1906

The Hellenic Herald

A MONTHLY POLITICAL PERIODICAL.

VOL. 1. NO. 1. NOVEMBER 1ST, 1906. PRICE—TEN SHILLINGS.

THE OBJECT OF THE
"HELLENIC HERALD"
is to give a thorough account of the Near Eastern affairs, and especially of those concerning Hellenism. Beside the political part the reader will find a literary page dealing with modern Greek literature.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN THE BALKANS.

Of late years British policy and public opinion have shown a great tendency to dissociate themselves from the wise and prompt action of the Government of 1878 by which the iniquitous treaty of San Stefano was revoked, and the daring project of that incarnation of Panslavism General Ignatief, destroyed It had been his dream to create as vanguard of Russia in the Balkans, a Great Bulgaria, at the expense of the other Christian Nationalities. But owing to British intervention of that date the scheme fell to pieces. The grounds of such action on the part of the British Government were twofold, depending on both justice and self interest.

The treaty of San Stefano was essentially unjust. It created a permanent danger to the peace of Europe, for it arbitrarily subjected the different nationalities in the Balkans, and especially the Greeks, to a semi-barbarous race, the Bulgarian, which moreover had small claim to such supremacy. They had not fought for their independence, teey owed their liberty to a third power, yet they were made masters of races more energetic, more advanced, and civilised, and this too not only in Bulgaria proper, but also in Eastern Roumelia as well as in Thrace and Macedonia, countries which, as the British delegates most emphatically declared in the Bèrlin Congress, were historically and ethnologically as Greek as Crete and the Aegean islands.

Besides the cause of justice, the British had also their own interest to serve by repealing the treaty of San Stefano. It had threatened their ascendancy in the Meditteranean by its creation of another new state in the see, and it threatened the route to Innia, for Bulgaria would be directly or indirectly under Muscovite influence.

The argument of self interest has lost something of its force since Great Britain secured herself by the occpation of Egypt. But surely this should not render British ears deaf to the claims of justice. In that respect time has only proved the wisdom of the British action in 1878. Moreover the unspeakable atrocities committed recently against the Greeks in Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia, by the Bulgarian people and wiih the connivance of the Bulgarian Government, must certainly dissipate any lingering illusion in the mind of those in Europe who had previously imagined that an annexation of Thrace and Macedonia to a Christian State, for such in name is the Bulgarian Principality, would bring freedom and prosperity to the other nationalities that would be thus incorporated with this race that has shown itself so "magnificently courageous," so "chivalrously magnanimous" after its own manner.

Slow systematic methods of persecuting and exterminating the Greek population, such as have been practised since the earliest days of independence in Eastern Roumelia, no longer content the Bulgarians. Arbitrary confiscation of Greek churches and schools, excessive

taxation, cempulsory teaching of the Bulgarian language so that Greek children are prevented from obtaining a thorough knowledge of their own tongue, exclusion of the Greeks from the civil service and all government posts despite the express stipulations in the international treaties guaranteeing equal civil rights and the preservation of national individuality in respect of language and creed, such are some of the means that have been employed by the Bulgarians to make it impossible for Greeks to remain inhabitants of Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia.

For twenty years the Bulgarians have violated the provision of the treaties, and for twenty years they have enjoyed immunity from all penalty. Naturally they have become emboldened and have thought themselves licensed to proceed to any extremity. The result has been that in Angust they perpretrated the last act of the tragedy by destroying the Greek Town of Anchialos, and by devastating the principle centres of the Greek population in Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia, whence the Greeks after seeing ther homes, Churches, Schools, and Hospitals burned and looted, fled terror stricken to Greece and Turquéy, thus abandoning their country where they were living from immemorial times. In another article these events are described in detail. Suffice to say here that in a few days a whole population was wiped out, a truly Bulgarian way of rewardiug the loyalty of their Greek subjects, who had ever faithfully adhered to the country, and were ever among the most peaceable, industrious, and law-abiding of its inhabitants.

To find some plausible pretext that might justify such barbarous crimes, the Bulgarian Government has alleged that her people were enraged against the Greeks because their brethren in Macedonia were the victims of Greek persecution. Undoubtedly the situation in Macedonia is lamentable enough. But with whom does the responsibility rest?

For the past seven years the country has been given over to fire and sword, and given over by the Bulgarians. They, by their bands organized in Bulgaria, threw Macedonia into confusion. Their preaching was that they were fighting in the sacred cause of freedom, to liberate a christian country from the Turkish yoke, their practice was to begin the said "sacred work" by the assassination of Greek notables, Greek priests, schoolmasters, and all Greeks of influence were to be removed by organized murder. Their aims are clear; by thus crushing the Hellenic element they would do away with the principal obstacle that prevented them from repeating in Macedonia the Eastern Roumelian farce of 1885. Annexation, once the Greeks were caved, would be easy. However the Macedonian Greeks, after having appealed in vain to the local authorities, the Turks, and then to the Great Powers, and having found the one unable to protect them, the others unwilling to effectively interfere, eventually took measures for their own defence, and formed bands themselves to protect the Greek population from Bulgarian aggression. Herein they have done no more than any European people would do in similar circumstances. They have taken up arms in self-defence, and will lay them down as soon as the Bulgarian bands cease their inroads, and the Great Powers take adequate and sincere measures for the pacification of Macedonia.

That certain excesses have been committed by the Greek bands when hunting the Bulgarian agitators who always show a preference to hide themselves in the villages instead of fighting in the open field, can only be regretted not denied. But on account of such deeds it is not just for the impartial European observer to condemn the policy of the Greeks in Macedonia, which is purely defensive, and to consider as victims the merciless aggressors who, after years of deliberate persecution have provoked the mildest to take revenge. When the Bulgarians have such a disgraceful record in Macedonia, they do but insult the intelligence and affront the commonsense of Europe when they attempt to attribute their long premeditated attack upon and destruction of an entire peaceful population living in their

country, a land presumably under a constitutional and civilised rule, to the action of the Greek bands in Macedonia, when Macedonia belongs to a foreign power. For what passes therein, whether right or wrong, the law-abiding Greeks of Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia cannot on any just plea be held responsible.

It has been said that after the occupation of Egypt, Britain is not so directly concerned with the Near Eastern affairs. But it is none the less painful to see a great part of the British press accepting the somewhat meagre justifications of the Bulgarians, overlooking and excusing outrages committed in a free country under the eyes of the Bulgarian government, and thus passing by in silence one of the most terrible crimes perpetrated in Europe and in this Twentieth century, while it can yet find breath to raise an outcry over the execution of a rebel black in Natal, or of a murderer in Egypt.

The appeal to justice must be made, an appeal not only on behalf of the Greeks, but for every one of the nationalities now oppressed in the Balkans. For only in the just and careful consideration of the aspirations and claims of each people, race and creed, only by providing equal rights and liberties for all, by securing to those in the minority in one district the same civil and religious privileges as those in the majority, can the key to a lasting and a peaceful solution of the Near Eastern Question be found.

—‡—

MEMORANDUM

ADDRESSED BY THE ŒCUMENICAL PATRIARCHATE TO THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE GREAT POWERS AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

The Patriarch of Constantinople to the representatives of the Great Powers at Constantinople.

Excellency.

The events which recur in Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia, the persecution that attacks the orthodox Greeks, their Bishops, and, in general all dependents of the Œcumenical Partriarchate, have compelled us to address a fresh protest to the Sublime Porte, whose legitimate and potent intervention we demand in view of obtaining full and complete reparation for the wrongs done to our Church and to the Grthodox Greeks.

Your Excellency will find enclosed a translation of this document. It is accompanied by a memorandum which the Œcumenical Partriarchate has been compelled to draw up owing to the atrocities at Philippopoli, Anchialos, etc. We implore Your Excellency to kindly forward this memorandum to your Government after having informed your Covernment on the subject.

Be pleased to, etc.

JOACHIM,
Patriarch of Constantinople.

August 14-27, 1906.

MEMORANDUM.

The increasing gravity of the persecution in Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia directed against the Orthodox Greeks belonging to the Church of Constantinople, imposes upon the Œcumenical Patriarchate the bounden duty of drawing again the attention of the Great Powers, signatories of the Berlin Treaty, to the events that rapidly succeed each other, in the Principality and the Province.

The movement which originated at Varna by means of which the annihilation of the Orthodox Greek communities of Bulgaria has been systematically pursued and accomplished through attacks on prominent individuals and forcible appropriation of communal foundations, Churches, hospitals, schools, etc., this movement has, as is already known, re-acted with terrible results at Kavarna, Philoppoli, Stemimachos, Tatarpazardjik, Peristera, Rustchuk and Pyrghos. It has culminated in the complete destruction of Anchialos, a pure Greek town, situated on the coast of the Black Sea and numbering over 6,000 inhabitants.

