796), Church Missionary Society (1799) and World Missionary Society (1814). The first purpose of these missionary societies aimed at revivification as well as at worldwide promotion of religious feeling, by being based on the biblical original text of Churches according to the archaic use of the Oriental Churches.

³ Relatively to the missionary activities of the Protestant Societies consult the article of T. Stransky, „The competition of internal missions in the Holy Land (1840-1850)” in D.D. Trimbura-A. Aaronson, *From Bonaparte to Balfour: France, Western Europe and the Palestine (1799-1917)*, CNRS: Paris, 2001, p. 198 and note 3 where the author introduces a complete list of the main Protestant missionary societies (17) which developed religious and propaganda activities in the Eastern Mediterranean and 2 also the studies of H. Kildani, *History of the Modern Christianity in the Holy Land: Jordan and Palestine in the 19th century* [unpublished] and K.S. Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, vol. IV: *The Great Century in Europe and the United States of America (1800-1914)*, New York 1941-1944.

⁴ C. Bihlmeyer-H. Tuchle, *History of the Church*, vol. IV, p. 56 and pp. 391-392 where relating bibliography and also at the Internet website www.francke-halle.de / Research / archive / The Danish-Halle Mission.

⁵ See T. Stransky..., p. 198 and note 3.

b. The *biblical societies*⁶ German Biblical Society [1710], British Biblical Society [1804], Russian and Finnish Biblical Societies [1812], Dutch Biblical Society [1813], Danish and Prussian Biblical Societies [1814], Norwegian Biblical Society [1815], Maltese Biblical Society [1817], French Biblical Society [1818]).

Despite to the missionary societies, the role of these biblical societies was to encourage the free movement of the biblical text without notes or comments in the places where they have been practised and being discussed the activities of the protestant religious propaganda.

At the same time in Protestant missionary European activities, their American correspondents appeared historically as the product of the Great Awakening spiritual movement which had been developed in four stages in the territories of the New World (1730-1740, 1820-1830, 1880-1900, and 1960-1970)⁷. The Great Awakening as a movement of religious feeling in USA and in England is characterized by the appearance of new dogmas. Thus according to the American Great Awakening „the religion constitutes a fundamental institution, by nature, and at the same time a more social, traditional and stable factor also which aims is to eliminate the beliefs of this era (spiritual innovation, corrupted elements of the past) through the appeal and the establishment of the archaic traditions and habits”⁸.

Consequently, the revivification and the promotion of the religious feeling were realized historically by the foundation of the first American missionary Society, that is the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) founded in 1810 at Massachusetts (USA), according to the Council of the Congregational Protestant Churches⁹. By this way, the American Protestant missionary activity acquires a universal extent, especially with the foundation of several missionary stations in Australia, in South America, in Middle East, and missionary corporations such as the ABCFM (1814), the American Bible Society/ABS (1816), MEC (1819), WUMSA (1860), ZBMM (1861)¹⁰.

In nowadays the original pattern which defines the American Protestant expansion is considerate to be based on the Great Awakening periodical religious revival in the frame of the Anglo-American religious history. Simultaneous the Great Awakening concept is also described as a successive revolutionary periods (1730-1740, 1820-1830, 1880-1900, 1960-1970) of the American religious thought. That means that the Great Awakenings have been marked by a multitude of new religious denominations which contributed actively to the introduction of new belief systems in addition of existing belief systems which gained new popularity.

⁶ Consult relatively the article of R. Steiner, „Bibelgesellschaften”, *RGG* 1 (1957), p. 1158.

⁷ About the four successive stages of the Protestant Great Awakening consult the following bibliography for a basic approach: a) J. Tracy, *The Great Awakening: In History of the Revival of Religion in the Time of Edwards and Whitefield*, New York 1842 (reissue in 1997), b) W. McLoughlin, *Revivals, Awakenings and Reform: Year Essay one Religion and Social Changes in America (1607-1977)*, New York 1978 and c) S. Ahlstorm, *A Religious History of the American People*, New York 1972.

