



# Printing offices of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1816-1900: A synopsis

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Printing Offices of the American  
Board of Commissioners  
for Foreign Missions, 1817-1900:  
a Synopsis

*J. F. Coakley*

The place of printing in the early ideology of the ABCFM was simple and evangelical. As the 1821 Annual Report put it:

A missionary, by means of the press, increases his power to do good, in an incalculable ratio. They, who can hear his voice, may be, comparatively, few. But tracts and books reach thousands.<sup>1</sup>

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By the time this was written, printing offices had already been established in Bombay (1817) and Honolulu (1820), and the next two decades saw a boom in new offices, in Africa, on the Indian subcontinent, in the Middle East, the Far East, and among American Indians. As fast as it could afford to do so, the Prudential Committee sent out printers, each bearing the title of Assistant Missionary, to manage them.

Even before the end of this boom, however, the Board's enthusiasm for printing had begun to abate. There were two reasons. In the first place, as a direct means of evangelism, the distribution of literature had not proven especially successful, in spite of anecdotes regularly published about tracts falling into the hands of future converts.<sup>2</sup> Besides whatever limitations were inherent in this hopeful method of spreading the gospel, there were particular problems where governments were hostile to mission publications, and also where there was no literate readership for them. The latter difficulty, at least, could be overcome by schools, and these schools and their requirement for books would give a new basis for the work of the mission press. But this new basis would be on an ideological level that was a good deal lower than the original one.

The second reason for the Board's increasing ambivalence toward its printing enterprise arose from economics. Once a printing press was installed and workers hired, it was necessary to find them continuous occupation. Translating the Bible and other religious texts was a slow business and could not keep pace with the demand for copy. The gap could be filled variously by school books, jobbing

<sup>1</sup> Report 1821, p. 201.

and for Malta, 1823: 124, 1824: 111, 1825: 84. For China, see Report 1829: 120.

<sup>2</sup> E.g., for Bombay, Reports 1825: 31, 1826: 29, 1827: 21;

work for outside customers (which had the advantage of profit making), and by the grammars and dictionaries that missionaries seemed to have a strong propensity to write. But again, none of these kinds of production was the essentially missionary occupation that the Board considered its real mandate.

At the annual meeting of the Board in 1840, one of the secretaries spoke on “The employment of the press in promoting the missionary work.” He explained that the printing of school books was a necessary and legitimate business of the press, and that beyond creating a readership in this way among its adherents, a mission could look forward to providing a whole Christian literature for them in due course. However, he had to address an evidently deep suspicion about the distracting quality of “collateral objects” (as he called them) such as the cultivation of literacy.

In the employment of the press for missionary purposes, it should by no means be permitted to supplant or seriously encroach upon what is more appropriately called preaching the gospel. Preaching, where there is no insuperable difficulty in the way of it, is, undoubtedly, to have the pre-eminence among the agencies employed for evangelizing the world. . . . For missionaries to become mere translators, or editors, or book-makers of any description, where their circumstances do not forbid their engaging in other labors, would be a perversion of their office and an abuse of the advantages of the press.<sup>3</sup>

Guarded remarks like this set the tone for official statements about printing—and about schools, with which printing was closely tied—in the Board’s literature for the next twenty years or more.<sup>4</sup>

The ambivalence expressed at home toward their activities was felt only to a limited degree by the printers in the mission field in the 1840s.<sup>5</sup> These years were for some of them a time of great productivity. By 1850, however, the Board’s changed attitude had hardened into a practical policy: in any location where it was possible, printing work should be given to outside tradesmen, and the Board’s own press closed or sold off. This policy depended much on local circumstances for its applicability, but even so its effects can be seen in the histories of most of the presses to be discussed below, including those where the missionary printers resisted it more or less successfully for a time.

For the fiftieth anniversary of the ABCFM in 1861, a commemoration volume by the senior secretary Rufus Anderson devoted a section to printing, proudly summing up the accomplishments of the Board’s missionaries. They had printed in forty-two languages, twenty of which had been reduced to writing by themselves, and their output of printed pages exceeded 1.1 billion. But at the same time, Anderson unsentimentally recorded the fact that most of the Board’s fifteen printing offices had already been closed.<sup>6</sup> Nor, in the years following, were any new ones established, with the single exception of Peking in 1868, for which funds had previously been set aside. Later missions like that in Japan (1869) routinely reported on “printing,” but such printing was done on the presses of other

3 David Greene, “The employment of the press in promoting the missionary work,” Report 1840: 48–51; quotation p. 50.

4 See, for example, the very lukewarm reception accorded in the 1843 Report (p. 123) to a Tamil dictionary from Madras; and especially the later plain words of the 1862 Report (p. 37): “nothing which is undertaken in connection with the missionary work, tends so powerfully to a perpetual increase of expenditure, and to the withdrawal of missionaries from their more appropriate

work, as the manufacture of books.” For the question within the ABCFM of the place of “secondary” or “auxiliary” activities see, for example, Report 1854: 31; and more broadly W. R. Hutchison, *Errand to the world* (Chicago, 1987), chap. 3, “Christ, not culture.”

5 The exception was South China; q.v. below.

6 *Memorial volume of the first fifty years of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Boston, 1861), 339–45.

missionary societies and commercial printers. The press in Peking, which was also the last of the printing offices to survive, came to an end in 1900.<sup>7</sup>

In later years it was perceived that the selling-off of printing offices had also served the Board's declared policy of letting go its missionary regime when it was time to hand over to an indigenous Christian community. To quote one of the Reports speaking about the discontinuation of printing, "this is not retrogression. It is the clearest and most hopeful sign of progress toward the result for which the Board is always pressing, namely, the development of self-reliance and self-support on the part of native Christians."<sup>8</sup> It was thus a sign marking the end of a chapter in missionary history. It also marked the end of an episode in printing history, the rather brief floruit of the ABCFM printer and printing office, and it is this which the present synopsis tries to capture.

The printing offices of the ABCFM shared many common occupations. Each press got a part of its support from subsidies paid to the Board by the American Bible Society and American Tract Society, based on the publication of scriptures and tracts. (One result is the amazing number of exotic-language versions of some Tract Society publications such as Bunyan's *Pilgrim's progress* and the pious story of *The dairyman's daughter* by Legh Richmond.) However, there was a striking variation in character and scale among the different presses. At one extreme, the office in Madras was a profit-making concern that issued specimen books of its jobbing work to outside customers, and printed 445 million pages in its twenty-seven years under ABCFM management. At the other, in Gabon a hand press was worked for two years by one missionary and his wife with no other help. In the descriptions below, this variation is somewhat levelled out, the smaller presses generally having more complex histories to record than the industrial ones. In recognition of the underdeveloped state of research into the history of non-Latin typography, I have also allowed some extra space to the presses that printed in these scripts.<sup>9</sup>

This article is not a bibliography of ABCFM printing, and no attempt at all has been made to list the publications of each press. For the Middle Eastern and Indian presses there are lists of publications in the relevant histories by Rufus Anderson, though these were chiefly compiled from published notices rather than the inspection of actual copies.<sup>10</sup> For just a few of the presses, there are genuine scholarly bibliographies already, and these are cited. The other presses await the attention of language specialists,<sup>11</sup> but future bibliographers will at least find here a starting-point in knowing where and when each press was active and the names of the chief printers.

7 The presses at Beirut and Urmia also survived under the Presbyterian Board. For one semi-private press that went on later, see below under Bombay. There were also presses later in ABCFM schools (see under South Africa, Ceylon), but these have left little record behind them.

8 Report 1885, p. xli.

9 However, Chinese printing from wood blocks, which was not strictly the product of a printing office, is mentioned only incidentally. For the mission in Foochow (1847), which did printing only in this way, see e.g. Report 1852: 127.

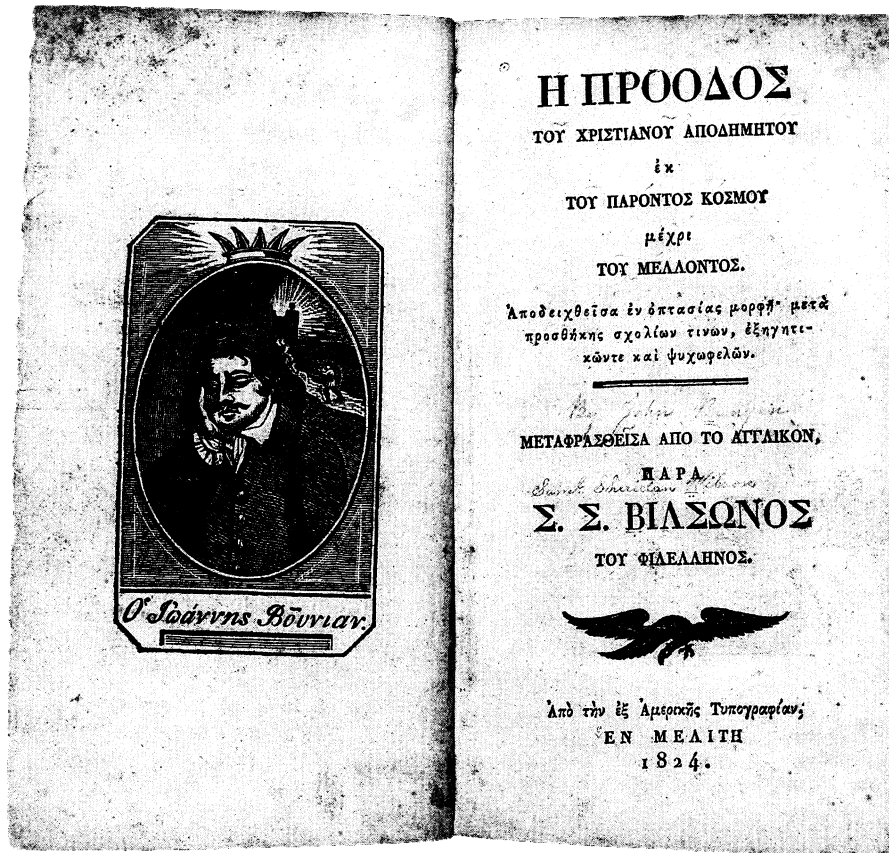
10 These lists were compiled by the Board librarian John Adams Vinton. See his "Printing done at mission-presses during first half century" in the archives at ABC 8.6 vol. 1. Some further lists made by a later librarian Mary A. Walker (alluded to in *Harvard Library Bulletin* 6

(1952): 61) may be found among materials deposited in Andover-Harvard Library in 1968.

11 The items of primary interest for any bibliographer are the copies of mission imprints from the Board's own library. These items have had a complicated history since the 1920s when the Board started to remove its archives. Most are now in Houghton Library, some having come directly from the Board in the 1940s, others via Widener Library in 1984, and still others via Andover-Harvard Library in 1998. The part of the collection not in Houghton consists of the Far Eastern imprints in Harvard-Yenching Library and the printed Bibles in the Library of Andover Newton Theological School. The cataloging of all these exotic items has been difficult and slow, but gradually the collection is coming together again in HOLLIS as records are made and enhanced.

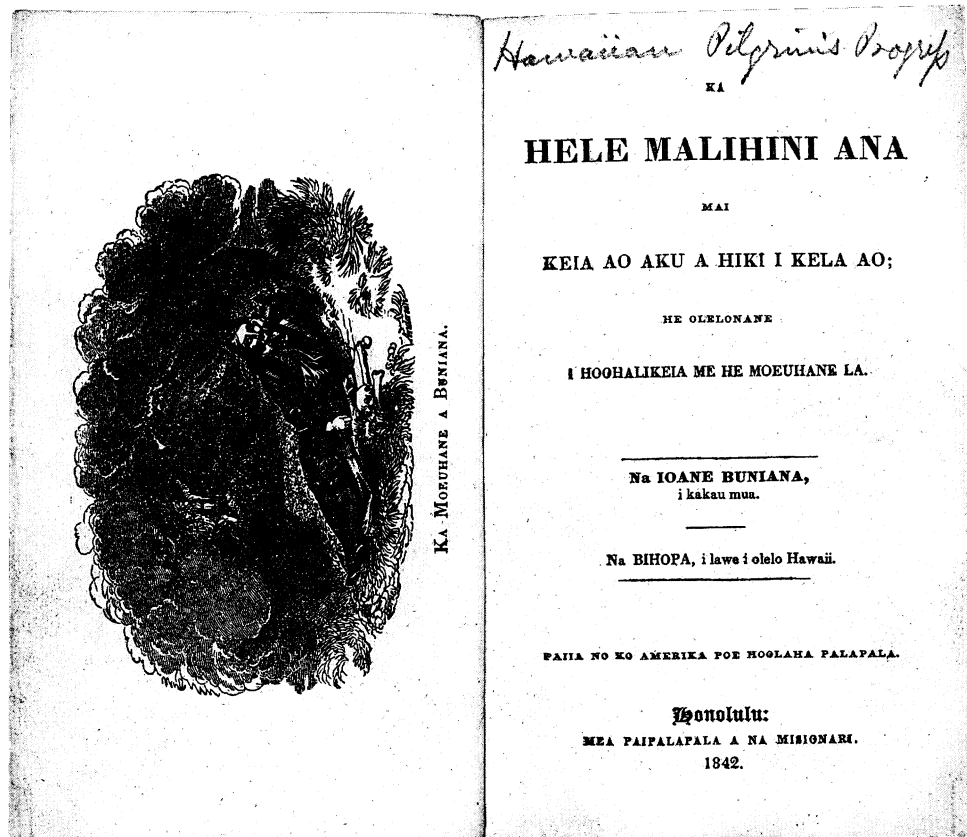


Pilgrim's Progress in four translations. The frontispiece to the Greek version must be the work of a local illustrator, but usually the ABCFM printers employed ready-made American blocks, or occasionally printed illustrations ready for binding in. The ones here were supplied by the American Tract Society.



a. Greek (Malta, 1824). The translator is named as [Samuel] S. Wilson.

b. Hawaiian (Honolulu, 1842)



b. Hawaiian (Honolulu, 1842)



The principal sources for this synopsis are the printed Annual Reports of the ABCFM. These Reports have been supplemented where necessary by reference to the original correspondence between the missionaries and the Board secretaries in Boston, preserved in the archives of the ABCFM at Houghton Library. In fact, recourse to the archives was not often necessary when dealing with the larger printing offices, but some of the smaller presses did not report regularly on their activities, and their history is not intelligible from the published reports alone. For these the manuscript sources have been essential.