In the night of Saturday to Sunday (July 30th, August 12th), 150 members of the committees, starting from Pyrghos, entered the

town of Anchialos at four o'clock in the morning. The Greeks, warned of what was afoot, were massed before the Church of Our Lady. The Bulgarians opened fire, killing three Greeks and wounding one. Though badly armed the townsfolk replied, killing five of their invaders. Before this unexpected resistance the Bulgarians beat a retreat, and occupied the mosque of the town. They telegraphed their failure to the president of the committees at Pyrghos. Two magazines of arms were at once pillaged, and helped by the soldiers and agents of the Government, they loaded a state steam-boat with about 700 rifles and ammunition which they dispatched forthwith to Anchialos. Meanwhile 1,200 members of the committees marched from Pyrghos on the town, where except for a fresh attack on the church, the situation had not altered. However, towards noon, after the arrival of reinforcements and arms, the Bulgarians sallied into the streets, firing the houses in all directions. By 3 p.m. the conflagration they had started in many places, actively assisted by the crew of the state steamer, had reduced the town to ashes. The Greek populace, pursued by the Bulgarians, scattered itself along the shore and in the surrounding fields.

The Greek loss amounted to nine men killed before the church, 70, most old men, women and children, burnt alive or killed in the houses and the streets; the Bulgarian to 32 slain, of whom some were shot by their own comrades, and 20 wounded.

The most eloquent comment can but enfeeble the impression left by a plain faithful account of this pathetic spectacle. May it mark the culminating point of a crisis of intolerance and of unbridled passion.

The magnitude of these crimes, committed openly before all Europe, in the twentieth century, would alone justify in the face of rightly alarmed public opinion, the meditation of the Great Powers, even if the most clearly defined principles of the international law of modern Europe did not make the appeal to this meditation a course open to the victims. But, in order to give mere weight to the claim of the Œcumeuical Patriarchate for having the right to interfere, we think it best to recapitulate events of earlier date.

When Europe, united at Berlin in 1878, sanctioned, with some modifications, a state of affairs established without any effective cooperation from the Bulgarian people, when she determined the frontier that was in future to cut off the newly created Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia from the rest of Ottoman Empire, she by this deed put under the authority of Bulgarian governments more than 100,000 Greeks.

Greek by race and speech this population had, after the Schism previously effected between the Bulgarian nation and the Church of Constantinople, chosen freely the latter side, thus abiding faithful to the communion of their ancestors, whose habitation of the land dates back to an epoch when history knew not the name of Bulgarians. But in abandoning against their will, to Bulgaria, these Greek communities that had lived till then under the sway of the Ottoman Sultans, Europe took care to stipulate that.

Article 5, paragragh 2 and 3 adds—

"Difference of religious beliefs and confes-
"sions cannot be urged against anyone as rea-
"son of exclusion or of incapacity in all that
"concerns the enjoyment of civil and political
"rights, admission to public employments,
"functions and honours, or the exercise of
"different professions and trades in any local-
"ity whatsoever.

"The freedom and public worship of all
"creeds are guaranteed to all residents in Bul-
"garia as well as to foreigners, and no barrier
"can be opposed either to the hierarchic orga-
"nization of the different communions, or to
"their relations with their spiritual heads."

The Great Powers have taken care to proclaim the exceptional importance they attach to this cause, and it is with deep foresight that they have repeated it five several times in the text of the Treaty, applying it turn by turn in identically the same terms to each of the Balkan countries individually. This uniformity of phrase, this unusual repitition make the

disposition in question the very keystone of the edifice built at Berlin, and endow it with the character of a solemn formula that enshrines the spirit of the entire Treaty, and that elevates respect for the particular statute, as it is so defined, giving it the weight of a doctrine recognised by all Europe. Europe declared that she did not intend to re-arrange the map of the Balkin peninsula, where in so many places languages and religions are confounded pell-mell together, without offering to the minorities solid guarantees for the preservation of the individual nationality, tongue and creed. She thus prepared, in a manner at once equitable and efficacious, against events that would certainly have arisen if, in the feeling of these minorities, the idea had awoken that, regardless of their wishes and aspirations, they had been wholly sacrificed to political combinations that solely favored their rivals.

Europe went further. Addressing the states they were about to create, the Great Powers declared to them, in the Treaty itself and in impressive form, that if independence confers rights it brings with it duties as well, that certain fundamental principles exist whose recognition and application are obligatory, whose violation is tantamount to a confession of failure and of their inability to use the benefits conferred. Moreover it is only needful to refer to the 'Reglement Organiqne,' the constitution made for Eastern Roumelia, to see what developments, in this sense, the clause in question can lead to, according to the Great Powers. It is doubtless to the high morality of this disposition, which will disttnguish it in the history of the rights of nations. that Prince Bismarck was referring when he stated that the Berlin Congress had deserved well of Europe.

The Orthodox Greeks of Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia had from the first a true appreciation of the duties imposed upon them by their new conditions. The Bulgarian Government had no more peaceable or faithful subjects. They had always paid their taxes, rendered military service, and so scrupulously observed the oath that binds the subjects to their Sovereign, that H.R.H. Prince Ferdinand has, by the kindly reception he gave to the Greek Archbishops as well as by written proofs of his satisfaction addressed to them in the Greek tongue, been pleased to show frequently and publicly the sentiments that such loyalty could not fail to inspire in him.

It is overwhelming, heart-breaking, to conjure up ths dread spectacle of the final catastrophy which has in a few days swallowed up all the result of the noble efforts of a whole people that, relying on their trust in the promises of Europe, had learnt the hard lesson of imposing silence on the dearest sentiments of nationality for the sake of the domestic peace of a country which has thus evilly rewarded such honor and honesty.

Were it possible we would fain have said no more. But before concluding we have yet to discharge a sad duty, by reducing to its proper value a dangerous sophistical argument that some try to publish and use against the Œcumenical Patriarchate. This argument, which amounts to stating that the action of the Greeks in Macedonia gives to recent events in Bulgaria the character of being merely reprisals, had previously been but timidly put forward. Cut already we see that it is being more regularly employed to influence public opinion, and doubtless, if we do but promptly deal with it, as justice demands, our silence will soon be taken as an admission of its weight, and it will be used in future to inflence the Governments of the Great Powers.

These two series of acts both alike deserve blame. But on examining the actual facts, on considering the essential circumstances of each case, the circumstances essential but radically dissimilar, that have surrounded their conception and execution, the two series of actions present an appearance so different that it is impossible to try and link them together by any common bond.

In Bulgaria, where no one can deny the complicity of the public authority in what is happening, we have to reckon with a Govern ment. This Government, which calls itself

Christian and civilised, does not hesitate to take part in outrages on its own subjects, in its own territory, and, robbing itself of its prerogative of maintaining justice, makes no scruples about lending a hand to aid attacks against inoffensive citizens. It is not our part to go further, nor to enquire whether a government that stands convicted of such a violation of its duties can evade the pledges we ennumerated above when we attempted to present, by an exact interpretation, the true spirit of the Berlin Treaty.

In Macedonia the Government stands wholly aloof. We find ourselves there in the presence of two parties. Accordingly the question is altogether different.

The excesses, for which this province has become the theatre, are, it is superfluous to state, condemned and abominated by the Church, irrespective of the quarter from which they arise. Lawlessness is never an excuse for lawlessness. An appeal to force, whether in a single case or generally, made by one party, can never afford the other side a just precedent for similar actions. But since we have been brought to consider the effect on the reason and will of individuals produced by this situation so confused, irregular and monstrous, the effect that at certain times the frequency and gravity of illegal deeds creates, we must still say that in the midst of this overthrow of every principle of morality and law, even if the acts of both sides are equally guilty, even if both should be repressed with equal severity, it will yet however be necessary to lay the greater share of the responsibility for this state of affairs upon the shoulders of those who first set foot upon the broad road of disorder.

On which side then does history lay the burden of this responsibility ?

After the coup d'etat of 1885 which united Eastern Roumelia and Bulgaria, the whole attention of the Bulgarians was turned towards Macedonia, the new object of their agreed. However for several years their work, though quite as vigorously carried on, was less apparent. But soon the hatred they had vowed againet the Greeks showed itself in another manner. The committees sat openly at Sophia. A powerful association enabled them to obtain considerable subsidies. Thanks to these they organised numerous bands, that, led generally by officers of the Bulgarian standing army, crossed the frontier with the avowed object, as they always took care to proclaim plainly, of exterminating the Greeks. The agitation became daily more aggravated. In 1903 it reached horrible proportions. Mohammedans and even foreigners were not spared. They attacked Salonica with dynamite, they blew up the Ottoman Bank in that city, they set fire to the French Mail-boat 'Guadalquivir,' started the explosion on the 'Vascapu" derailed and looted the international trains that traversed Turkey-in-Europe. And meantime the European press, being ill-informed, abruptly concluded that these melancholy triumphs proved that the inhabitants of Macedonia were by nationality Bulgarian.

At present the Sofia committees really believe that their end was obtained, that the campaign they have waged to secure public opinion has succeeded in giving the semblance of a general Macedonian rising to the enterprises of these armed bands coming from Bulgaria. Thus in the collections of official documents they publish and scatter broadcast, they do not hesitate to put forward 'communications from the head-quarters of the insurgents' memoranda from the delagates of the interior organization,' and made them figure side by side with international treaties and the diplomatic notes of the representatives of the Great Powers.

But where were the Greek bands then ?