⁸ See S. Ahlstorm, *A Religious...*, pp. 64-69.

⁹ *Encyclopedia Britannica: A new survey...*, pp. 599-600.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*.

Otherwise the American Great Awakenings movement is influenced by the world religious thought because of relative freedom (lack of a single clue faith or state sanctioned religion) which means that new ideas were allowed to be spread without been reformed through an institutional frame. The reject of this institutional basis allowed to attribute prestige and inertia to these established news ideas like as the historical circumstances for revolutionary ideas during the 18th and 19th centuries.

In fact the Great Awakening movement is considered to be a part of *the great international Protestant upheaval*¹¹ which also contributed to the creation of the European Protestant spiritual movement (Pietism, Methodism, Evangelism) while the Christianity was diffused under an apocalyptic frame (event) outside of the established religious authority. In this spiritual continuity is situated the American Protestant missionary expansion to the East (Orient) which was based mainly on the Congregationalist tendency and expressed through the setting up of missionary societies (ABCFM, DFMS) at the frame of the Second Great Awakening movement (1820-1830).

b) The establishment of the American Protestant Missionary Societies in Balkans

The choice of the American missionary societies initial establishment (siege, local missions, publishing house, schools) made on the basis of two main criteria: firstly safety which signifies the absence of any conflicting situation in the Mediterranean and secondly the current political circumstances¹². Most particularly the activities of the American Missionaries Societies are presented actually as a part of the Mediterranean Mission and listed on the following two categories:

A) Mission to Greece (1822-1914)

In this category are involved two American missionary societies:

1) American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM)

The initial destination of ABCFM establishment was Smyrna because this location offered many commercial and educational advantages as the learning of languages (Modern Greek, Turk, French, Italian, Hebrew, Arabic, Armenian) and the commercial life (port activities) while simultaneous the American missionaries were aimed „to *extending the knowledge of Christianity in the Turkish Empire*”¹³. Instead of the initial establishment project the Greek-Turkish conflict obliged finally the Society to be established in a more safe place as Malta since 1822 with also considering:

a. the British protectorate political status which enjoyed the island of Malta since 1800, and as a result the Mediterranean Sea was under the direct control of British navy.

¹¹ See S. Ahlstorm, p. 263.

¹² Concerning the presence and the general activities of the American missionaries in Greece, in Balkans and in Eastern Mediterranean consult the following basic bibliography: 1) W.R. Hutchinson, *Errand to the World. American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions*, Chicago and London, 1987, pp. 51-51, 2) T. Saloutos, *American Missionaries (1820-1869)*, *Church History* 24 (1955), p. 166, 3) P.E. Shaw, *American Contact with the Eastern Churches*, Chicago 1930, pp. 31-32 and 4) C.W. Andrews, *Historic Notes of Protesatnt Missions to the Oriental Churches*, Richmond: Woodhouse & Parham, 1866, pp. 12-17.

¹³ Consult relatively the article of E. Layton, *The Greek Press at Malta of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (1822-1833)*, „*Ο Επαναστής*” vol. 9 (1971), pp.169-171.

Therefore, the island of Malta constituted a familiar place for the Protestant missionaries despite of the aversion expressed towards these last by the local Catholic population and

b. the strategic position of the island of Malta which is an important maritime cross-road and favours the direct communication with the Balkan countryside (Piraeus, Thessaloniki, Dubrovnik), the Greek islands (Ionian islands, Cyclades, Cyprus), Asia Minor (Smyrna), Levant (Palestine, Syria), North Africa (Egypt, Libya, Tunisia) and also within the Ottoman capital (Istanbul).

c. the British missionaries position about the island of Malta which constituted, according to them, „the key of the East that is a place protege by God shone even under the British control by means of which the Protestantism must be broadcast in the Oriental nations by constituting at the same time this spiritual wall which acted against the numerous activities of the Papacy”¹⁴.