In what follows, the sequence of presses is geographical: Africa, Europe and the Middle East, South Asia, the Far East, the Pacific, and United States. Place-names generally follow the style of the time (Constantinople, Ceylon, Peking, etc.). The style of date "1837/38" (for example) refers to the period reported on in the 1838 Annual Report, which was nominally 1837 but which included information from after the end of that year. For the sake of space, the "references" do not include specific citations of the Annual Reports or archives, and only the most significant data from them are footnoted.

#### SOUTH AFRICA, 1837 - CA. 1868

The press of the Zulu mission had a nomadic career. A press was supplied to the missionaries at Umlazi, twenty miles down the coast from Port Natal (Durban), at the end of 1836. The cost of \$500 was paid by the uncle of George Champion, one of the missionaries. The first printing, in August or September 1837, was a card of school lessons. The type must have been meagre, since it was said that the one card used up all of certain sorts. When the mission was evacuated in February 1838 following a mass killing of Boers by the Zulu, the press was saved, and then brought back to Umlazi in 1840. There printing was taken up by Dr. Newton Adams. A reading book of eighteen pages was turned out in 1840. In 1841/42 printing of 48,200 pages was reported. Adams evidently continued as manager of the press until 1847. In 1849 the new missionary Hyman A. Wilder took charge of it, now in Umbilo, about four miles from Port Natal. Wilder published eight numbers of a magazine *Inkanyezi yokusa* ("morning star," a favorite ABCFM name). In 1850 there were plans to build a printing office in Durban, and a printer, for whom the mission had been asking since 1837, arrived from Boston in the person of John Adams Butler. Once on the ground, however, Butler recommended to Anderson that the mission's work would be better done by a local trade printer,<sup>12</sup> and so it was ruled by the Prudential Committee. Butler finished printing the mission's Zulu translation of the Psalms, and then packed the press for storage in November 1852. He returned to the United States the next year. The local printer J. Cullingworth did not give satisfaction, however, and in 1858 the missionary Lewis Grout was authorized to bring the press back into service at his station in Umsunduzi, thirty miles from Durban. Grout's use of a reformed spelling system (based on "Lepsius's standard alphabet") in his publications of 1859-60 precipitated a quarrel between him and his brethren,<sup>13</sup> and he was recalled at his request in 1862. The next printing came from Esidumbini, fifty miles north of Durban, the station occupied by Josiah Tyler. In the years 1861-

<sup>12</sup> ABCFM archives (call numbers beginning "ABC"): ABC 15.4 vol. 4 no. 146 (6 Oct. 1851). <sup>13</sup> ABC 15.4 vol. 6 no. 366 (10 Apr. 1860) and 371 (11 Jan. 1861).

68 Tyler published, among other items, a new monthly magazine *Ikwezi* (another translation of “morning star”).<sup>14</sup>

In 1888 the Annual Report mentioned a new press at the theological school in Adams (Amanzimtote), where a magazine was being issued. This venture lapsed in its turn, and in 1911 it was described as having lain idle for several years.

#### References

James Dexter Taylor, *The American Board Mission in South Africa* (Durban, 1911), 47-9.

D. J. Kotzé, ed., *Letters of the American missionaries 1835-1838* (Cape Town, 1950).

Anna H. Smith, *The spread of printing: South Africa* (Amsterdam, 1971), 69-70.

#### WEST AFRICA, 1837-1865

The mission at Cape Palmas (on the coast of Liberia) was begun in 1833. Benjamin Van Rensselaer James, an African American who had learned printing in order to take charge of the mission press, arrived in February 1837. His first production was a sixteen-page primer of the local Grebo language written by the head of the station John Leighton Wilson. In its first year the output of the press was 35,800 pages, but this rose to about 1 million pages in each of 1840 and 1841. James turned out to be a valuable school teacher, and the printing was delegated to two employees, described as “colored Americans,” presumably from the nearby American colony. There was conflict between the mission and this colony, however, and in 1842 the mission made a fresh start further down the African coast, in Gaboon (Gabon). The last printing at Cape Palmas, in 1843, was of tracts in the Mpongwe language for use at the new location. James returned to the United States in 1843 on account of his health.

Printing was resumed in 1844 at the station in Baraka, on the Gabon estuary, under the supervision of Wilson. The printer in 1846 was “a native boy of our own training, who is not more than sixteen years of age.” Thereafter, the press had only intermittent periods of activity, namely the years 1844-46, 1849-50, and after Wilson’s departure, 1852-55 and 1863-65. Some of the publications of 1852-55 were in the Bakala language. Their author, Ira Preston, composed much of the type himself, since, as he reported, “printing here is very tedious if one is compelled to wait for a single native typesetter.”<sup>15</sup> In 1863 Preston turned again to printing when disabled by an illness of the throat from teaching or preaching. His chief accomplishment was an edition in 150 copies of Mark, Luke and John in Mpongwe (Matthew had been issued in 1850), printed with the help only of his wife.

#### MALTA, 1822-1833

A special fund was subscribed in January 1821 for a “Mission Press for Western Asia,” to be established at Smyrna or Jerusalem. In the event, for fear that neither of these places in Ottoman territory would be safe, it came to be on Malta, under British rule. (Even in Malta there were restrictions: the government allowed the mission to print only for export, so as not to disturb the Catholic population of the

<sup>14</sup> Unfortunately, it does not appear what the printing arrangements were. Tyler’s own book *Forty years among the Zulus* (Boston, 1891) is entirely uninformative. In this respect it is like some other missionaries’ memoirs

whose authors evidently considered their printing activities neither exotic enough nor evangelical enough for any more than passing notice. Cf. note 16 below.

<sup>15</sup> ABC 15.1 vol. 3 no. 11 (report for 1852).

A TABLE EXHIBITING THE VARIOUS CONJUGATIONS, FORMS, MOODS, AND TENSES, OF THE MPONGWE VERB TONDA, TO LOVE.

	INDICATIVE MOOD.				IMPERATIVE MOOD.		
	Present tense.	Indf. Past tense.	Historical	Future.	2d. per. sing.	3d. per. sing.	INFINITIVE MOOD.
Radical Conjugation <i>tonda</i> . <i>Condit. al. Simple Form</i> neg. affr.	act. mi tonda, I love	tondi	rondi	be tonda	ronda	garonde	go or yi tonda
	pass. mi tondo, I am loved	tondio	rondio	be tondo	rondo	garondo	go tondo
	act. mi tonda, I do not love	tonda	tonda	be tonda	aronda	aronda	go tonda
	pass. mi tondo, I am not loved	tondo	tondo	be tondo	arondo	arondo	go tonde
Causative Conjugation <i>tonda</i> . <i>Condit. al. Simple Form</i> neg. affr.	act. ja mia tonda, If I love	tonde	kante-rondi	be tonda			
	pass. ja mia tondo, If I am loved	tondio	kante-rondio	be tondo			
	act. ja mia tonda, If I do not love	k-tonda	k-tonda	be tonda			
	pass. ja mia tondo, If I am not loved	k-tondo	k-tondo	be tondo			
Radical Conjugation <i>tonda</i> . <i>Condit. al. Simple Form</i> neg. affr.	act. aronda, & love	aronda	aronda	aronda	aronda	aronda	aronda
	pass. arondo, & loved	arondo	arondo	arondo	aronde	arondo	arondo
	act. aronda, & not love	aronda	aronda	aronda	aronda	aronda	aronda
	pass. arondo, & not be loved	arondo	arondo	arondo	arondo	arondo	arondo
Causative Conjugation <i>tonda</i> . <i>Condit. al. Simple Form</i> neg. affr.	act. mi tondiza, I cause to love	tondizi	rondizi	be tondiza	rondiza	gatondize	go tondiza
	pass. mi tondizo, I am caused to be loved	tondizio	rondizio	be tondizo	rondizo	garondizo	go tondizo
	act. mi tondiza, I do not cause to love	tondiza	tondiza	be tondiza	arondiza	arondiza	go tondiza
	pass. mi tondizo, I am not caused &c	tondizo	tondizo	be tondizo	arondizo	arondizo	go tondizo
Causative Conjugation <i>tonda</i> . <i>Condit. al. Simple Form</i> neg. affr.	act. ja mia tondiza, If I cause to love	k-tondize	k-rondizi	be tondiza			
	pass. ja mia tondizo, If I am caused &c	k-tondizio	k-rondizo	be tondizo			
	act. ja mia tondiza, If I do not cause &c	k-tondiza	k-tondiza	be tondiza		arondiza	
	pass. ja mia tondizo, If I am not caused &c	k-tondizo	k-tondizo	be tondizo		arondizo	
Causative Conjugation <i>tonda</i> . <i>Condit. al. Simple Form</i> neg. affr.	act. arondiza, & cause to love	arondiza	arondiza	arondiza	arondiza	arondiza	arondiza
	pass. arondizo, & caused to be loved	arondizio	arondizo	arondizo	arondizo	arondizo	arondizo
	act. arondiza, & not cause to love	arondiza	arondiza	arondiza	arondiza	arondiza	arondiza
	pass. arondizo, & not be caused &c	arondizo	arondizo	arondizo	arondizo	arondizo	arondizo
Frequentative Conjugation <i>tondaga</i> . <i>Condit. al. Simple Form</i> neg. affr.	act. mi tondaga, I love habitually	tondagi	rondagi	be tondaga	rondaga	garondaga	go tondaga
	pass. mi tondago, I am loved &c	tondagio	rondagio	be tondago	rondago	garondago	go tondago
	act. mi tondaga, I do not love &c	tondaga	tondaga	be tondaga	arondaga	arondaga	go tondaga
	pass. mi tondago, I am loved &c	tondago	tondago	be tondago	arondago	arondago	go tondago
Frequentative Conjugation <i>tondaga</i> . <i>Condit. al. Simple Form</i> neg. affr.	act. ja mia tondaga, If I love &c	k-tondage	k-tondage	be tondaga			
	pass. ja mia tondago, If I am loved &c	k-tondagio	k-rondago	be tondago			
	act. ja mia tondaga, If I do not love &c	k-tondaga	k-tondaga	be tondaga		arondaga	
	pass. ja mia tondago, If I am not loved &c	k-tondago	k-tondago	be tondago		arondago	
Frequentative Conjugation <i>tondaga</i> . <i>Condit. al. Simple Form</i> neg. affr.	act. arondaga, & love &c	arondaga	arondaga	arondaga	arondaga	arondaga	arondaga
	pass. arondago, & be loved &c	arondago	arondago	arondago	arondago	arondago	arondago
	act. arondaga, & not love &c	arondaga	arondaga	arondaga	arondaga	arondaga	arondaga
	pass. arondago, & not be loved &c	arondago	arondago	arondago	arondago	arondago	arondago
Social Conjugation <i>tondina</i> . <i>Condit. al. Simple Form</i> neg. affr.	act. mi tondina, I love for or by	tondini	rondini	be tondina	rondina	garondine	go tondina
	pass. mi tondino, I am loved for or by	tondino	rondino	be tondino	rondino	garondino	go tondino
	act. mi tondina, I do not love &c	tondina	tondina	be tondina	arondina	arondina	go tondina
	pass. mi tondino, I am not loved &c	tondino	tondino	be tondino	arondino	arondino	go tondino
Social Conjugation <i>tondina</i> . <i>Condit. al. Simple Form</i> neg. affr.	act. ja mia tondina, If I love for	k-tondine	k-rondine	be tondina			
	pass. ja mia tondino, If I am loved &c	k-tondino	k-rondino	be tondino			
	act. ja mia tondina, If I do not &c	k-tondina	k-tondina	be tondina		arondina	
	pass. ja mia tondino, If I am not &c	k-tondino	k-tondino	be tondino		arondino	
Social Conjugation <i>tondina</i> . <i>Condit. al. Simple Form</i> neg. affr.	act. arondina, & love for	arondina	arondina	arondina	arondina	arondina	arondina
	pass. arondino, & be loved	arondino	arondino	arondino	arondino	arondino	arondino
	act. arondina, & not love	arondina	arondina	arondina	arondina	arondina	arondina
	pass. arondino, & not be loved	arondino	arondino	arondino	arondino	arondino	arondino
Co-junctive Conjugation <i>tondinaga</i> . <i>Condit. al. Simple Form</i> neg. affr.	act. mi tondinaga, I love habitually for	todinagi	rondinagi	be tondinaga	rondinaga	garondanage	go tondanaga
	pass. mi tondinago, I am loved &c	todinago	rondinago	be tondinago	rondinago	garondanago	go tondanago
	act. mi tondinaga, I do not love &c	todinaga	todinaga	be tondinaga	arondinaga	arondinaga	go tondanaga
	pass. mi tondinago, I am not loved	todinago	todinago	be tondinago	arondinago	garondanago	go tondanago
Co-junctive Conjugation <i>tondinaga</i> . <i>Condit. al. Simple Form</i> neg. affr.	act. ja mia tondinaga, If I love &c	k-tondinage	k-rondinage	be tondinaga			
	pass. ja mia tondinago, If I am loved &c	k-tondinago	k-rondinago	be tondinago			
	act. ja mia tondinaga, If I do not &c	k-todinaga	k-todinaga	be tondinaga		arondinaga	
	pass. ja mia tondinago, If I am loved &c	k-todinago	k-todinago	be tondinago		arondinago	
Compound Conjugation <i>tondinaga</i> . <i>Condit. al. Simple Form</i> neg. affr.	act. arondinaga, & be loved &c	arondinaga	arondinaga	arondinaga	arondinaga	arondinaga	arondinaga
	pass. arondinago, & be loved &c	arondinago	arondinago	arondinago	arondinago	arondinago	arondinago
	act. arondinaga, & not love &c	arondinaga	arondinaga	arondinaga	arondinaga	arondinaga	arondinaga
	pass. arondinago, & not be loved &c	arondinago	arondinago	arondinago	arondinago	arondinago	arondinago