They did not appear till towards the end of 1904, when the long-suffering behaviour of the Great Powers had made the Bulgarians begin to believe that they could go to any length, and when the Greeks began to think that Europe was abandoning them to the tender mercies of their oppressors. The Greek population resolved to defend itself, to meet force with force, in order to itself bridle Bulgarian audacity. It is then that, granting the simi-

larity of method and yet more the equality of status between the parties, i.e., the private individual character of the opponents, it can be said with truth the Greeks have made reprisals, reprisals being the exact word to use.

By these explanations about Macedonia we have tried to set the actual facts in their true light, and to re-establish historical veracity. If we have dwelt on this point, it is only to prove by the evidence of fact that no analogy can be drawn between the events in Bulgaria and those in Macedonia, and to destroy this illogical proposition that may bring our cause into disfavour. We say again that the Œcumenical Patriarchate cannot but condemn these crimes of treason against all laws, divine or human, whatsoever be their origin. In the midst of storm and strife the Patriarchate has never ceased to spread the word of peace and concord, as its numerous circulars can show, and to re-awaken in all hearts the spirit of Christian charity that all should acknowledge. And if there is an accusation that, even though stripped of all proof, of any shadow or suspicion of proof, has moved the Œcumenical Patriarchate to bitter resentment, because of the slur cast on the noble mission of civilization pursued by this august See for twenty centuries, it is the accusation that some have dared to bring against certain archbishops of the Macedonian Dioceses who are guiltless of all action beyond that of zealous devotion to the fulfilment of their religious duties without ever exceeding the limits imposed upon them by their ministry.

The gratitude of the Œcumenical Patriarchate is due to H. I. M. the Sultan for the vigour with which the Imperial Ottoman Government has graciously proceeded in making, as soon as the question had been grasped, energetic representations.

Well understanding her duties, strong in her rights, the Church of Constantinople, mother of all the Orthodox Churches to-day places her cause in the hands of Europe. She is fain to hope that the impartiality of the Great Powers will ordain that the Greek Orthodox Archbishops be restored to their dioceses in Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia, and that restitution be made to the communities of the property of which an outbreak of spoliation has robbed them. Firmly convinced that the cry she raises on behalf of the victims will be heard, the Church thus looks forward to the future, and waits, with confidence, the justice of God and the judgment of history.

THE PERSECUTION OF THE GREEKS IN BULGARIA AND IN EASTERN ROUMELIA.

The Thracien's patriotic associasion at Athens has launched the following protest.

We appeal to the conscience of nations and the justice of governments, and we protest against the deplorable events which are taking place in Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia, and which all too sadly complete the long series of injustices and oppressions that the Greeks who live in these districts have had to endure at the hands of their Bulgarian fellow-citizens.

In these days of tolerance and justice it appears incredible that for so many years and with so much violence the Bulgarians, in the face of the civilized world, attack our brothers, solely because they speak another tongue, belong to another Church and keep inviolate in their hearts their national sentiment.

Yesterday Europe and America protested against Roumanian intolerance towards the Jews. In vain have we awaited a like remonstrance while the same government with yet more brutality and even less reason persecutes the Greeks in Roumania. We wish to see public opinion rise to-day against the horrors in Eastern Roumelia. May we be allowed to expose the scandalous deeds that are happening, to show the long list of persecutions we have already had to endure, proceedings which explain but too well the actual state of affairs, existing despite the rights that Europe has solemnly recognized as ours, rights Europe has inscribed in her Treaties, the very foundation of International law.

I. The Treaties, the Foundation of our Rights.

When, immediately after the Turco-Russian War, Europe had to occupy the Balkan provinces in Bulgaria, Eastern Roumelia or part of ancient Thrace, she was compelled to attend the peculiarities of the situation ; she had to solve a problem of nationalities, a problem complicated enough.

These Provinces were inhabited indeed by a Bulgarian majority comparatively considerable, but there were also two non-negligible minorities, whose condition Europe had to guarantee, namely the Turks and the Greeks who inhabited these provinces.

As for the Greeks other considerations beside mere numbers (about 150,000 in Eastern Roumelia), made claims on European interest.

(1). First in certain districts, at Stenimachos, Philippoli, Varna, by the shores of the Black Rea, etc., the Greeks actually outnumbered the Bulgarians. Account had to be taken of these Greek settlements without however detaching them from these provinces or putting them under a special régime.

(2). The Greek population was as old established here as the Bulgarians, indeed it even preceded them. For the Bulgarians, as is known were the rear-guard of the invading hordes of the 4th century, while the most part of the Greeks were colonists of yet more ancient date, settled not in Turkish days or even in those of the Byzantine Empire, but from antiquity. They are no mere parasites, aliens in the land, but it is rather their true native country, especially Eastern Roumelia, and they have a better title to it than the Bulgarians of these provinces.

(3). If the majority, taking the land as a whole, is incontestably Slav, the Greek minority has a special social predominance. For the most part the trades, manufactures, commerce, fisheries, the liberal professions are in Greek hands, all of which emphasizes the importance of the Greek element.

Taking measures to ensure respect for the rights of this minority was then a duty laid upon Europe, and appears to have been so recognized. Certain articles of the Berlin Treaty, and even more an arrangement of the Constitution of Eastern Roumelia were drawn up to this end and imposed on the new Government it created. In short Article 4 and 2 of the Berlin Treaty states formally.

"In localities where Bulgarians are inter-
"mixed with Turks, Roumanians, Greeks or
"others, account will be taken of the rights
"and interests of these populations in all that
"concerns the elections and elaboration of the
"constitutional settlement."

Also Article 5 and 2 and 3 adds—

"Difference of religious beliefs and confes-
"sions cannot be urged against anyone as
"reason of exclusion or of incapacity in all
"that concerns the enjoyment of civil and
"political rights, admission to public employ-
"ments, functions and honours, or the exercise
"of different professions and trades in any
"locality whatsoever.

"The freedom and public worship of all
"creeds are guaranteed to all residents in Bul-
"garia as well as to foreigners, and no barrier
"can be opposed either to the hierarchic orga-
"nization of the different communions, or to
"their relations with their spiritual heads."

The above concerns Bulgaria particularly. As for Eastern Roumelia Articles 13 and 18 of the Berlin Treaty, which establish it as an autonomous province, leave to a final constitutional settlement, to be drawn up by a European commission, the task of settling the fate of the different nationalities. This Statute is yet more explicit than the articles of the Treaty, relating to Bulgaria. Here we find ourselves, it should be stated, faced by an international act, discussed and sanctioned by Europe.

The "Statut Organique" consecrates the double principle of the liberty and equality of all citizens, and of the inviolability of their persons and goods, which naturally follows from the above, and which the Government of the Prince never ceases, in later times, to systematically misconstrue.

The principle of liberty is proclaimed in

Articles 30 and 1, which concerns the freedom of the individual; article 33 adds that "the dwelling of anyone living in Eastern Roumelia is inviolable;" articles 38, 39 and 40 sanction freedom of speech, of occupation, and of the press.

The inviolability of property, which we see the Bulgarians so continually violating in respect of churches, convents and schools, is sanctioned by article 36, which lays down the principle; article 36 and 1 forbidding any confiscations, while articles 34 and 35, by prohibiting monopolies, prevent thus indirect attempts against property and freedom of acquiring it.

Equality between the different nationalities is specified with yet more care. The general principle is recognised in article 24 and 1 and 2.

"The natives of Eastern Roumelia shall "without distinction of race or creed enjoy "the same rights. Public employments, hon- "ours and functions are equally accessible to "them, according to their merit and capacity."

Consequently this guarantees to all natives the liberties recognised by articles 38, 39 and 40, quoted above (freedom of speech, of the press, etc.)

The principle of equality is maintained in respect of creed (articles 28 and 1 aud 29), and in a yet more definite way as respecting 'language by article 22, which is one of the most explicit, both sanctioning and developing this principle, and well sharing the constant forethought of the International Commission. Here is this article in full.

"The chief languages of the country, Turk- "ish, Bulgarian and Greek, are employed in "the province by the authorities and by pri- "vate persons in their relations with the "authorities according to the following rules.

"The administrative and judicial authorities "of departments, cantons and communes, in "their acts, judgments, correspondence, and "publications, are to use the language of the "population which is in a majority in respect "of their relative spheres, provided that there "is no minority that numbers at least the half "of this majority. in which case the language "of this minority is to be used conjointly "with that of the majority.

"The administrative and departmental au- "thorities in their correspondence with the "authorities subordinate to them are to use "the language spoken by the majority of the "population in the spheres of the aforesaid "subordinate authorities.

"Turkish is the official language of the au- "thorities of Eastern Roumelia in their rela- "tions with the Sublime Porte, and with the "authorities of the other parts of Europe.

"The laws destined to be promulgated in "the Province, the ordinances, circulars and "publications of the general Government, as "well as the decrees, circulars and publications "affecting all the Province are to be drawn up "in Turkish, Bulgarian and Greek.

"Before the tribunals private persons have "the right to use any one of the three chief "languages at their choice.

"Every decree or judgment must be offici- "ally translated into that one of the three "languages indicated by the interested party "who is demanding the translation."