Then in 1833 the printing house had been transferred to Smyrna „after the conditions inside the Ottoman Empire had matured for the spread of the Protestant influence” according to Daniel Temple, responsible printer of the ABCFM in Malta and Smyrna¹⁵. The Ottoman Reform measures contributed to the third transfer of the ABCFM printing house at new to Istanbul in 1853 where he played an important role in the political competition among the Christian nations of the Balkans until 1914 and where the mission to Greece had been interrupted because of the First World War (1914-1918)¹⁶.

2) Domestic Foreign Missionary Society (DFMS)

Secondly the DFMS which was also active in Greece and was originally established since 1831 in Tinos¹⁷ where they found primary schools and one printing house but the transfer of the Greek capital from Nafplion to Athens, the increase of the local population and the development of Athens as the new administrative center of the Greek State obliged the Society to transfer its siege at new there. In Athens they found one of the most famous and important protestant school *The (John & Francis) Hill School* (1834) where a very well organized educational, printing and philanthropic activities were set up (foundation of primary and secondary school, printing and diffusion of books and religious tracts, adoption of orphan Greek children by American families) according to the Reform principals. Finally the DFMS siege was at new transfered in the island of Syros because its port had been developed thanks to important trade activities so the handling and spreading of printed editions was easiest and better. The printing house of Syros had been played an active role at the cultural life of the island because of the crowd and the importance of the printed material but the missionary printing house was

¹⁴ *Journal of a Deputation sent to the East by the Committee of the Malta Protestant College*, London 1849, part 1, p.12.

¹⁵ According to E. Layton, *The Greek...*, p. 171.

¹⁶ Relatively to the activities of the ABCFM to Greece and the Near East (Asia Minor, Anatolia and Middle East) consult the studies of 1) P. Kawerau, *Amerika und die Orientalischen Kirchen. Ursprung und Anfang der Amerikanischen Mission unter der Nationalkirchen Westasiens*, Berlin 1958 and 2) M. Kiskira, *Protestant Missionaries in our Orient (1819-1914): the activity of the American Board (in greek)*, „Bulletin du Centre d'Etudes de l'Asie Mineure” 12 (1997-1998), pp. 97-128.

¹⁷ Consult relatively the article of Mrs (Francis) Hill, *Notices of the Island, Town and People of Tinos*, „*The Missionary Register* (1831-1838)”, pp. 400-401.

sold and the mission was interrupted following on the decision of the central board of the company during the 1838.

B) European Turkey Mission (1856-1912)

Simultaneous to the activities in Greece, the ABCFM decided to take a parallel action to the European/Balkan provinces of the Ottoman Empire (Albania, Bulgaria, Macedonia)¹⁸.

Firstly the interest of this American missionary society opted for Bulgaria (after the political autonomy accord of the Bulgarian principality in 1878) especially for the Bulgarian communities in Macedonia, Thrace and Istanbul (foundation of the Robert College in 1863). In this frame the American missionary activity influenced the main Bulgarian political and social ideas (general and modern school teaching, religious autocephaly for the Bulgarian Church, development of civil activities etc) by the use of modern linguistic form (modern Bulgarian), the printing of school manuals, and the establishment of the religious institutions (Collegiate and Theological Institute at Samokov in 1858)¹⁹. Simultaneous to the Bulgarian activities, the ABCFM interest turned since 1889 to the Albanian population of the Balkans (Tosks) for political reasons (support to the local autonomy movement against the Ottomans) but the disorder created due to the lack of political instability government form would force the closing of the local ABCFM Board in Albania in 1922.