Broadside verb paradigms in Mpongwe (Gabon, ca. 1844). Grammatical paradigms that used the same letters repeatedly were a test of strength for a font of type that could not be supplemented locally. Here, the Roman ampersand has given out and italic has taken over toward the bottom of the sheet. (Reduced from 15" x 11".)

island.) Daniel Temple arrived with a press in February 1822, and printing in Greek and Italian began towards the end of the year. Temple supervised the press for four years, asking all the while to be relieved by a missionary printer, partly to raise the standards of the books issued and partly because “Christ sent me not to *print*, but to preach the Gospel.”<sup>16</sup> At last in December 1826 the printer arrived in the person of Homan Hallock. Hallock had contracted with the Board for five years, but soon after his arrival in Malta he married and declared he would stay permanently. Under Hallock, first two, then three presses were in use. The amount of print rose steadily: in 1830 it was 2.9 million pages, and in 1831, 4.8 million. Hallock trained two English assistants, George Percy Badger and William Griffitt. Distribution of the mission’s books was a continual problem, however, and the Board did not forget its plans to move the press inside the Turkish empire. In 1833 political conditions seemed to allow the move, and the equipment was shipped to Smyrna. There an office was re-started, under Temple, Hallock, and Griffitt. A year or more later, they sent some equipment on to Eli Smith in Beirut, for him to begin printing Arabic there.

*Languages and types.* Greek was printed with two fonts acquired from Paris in 1822. When these wore out, Hallock ordered type (pica and long primer) from Boston. This was used from early 1829. Having no foundry, Hallock was in continual correspondence with the Board treasurer’s department to make up deficiencies in his type. In 1827 he ordered special sorts τ δ π (1,500 of each) to print Turkish in Greek characters.<sup>17</sup> Armenian type, acquired in Paris, was first used to print Turkish in 1828, and the whole New Testament in Armeno-Turkish was printed in 1830–1. Arabic type acquired from the Watts foundry in London had not yet been used in 1833.

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#### SMYRNA, 1833–53

In December 1833 the Malta printing office was removed to Smyrna (Izmir), “nearer to the field where the seed is to be sown,” as Daniel Temple put it. The press was supported by the growth of Armenian Protestantism. Its output rose steadily from 1.9 million pages in 1836/37 to 4.1 million in 1844/45. There were periodicals in Greek and Armenian. The printer at the time of the move was Homan Hallock, who purchased further type and equipment on a visit to the United States in 1835. Hallock had already become occupied with punchcutting, however, and he progressively gave over the management of the press to his former apprentice William Griffitt. In December 1839 the printing was formally contracted to Griffitt with a provision allowing him to buy out the plant and

<sup>16</sup> ABC 16.6 vol. 1 no. 295 (17 Mar. 1824). Temple’s unhappiness with his printing duties is tacitly reflected in the memoir *Life and letters of Rev. Daniel Temple*

(Boston, 1855). From this book one would not be able to tell that he was occupied with printing at all.

<sup>17</sup> ABC 16.7.2 vol. 1 no. 7 (21 Sept. 1827).

equipment.<sup>18</sup> Thereafter, Hallock began to argue that there was no need for him to remain in the field, and that as a punchcutter he would be able to give better service to the Board in the United States. With official approval he returned, along with his large family, in 1841. From about 1843, and especially after Secretary Anderson's visit to the station in 1844, there was pressure on the missionaries then in charge, John G. Adger and Elias Riggs, to divest the mission of the press altogether. In ca. 1846 some of the Armenian printing began to be done by an outside printer. Eventually in 1853 the Smyrna press closed, and the two clergy then concerned with it, Riggs and Nathan Benjamin, removed to Constantinople. The Armenian types, which had not been sold, were put at the disposal of printers there. The Publications Committee of the renamed "Mission to the Armenians" continued to report statistics and lists of books printed, and in 1886/87 the number of pages issued "from the beginning" was 402,865,952.

*Languages and types.* Printing in the Armenian language began in 1835 and soon overtook Armeno-Turkish in volume. The type from Paris was supplemented first with a font worked on by Hallock and cast by the Starr foundry in New York, then with fonts from London, Vienna and Constantinople, until in 1843 there were twelve.<sup>19</sup> Greek printing was discontinued in 1844. Some small books in Bulgarian were printed in 1842-45 with a font of unknown provenance. Hebrew was also on hand and was used for printing the Old Testament in Spanish in 1838.

#### *References*

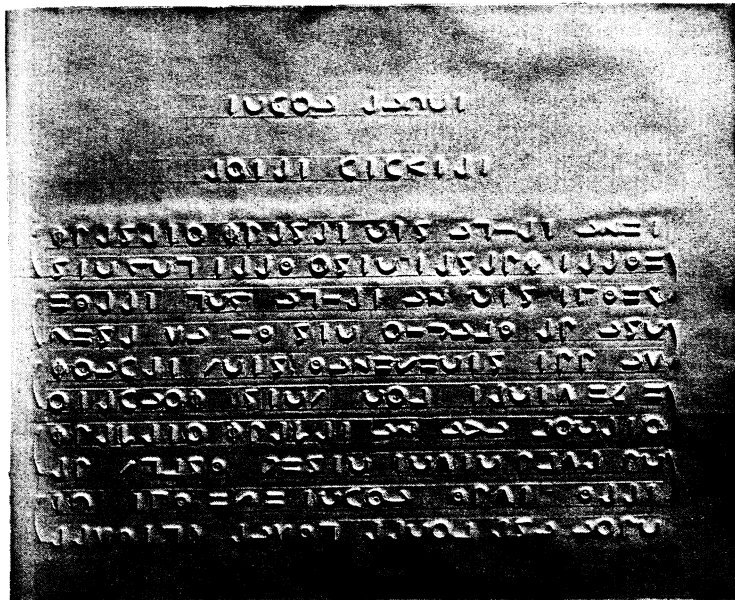
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Barbara Merguerian, in this volume.

#### BEIRUT, 1835-1870

The Beirut station was established in 1823, vacated in 1828, and re-occupied in 1830. In 1832/33 it acquired a lithographic press, but the equipment for letterpress printing arrived in 1834-35 from Smyrna and the United States. Eli Smith, the missionary in charge, recruited George Badger to come from Malta for a year to set it up and begin printing. After they had remedied some of the defects of their Arabic type, they began to print in 1836. Work carried on after Badger's departure until 1839. Then in April 1841 a missionary printer, George C. Hurter, whose training had been with the London Missionary Society on Malta, arrived. In Syria there was nothing to correspond to the Protestant movement among the Armenians, and especially in Hurter's early years neither the supply of texts for the press nor the demand for them from readers gave him enough to do. Anderson's visit in 1844 resulted in the press stopping altogether for a year. By 1846/47 the cumulative output of the press stood at a modest 6.9 million pages. That it continued in existence was due to the advocacy of Eli Smith. His report of 1855 argued that there was a demand for its publications from Egypt, Constantinople, and India. By this time, a power press had been installed (1852), and the printers had begun to be occupied with the Bible in Arabic. This great translation project was begun by Smith and carried on after his death in

<sup>18</sup> ABC 16.7.1 vol. 6 no. 30, a document set in type by Hallock's children.      <sup>19</sup> Ibid. no. 38 (20 Dec. 1843), an inventory of the press.





First page of the Gospel of John in Arabic in raised letters for blind readers (Beirut, ca. 1862). (Reduced from 9" x 12".) The alphabet is the well-known invention of W. Moon, which was adapted for printing the Scriptures in many languages.

1857 by C. V. A. Van Dyck. Hurter left the mission in 1864, and when the Bible was completed the next year, there was again a falling-off of activity. According to the 1868 Report, "Our press is a sleeping Samson, which needs to be aroused and set to work." In fact, there was work enough of a jobbing kind, and it had already become an established part of the press's business, continuing after the transfer of the Syria mission to the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions in 1870. The press celebrated its centenary (counting the Malta years) in 1922.

*Languages and types.* The Arabic type from Malta was considered unsatisfactory, and after some other plans to replace it had fallen through, Smith took drawings to Homan Hallock in Smyrna, who made punches for a new font. Matrices were made and type cast by Tauchnitz in Leipzig, and it came with Hurter to Beirut in 1841. The type was said to have a special groove for the insertion of vowel-points, obviating the need to set them on a separate line above the letters and preventing them from shifting during a print-run.<sup>20</sup> The New Testament with vowels, supposed to imitate the look of the Qur'an, was printed in 1862/63. Hallock supplied three more Arabic fonts, in 1849/50, 1853 and 1858. Mention should also be made of some parts of the New Testament in raised letters for the blind, issued beginning in ca. 1862.<sup>21</sup>

### References

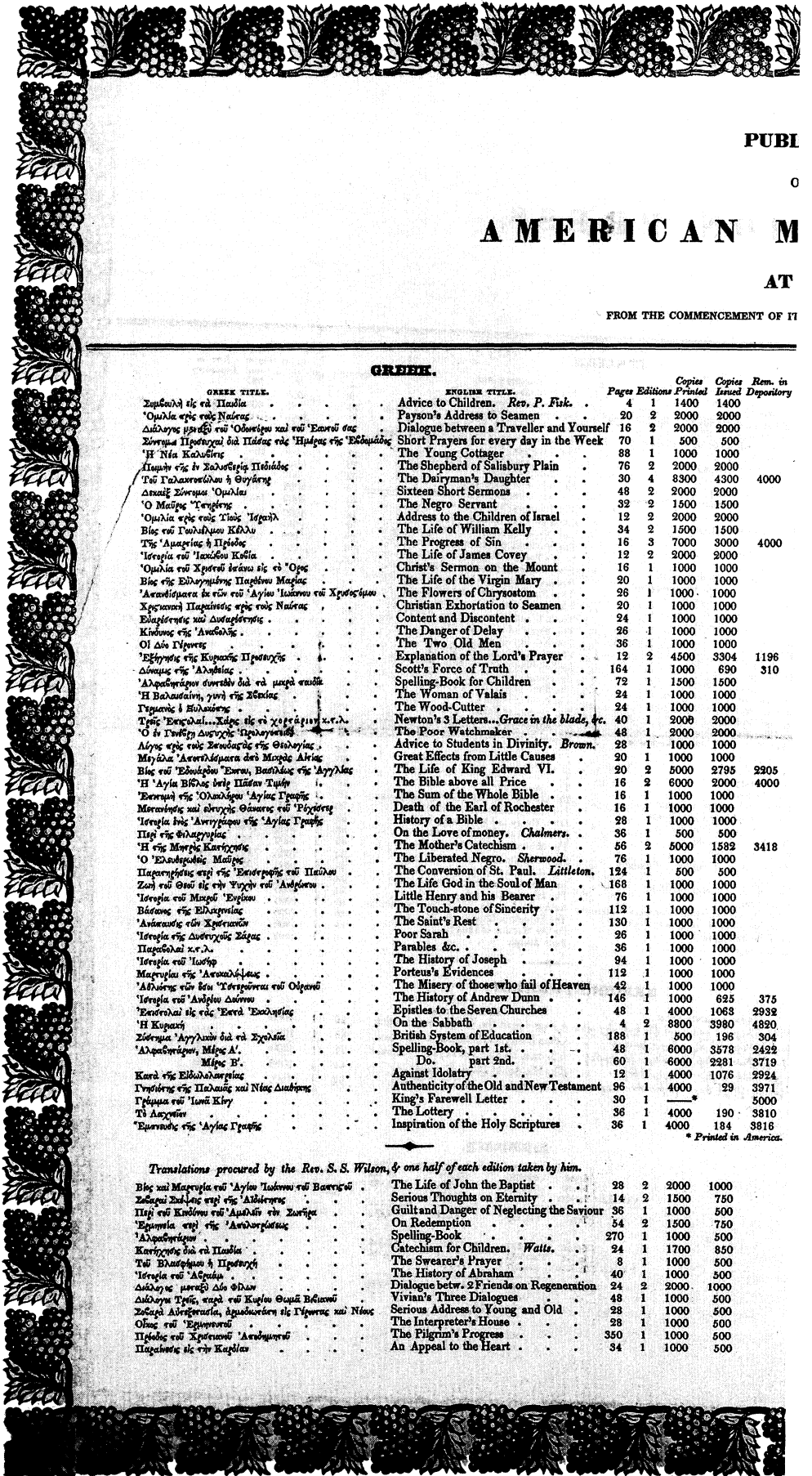
- Missionary Herald* 40 (1844): 170-72 (specimen of Hallock's Arabic).  
 Anderson, *Oriental churches*, specif. 2: 503-14.  
*Minutes of the special meeting of the Syrian Mission, held in September and October, 1855, on occasion of the visit of one of the secretaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Boston, 1856).  
 Thomas Laurie, *Historical sketch of the Syria Mission* (Boston, 1866).  
 A. L. Tibawi, *American interests in Syria 1800-1901* (Oxford, 1966).  
 G. Roper, in this volume.