Finally the better to affirm the will of Europe and complete it in what concerns imposts, Article 25 forbids any exceptional imposts and obliges a revision of taxes, laying it down that "every impost is established for the common good. Moreover, as if all the above was not yet enough, in its care that the rights as well as the conscience of minorities should be respected even in the smallest details, the Statute, in its ruling on the local militia, article 412, adds at the end of paragraph 1, "As much care as possible shall be taken to lodge the members of the militia among their 'co-religionists' in the districts occupied by them."

(To be continued).

MACEDONIA AND THE ROUMANIANS.

The last four years have witnessed a terrible aggravation of the bloodthirsty struggles which are spreading dissension between the

different races of Macedonia, and more especially between the Greeks and the Bulgarians. It might have been hoped that the intervention of European diplomacy would have exercised a pacifying influence. But on the contrary it seems to have only resulted in embittering these murderous conflicts. It is known that the committees of sofia, having no further hope of winning over the Macedonian peoples to Bulgarism by peaceful methods, are coercing them into submission by violence and intimidation. It is less openly admitted that the Government of sofia is anything but ignorant of, or unfriendly to, their measures.

Bulgarian propaganda were first spread throughout Macedonia by the churches and the schools, which were organized for this purpose by the agents, self-styled ' commercial,' of the principality and of the Bulgarian Exarchate of Constantinople. Numerous priests and teachers were sent forth thus as pioneers of Bulgarism in the districts coveted by the patriots of Sofia. But as these endeavours gave very small results, the inspirers of the movement resolved to have recourse to other means, less legitimate but deemed by them more effective. These two men considered that it was impossible to bulgarize Macedonia by any pacific method. On their advice teacher and priest were supplanted by incendiary and bandit, pamphlet and bible by dagger and dynamite. Such was the foundation of the new policy in Macedonia and in the vilayet of Adrianople. The sinking of the French vessel " Gaudalquivir " by Bulggrian bombs, which occurred in Salonica harbour July 1903, the explosion that destroyed the International Ottoman Bank in the same city, the repeated attempts against passenger trains and railways, the destruction of the Greek town of Croussovo, in which the Bulgarian band played so exceedingly glorious a part, and a hundred other execrable deeds bear witness to the high enthusiasm exhibited by the agents of the Bulgarian committees in carrying out the programme laid down for them by the organizers of the movement.

These disturbances have made the situation of the Hellenic peoples in Macedonia untenable. On the other hand the reforms by Europe have remained a dead letter. Moreover those entrusted with carrying them out appear to have repaired to this unhappy country not to work for the allaying of internecine feuds and the re-establishment of order, but rather to advance the interests of one or other of the Powers who profit by the maintenance of disorder. Under these circumstances it was a duty and a necessity for the Macedonian Greeks to protest against the systematic annihilation which threatened them. They did not fail to protest by speaking through the press, and by repeated appeals to men of influence. But their protest, instead of awakening any sympathy, have brought upon them the reproach of degeneracy and cowardice. In London, Paris, Rome, Geneva, in every continental centre where Bulgarism had won ardent partisans, they were met with contemptuous indifference. Some Bulgarophils, though these must be counted as exceptional cases, have even gone to the length of openly admiring the heroes of the Salonica outrages, and unblushingly compare them to Canaris, Colocotronis and to other heroes of the struggle for Hellenic independence.

Under these conditions what course is open for the Hellenic population in Macedonia? The Greek element must find defence against its oppressors, must vindicate its rights before the face of Europe, and show to those who still doubt that Macedonia is Greek, that the preponderance of the Hellenic element can be proved, not only by mere counting of heads, but in everything that makes for wealth and civilization. To this task the Macedonian Greeks have devoted themselves for the past two years. They begin with measures of self-defence and went on to attack and punish the disorderly elements that sheltered the desperadoes let loose upon their country by the Bulgarian Government itself. Let no one be surprised at what we are stating. General Tsontchelf, the Guerguitchikoff, the Sarafofs, all these leaders of the comitadjis of Sofia are far from being unknown and mythical personages. They neither live nor work in darkness.

They belong to Bulgarian officialdom, known to all the foreigners, they keep in communication with them, discussing Bulgarian policy in the Balkan peninsula, and get help and advice from them. Since the policy of the great Powers, obeying the demands of their interests, compels such a show of indulgence not to say of favoritism which causes the misfortunes of the Greek peoples to be received with cruel indifference, these Greeks it must be repeated, find it their first duty, are forced by the mere instinct of self-preservation to meet with violence the violence of the Bulgarians. Thus the task of defence is first shown by the forming in the midst of the Greek peoples, of volunteer bands summoned to protect their kinsfolk against the raids of the brigand hordes that dash down on their country from the Bulgarian frontier. Many Europeans who have visited Macedonia last year, have recognized that the action of the Greeks is fully justifiable and imposed by the existing conditions.

* * * * *

The attiude of Roumania in all that concerns the happenings in Macedonia has officially been that of impartial neutrality, ever since the interview at Abbazia between her Sovereign and the King of Greece.

This policy of moderation was being followed up to two yegrs ago. During this period the activity of Roumanian propagandism in Epirus and Macedonia has been reduced to the smallest possible proportion. Most of the schools under their influence have been closed. In the Roumanian Chamber, Mons.Haret, minister of Public Instruction, did not shrink from proclaiming in the tribune that sums expended during the last thirty years for spreading Roumanian propaganda in Macedonia have been but dead loss without a ghost of a result. Even before this Prsfessor Ourekia, senator and president of the "Rounmano-Macedonian" committee, when abandoning the thankless task to which he had devoted himself for many a long year, that of roumanizing the Koutzo-Vlachs of Macedonia and Epirus, had declared with a sincerity deserving all praise that the labours of the propagandist committees had effected nothing. Many times this policy, this ambitious and utopian dream, had been denounced in the Roumanian parliament. It was shown that the one definite result had been to fill the pockets of Apostolos Margaritis, the inspirer of the Roumano-Macedonian movement. Finally the former director of the gymnasium maintained by the Roumanian Government at Jannina, M. Lecanta, the man whose ontspoken courage caused his recent assassination in a Bucharest café, condemned this policy as vain and unprofitable. In a circumstantial report, which we shall put before the reader, he proved that policy had but resulted in the squandering of large sums among certain Koutzo-Vlachs, who made their entire livelihood out of the largesses of the Roumanian government.

All these facts, which no intelligent Roumanian has ever disputed, have not prevented a new and sudden change of front in Roumanian policy, which happened two years ago. The State subsidies intended to extend Roumanian education in Macedonia and Epirus have been trebled, new schools founded, and, what is still more significant, extensive privileges demanded from the Œcumenical Patriarchate in favor of the Koutzo-Vlachs of Macedonia. Among these privileges the most startling, in as much as it is wholly opposed to the solid facts of the case, is unquestionably the demand that the Patriarchate should recognize the independence of Roumanian, or rather Koutzo-Vlach communities. In reality the Koutzo-Vlachs nowhere form compact groups in these regions, without reckoning the fact that wherever they are scattered they invariably have shown themselves firmly attached to Hellenism. They regret all relations with Roumanism, excepting only the mere handful who have let themselves be won over by the subsidies of the government of Bucharest, and who, moreover, are mainly residents in that city or who are settled in other parts of Roumania.

(To be continued).

PRESS REVIEWS.

From the "EVENING STANDARD."

GREEKS AND BULGARS.

Sir,—The publication of Mr. W. Lints-Smith's article "Rights and Wrongs of Macedonia" in your issue of the 21st ult. has suggested to me the hope that perhaps you will grant me a little space to set forth the views of those who, if the tone of our Press be a true indication, take the unpopular side in the Macedonian controversy. Every article that is published about Macedonia, every allusion that is made in the public Press to the state of affairs in that luckless country is so superabundantly stuffed with abuse of Greece, the Greeks and their aspirations, that it was quite refreshing to read a whole column in your valuable journal about Macedonia without meeting the usual maledietory diatribes against poor Hellas.

Even Mr. W. Lints-Smith, however, although manifestly imbued with the laudable desire of being impartial, is, I fear also to be numbered, perhaps unconsciously, among the victims of the prevailing anti-Hellenic malady. He admits that for seven years the Bulgarians were without opposition slaughtering Macedoniau Greeks because the latter clung to their faith and country. And yet this outrageous policy of seven years' crimes, murders, and atrocities is not considered to entitle the Greeks to the sympathy of Englishmen. Oh no! The only reasonable consequence is that sympathy for Bulgaria must be merely "qualified" by a recollection of these seven years' horrors! Comment is useless. Still, I have no quarrel with Mr. W. Lints-Smith. Though his summing up may not be impartial, he sets forth very fairly facts upon which any fair-minded individual can form an opinion. These facts are of cardinal importance.

(a) That the pooportion of Greeks to Bulgarians in Mucedonia is two to one.

(b) That the Bulgarians resorted to the worst forms of coercion, terrorism, persecutiyn, plundering, and cold-blooded murder in order to redress the balance.