Finally the unsuccessful results of the ABCFM mission among the Balkan population (Albanians, Bulgarians) were unexpected [for example in 1909 the number of converted Bulgarians was only 1456 people] and the preparation of the Balkan War were the two main causes of the interruption of the ABCFM mission to Balkans according to its central board in 1912.

c) The editorial production

According to the directorial board of the British and American missionaries societies the initial purpose of their societies publications was „to contribute in the Diaspora of the Revealed Religion Pure Enlightenment by bringing the advantages of civilization in moral and intellectual levels to the inhabitants of a deconsidered materially East, morally and spiritually”²⁰. The spread of this civilization included several kind of publications (translated texts) in Balkan languages (Modern Greek, Bulgarian, Albanian) but also in Mediterranean languages (Italian, Maltese, Turkish, Arabic, Hebrew).

The American printing activities began in the island of Malta in November 1822 when the acquirement of the typographic material was completed (order of Greek type) and the educational priorities were established. That means „the two important parts of the missionary labour as the education and the translation (not of Scriptures but of all other good religious books and tracts) remain to be entered upon. The printing of a religious monthly

¹⁸ Relatively to the Balkan activities of the American Protestant Societies (ABCFM, DFMS) consult the published synthesis of I. Ilcev-P. Mitev, *The approach to America (19th-20th c.)*, [in bulgarian], Sofia: Hemimont Foundation, 2003.

¹⁹ Consult relatively E. Siupiur, *Missionariat protestant, conversion religieuses, ecole et renouvellement culturel dans le Sud-Est Europeen aux 19^e et 20^e siecles*, „*Revue d'Etudes Sud-Est Europeennes*”, vol. XLVII (2009), pp. 332-333.

²⁰ *Journal of a Deputation...*, part I, pp. 11-12.

publication in Modern Greek, not offending the institutions of the country, is a 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"²¹.

Since the beginning of their diffusion the missionary's publications were presented to the Greek population, Christian values commonly accepted in both doctrines that means by the Protestantism and Orthodoxy, and were diffused social messages and principles such as the equality of social classes, the „Christian behaviour”, strengthening of the social position of each individual etc. This diffusion was facilitated by the common request of the local population which was based on the demand of books especially elementary books (for schools, for youth) when the only available printed editions in that time were the orthodox service (officiate) books with a several number of translated biographies into european languages (french, italian, german).

On this matter we should precise that the Maltese publications (translated in Modern Greek from English) of the American Missionaries Societies is presented above (Annexe 1)²² and according to their typology they might be classified to the following three categories:

a. Literal character publications:

This first category includes mainly the translation and the printing of school manuals in Modern Greek (from English) so long one of the American missionary societies primary objects of attention was „how to infuse the spirit of Gospel into the elementary education in Greece"²³ according to Daniel Temple. This statement of D. Temple constituted in fact the recommendation that was given by R. Anderson (see image below), the Assistant Secretary of the ABCFM, after his visit in the Ionian Islands and the Peloponnesus in 1829. The translated and printed material was presented a variety and its methodology was designed to foster the critical thinking of pupils. In consequent in this category are included school manuals (manuals of reading, geography, grammar, history, mathematics, pedagogy and foreign languages methods of learning).

b. Biblical character publications:

In this category are included the translations and the printing of the biblical text (from the original text into Modern Greek) and religious tracts (from English to Modern Greek)²⁴.

c. Literary character publications:

In this category which the initial aim was to foster the pupils love for learning, are included mainly the translations (from English to Modern Greek) and the printing of literary texts as: moral narrations, literary Roman, personal stories and autobiographies.

²¹ According to E. Layton, *The Greek...*, p. 170.

²² Idem, pp. 181-184.

²³ According to E. Layton, *The Greek...*, p. 170.

²⁴ In this matter the most important monography remains still the study of G. Metallinos, *The Question of the Bible translation into Modern Greek* [in greek], Athens, 2004 where are described the Protestant attempt to translate the Old and New Testamen into Modern Greek with the assistance of the local intelligentsia (N. Vamvas, Hilarion of Tirnovo, Gregorius Argirokastritis etc).