<sup>20</sup> Report 1844: 135.

<sup>21</sup> The Houghton Library copy of John (\*42-5888) says "Printed in Beirut 1862" on the flyleaf, but it seems

more likely that the sheets were sent from England and only the Arabic letters in the key to the alphabet were added in Beirut.





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# AMERICAN M

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FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF IT

### GREEK.

GREEK TITLE.	ENGLISH TITLE.	Pages	Editions Printed	Copies Issued	Rem. in Depository
Συμβολὴ εἰς τὰ Παιδιά	Advice to Children. <i>Rev. P. Fisk.</i>	4	1	1400	
'Ομιλία εἰς τοὺς Ναύτας	Payson's Address to Seamen	20	2	2000	2000
Διάλογος μεταξὺ τοῦ Ὀδοῦτου καὶ τοῦ Ἑαυτοῦ	Dialogue between a Traveller and Yourself	16	2	2000	2000
Σύντομα Προσευχὰὶ διὰ Πάντος τοῦ Ἡμέρου εἰς τὴν ἑβδομάδα	Short Prayers for every day in the Week	70	1	500	500
'Η Νία Καλλιόπη	The Young Cottager	88	1	1000	1000
Παιδίον εἰς τὴν Σαλιουβέρην Πεδιάδα	The Shepherd of Salisbury Plain	76	2	2000	2000
Τῷ Γαλακτοκόμῳ ἢ Θυγατέρι	The Dairyman's Daughter	30	4	8300	4300
Δεκαεὶ Σύντομα Ὀμιλία	Sixteen Short Sermons	48	2	2000	2000
'Ο Μαύρος Ἰσχυρὸς	The Negro Servant	32	2	1500	1500
'Ομιλία εἰς τοὺς Τριὰς Ἰσραὴλ	Address to the Children of Israel	12	2	2000	2000
Βίος τοῦ Γουλιέλμου Κέλλυ	The Life of William Kelly	34	2	1500	1500
Τῆς Ἀμαρτίας ἢ Πιπέδος	The Progress of Sin	16	3	7000	3000
'Ισχυρία τοῦ Ἰακώβου Κοβία	The Life of James Covey	12	2	2000	2000
'Ομιλία τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπάνω εἰς τὸ Ὄρος	Christ's Sermon on the Mount	16	1	1000	1000
Βίος τοῦ Ἐδωγμένηου Παρθένου Μαρίας	The Life of the Virgin Mary	20	1	1000	1000
'Αποκρίματα ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου	The Flowers of Chrysostom	26	1	1000	1000
Χριστιανικὴ Παρηγοσία εἰς τοὺς Ναύτας	Christian Exhortation to Seamen	20	1	1000	1000
Ἐπαρτήσεως καὶ Δυσπαρήσεως	Content and Discontent	24	1	1000	1000
Κίνδυνος τοῦ Ἀναβολῆς	The Danger of Delay	26	1	1000	1000
Οἱ Δύο Γέροντες	The Two Old Men	36	1	1000	1000
'Εξήγησις τοῦ Κυριακοῦ Προσευχῆ	Explanation of the Lord's Prayer	12	2	4500	3304
Δόγμα τοῦ Ἀδελφίου	Scott's Force of Truth	164	1	1000	690
'Αλφαριθμητικὸν ἀριθμῶν διὰ τὸ μὲν ἀριθμῶν	Spelling-Book for Children	72	1	1500	1500
'Η Βαλσαβίτη, γυνὴ τοῦ Σβόλια	The Woman of Valais	24	1	1000	1000
Γερμανὸς ἢ Βουλγαρὸς	The Wood-Cutter	24	1	1000	1000
Τρεῖς Ἐπιστολαὶ... Κατὰ τὴν ἐκ Χριστοῦ κ.τ.λ.	Newton's 3 Letters... Grace in the blade, &c.	40	1	2000	2000
'Ο ἐν Γουβερνῶν Δουκὸς Πρωτογενεὺς	The Poor Watchmaker	48	1	2000	2000
Ἄγιος εἰς τοὺς Σπουδαστὰς τοῦ Θεολογίου	Advice to Students in Divinity. <i>Brown.</i>	28	1	1000	1000
Μεγάλα Ἀποκρίματα ἀπὸ Μαρίας Ἀλίας	Great Effects from Little Causes	20	1	1000	1000
Βίος τοῦ Ἐδωγμένου Ἐντου, Βασιλέως τοῦ Ἀγγλίας	The Life of King Edward VI.	20	2	5000	2795
'Η Ἁγία Βίβλος διὰ Πάντα Τμήρη	The Bible above all Price	16	2	6000	2000
'Ἐσθλα τοῦ Ὀλοῦτου Ἁγίου Γραφῆ	The Sum of the Whole Bible	16	1	1000	1000
Μετανοητικὸν καὶ ἀνευχρὸν θάνατον τοῦ Ρόχστερ	Death of the Earl of Rochester	16	1	1000	1000
'Ιστορία τοῦ Ἀντιγράφου τοῦ Ἁγίου Γραφῆ	History of a Bible	28	1	1000	1000
Περὶ τοῦ Φιλαργίου	On the Love of money. <i>Chalmers.</i>	36	1	500	500
'Η εἰς Μαρίας Καθηγήτριας	The Mother's Catechism	76	2	5000	1582
'Ο Ἐλευθεροῦ Μοῦρης	The Liberated Negro. <i>Sturwood.</i>	76	1	1000	1000
Παρασημῆσις ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἐπιστολέου τοῦ Πάππου	The Conversion of St. Paul. <i>Littleton.</i>	124	1	500	500
Ζωὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν τῷ Ψυχῷ τοῦ Ἀνθρώπου	The Life God in the Soul of Man	168	1	1000	1000
'Ιστορία τοῦ Μαρτίνου Βυβίου	Little Henry and his Bear	76	1	1000	1000
Βίαιος τοῦ Ἐδωγμένου	The Touch-stone of Sincerity	112	1	1000	1000
'Αναμνητικὸν τῶν Χριστιανῶν	The Saint's Rest	130	1	1000	1000
'Ιστορία τοῦ Δουλοῦτοῦ Σάρας	Poor Sarah	96	1	1000	1000
Παραβολαὶ κ.τ.λ.	Parables &c.	35	1	1000	1000
'Ιστορία τοῦ Ἰωσήφ	The History of Joseph	94	1	1000	1000
Μαρτυρία τοῦ Ἀποστόλου Παύλου	Porteus's Evidences	112	1	1000	1000
'Αδελφὸς τῶν ἑνὸς Ἰσχυρῶν τοῦ Οὐρανοῦ	The Misery of those who fall of Heaven	42	1	1000	1000
'Ιστορία τοῦ Ἀνδρέου Δύνου	The History of Andrew Dunn	146	1	1000	625
'Ἐπιστολαὶ εἰς τὰς ἑπτὰ Ἐκκλησίας	Epistles to the Seven Churches	48	1	4000	1063
'Η Κυριακὴ	On the Sabbath	4	2	8800	3980
Σύστημα Ἀγγλικῶν διὰ τὸ Σχολεῖον	British System of Education	188	1	500	196
'Αλφαριθμητικὸν, μέρος Α'	Spelling-Book, part 1st.	48	1	6000	3578
Μέρος Β'	Do. part 2nd.	60	1	6000	2281
Ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἐιδωλολατρίας	Against Idolatry	12	1	4000	1076
Ἰσχυρία τοῦ Παλαιῦ καὶ Νέου Διαθήκης	Authenticity of the Old and New Testament	96	1	4000	29
Γράμμα τοῦ Ἰωάννου Κλη	King's Farewell Letter	30	1	*	5000
Τὸ Λοττῆριον	The Lottery	38	1	4000	190
'Ἐμπνετικὸν τοῦ Ἁγίου Γραφῆ	Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures	36	1	4000	184

\* Printed in America.

### Translations procured by the Rev. S. S. Wilson, & one half of each edition taken by him.

Βίος καὶ Μαρτυρία τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Βαπτιστοῦ	The Life of John the Baptist	28	2	2000	1000
Σοβαρὰ Σκέψεις ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀιδιότητος	Serious Thoughts on Eternity	14	2	1800	750
Περὶ τοῦ Κινδύνου τοῦ Ἀμάρταν ἐν Σωτήρι	Guilt and Danger of Neglecting the Saviour	36	1	1000	500
'Ἐρωτητὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀποστόλου	On Redemption	54	2	1500	750
'Αλφαριθμητικὸν	Spelling-Book	270	1	1000	500
Καθηγήτρια διὰ τὰ Παιδιά	Catechism for Children. <i>Watts.</i>	24	1	1700	850
Τῷ Βλασφῆμῳ ἢ Προσευχῇ	The Swearer's Prayer	3	1	1000	500
'Ιστορία τοῦ Ἀβραάμ	The History of Abraham	40	1	1000	500
Διάλογος μεταξὺ τῶν φίλων	Dialogue betw. 2 Friends on Regeneration	24	2	2000	1000
Διάλογος τρεῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου Θεοῦ Βιβίου	Vivian's Three Dialogues	48	1	1000	500
Σοβαρὴ Ἀποκρίματα, ἀπευθυνόμενα εἰς Ἰουνοὺς καὶ Νέους	Serious Address to Young and Old	28	1	1000	500
Ὁμοίαν τοῦ Ἐρωτητοῦ	The Interpreter's House	28	1	1000	500
Πρόβος τοῦ Σπυριδίου Ἀποστόλου	The Pilgrim's Progress	350	1	1000	500
Παρεκκλήσις εἰς τὸν Καρδίαν	An Appeal to the Heart	34	1	1000	500

Homan Hallock's list of publications (Malta, 1828), with an ornamental border not typical of products of the ABCFM press. This list also shows the beginning of printing in Malta in the Armenian character. (Reduced from 20% x 23/4".)

MISSIONS

MISSION PRESS,

ATA;

MISSIONS, JULY 1822, TO DEC. 31, 1828.

ITALIAN.