(c) That for seven long years the Greeks suffered without retaliating, trusting, vainly as ever, to the Great Powers. Now, let Englishmen reflect for a minute, and imagine that instead of Greeks the victims were English. Would we hove kept quiet for seven years? Could we have stood the strain for seven months? Would we have remained passive, though indignant, spectators for seven weeks? Would not seven days have sufficed for us to fly en masse to the rescue of our countrymen, and either save them or perish with them? And yet because after seven years a few bands of Greeks, maddened by the horrible sufferings of their countrymen, crossed the frontier and dealt with some of the assassins as they deserved, Greece must be held up to execratihn as the turbulent disturber of the peace of Europe.

Let us go back a few years, to the dark days of the Boer War---the days of disaster and national grief, when almost every hand in Europe seemed to be raised against us, when every fresh disaster to our arms was received with glee, magnified and gloated over almost in every Continental town, when no libel against our gallant soldiers, dead or living, was too foul to be published in the foreign Press, including the Bulgarian, and implicitly believed by its readers. Had we any friends then ready to show their sympathy? I know of only one country in Europe where the news of Colenso, Magersfontein, etc., was not received with undisguised delight. That country sir, was Greece. From that quarter we received no jeers, no abuse, but genuine, whole-hearted sympathy, encouragement, and good wishes. In their simple way, from one end of the little country to the other, the people flocked to their churches, and with aching hearts implored the Almighty to turn the tide of disaster and bless with victory the Union Jack--the sacred banner of freedom and justice. Why should we turn against them in their hour of need? Have Englishmen forgotten? No, sir, they have not forgotten: they cannot forget. They would not be Englishmen if they had forgotten.

HENRY STEVENS.

113, Leadenhall Street.

Extract from an exposition of the Greco-Brlgarian antagonism that appeared in the "ALLEGEMEINE ZETUNG."

"The attitude of Greece and Hellenism, observed in the present struggle of nationalities in the Balkans, is unjustly judged. The lying statements purposely and ingeniously circulated by the foes of Hellenism have influenced this judgment.....The Greco-Macedonian bands to whose account the existing disorders are so unjustly and unscrupulously imputed. have only been formed in consequence of the savage and barbarous state of affairs created by the Bulgarians and the treacherous Sofia committees.....Since 1895 there has been going on a systematic extermination of all the cultured Greek elements; priests, schoolmasters, savants, primates, have been pitilessly massacred.....Statistics from Athens, which have never been refuted, communicated to the Great Powers, bear evidence to the murder of 518 Greek notables between 1897-1904, and 197 from 1904 to 1906. Only quite lately have the Greeks begun to meet this horrible situation by organizing bands of native Macedoniaus. Europe, which undertook the task of pacifying and reforming Macedonia' ought to settle the affairs of each vilayet, through consideration for the predominant nationality. The predominance of one or other nationality ought to be based on the national sentiment aud the religious creed of each individual. To deceive European diplomacy. the Sofia committees had tried for eight years to create, by acts of violence, an artificial situation in the different vilayets of Macedonia. The revolution af 1903, organizeed in Bulgaria, directed by Bulgarian officers, failed completely, breaking itself against the indifference of the populations who considered these raiders rather as enemies and outsiders. Then it was that Macedonian Hellenism organized defensive bands, which revived the courage of the oppressed

peoples. Exasperated by the many checks they experienced in Macedonia, the Bulgarians avenged themselves on the peaceable Greek population of Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia, pillaging, destroying, massacring all that fell into their power.

Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia owe their existence to the decree of the Great Powers, and are therefore morally responsito them for their acts. From the Powers then Hellenism expects justice. Their intervention must set a limit to these unheard of barbarities that have filled the public opinion of the civilized world with indignation. In Greece, and especially in Athens, there are many Bulgarians, of whom over 200 are known to the police as taking part in the secret committees of Sofia. But they have never been objects of Greek hostility; on the contrary the government would have prevented any excesses against them."

———‡———

LITERARY GOSSIP

BY

DR.. L. BELLELI.

——

When the Editor of this periodical did me the honour of asking from me an Article on Solomos' poetry I was not a little amused, thinking that he credited me with a thorough introspection in a field of knowledge of which I had barely taken a shallow survey.

In fact, although I first saw the sun in a place where the Zantiot poet had spent the latter half of his life, Corfu, I never became closely acquainted with his literary labour, as the first edition of his collected work, which was made two years after his demise soon passed away, and he wholed in the realm of oblivion all the time I was receiving aducation. In the fight between the classic-like language and the actual speech of the Greek, the victory of the former was followed by the wholesale banishment for half-a-century of all modern Greek literature from the Schools, and Solomos, though enjoying the name and reverence of national poet, had to share the fate of his fellow-workers in the art of refined versification. It was not until twenty years ago that the recital of extracts from modern poetry was introduced into programmes of entertainments at prize distributions, but I doubt whether any care is taken even at present to provide the childlren with the means of a true understanding off Solomos' or other poets' work by proper interpretation during the time allotted for actual teaching in the course of the year. The greatest majority of those wielding the power in the Athens literary circles is against the popular tongue, to which only the theatre extends a half-hearted forbearance as is shown by the admission on the stage of some plays—very few indeed—in this form of speech and by the recent concession of the new Principal of the University, Prof. N. G. Politis, who in advertising a dramatic competition ruled that the work, to submit may be written in what it is good form to call pure language and—here is the progress—in the living vernacular of the country.

This being so, no wonder that Solomos was no favourite reading of my boyhood. This deficiency in my education, however, was gradually supplied by my coming across various essays which happened to appear on this poet, and my concern was particularly excited by one of Prof. Giovanni Canna, of the Pavia University, who in the year 1896 or thereabout delivered a lecture extolling Solomos as one of the most powerful minds of whose training that High School of Lombardy had a right to be proud.

The celebration at Zante in the year 1898 of the centenary of the poets' birth was not long afterwards followed by the issue in the valuable Marasli Library of Athens of a fresh* edition of his poems, the second and third editions which had preceded that of 1901, went without raising any great stir among the reading public, both Greek and Italian, in a volume worthy of recommendation for the neatness of the typographical work, and for the reproduction of pictures by Greek artists who derived inspiration from Solomos' verse. One canvas painted here in London by a fellow-citizen and friend of mine, Mr. Alexander Rossi, of West Hampstead, could not be included in the illustrations, because as soon as finished it passed into the hands of the then Princess Victoria, the present Kaiser's mother, thus becoming of rather difficult access. It re-

* The second and third editions which had preceded that of 1901 went without raising any great stir among the reading public.

presented a girl strolling in the fields and accompanied by a lamb which she was supposed to have adorned with garlands made of flowers plucked on the road.

The subject of this last picture was supplied by a short poem which in Palamas' edition, as well as in others, goes under the title of 'Ο Θάνατος τῆς 'Ορφανῆς. It was during a talk with Mr. Rossi one evening in March of this year that I first read with due attention this remarkable piece of poetry, and, as I believe there has occurred some error in the understanding of its exact meaning, I hope the request of the Editor will have been complied with if I dwell at some length on this particular item, and set forth the view I take of the scenes which the poet thought of enframing within the narrow compass of no more than fourty-four lines.

Before I start I must call the attention of the reader to the statement of Polylas who was the bosom friend of Solomos, and I daresay his disciple, that the latter preferred his poetry never to be seen in print, and that, as a rule, the output of his thought and imagination was gathered from his lips when he recited his compositions to please his acquaintances, or in order to obtain their private judgment. The manuscript of his standard poem, 'Ο Ὕμνος τῆς 'Ελευθερίας, was little less than stolen from him by Spyvidion Tricoupis who clandestinely sent it for publication to Missolongi, and others were forwarded to printers or Editors only after his death by admirers who possessed copies generally communicated through the channel of oval transmission. Hence the large aumber of variants, and in the long run the addition to poems which originally had gone about without any headinngs of ill-fated titles leading sometimes to misconceptions which it will be a hard task to root up.

The piece which forms the subject of this discourse was yet in Manzavions and Dallaportas' edition of 1857, to which I shall have to refer again, 'free of title,' and only two years later Polylas. in whose preface no special mention is made of this poem, called it 'Ο Θάνατος τῆς 'Ορφανῆς. That the death of a maid is related there is too evident to be denied, but that it contains infinitely more than that is a new phint which I wish to bring home to the studdent. The fourteen lines of the answer to describe the funeral of a young female, but very little attention has been given yet to the meaning of the former part of the poem, the question, which offers a striking picture of the life she had led before breathing her last, and of the sorrow that afflicted her. She was no longer a child, but a ripe young lady apt to be stirred by the passion of love, and she had a bitter experience of it. Παιδοῦλα does signify 'a fully grown up girl, and I was gratified, after my interpretation of the poem was fully designed in my mind, to see Mrs. Dendrino of Corfu put the word with this meaning in one of the love tales she sent to the Νουμᾶς, and that other writers from the sundry places in Greece have made a similar use of the term.