Conclusion

So fifteen years after the arrival of the American missionaries in Greece, the vision of the establishment of the evangelical empire in the Eastern Mediterranean was gone. The numerous editions of the missionaries printing house in modern Greek and the bundle of the missionaries societies money which were allocated for the establishing of schools didn't brought the expected results.

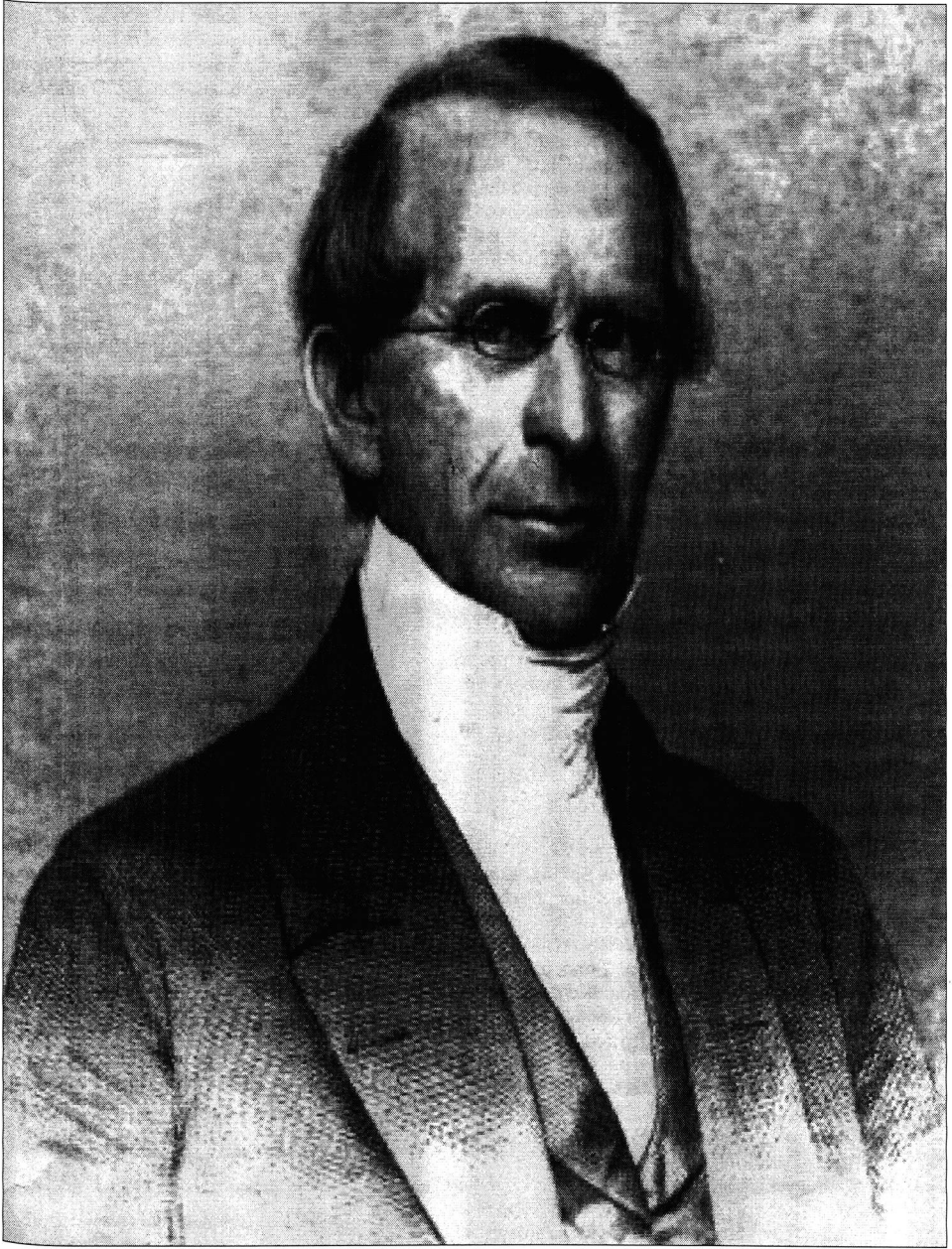
The year 1836 is marked as the beginning of the end for the American missionary activity in Greece since all ABCFM schools (except Hill) were closed while since 1841 and after the ABCFM and DFMS missionary stations were transferred in Asia Minor there whereas the odds of penetration would be greater because of the political and social situation.