ITALIAN TITLE.	ENGLISH TITLE.	Pages	Editions	Copies Printed	Copies Issued	Rem. in Depository
Domenica e Consigli	The Sabbath Questions and Counsel. <i>Green.</i>	4	1	600	500	
Pregliere per Ogni Giorno della Settimana	Short Prayers for Every Day in the Week	66	1	600	408	92
Discorso ai Marinari	Payson's Address to Seamen	12	3	3000	1027	1973
Dialogo tra un Viandante ed un Contadino	Dialogue between a Traveller and Yourself	12	1	600	500	
Progresso del Peccato	The Progress of Sin	16	1	600	500	
arie Riflessioni sull' Eternità	Serious Thoughts on Eternity	12	1	1000	1000	
Contadinella	The Young Cottager	73	1	1000	947	53
Vita di Guglielmo Kelly	The Life of William Kelly	32	1	600	404	96
Dialogo fra Due Marinari dopo una Tempesta	Dialogue between 2 Mariners after a Tempest	18	1	1000	1000	
Figlia del Lattajo	The Dairyman's Daughter	32	3	3000	1853	1147
Esortazione cristiana ai Marinai	Christian Exhortation to Seamen	16	1	1000	1000	
Servo Moro	The Negro Servant	32	2	2000	1630	370
Pastore della Pianura di Salisbury	The Shepherd of Salisbury Plain	28	1	1000	1000	
Forza della Verità	Scott's Force of Truth	116	1	1000	632	368
Discorso dirizzato ai Figliuoli d' Israele	Discourse for the Children of Israel	20	2	2000	1660	440
Dialogo tra due Amici sulla Rigenerazione	Dialogue between 2 Friends on Regeneration	20	1	600	600	
Vita di San Giovanni Battista	The Life of John the Baptist	12	1	1000	910	90
Vita della Vergine Maria	The Life of the Virgin Mary	12	1	2000	1856	134
Vita e gli Scritti di San Pietro	The Life and Writings of St. Peter	44	1	2000	1740	260
Vita di Andrea Dunn	The Story of Andrew Dunn	80	1	1000	850	150
Il Papismo	The Novelty of Popery	32	2	3000	2674	326
Sermone di Cristo sul Monte	Christ's Sermon on the Mount	13	2	2500	2330	170
Metodo co' Deisti	Lealie's Short Method with Deists	24	1	2000	1673	327
Discorso ai Figliuoli d' Israele	Address to the Children of Israel	8	1	2000	1950	50
Summa dell' intera Bibbia Santa	The Sum of the Whole Bible	8	1	1600	1182	318
La Bibbia apprezzabile più di ogni cosa	The Bible above all Price	24	2	3000	1691	1309
Donna del Valais	The Woman of Valais	16	2	2000	1005	995
Il Boscaiolo	The Wood-cutter	12	2	2000	727	1273
Penitenza e Morte del Conte di Rochester	Repentance and Death of the Earl of Rochester	8	2	3000	1663	1337
Povero Orinolojo	The Poor Watchmaker	24	2	3000	1696	1404
Discorso per gli Ebrei	Catechism for the Jews	60	1	1000	1000	
Uomini Vecchj	The Two Old Men	24	2	2000	614	1386
Fine del Tempo	The End of Time	20	1	1000	1000	
Martirio di Tommaso Cranmer	The Life and Martyrdom of Thomas Cranmer	32	1	1000	626	374
Vita di Dio nell' Anima dell' Uomo	The Life of God in the Soul of Man	78	1	1000	370	630
Vita di Enrico e del suo Latore	Little Henry and his Bearer	62	3	2000	440	1660
Profezia che il Messia è venuto	Proofs that the Messiah is come	48	1	1000	1000	
Madre	The Mother's Catechism	42	1	1000	555	445
Origine della Rivelazione Cristiana	Forteus's Evidences	96	1	1000	300	700
Negro Liberato	The Recaptured Negro	48	1	1000	351	649
Inspirazione della Santa Scrittura	Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures	24	1	2000	1493	507
Vita di Giuseppe	The History of Joseph	64	1	1000	242	758
Verità del Nuovo e Vecchio Testamento	Authenticity of the Old & New Testament	60	1	2000	691	1309
Domenica una felicità pel Genere Umano	The Sabbath a Blessing to Mankind	28	1	1000	1000	
Culto delle Immagini	On the Worship of Images	28	1	1000	18	982
Povero Giuseppe	Poor Joseph	8	1	1000	14	986

ARMENO-TURKISH.

ARMENO-TURKISH TITLE.	ENGLISH TITLE.	Pages	Editions	Copies Printed	Copies Issued	Rem. in Depository
Երկու սրտերու միտքն էս էլի շէյ տիր	A New Heart the Child's best Portion	20	1	1000	1000	
Նախք շէյի զէն շարաւից նարիկ	Little Henry and his Bearer. <i>Sherwood.</i>	68	1	1000	1000	
Մեր վարդ Վասականի Տառնքն իւղիւրիսէ	A Sermon on the Lord's Prayer. <i>Burder.</i>	24	1	1000	1000	
Եւ Տալանիսի զղբն նարիկեկիսի	The History of Dinah Doudney	44	1	1000	1000	
Մաշա զէն կեցի եւլ Քրիստոս տուր	Christ the way to God and Heaven	24	1	1000	1000	

Summary.

	Printed	In the Depository	Issued
COPIES	Greek 136,350	55,222	88,128
	Italian 70,500	23,968	46,532
	Turkish 6,000	5,000	
	Total 211,850	84,190	134,660
PAGES	Greek 5,690,200	2,000,854	3,739,346
	Italian 2,082,000	787,282	1,294,718
	Turkish 180,000	180,000	
	Total 7,852,200	2,968,136	5,034,064

## URMIA, IRAN, 1841-1870

The "Mission to the Nestorians" was established in Urmia in northwestern Persia in 1833 by Justin Perkins, who remained as head until the eve of its transfer to the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions in 1870. By 1836 Perkins had got a spelling system for the vernacular ("neo-Aramaic" or "modern Syriac") using the classical Syriac script, and he was eager to begin printing. However, it was only in 1840 that the Board was able to send a printer. This was Edward Breath, who arrived in November and set up his hand press at once. The first productions were tracts in the modern language and an edition of the liturgical Psalter (a rare case in which the ABCFM printed a non-Protestant ecclesiastical book) in 1841. Longer works, which had to await improvements in the Syriac type (see below), followed. The largest was the Old Testament in parallel columns of ancient and modern Syriac, a weighty volume of 1051 pages, in 1852. In 1859 Breath wished to bring his family back to the United States, leaving the press in charge of the local men whom he had trained. This plan was in keeping with the Board's policy, but doubtless because of his value to the mission in other ways he was persuaded by Anderson to stay. He died of cholera two years later. The press continued under the general direction of Perkins, assisted by other clergy, and its day-to-day operation was unaffected by the transfer of the mission to the Presbyterian Board. New machinery increased production, and the Presbyterian Board report for 1914 counted 148 million pages printed "since the beginning." Printing came to an end with the Christian evacuation of Urmia in 1918.

*Languages and types.* Breath printed at first with type from Watts of London, but the size of the letters was too large for any lengthy text. A font made by Homan Hallock (see Smyrna), which was intended to save space by having vowel-points cast on, was a failure, and appeared in only one book (1843). Breath then embarked on punchcutting and typefounding himself, with remarkable success. With his assistants he was responsible for thirteen different Syriac fonts in the years 1844-61. The last of these was only long primer in size including vowels. No languages other than ancient and modern Syriac were printed until 1869/70 when a Turkish hymnal in Syriac characters was reported. Turkish (i.e., Ottoman Arabic) type was eventually acquired in 1880/81.

*References*

J. F. Coakley, "Edward Breath and the typography of Syriac," *Harvard Library Bulletin* N.S. 6:4 (1995): 41-64.

## BOMBAY, 1817-1859

The missionaries in Bombay acquired a press from Calcutta in December 1816, and the Rev. Horatio Bardwell came from Ceylon in November to take charge of it. The first publication (and the first of any ABCFM mission press), a tract of eight pages in Marathi, was struck off in March 1817. From that time until the 1850s the work of printing was given a high priority. The whole New Testament in Marathi was published in 1826, and the Old Testament in 1847. A biweekly Marathi paper, *Dnyanodaya* ("rise of knowledge"), started in 1843. After the departure of Bardwell in 1821, the press was managed by a succession of lay printers: James Garrett (1821-31), William C. Sampson (1833-35), and Elijah A. Webster (1835-42). Thereafter, one or another of the clergy was in charge,

although the press was actually managed by a local employee not on the Board's payroll, Thomas Graham. (The name Cursetjee Burjorjee also appears after Graham's on some title pages of 1835-36.) By 1855/56 the printing office was "one of the most complete establishments in Western India," although it had only hand presses. There were seven of these and one lithographic press, and the whole office including the foundry and bindery employed "not far from 125 workmen, of whom about one half are boys." (It was said that only eight were baptized Christians.) The press took in jobbing work, much of it in English, for outside bodies, and ran at a considerable profit. However, the Board was never happy that its ordained missionaries should be managing a printing business. Secretary Anderson led a deputation to India in 1854 to consider the whole future working of the missions there, and the next year, following its decision, the English side of the printing office was sold to Graham for \$6,000. The Deputation thought that the mission could not yet give up the vernacular side of the printing work, but this business too was sold off in 1858. By this time the press had printed some 130 million pages.

In 1875 Dr. Henry J. Bruce brought a small press to his station at Satara (120 miles southeast of Bombay), and with his children printed tracts and Sunday-school literature. He also printed some books, including his own *Anatomy, human and comparative* (1877/78), apparently all in Marathi. The "Columbian Press" became a bigger concern after Bruce returned from the United States in 1889 with a more powerful press and a larger stock of type and ornaments. A printed list of the tracts issued from 1890 to 1899<sup>22</sup> shows 125 different titles and a total for the nine years of 5,629,218 pages. The press was wound up in 1906 on account of Bruce's failing health.

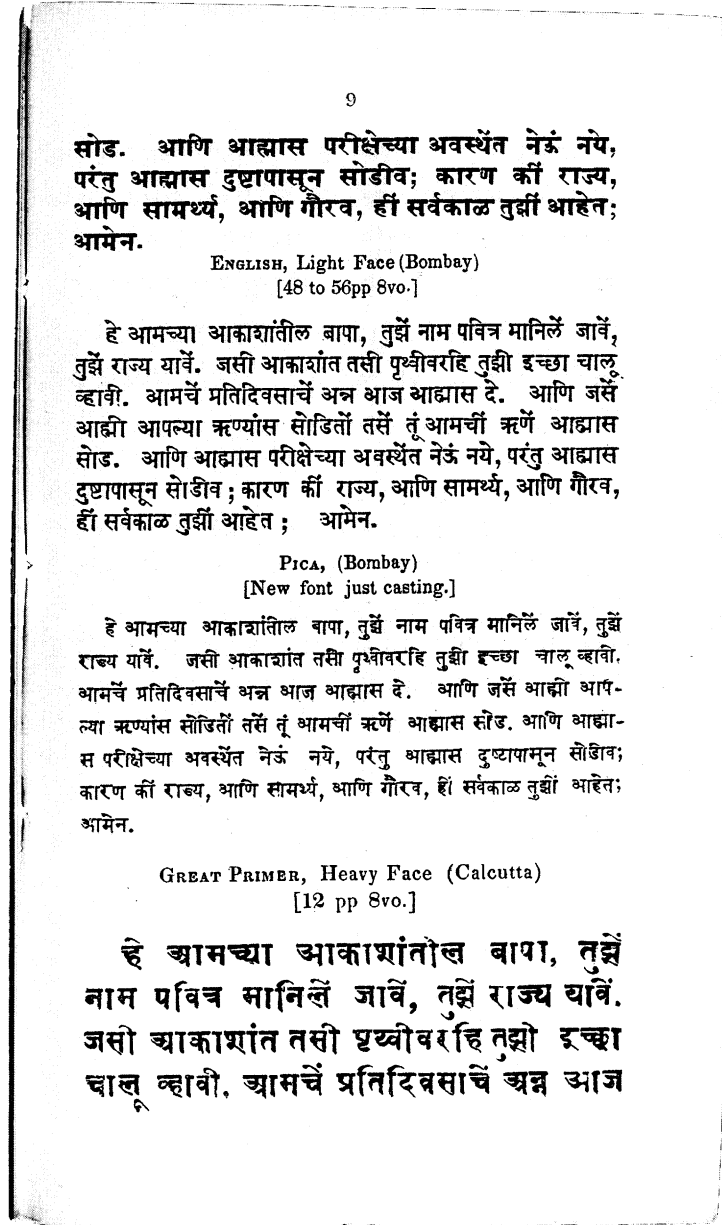
*Languages and types.* The majority of printing at Bombay was in the Marathi language. For this, the mission got its first types, in the Devanagari script, from Calcutta, but in 1835 Webster brought with him typefounding equipment. Thomas Graham took up punchcutting and in 1841 he produced an especially useful font of pica Devanagari that allowed the whole Bible to be printed in one volume. He added Zend in 1842.<sup>23</sup> For the Modi script, the other in which Marathi is written, the press used at first its lithographic press acquired in 1830, and later type of its own making. In 1855/56 the press reported that besides English and Zend, it had matrices for seven different fonts of Marathi in the Devanagari character and one in the Modi character, and three of Gujurati. There was also Arabic type for printing in "Hindustani" (Urdu).

### References

- Missionary Herald* 39 (October 1843): 402-3 (specimen of Marathi, Gujurati and Zend types).  
 R. Anderson, *History of the missions of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in India* (Boston, 1874), esp. 419-22.  
*Minutes of the general meeting of the American missions of the Bombay Presidency ... December, 1854* (Bombay, 1855), specif. 22-3 (details of the types on hand), 99-104 (list of books and tracts).  
 William Hazen, *A century in India. A history of the Marathi Mission ... from 1813 to 1913* (Bombay, 1913).