The young lady of our poem made a practice in her country walks of cutting every day, νιοθριέστη, a twig of myrtle, 'the emblem of love,' and adorning with it her fair head. She had a mouth naturally small, but grown still smaller as a consequence of the muteness in which she had confined herself by her volunary seclusion. Her eyes were blue like the colour of the sky, and, after spending the day in her solitary abode, she would go out for a walk with only a lamb by her side. She always stopped at the lonely beach, sat down and 'sadly sang over the springs' beauties.' As she was facing the sea her strains 'would fall into it,' and she stared at the waves with such depth in her sorrow as to make the onlooker fancy 'her eyes were seeing a grave.'

Two persons, probably of different sex, had often witnessed this pathetic scenes, and the one who to all appearances had subsequently been away for some length of time, and on his or her return inquired, among a hundred topics, about the enigmatic creature that was not seen going to the lonely beach on the day of their meeting again.

The young lady was dead, and her corpse had been removed to the graveyard just at the

dawn of that very day. As no one besides the unavoidable undertaker took part im the funeral, the friend who had remained on the spot saw it from a distance, and relate that violets, roses, and mimosas profusely shed over the dead body caused it to spread all around a suave scent, but had no power to keep alive the brightness of her star-like eye now extinguished for ever. No man or woman accompanied the deceased to her resting place, but there was the lamb, the faithful lamb who followed the parting body down the hill, filling the air with his grievous bleating and the mournful sound of the little bells around his neck. He was adorned with the white and yellow flowers that the young lady had gathered 'when arranging her own funeral.'

The paraphrase I gave of this poem follows most closely the original; I have here and there introduced a few words of my own, with a view to illustrating the meaning of the author, the only addition of importance being the last clause printed in quotes which points out the construction I put on the whole piece.

Everyone must have perceived by now that, in my opinion, the poem relates the sad adventure of a young woman whose 'fiancé,' probably a seaman, had been drowned during a voyage, at the conclusion of which he had promised to marry her. After the misfortune she found no consolation, she retired on the top of a hill, keeping for sole companion the tiny lamb with whom she would go every day about sunset to have a look at the sea, the cruel murderer, there to give vent to her sorrow for the loss of her darling. The weary life to which she had subjected herself could not endure long, and, either yielding to the slow action of the worry or hastening to put for herself a quick end to a helpless situation she died, not without making provision for the final walk she desired to have with her speechless confident.

I will give now the original text which I have made up from the various editions at my command. In adopting or discarding a variant or another, I have worked on the simple but safe principle of good sense and taste. I have left out the two last lines which by way of refrain were repeated from the beginning of the piece in editions subsequent to the year 1857, when, so far as my research can go, the poem made its first appearance before the wide public, and was quite innocent of the misdeed. This ill-assorted edition is responsible for the obscurity into which one of the daintiest products of Solomos' genius lay sunk so long, and for the misconception it gave rise to. The reader will see what amount of beauty is restored to it if we allow it to close with the impression created by a burial at which the whole mortuary service consisted of the ringing of the little metals intermingled with the cry of a desolate animal.

Πές μου, θυμᾶσαι, ἀγάπη μου, ἐκείνην τὴν παιδοῦλα,
Ὁποῦχε στὰ ξανθὰ μαλλιὰ νιοθέριστη μυρτοῦλα;
Ὁποῦχε σὰν παρθενικὸ τριαντάφυλλο στὸ στόμα,
Κ' εἶχε τὰ μάτια γαλανὰ σὰν τ' οὐρανοῦ τὸ χρῶμα;
Ποῦ πρὸς τὸ βράδυ πάντοτε μονάχη ἐπερπατοῦσε,
Κ' εἶχε κοντά της ἔν ἀρνὶ καὶ τὴν ἀκολουθοῦσε;
Ποῦ καθισμένη εὑρίσκαμε στ' ἔρημο ἀκρογιάλι;
Καὶ λυπηρὰ ἐτραγοῦδαε τῆς ἄνοιξης τὰ κάλλη;
Ἄχ! τὸ τραγοῦδι ἀκλούθαε, κοιτάζοντας τὸ κῦμα,
Μὲ τόση λύπη ποὖλεγες ὁπῶς ἐκ' ἔχει μνῆμα!
Τὴ μαύρη τὴν ἀπάντησα τὸ χάραμα στὸ δρόμο,
Σήμερον καὶ τὴν ἔφερναν τέσσαρες εἰς τὸν ὦμο.
Χυμένα εἶταν σ' ὅλο της τὸ λείψανο ποῦ εὐώδα
Γιούλια, μοσκοῦλες καὶ γατζιὲς, τριαντάφυλλα καὶ ρόδα·
Σβυσμένα εἶταν τὰ μάτια της ποῦ ἐλάμπαν σὰν ἀστέρια,
Καὶ μὲ κορδέλλες κόκκινες δεμένα εἶχε τὰ χέρια.
Ἄχ κατεβάζοντάς την οἱ τέσσεροι ἀπ' τὸ βράχο,
Κανεὶς δὲν τὴν ἀκλούθαε παρὰ τ' ἀρνὶ μονάχο.
Ἄσπρα λουλούδια κίτρινα τοῦ κάνανε στολίδια,

Λουλούδι ἄσπρα καὶ κίτρινα πού τᾶχε μάσει ἡ ἴδια.

Ἔτρεχε ἐβέλαζε βραχνά, μπὲ-μπὲ, μπὲ-μπὲ φωνάζει,

Μπε-μπὲ, μπε-μπὲ, πάλε μπε-μπὲ, καὶ τὴν παιδοῦλα κράζει.

Μὲ τὸ κουδοῦνι στὸ λαιμὸ στοὺς γκρεμνοὺς ἐπερπάτει,

Ντιν-τὶν, ντιν-τὸν κουδούνιζε στὸ νεκρικὸ κρεββάτι.

I do not know how far I shall succeed in carrying the conviction of the reader, but if my labour is not doomed to absolute failure I would propose to give to this poem the title of Τὸ λείψανον τῆς ἐρωτοκαμμένης instead of Ὁ θάνατος τῆς Ὀρφανῆς which whilst telling too little seems to be out of place, the aloofness of the young maid not necessarily implying that she was in a state of orphanage.

As a little space has been left I will contribute a few lines towards the history of Solomos' life.

Some editors describe him as a Knight, Ἱππότης, and if by this is meant a Knight of the Order of St. Michael and St. George, which was established in and for the Ionian Islands in the year 1814, I am afraid the statement is far from accurate. The poet's name is not entered in Shaw's "Knights of England," the completeness of which we have no grounds to question. His brother, Count Demetrio Solomos, was created a Knight in the year 1850, but this distinction was bound to follow upon his approximent as President of the Senate to which rank he was raised by the improvement of the political conditions in the country. Our poet, Count Dionisio, must have anything but enjoyed the fovour of the authorities at whose hands knighthood could be received. Had he not been a man of independent means, he would have experienced much material suffering, as have other Zantiot citizens of note and rank, who early in 1821 had been bold enough to sign a petition to King George III., complaining of the violation byt the Lord High Commissioner of the Constitutional Charter of the Ionian States. Solomos was at the time only twenty-three years of age, and, youth notwithstanding, his signature comes third in a series of . . . . . The document was couched in very good Italian, and, considering the position assigned to him among the signatories, one feels inclined to ascribe to him its authorship, unless we were to accept the suggestion made by one of the offlcials that it was the work of Ugo Foscolo, the other Zantiot poet who led then an exile's life at London, having his residence in New Bond Street, and corresponding with his countrymen of the islands. Strangely enough, our poet was not molested in any way for his participation in an act which Sir Thomas Maitland preposterously regarded as one of disloyalty, and his further life evinced no change in his feeling. His literary work shows him to be more the friend of Bryon and Lord Guilford, the founder of the Ionian University, than of the Tory representatives of the British Government who never allowed freedom to reach in the islands any fair stage of true development.

London, October, 1906.

CONTENTS.

The Political situation in the Balkans.

—

Memorandum of the Patriarch of Constantinople to the Great Powers.

—

An Appeal of the Thracian Association in Athens to the European poples.

—

Macedonia and the Roumanians by N. Kasasis.

—

Press Reviews.

—

Literary Gossip by Dr. L. Belleli.

Published at Craven House, 31, Kingsway, London, W. C. Editor: Dr. C. Pouptis.

The Hellenic Herald

A MONTHLY POLITICAL PERIODICAL

Vol. I., No. 2] DECEMBER 1906 [Price 10/- per Annum Post Free

CONTENTS

Congratulatory Letter	Dr. Max Nordau
The Macedonian Question	E. Engelhardt
Editorial Note	——
In Macedonia	M. Paillarès
Macedonia and Roumania	N. Kasasis
The Murder of the Bishop of Corytza	——
Foreign Trade of Greece in 1905	——
Press Review	——
Greeks and Bulgarians	*From the "Figaro"*
The Reading of Homer	C. K. Smith
Old Age Pensions	——

We have received from Dr. Nordau, the distinguished sociologist, and the universally-known author of the "Conventional Lies" and "Degeneration," the following letter:—

Dear Dr. Pouptis,—I am very glad to learn that you have been able to establish in London an English organ devoted to Balkan affairs, and in particular to the Hellenic interests.