Most particularly this is one of the causes which led to the failure of American Protestant missionaries activities in Greece and the Balkans can be summarized as follows:

a. the systematic prosecution by the Greek Orthodox Church which was already aware since 1834-1836 against the propaganda content of the Protestant printed editions and their convert aim.

b. the establishment of a Greek national printing house which from 1840 onwards covering the needs of the Greek territory in print publications.

c. the political upheavals in Asia Minor: the Protestant missionary activities will found a fertile ground inside the Ottoman Empire after the reforms of 1839 (Tanzimat) and the end of the Eastern Question First Crisis (1832-1841) during which all the Ottoman citizens would be recognized as equal without distinction of religion or origin despite the ottoman/Muslim law (sharia'h).



Rufus Anderson (1796-1880)
Assistant Secretary of the ABCFM (1819-1822)

ANNEXE 1

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.
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.
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 ABGFM 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

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ahlstorm S., *A Religious History of the American People*, New York 1972.
- Andrews C.W., *Historic Notes of Protestant Missions to the Oriental Churches*, Richmond: Woodhouse & Parham, 1866.
- Bilhmeier C., Tuchle H., *Histoire de l'Eglise* (4 vol.), Casterman-Paris-Tournai, 1962-1967.
- Hill F., *Notices of the Island, Town and People of Tinos*, „The Missionary Register” v. 19-26 (1831-1838), pp. 400-401.
- Hutchinson W.R., *Errand to the World. American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions*, Chicago and London, 1987.
- Ilcev I.-P. Mitev P., *The approach to America (19th-20th c.)*, (in bulgarian), Sofia: Hemimont Foundation, 2003.
- Kawerau P., *Amerika und die Orientalischen Kirchen. Ursprung und Anfang der Amerikanischen Mission unter der Nationalkirchen Westasiens*, Berlin 1958.
- Kildani H., *History of the Modern Christianity in the Holy Land: Jordan and Palestine in the 19th century* [unpublished].
- Kiskira M., *Protestant Missionaries in our Orient (1819-1914)*, (in greek), „Bulletin du Centre d'Etudes de l'Asie Mineure” 12 (1997-1998), pp.97-128.
- Layton E., *The Greek Press at Malta of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (1822-1833)*, „Ο Ερασιστής” vol. 9 (1971), pp.169-192.
- Latourette K.S., *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, vol. IV: *The Great Century in Europe and the United States of America (1800-1914)*, New York 1941-1944.
- McLoughlin W., *Revivals, Awakenings and Reform: Year Essay one Religion and Social Changes in America (1607-1977)*, New York 1978.
- Metallinos G., *The Question of the Bible*, translation into Modern Greek [in greek], Athens, 2004.
- Saloutos T., *American Missionaries (1820-1869)*, „Church History” 24 (1955).
- Shaw P.E., *American Contact with the Eastern Churches*, Chicago 1930.
- Siupiur E., *Missionariat protestant, conversion religieuses, école et renouvellement culturel dans le Sud-Est Européen aux 19e et 20e siecles*, „Revue d'Etudes Sud-Est Européennes”, vol. XLVII (2009), pp. 331-335.
- Stransky T., *The competition of internal missions in the Holy Land (1840-1850)*, in: Trimbur D.D., Aaronsohn A., *From Bonaparte to Balfour: France, Western Europe and the Palestine (1799-1917)*, CNRS: Paris, 2001.
- Tracy J., *The Great Awakening: In History of the Revival of Religion in the Time of Edwards and Whitefield*, New York 1842 (reissue in 1997).