<sup>22</sup> This is among the most recently deposited items in Houghton Library. It will have an accession number beginning \*98Miss.

<sup>23</sup> ABC 16.1.1 vol. 8 no. 22, a specimen of the Zend dated 21 Mar. 1842.



*Leaf from Specimen of types in the American Mission Press in July, M,DCCC,XLI, showing the small Devanagari of Thomas Graham as "just casting."*

MANEPY, CEYLON, 1834-1855

The Ceylon mission, located on the Jaffna peninsula in the north of the island, was founded in 1816. Printing was envisaged from the first. In 1819/20 a press was actually supplied from Boston, with Tamil types from Calcutta, and a printer James Garrett arrived in August 1820. The British governor refused permission for any enlargement of the American mission, however, and Garrett had to retreat to Bombay. A second press, the gift of a man from Connecticut, arrived in 1826/27, but in the absence of a printer, it was lent to the Church Missionary Society mission at Nellore (Nallur). In 1832 under a new British governor the restrictions on the mission were lifted, and the next year a printer Eastman Strong Minor embarked with his wife, bringing another printing outfit. The two presses were installed at Manepy (Manipay) and began work on 31 January 1834. The growth of the operation was rapid. By 1835/36 there were three presses and a bindery, employing twenty local people; by 1839/40 there were four presses and seventy people working in two shifts. The 1840 Report observed:

The persons employed are mostly virralas, men of high caste and high notions. If we had formerly put such tools into their hands as they now use, they would have been alarmed lest it was our intention to degrade them to the carpenter, or shoemaker's caste. But as no one had ever heard of losing caste by attending to the printing business, young men of education and good standing in society are quite ready to enlist in the service.

From 1836 to 1842 more than 10 million pages were printed annually. The semi-monthly magazine the *Morning Star*, in English and Tamil, was started in 1841. A *manual dictionary of the Tamil language* (771 pp.) was issued in 1842. Minor was succeeded in 1849/50 by another printer, Thomas S. Burnell. The press was less active in its last decade, producing about 6 million pages each year, and shrinking to a work force of 44 in 1854/55. The Deputation of 1855, concerned "to disencumber, as much as possible, our mission operations from unnecessary machinery," recommended that the printing office and bindery be sold off to the local managers. The printing office was sold for £400 and became the "Strong and Asbury Press." Burnell joined the Madura mission in India, not as a printer. The press had printed 171 million pages in its twenty-one years.

In 1886, Thomas S. Smith introduced a printing department into the mission's industrial school at Tellippalai. In 1903 the Board re-purchased the Strong and Asbury Press, then a failing concern, and consolidated it with the press at Tellippalai. It was removed back to Manipay in 1956 as the American Ceylon Mission Press.

*Languages and types.* All printing was in Tamil and English. In 1843/44 there were four fonts of Tamil, all acquired from Calcutta or Madras.

#### *References*

*Minutes of the special meeting of the Ceylon Mission held April and May 1855 . . .* (Madras, 1855), specif. 75-80.  
Anderson, *Missions in India*, esp. 426-30 (list of publications).  
"The company of them that publish": a brief history of the American Ceylon Mission Press (Manipay, 1956), 16 pp.

#### MADRAS, 1838-1866

The Madras mission was begun in 1836, principally as a printing and publishing enterprise to serve all the Tamil missions. In June 1838 the first missionaries, Miron Winslow and John Scudder, bought an entire printing office from the Church Missionary Society, located within the walled city. (Its location is given in later reports as 167 Popham's Broadway.) The equipment consisted of eight presses and a lithographic press, plus a foundry and bindery. A printer, Phineas R. Hunt, arrived with his wife in March 1840. The printing of the Bible and of tracts had already started, and under Hunt it became a large business. In 1840 the output was 11.6 million pages, all paid for by outside customers. In 1841 there was a workforce of 65 under an English manager, and the operation made a profit of \$3,107. The workmen had daily prayers, and "all of them abstain from intoxicating drinks" (1845/46). In two peak years, the output reached 26.9 million (1845) and 27.8 million pages (1853). Winslow's version of the whole Bible in Tamil was issued in November 1850. A large Tamil-English dictionary, a project begun by the CMS in Ceylon, taken over by the ABCFM in 1842/3, and given to Winslow in 1850, was finally issued in 1862.

**Bishop Corrie's Grammar School, 1841.**

**Second Class.**

**Teloogoo.**

1. How many declensions of regular దేశ్యము nouns are there in Teloogoo, and what class of nouns does each declension include ?
2. Decline అల్లుడు పెండ్లాము and కప్ప.
3. What is the inflexion case singular of ఇల్లు అప్పుడు నేడు, పగలు, and రేపు ?
4. State what is the distinction between చునము and నుము.
5. Decline వాడు and అది.
6. Translate వినపొయిరాజు శిశువతియనుపురంబున యశకేతుండను రాజుగలడు అతండు దేవతా పూజాభక్తిగలవాడై చారకారాలను పఠించి అన్ని దేశాలను చూచారములు తెచ్చి స్తున్న తన పద్దకాలి చేవాండ్లను మహా క్రీతిగా విచారిస్తున్న జీతగాండ్లకు నెల నెలకు నీతాలుయి స్తున్న తామనేతే ఆలోచన తన రాజ్యమునై లునె న్నిపోకుండా మిరహితజనులతో నాలోచన చేస్తున్న తన దేశములో పుండే వారికి తాను యిచ్చినకాలు తప్పకుండా నడిపిస్తున్న న మనమున వారున్న యిటువంటి రాజు డే దేశంబులో నైనా పున్నాడా అని ప్రశ్నము చేశేటట్లుగా భర్తము విరువక రాజ్యము చేస్తూవుండెన

Also translate into Teloogoo as much as you can of the following story.

One dark night, a blind man, having taken a lamp in his hand, and an earthen jar on his shoulders, went into the market place. Somebody said to him, "you blockhead, day and night are the same in your eyes; of what use can a lamp be to you?" The blind man laughing, replied, "this lamp is not intended for my own use, but for your's, in order that in this dark night you may not break my jar."

*A sample from the 1841 specimen book of jobbing work issued by the press in Madras. At this date, the press was still using the Telugu types inherited from the previous British proprietors.*

The mission was always too small to stake out missionary territory of its own, and by the 1850s the station was doing most of its work for British societies operating in the area. The government press was also luring away the skilled printers of English with higher pay. All this suggested that at least the English side of the printing office should be sold, and this was done following the Deputation's directions in 1856. The press continued, under Hunt, who reported enthusiastically about the concentration on Indian-language work. It acquired a power press from the United States in 1857, and the output of pages remained at between 14 and 22 million per year. After Winslow died in 1864, leaving the Hunts alone in the station, it was decided to close it, and in 1866 the printing plant was sold to a British church society, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. After twenty-six years in India, Hunt accepted an invitation to become the printer at the new Peking mission.

*Languages and types.* The press started with type for English, Tamil (7 sizes), and Telugu (2 sizes), and soon added a font of Urdu. In the years from 1848 on, Hunt employed local craftsmen to make punches for Tamil and Telugu. At the beginning of 1853 he reported the following fonts of type, all with punches and matrices: Tamil (english-size, pica no. 1 and no. 2, small pica, brevier), and Telugu (small pica on great primer, long primer on english), with larger sizes in preparation.<sup>24</sup> All these were locally made except the smallest (brevier) Tamil, which was

24 ABC 16.1.13 vol. 3 no. 27.

the work of Homan Hallock (see Smyrna). The improvements in typography were noted and commended in the reports for 1859-61.

### References

Anderson, *Missions in India*, esp. 430-4 (list of publications).

*Proceedings, in July 1855, on occasion of the visit of a deputation from the Prudential Committee ... to the Madras mission* (Calcutta, 1855), 19 pp.

### SOUTH CHINA, 1832-1856

Elijah C. Bridgman, the first missionary of the ABCFM in China, settled in Canton and began to print in May 1832, using a hand press and other equipment donated by a church in New York City and types belonging to the British East India Company. Among his first efforts was the English-language periodical the *Chinese Repository*, which appeared continuously until wound up in 1851. The mission also printed Chinese tracts from wood blocks, and a block printer called Leang A-fa was said to be its first convert.<sup>25</sup> S. Wells Williams, of Utica, N.Y., arrived to take over the “Anglo-Chinese press” (as the typographical printing was called) in October 1833. In December 1835, as a result of a government prohibition on Christian printing, it was decided to remove the Anglo-Chinese press to Macao, and the “Chinese press” (that is, the block printing) to Singapore. In Macao, Williams oversaw an office with three compositors, one Portuguese, one Chinese, and one Japanese, who could not converse with one another. After the Treaty of Nanking in August 1842, Hong Kong was opened to missionaries, and the press was removed to a new stone building there, ca. 1844. In that year, the British government made over the East India Company types to the mission, in exchange for the press’s agreement to do official printing. However, “the influence of the colony proved detrimental”<sup>26</sup> and the press moved back to Canton in the summer of 1845. Williams, absent in the United States since 1844, took up his work again in 1848; but he found himself increasingly on the defensive against the Prudential Committee and its policy of closing printing offices, especially ones such as the Anglo-Chinese press that produced mainly secular items like the *Chinese Repository* and works of philology. (The Chinese press, which published tracts and scriptures, and was managed by another missionary Dyer Ball, was evidently not touched by this policy.) By 1856, when Williams published his own *Tonic dictionary of the Canton dialect*, it had been all but decided that the press should be sold off, Williams himself being the most likely buyer. However, the events of the Second Opium War supervened: on 14 December 1856 the foreign enclave in Canton was burned down and the printing office destroyed. Williams estimated the loss of equipment and stock at \$20,000. Williams took the post he had been previously offered as secretary to the American legation in China, and left the service of the ABCFM.

*Languages and types.* The Anglo-Chinese press did some printing from stereotype plates made from wood blocks, and in 1852 there is mention of an experiment in romanization. Otherwise, all its Chinese printing was from characters in movable metal type.

<sup>25</sup> On this important Chinese Christian and later writer of tracts see A. Wylie, *Memorials of Protestant missionaries to* *the Chinese* (Shanghai, 1867), 21-25.

<sup>26</sup> Williams, *Life and letters*, 144 n.



33. Desist. Must.  
The will.

When the hooked line is horizontal, there is no danger of its being too much bent.

34. Chief. Throw.  
Diligence.

In these where the hook is extended, it should compass the part on its side.

35. Heaven. Father.  
Letters.

In such characters as have the sweep and dash placed across each other, and attached to a part above, they must be exactly in the middle.

## 36. Horse. Rest. Being or doing.

In characters of this form—resembling horse's teeth, the point of the hook should shoot up towards the middle of the four dots.

## 37. To adjust. Conversation. Millet.

When the dash is repeated, it should vary, being now contracted, and now extended.

38. Clear. Already.  
Wilderness.

Characters, having a level top, should have their upper parts even.

39. Morning. Time.  
After.

息必志

橫戈不厭曲

魁拋勉

伸勾貴抱持

天父文

承上之義正中  
爲貴

馬馬為

馬齒法其拏勾  
之鋒宜注射四  
點之半

爨談黍

重捺者須有縮  
有伸

明既野

上平之字宜齊  
首

朝辰後

Sik., Pít. Chí.

¿Wáng ¿kwó pat' ím' h'uk.

¿Fuí. ¿P'au. ¿Mín.

¿Shan ¿kau kwai' ¿p'ò ¿chí.

¿T'ín. Fú'. ¿Man.

¿Shing shéung' ¿chí ¿chá  
¿ching' ¿chung ¿wai kwai'.

¿Má. ¿Í'n. ¿Wai.

¿Má 'ch'í fát, ¿k'í ¿ná ¿kau  
¿chí ¿fung, ¿í chü' shé' sz'  
'ím chí pún'.

Sít. ¿T'ám. ¿Shü.

¿Ch'ung ná, 'ché, ¿sü 'yau  
shuk, 'yau ¿shan.

¿Ming. Kí'. 'Yé.