I am sure that in this way you will contribute to the enlightenment of English public opinion, which at the bottom is certainly Phill-hellenic. English sympathies have ever been extended to all just and noble causes: and if they have lately become cold towards the endeavours of Hellemic patriotism, this can only be attributed to a systematic campaign of falsehood on the part of interested parties.

Please accept the assurance of my sympathy, and my best wishes for your success.

Max Nordau.

OUR AIMS

THE OBJECT OF THE

HELLENIC HERALD

Is to give an exhaustive account of the various movements and affairs—political, racial, and social—in the Near East; and to set forth with clearness the Greek claims in the Balkan Peninsula. In addition to articles by well-known publicists and reviews of the Foreign press, a portion of each number will be devoted to literary matters—more particularly to the literature of Modern Greece.

THE MACEDONIAN QUESTION

A Solution

By E. ENGELHARDT

M. ED. ENGELHARDT, whose remarkable studies of the Macedonian question are so well known, is putting them together in a single volume. We cannot too strongly recommend anyone who has an interest in the Macedonian problem to peruse this work.

Here for the first time under the signature of a political writer of the West do we find an absolutely impartial judgment and appreciations conformable to the actual facts, dealing with the rights and interests of each one of the populations that has any real title to be heard.

Writing with the skill that distinguishes him in handling such subjects, and basing his work on documents of indisputable importance and weight, the author has proved that the settlement of the question cannot be sought outside the solution he proposes.

We excerpt from his study Chapters III. and IV., which contain in a manner all the essential conclusions.

On the balance of power in the Balkans—Rivalry of Greeks and Bulgarians.

When the Berlin Congress undertook the revision of the Treaty of San Stefano, its dominant idea was to establish a certain equilibrium between the different national groups that make up the population of the Balkan Peninsula.

In this task of rectification and settlement the Congress began by reducing to more reasonable proportions the territory of the tributary Principality, that, under the name of Bulgaria, was to stretch from the Danube to the Ægean Sea, from the Euxine to the frontiers of Albania.

This new-born State, which covered no less than 163,965 square kilometres, was reduced to 64,390, an area about equal to that of Greece and of Servia.

Regard for the balance of power in the East was a dominant motive in determining the increase of territory made in favour of these two kingdoms in 1877, and the same motive, eight years later, caused the Cabinets of Athens and Belgrade to protest and resist the annexation of the Roumelian province to the Bulgarian Principality.

"Most assuredly," Count Kalnoky declared once to the Austro-Hungarian Delegation, "the Berlin Congress had in view a system of counterpoise that should establish a certain equality of races between the Balkan peoples," and alluding to the consequences of the Revolution of Philippoli in 1885, he added, "If the Bulgarian movement extends further, it will naturally offend the legitimate susceptibilities of the neighbouring states."[1]

These precedents should not be forgotten in considering the future division of the Macedonian

[1] On the question of Balkan equilibrium *see* the Yellow Book of 1905, especially No. 129, p. 86; 132, p. 87, and 137, p. 90

districts. Sanctioned by the whole weight of the authority of Europe, as embodied in the Berlin Treaty, they impose moderation on the two competitors whom we are going to bring shortly upon the scene one against the other, after having attempted to circumscribe, by the method of elimination, the proper sphere of their rivalry .

On different occasions, and especially on the eve of the Greco-Turkish War of 1897, the Greek and Bulgarian governments have deliberated together to arrive at the conditions of an understanding. Never have they succeeded in reconciling their reciprocal pretensions: and also, at the time of the last negotiations that were held at Athens, it may be inferred from the abrupt departure of the delegate of the Principality at Sofia that all idea of coming to any agreement was abandoned for the time being.

It is apparently owing to this attitude that the President of the Council, in the debate on the Address made to the Sobranye of 1905, insisted on the purely official character of the Principality's relations with Greece, and dwelt upon the fundamental disagreement between their mutual claims in those questions of political settlements that concerned the two countries.

Already we know, by what has been said elsewhere in respect of the Servians, the aspirations of the Bulgarian revolutionary party, in league with the proselytism of the national Exarchate. These have been set out on a map published in 1885, which embraced in its " Great Bulgaria " the whole of Macedonia including the district of Ochrida in the west, Old Servia in the north-west, and Salonica in the south.

This was at the time when Bulgarian patriotism, puffed up by the successful revolution in respect of Eastern Roumelia, was on fire with the idea of a complete restoration of that ephemeral creation conjured up by Russia in 1877.

The advanced party represented by the comitadjis themselves still persists in these ambitious views, though reduced to being able to invoke no better title than the act " preliminary," that of San Stefano, in virtue of which the " Pan-Bulgarian " State had a life of nine months.

It is not that they despise the importance and the value of the Greek element in Macedonia, but they intend to neutralise it by absorbing it into the Slav mass which they consider numerically superior and in " culture at least equal."

These dreams, so far as they are grounded on a partiality that denies the plainest evidence of facts, are doubtless not shared by the statesmen at the head of affairs. However, from the abortive issue of all joint conferences, one can infer that grave divergencies separate the two principal factors of the Balkan problem.

I have made fruitless inquiries into the views exchanged on this subject between the Cabinets of Sofia and Athens. But it is not of much importance to know fully the exact limits that each of the two nationalities claims for itself, for it is perfectly clear that such is the difference between these limits, that their respective boundaries are mutually exclusive.

PREDOMINANCE OF THE GREEK ELEMENT IN THE SOUTH AND OF THE BULGARIAN IN THE NORTH OF MACEDONIA—THE SHARING UP OF THE MIDDLE DISTRICTS—PARTIAL DELIMITATION OF THIS REGION OF THE EUROPEAN CONFERENCE AT CONSTANTINOPLE IN 1876.

The Slav element, we have stated, is dominant in the north of the Balkan Peninsula, and the Greek in the south.

Between these two regions the populations are mingled in proportions that no official statistics have yet determined.

Herein then lies the kernel of the difficulty of making a division of spheres of influence between the rival races.

This middle region has always been the object of a delimitation, partial and approximate only, that carries the sanction of an international delegation.

Towards the end of 1876, while the rising in Bosnia and Herzegovina was extending to the confines of Philippoli, a European Conference met at Constantinople, on the initiative of England, and elaborated two constitutional statutes, one for the two Yugo-Slav provinces, the other for Bulgaria, which was divided into two vilayets, having for centres Sofia and Tirnovo.

The south frontier of Bulgaria, the only one of importance to us here, stretched from the shore of the Black Sea, south of Bourgas, ran along the ridge of Rhodope or Despoto Dagh, crossed the Vardar about the middle of its course, bent south of the lake of Kastoria, and reached the Albanian frontier north of the lake of Ochrida.

The two new districts of Sofia and Tirnovo were only, it must be recognised, the *nucleus* of the Bulgarian nationality, and the Conference, as was observed by the English plenipotentiary, had deemed it right to abstain from adding to them " a large part of the vilayets of Adrianople, Salonica and Prisrend, where this nationality is also represented, without being predominant therein."

This demarcation was criticised by the Prince von Bismarck in a sitting of the Reichstag, when he said, " The ethnological situation of Bulgaria, as I am informed from authentic sources, and as is proved by the best map we know, that of Kiepert, is as follows: the boundaries of the nationality descend from the west almost without intermixture down to just above Salonica, and go eastwards, with some small Turkish element, to the Black Sea, while the Conference of Constantinople has in Eastern Bulgaria set back the boundaries of the nationality a little too much to the north, and in compensation has perhaps in the west attached to Bulgaria rather more than the territory inhabited by a population exclusively Bulgarian."

So, according to the opinion of the German Chancellor, the Balkan districts forming the true heart of Bulgaria, that is to say, including in bulk the regions where the Bulgarian element has the upper hand, ought to be increased in the East and reduced in the West, following a line which, though not marked out, would pass north of Salonica and Monastir.

This observation, which bears in two important points on the destination of part of the central territory of Macedonia, will doubtless figure in the dossier of the Amphictyonic Council that may some day be expected to arise, as will also the numerous ethnographic studies which have been undertaken in the Peninsula in the last century and in our own day.[1]

[1] We quote more particularly the following works: *Voyage in Greece*, Pouqueville, 1826; *Turkey in Europe*, Ami Roué, 1840; *Record of a Journey in Turkey in Europe*, Gregorovitch, 1840; *The Slavs of Turkey*, Cyprien Robert, 1844; *Ethnography of Turkey in Europe*, Legean, 1861; *General Treatise on the Geography of the Ottoman Empire*, Synvet, 1872; *The Slav World*, Rittich, 1885; *Bulgarian History*, Irecek, 1888; *Geography*, Kiepert, 1887; *The Balkan Peninsula*, Laveleye, 1885; *Greece, Byzantine and Modern*, Bikelas, 1893; *The Eastern Question after the Berlin Treaty*, Choublier, 1899.

Distribution of the sphere of Hellenic idfluence in the cazas or cantons situated in the south, some east, others south-east of Sal onica, considered as territory "not open to dispute":—Distribution to the Bulgarian sphere, under the same head of "not open to dispute" of a certain number of cantons in the northern region:—Reasons to justify these two classes being so settled.