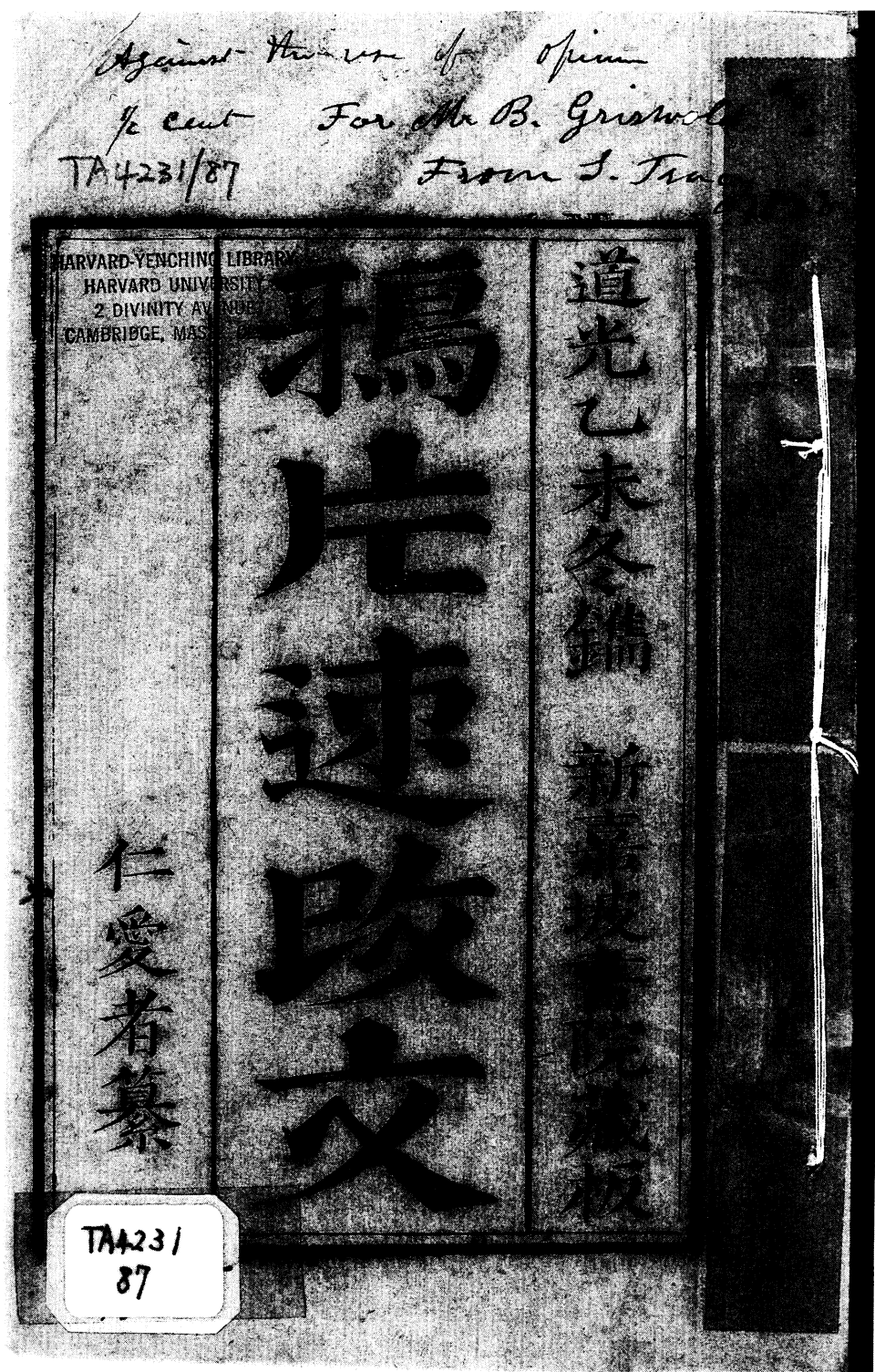
Shéung' ¿p'ing chí tsz', ¿í  
¿ts'ai 'shau.

¿Chíu. ¿Shan. Hau'.

33. In these examples the hook is called a 'horizontal spear,' from its resemblance to a spear, thrown down in a horizontal position.

The two different ABCFM printing enterprises in South China—although both these examples come from outside China, in the years of exile from 1835 until the country was reopened to missionaries in 1842:

a. The "Anglo-Chinese Press": E. C. Bridgman, Chinese chrestomathy in the Canton dialect, printed by S. Wells Williams at Macao, 1841, using the two sizes of type belonging to the East India Company.



b. The "Chinese Press": Ira Tracy, Incentives to abandon opium, composed with the aid of Leang A-fa and printed by xylography in Singapore in 1835.

The East India Company type was in two sizes, the smaller of which Williams used constantly and added to. He also had a font of Samuel Dyer's Chinese,<sup>27</sup> and in 1856 a font of a smaller (3-line diamond) size, made by Dyer's successor Richard Cole, was on order from the London Missionary Society's foundry in Hong Kong. A joint venture with the Presbyterian mission to have matrices made by the firm of Beyerhaus in Berlin was abortive. In Williams's list of property lost in the fire<sup>28</sup> there also appear fonts of Manchu and Japanese, "never used to any extent."

### References

Frederick Wells Williams, *Life and letters of Samuel Wells Williams, LL.D.* (New York, 1889), specif. 110 (description of the printing office), 244-45 (list of publications).

### SINGAPORE, 1834-1843

The Singapore printing office, with two hand presses, was bought in May 1834 for \$1,500 from an English clergyman C. H. Thomsen who had previously printed for the London Missionary Society. (There was later some doubt about his title to it.) After the transfer to the ABCFM, some printing was done in Thai as well as Malay and Bugis by J. T. Jones, a Baptist mission printer who stayed in Singapore during 1835. The press was also occupied during 1834-37 in printing an English book *Notices of the Indian Archipelago* for its author J. H. Moor. In 1835 the Chinese xylographic printing operation was transferred from Canton to Singapore. For the year, 2 million pages were reported as printed, but of these, 1.9 million were Chinese. In 1836/37 the Chinese printing employed eleven block-cutters, a copyist, and eight or ten printers; but it was separate from the typographic establishment.

In acquiring the Singapore press, the Board had ideas of setting up a mechanized establishment to serve the whole region. They sent a printer, Alfred North, who arrived at the beginning of 1836, bringing materials for typesetting and stereotyping. Once there, however, North advised against any more expansion: there were neither enough texts to print, nor enough readers, in the local languages. North then found occupation as the station treasurer and as a teacher, and also in the typefoundry. Apart from the Gospel of John and two tracts in Malay (1838) he seems to have printed only books for outside customers—some of these, however, being of special interest by virtue of his collaboration with the important literary figure of Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir.<sup>29</sup> By 1842 North was winding up the station business, including the Chinese printing, and selling the property. The next year he departed to the Madura mission in India, as a teacher rather than a printer. The press went back to being worked by the LMS.

27 On Dyer see Wylie, *Memorials of Protestant missionaries*, 51-54.

28 ABC 16.3.8 vol. 3 no. 368 (13 Feb. 1857).

29 Of chief importance is the *Sejarah Melayu* (Malay annals), edited by North and Abdullah from six manuscripts. On this book see Proudfoot, *Early Malay printed books*, 464, and Ibrahim bin Ismail, "The printing of the *Sejarah Melayu*." Houghton Library has two copies, not known to either of these scholars at the time of their publications.

Both copies have tipped-in notes from North describing his part in the edition. Also of interest for the relations between North and Abdullah is a note by North on a fly-leaf of Houghton Library MS Indo 23, a copy of Abdullah's autobiography. (This manuscript was also not known to H. F. O'B. Traill, "The 'lost' manuscript of the Hikayat Abdullah 'Munshi'," *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 55:2 (1982): 126-34.)

*Languages and types.* The equipment which came to the mission in 1834 was reported to include types for Malay (i.e., in the Jawi or Arabic character, 2 fonts), Arabic (1), Javanese (2), Thai (1), and Bugis (1). In 1836 North reported matrices for Malay, Bugis, Javanese, and Thai. There were two sets of Thai, cut by Samuel Dyer of the LMS under the direction of Jones. An unnamed Portuguese punchcutter, “carefully instructed” by North, improved the Malay and Thai and added a third font of the latter.<sup>30</sup> In 1836 there was also a font of Chinese type acquired from Dyer.

#### References

- Ibrahim bin Ismail, “The printing of Munshi Abdullah’s edition of the *Sejarah Melayu* in Singapore,” *Kekal Abadi* 5:3 (September 1986): 13-21.  
 I. Proudfoot, *Early Malay printed books* (Kuala Lumpur, 1993), esp. 625 (s.v. North).

#### BANGKOK, 1836-1849

The station was begun in 1831 and re-founded in 1834. The first press (a wooden one with a stone bed) and Thai types arrived from Singapore with Dr. Dan Beach Bradley in July 1835. A single leaf in Thai was reportedly printed by the mission clergy in 1836. This was the first printing in Thailand in the Thai alphabet. The Baptist mission printer J. T. Jones, on his arrival from Singapore, took charge of the office. Two new presses and other equipment arrived in February 1837. A number of tracts and school books were issued, as well as a notable proclamation against the opium trade, printed for the Thai government in 1839. In 1840 the press was taken over by H. S. G. French, a clergyman who had previously trained as a printer and who had learned punchcutting with North in Singapore. Under him were printed a number of separate books of the Bible in Thai. The press also had a foundry and bindery. French died in February 1842 after a long illness. Dr. Bradley was superintendent from 1842 to 1847, and production averaging more than 1 million pages per year in Thai was kept up until 1848. This included some medical treatises by Bradley and a periodical the *Bangkok Recorder* (1844-45). In October 1849 the printing office was sold, with the rest of the ABCFM station, to the American Missionary Association.

*Languages and types.* The press had three fonts of Thai type, all supplied from Singapore. For the Chinese department of the mission, given up in 1846, some books were also reported to have been printed, presumably from blocks.<sup>31</sup>

#### References

- G. B. McFarland, ed., *Historical sketch of Protestant missions in Siam 1828-1928* (Bangkok, 1928), specif. 8, 16-22, 249-50.  
 G. Duverdier, ‘La transmission de l’imprimerie en Thaïlande’, *Bulletin de l’Ecole Française d’Extrême-Orient* 68 (1980): 209-59, specif. 222-24.  
 M. Winship, ‘L’imprimerie thaïlandaise: des origines à 1851’, *Revue française d’histoire du livre* N.S. 43 (1984): 315-29

<sup>30</sup> ABC 18.2.4 vol. 1 nos. 4, 35 (8 Feb.1838).

<sup>31</sup> Report 1843: 133.



The longest-serving and by far the most productive of ABCFM printers, Phineas R. Hunt, who managed the presses at Madras (1840-1866) and Peking (1868-1878).

#### PEKING, 1870-1900

The North China Mission was organized in 1863 under Henry Blodget. Following the familiar pattern, he requested a printer, a special reason being, as a later report put it (if not quite clearly), that "preaching and exhorting to virtue are not known among the Chinese. All this is done by tracts and books."<sup>32</sup> An invitation to take up this post was made to Phineas R. Hunt in Madras (q. v.). He accepted, and, after a furlough, came to Peking in 1868. With funds set aside from the indemnity paid for the Canton press, a building was put up and equipment assembled, and printing began in 1870.<sup>33</sup> Hunt's first major work was the New Testament in colloquial Mandarin, translated by a committee under Blodget. This was issued in 1872 and followed by the Old Testament in 1874/75, making the whole Bible available "on foreign paper and in European style." The sale of books from the press was reported as small, however. On the point of retirement to America after his wife's death, Hunt died in 1878. The treasurer of the mission, Willis C. Noble, managed the press until his own departure in 1888, after which Blodget was reported in charge, though operations were on a reduced scale. In 1893, 1.7 million pages were issued. The last manager of the press, and the last of the ABCFM's missionary printers, John L. Mateer, previously (1871-76) manager of the Presbyterian mission press in Shanghai, took over in

October 1894. He seems to have returned the press to efficient production, and 4 million pages were printed in his first six months. In 1895/96 he employed eighteen men (mostly or all church members), and Mrs. Mateer trained women to do binding at home. In 1899 the press was still expanding with the renovation of a large cylinder press and the purchase of a third font of Chinese type from Shanghai. Mateer's health gave way, however, and he died in April 1900—less than two months before the printing plant was finally destroyed in the Boxer uprising (13 June 1900).

#### References

*The mission press in China* (Shanghai, 1895), specif. 36-37.

*Annual Reports of the North China Mission of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1888-89 to 1898-99* (with more details than the ABCFM's own Reports).

#### HAWAII, 1822-1858

The printer Elisha Loomis was among the first group of missionaries to arrive in Hawaii (the Sandwich Islands) in March 1820. The early history of the press is linked to the project of reducing the Hawaiian language to writing. At one point it was contemplated to use accented vowels, but there was no type for these, and in the event the idea was dropped. (On the other hand, at various times in its early years the press was held back for want of the letters *a* and *k*, which were more com-

<sup>32</sup> Report of the North China Mission 1893, p. 44.

(ABC 16.3.12 vol. 2 no. 206, 18 May 1870).

<sup>33</sup> "A few pamphlets and handbills" according to Hunt

mon in Hawaiian than in English.) The first product of the press, in January 1822, was a broadside spelling lesson, and the first book to be issued was a sixteen-page spelling book. A subsequent eight-page spelling book went through thirteen printings, numbering over 200,000 copies, from 1825 to 1833. By 1825/26 Loomis had a staff of five or six local people, and when in 1827 he had to return to the United States on account of his health, the press carried on under the supervision of the clergy. In 1829/30, 4.4 million pages were printed, and in 1831 it was reported: "Perhaps never, since the invention of printing, was a printing press employed so extensively, as that has been at the Sandwich Islands, with so little an expense, and so great a certainty that every page of its productions would be read with attention and profit."<sup>34</sup> Other missionary printers succeeded Loomis: Stephen Shepard (1828-34), Edmund H. Rogers (1832-53), Lemuel Fuller (1833), and Edwin O. Hall (1835-49); all except Hall died in their posts. In 1834 a second press was set up at the mission high school in Lahainaluna on the island of Maui. This remained in operation until 1846. A bookbinder joined the Honolulu station in 1835/36, and the next year the bindery employed fifteen. In 1840/41 the output of the two presses exceeded 11 million pages. The complete Bible in Hawaiian was published in 1843. By the time of Rogers's death in 1853, the ABCFM was aiming at the self-support of the Hawaiian church, and no more missionary printers were sent from the United States. In 1858 the printing was contracted to Henry M. Whitney, a member of a missionary family, and the next year the printing establishment was sold to him for \$1,300. Reports of printing continue to appear irregularly until the mission disappears from the Annual Reports in 1871.

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### MICRONESIA, 1856 - CA. 1878

Three different presses, apparently, two of which changed their location, were in operation at various times in the Micronesia mission. The first of these was supplied from Hawaii in early 1856 to the missionaries Luther H. Gulick and Albert A. Sturges and their wives on Ponape in the Caroline Islands. They had the same trouble as the early printers in Hawaii in reverse: their spelling system required *j* and *r*, which were not used in Hawaii, and Sturges had to improvise types for these two letters. Eight pages of a primer and a few other small items were laboriously printed in 1856-57. A Hawaiian printer Simeon Kanakaole arrived with more type and probably a second press in 1857, and printed for Gulick over the next year before returning home. Gulick and his wife continued the work with what help they could get. A total of eighteen items and 32,000 pages were issued in Ponape up to 1859. Then the Gulicks removed to Ebon in the Marshall Islands, taking a press with them.

On Ebon the printing was taken up by another missionary, E. T. Doane, and a primer, hymnbook and parts of Matthew were issued in 1860-62. Two further

<sup>34</sup> "Profit" must here be taken at its full religious value. Considering that for twenty years the missionaries had the entire production of Hawaiian literature in their

hands, it is remarkable that they printed no works of fiction, with the single exception of *Pilgrim's progress*, nor anything else that was not of a strictly improving nature.

## KAPAKAP EN JICUC.

*The Lord's Prayer - Translated by Rev. Mr. Sturges*

Jam at, me kutakut nalug;

Mar umui me jer aui.

Kum kuta to ki pena jap karoj.

Umui majan en viauuia palug tue  
a uiar nalug.At kijan moga men ran en ran kum  
ki to ranuet.Kum kut en kapog kin kit, tuo kit kin  
kapog ki at muejuit.

Katera kurian kin kit juit;

En tero jug kit juit.

Pue jap umui karoj, o lamuin, o ka-  
lagen, me uarai. Amen.*A Hymn by L. H. Gulick*1 I mauki la Jisus Kraist:  
I me Jer, me Katapin,  
Me kin kameraini kit,  
Me kin ki jung rutarut.2 I mauki la Jisus Kraist:  
Pil me maur mimi r'a:  
Men kanip pil aramaj;  
Ir jola men nim pil mur.3 I mauki la Jisus Kraist,  
Me kin pataki ung kit,  
Lamalam me kajalel,  
Kapakap a mealel.I men mela I men nga,  
Ri ai Jam ai Ani mau:  
I men pira wejung met,  
Pue I mauki la Jisus Kraist.

The first printing in Micronesia, by Luther H. Gulick and  
Albert A. Sturges (Ponape, 1856). Most of the rs in the  
text seem to be cut-down ns.

*A Specimen of the First Printing in the Ponape Dialect  
Oct 1856*

books were printed there ca. 1865 by the missionary Benjamin S. Snow. Snow also made visits to Kusaie (the easternmost of the Caroline Islands), and in 1867 he took the press with him and printed a hymnbook and primer in the local dialect. The press must then have returned to Ebon. There in March 1869 Snow reckoned the total production of his press to date at 70,000 pages, "mostly greatly needed elementary books."<sup>35</sup> The Ebon press continued under Snow and later under Joel F. Whitney. A newspaper was issued for a time (*floruit* 1873). The last books to be noticed are in 1878/79, when the year's output was stated as 74,200 pages.

One press must have remained on Ponape. Sturges mentions printing in 1862,<sup>36</sup> and a hymnbook and part of the Gospel of Mark dated 1864 are also attributed to him.

Another press was delivered in October 1863 to Apaiang (Abaiang) in the Gilbert Islands, where Mr. and Mrs. Hiram Bingham were stationed. Their plans to print school books were upset by Bingham's serious illness, but by chance a sailor who was stranded on the island for the winter, Charles D. Hotchkiss, was a printer by training. In exchange for his board he printed an edition of Matthew and then one of Bible stories, until their paper was exhausted. Being further detained when no ship came in the spring, he printed very small editions of John and Ephesians on writing paper. After the Bingham left, Hotchkiss removed the press to the nearby island of Tarawa, where he printed eight copies, all his paper would allow, of a catechism. After his departure, it seems this press was the one then taken by Snow to Ebon in 1865.<sup>37</sup>

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### CHEROKEE COUNTRY, 1828-1860

The ABCFM helped in the procurement of a press and types for the Cherokee National Council in 1826-27, and the next year the press was set up at the mission station in New Echota, Georgia. A Cherokee, Elias Boudinot, was to publish a newspaper, school books and other matter; but in the event, besides the newspaper the *Cherokee Phoenix*, practically all the printing was instigated by the ABCFM missionary at New Echota, Samuel A. Worcester. The first printer, Isaac N. Harris, was replaced in 1829 by his assistant John F. Wheeler. The other printer, John Candy, was a Cherokee. The mission was persecuted by the local authorities in Georgia, and Worcester spent more than a year (September 1832 to January 1834) in prison, during which time the printing suffered along with the other mission work. Twelve books were issued in all, amounting to 1.5 million pages. In 1834 Worcester relocated the mission, ahead of the removal of the main body of the Cherokees, to Oklahoma. A new press was supplied by the Board. There, Wheeler started to print again in August 1835 in temporary quarters at Union Mission. In June 1837 the press was moved finally by permission of the Cherokee Council to new buildings at Park Hill. Worcester remained in

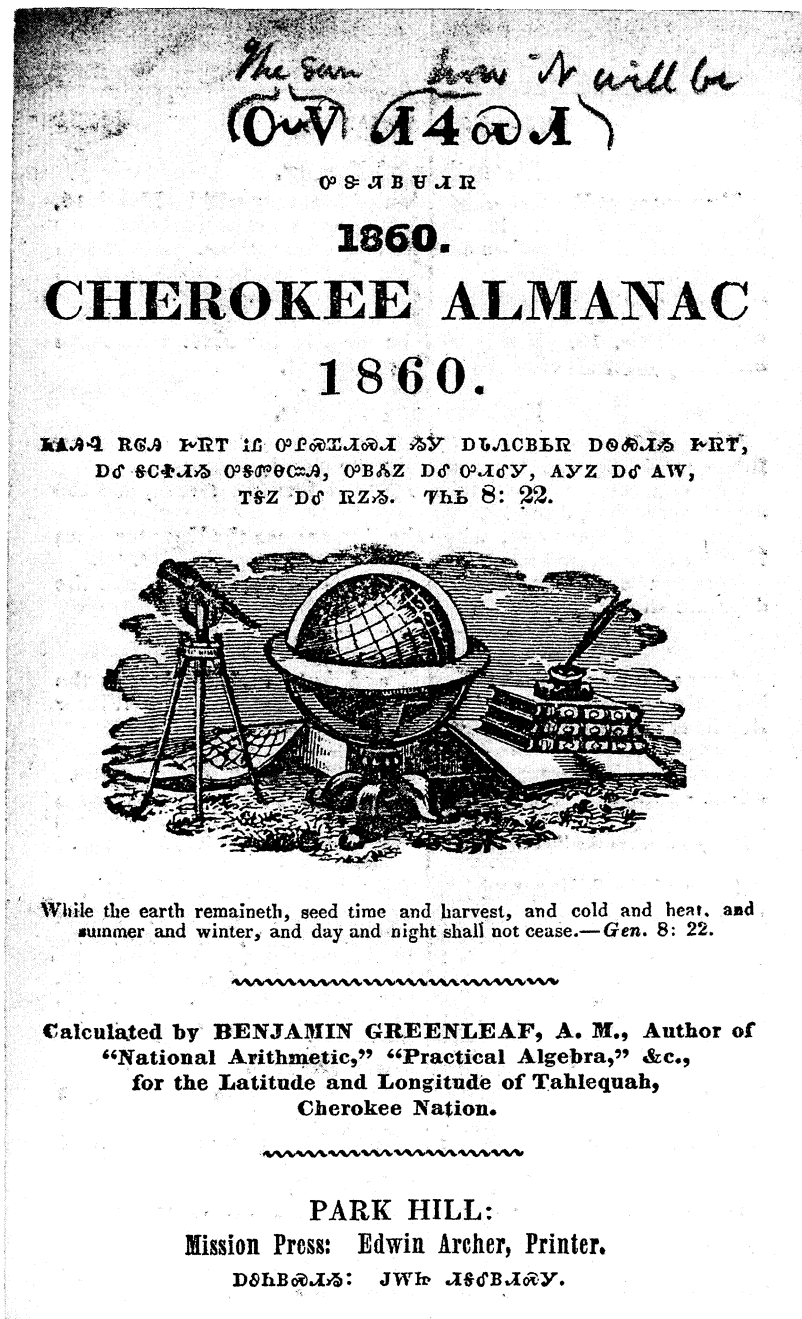
<sup>35</sup> ABC 19.4 vol. 3 no. 243.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.* no. 278.

<sup>37</sup> For this episode in particular see Richard E.

Lingenfelter, *Presses of the Pacific Islands 1817-1867* (Los Angeles, 1967), 111-12, a work I did not discover until after this article was in proof.





The bilingual Cherokee Almanac for 1860. This was the next to last issue, and it contained an obituary of Samuel Worcester, who had edited the Almanac since its beginning in 1836. “He loved the work of translator, and labored in it long after he was unable to sit up in bed. It was only when he could no longer hold a pen that he consented to stop.”

charge until near his death in 1859. Wheeler and Candy left the mission in 1846 and were succeeded as printer by the Cherokee Edwin Archer. The New Testament in Cherokee, started in New Echota with Matthew in 1828, was completed in 1859. The mission closed the next year.

*Languages and types.* Cherokee was printed in the Sequoyan syllabary, for which types (in only one size) were made, for the first time, by the Boston foundry of Baker and Greele. In Oklahoma the mission also printed in the Choctaw, Creek, and Wea languages, using English characters.

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CLEAR WATER, OREGON TERRITORY, 1839-1845

The Oregon mission was to the Nez Perces and Spokane Indians. H. H. Spalding began work on writing the Nez Perces language in 1838. At his request, the mission in Hawaii offered to send one of their native assistants to set up a printing office in Oregon. In the event it was the printer E. O. Hall who came, having been given leave to accompany his wife for a time away from the Hawaiian climate. The Halls arrived in April 1839, bringing a printing outfit donated by a Hawaiian congregation. In May, at the station in Clear Water (Lapwai, in Idaho), 400 copies were printed of an eight-page *Nez Perces first book* in Spalding's alphabet. The alphabet was very soon pronounced unworkable, however, and this book was replaced by a new one of twenty pages in the Pickering alphabet (as used for Hawaiian). Hall began to print another book, an elementary reader, before returning to Hawaii in the spring of 1840. This was completed in the same year by Cornelius Rogers, a layman who had been instructed by Hall. Rogers left the mission's employ, and no more printing was done until December 1842, when Spalding and another missionary Elkanah Walker worked together on a sixteen-page reader in the Spokane language. This was followed by five more publications in Nez Perces. The last and most substantial was Spalding's translation of Matthew, printed by one M. G. Foisy, a tramp printer, in 1845. The mission was abandoned in 1848.

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SENECA COUNTRY, 1841 - CA. 1850

In 1841 the missionary at the Buffalo Creek, New York, reservation, Asher Wright, spent \$10 on a second-hand press, set it up in his house, and began to print. His aim was partly to put something into the hands of those who attended his meetings, and partly to publish a periodical to "keep an interest alive," as he put it, among the depressed Seneca people.<sup>38</sup> The first printing was done by Mr. and Mrs. Wright, but the next year they had the services of a semi-itinerant printer Benjamin C. Van Duzee. (The Seneca language used English characters, following the Pickering alphabet.) The publications of the press, in particular the

<sup>38</sup> ABC 18.5.8 vol. 1 no. 94 (9 Mar. 1841).

magazine the *Mental Elevator* (19 numbers, 1841-50) were distributed to the Senecas on various reservations in New York and Canada. In December 1845 the Buffalo Creek reservation was closed and the Wrights moved to the Upper Cattaraugus reservation. The press also was moved, and Van Duzee resumed printing there. This arrangement seems to have lapsed about 1850. A new press was installed, with the rest of the mission's equipment, at an office in the nearby village of Gowanda where some further work was done by H. M. Morgan. This office was destroyed by fire in 1856 (and with it most of an edition of the first three gospels in Seneca), and printing was never re-started.

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