As regards Southern Macedonia there is not, unless I deceive myself, a single author of repute, whom the Bulgarians take for authorities, who does not admit more or less explicitly the legitimacy of the Greek claims.

The Bulgarians themselves do not deny that the Greeks are in a great majority and that their "compact masses" form a continuous chain from the borders of the Eastern province of Adrianople to the course of the Thessalian Bistritza on the west.[1]

Certain salient points may moreover be taken to show the approximate breadth of this band on the sea border. It is established that even the ethnographers who have put *furthest south* the line that separates off the properly Bulgarian district, all clearly leave outside this line the territories of the two chief centres of the country, *i.e.*, Salonica and Serres, thus isolating the region of the lower Vardar, Chalcidice and the sea-coast cazas extending to the bay of Kavala, opposite the isle of Thasos.[2]

These countries are notoriously of Greek origin, and Greek by language and civilisation. In this respect we can quote data least open to suspicion, derived from the actual Bulgarian statistics dealing with the schools of the two nationalities.

In appreciating, in a previous pamphlet, the worth of the different distinctive signs of ethnical descent, I expressed the opinion that, as education in Macedonia had long been monopolised by the Hellenic clergy, the figures of the national school population did not therefore afford an absolutely definite test.

However, this reservation must not be exaggerated. The test as to the numbers and local importance of the different nationalities drawn from considering the respective establishments for primary and secondary education cannot be wholly rejected. Even the Bulgarians, in their comparative tables, allow to some extent the relation that exists between the figures of each population and those of their schools.

Thus, for example, in the maritime cazas situated to the south and east of Salonica, where the Bulgarian reckonings prove either the total absence or an infinitesimal proportion of Slav schools, the relative conditions there exactly follow these instances, falling into the one or the other of these cases; cazas inhabited solely by Greeks, cazas where the Greek element predominates.[3]

Moreover, the Bulgarians can invoke no historical title over all this part of Macedonia on the Ægean. They have never held them in those far-off days when the frontiers of their kingdom extended beyond the Balkans. Never, as V. Freeman observes in his *Geography of Europe*, have the Bulgarians reached the coast of the Ægean Sea, not even in the troubled period of the fourth crusade, when Salonica passed more than once from the Greeks into the hands of the Franks.

However, it appears that the Principality, which already borders on the Black Sea and on this side has attained nearly 200 kilometres of coast-line, now covets the possession of a port towards the Archipelago, and to this end casts regards on the bay of Kavala.

With a view to this D. N. Brancoff, when reproducing in the first chapter of his book *Protocol III.* of the Constantinople Conference of 1876, records by this quotation the objections that he would rebut "on the part of the Powers neighboured to the Mediterranean against the admission of a new maritime power to the littoral of the Ægean Sea."[4]

I will not insist further on the proofs afforded by language when considering the repartition of the different Macedonian nationalities. These, following the districts, as I have already taken occasion to note, have often forgotten their original idiom and adopted that of the predominant population.

It is, however, a fact that if the Bulgarian and Servian tongues reign in the north-east and west of the province, it is the Greek that in general is spoken in the south. As for the central parts, putting aside the towns where Greek is the ordinary usage, more than one philologer of note has stated that the dialect most spread throughout the country districts is not so nearly allied to Bulgarian as to Servian when the grammar is considered, and to Greek in vocabulary.[5]

As far as concerns the region of Southern Macedonia situated to the west of the caza of Salonica between the lower Vardar, the frontier of the Hellenic kingdom and that of Epirus, the Greeks, independently of their own claims, can be shown by the very Bulgarian statistics to be equally in a majority, so as to include all up to a certain limit towards the north in their sphere of exclusive influence.

This last limit which separates the districts *exclusively Greek* from the *mixed* districts is marked by an imaginary line passing south of the four lakes of Ochrida, Prespa, Kastoria and Jenidge.[6]

All the territory thus enclosed is in effect Greek, more Greek even than that part whose character and destination we are ready to recognise.

In this respect let us quote references following the same method of proof as for the country along the littoral of the Ægean, employing Bulgarian

[1] *See Macedonia and its Christian Population*, by D. M. Brancoff, supposed to be under a pseudonym an organ of the Bulgarian Exarchate, 1905.

[2] *See* especially on this subject the works already quoted of Cyprien Robert, Lejean, Gregorovitch, Iresek and Laveleye.

[3] According to the work of M. Brancoff, we class in the first category the southern cazas of Kassandra, Agion-Oros, Prari, Kavala, Sari-Chaban, and in the second those of Salonica, Serres, Zangala, Zihna, Drama.

Serres is always marked under the line; a cazas where the Bulgarian element predominates; although, following Bulgarian statistics, it is only represented by thirty-one schools against fifty-four Greek schools.

The Greeks, for their part, reckon in the cazas of Serres seventy-eight schools against twenty-two Bulgarian.

[4] This text is quoted from a declaration of the English plenipotentiary, Lord Salisbury, who expressed his opinion that "Bulgaria ought not to extend to the Ægean."

Let us add in this respect that the conditions under which the closing of the Straits were provided for, are not the same since the creation of the Bulgarian State and of the Roumanian Kingdom bordering on the Black Sea. Doubtless the principle of the open door will one day prevail according to the regulations governing the management of the Suez Canal.

[5] See especially Gobtchevitch, in *Macedonia and Old Servia.*

[6] This cuts off from Central Macedonia the cazas of Verria, Katerina, Elassena, Serfidgé, Grabena, Kozana, Nasticht, the south part of the caza of Kastoria, the caza of Korytza and Mount Athos.

evidences and notes extracted from ethnographical studies to which these evidences apply.

We shall make only one exception in order to establish a first point. There is *no* single Bulgarian school in the part of Macedonia in question. This is exceedingly clearly shown by a summary and a map, one of the most detailed published in England, in 1905, under the heading *Macedonia's Population.*[1]

D. N. Brancoff, whose recent work has been termed the gospel of Macedonian Bulgarism, himself acknowledges that " The Greeks still prevail in the extreme south-west of Macedonia." [2] The majority of the writers that he quotes as favourable to his general proposition, confirm his observation in terms more or less categorical.

Thus, for example, P. Pouqueville, " the first to indicate the frontiers that separate the Bulgarians from the Greeks in the Ottoman peninsula," [3] relates as follows his arrival from *Greece* into the borders of the lake of Kastoria:—" Till now I have been travelling in familiar country, so to speak, for I could talk to the men and converse with them; but here the scene changed. I was entering into the district of the Bulgarians and I had to have recourse to the few Slav words I had learnt during my stay at Ragusa." [4]

Ami Boué, Cyprien Robert, Lejean, Irecek, Synvet, de Laveleye, and many others state more expressly still the geographical views of the author of the *Voyage in Greece.* I quote their texts in a note, so far as they are concerned with the subject of the present article. (1-7.)

Therefore, it appears that, from the ethnographical standpoint, and on the basis of tests whose efficacy the Bulgarians themselves acknowledge, *that the two groups of southerly districts that we would detach from the vilayets of Salonica and of Monastir, compose a first allotment to which Hellenism can legitimately advance a claim in the future settlement of the succession to the Ottoman Turks.*

This conclusion, when compared with that which examination of the Sarbo-Bulgarian question has suggested to me, would reduce the Balkan problem to the task of sharing up the central region of Macedonia, and even in this quarter would introduce a new and important method of simplification if, as for the Greeks in the southern region, the conclusions actually attained may enable us to attribute to the Bulgarians also a kind of residuum embracing the administrative districts wherein it can be stated without having to check matters by any detailed counting of heads that they are almost exclusively predominant.

Now these conclusions are drawn from statistics of the schools that cannot be rejected in this case, for they are derived from the opposing party, that is from the Hellenic organisations or the organs inspired by them.[5]

The practical deduction from them, allowing for a margin of error, is that in five cazas of North-East Macedonia the Bulgarians possess a number of schools much in excess of the Greek schools, and that in two other cazas the Greeks are not represented at all.[6]

From this it can be inferred that the Greek population is numerically insignificant in these countries, and this inference has the more reason to back it when it is considered that for centuries past the Hellenic clergy have had the sole direction of education in all the peninsula.

I ought to note that out of forty-six cazas making up the whole of Macedonia, D. N. Brancoff's statistics reckon twenty-three as " inhabited solely by Bulgarians," and that for the two vilayets of Salonica and Monastir there would be seven cazas at least to add to the seven of the category that I believe can be considered as " set on one side."

From this addition it would result in especial that almost the entire northern district of the vilayet of Salonica would figure on the profit side of the Bulgarians among the districts " not open to dispute."

Such is not in any way in accordance with Greek opinion. Their tables of comparative statistics do not agree with this adjudication.

A further method of enumeration will decide the matter.

Restricted extent of the Macedonian territory considered as "disputable."

I sum up the principal considerations by which I have sought to elucidate, and above all to simplify, the diverse questions that constitute the Macedonian problem.

The real difficulty is concerned with the problem of dividing between Greek and Bulgarian the territories comprised in the two vilayets of Salonica and Monastir.

The Greeks take no personal interest in the fate of the vilayet of Kassovo, where their nationality is hardly found at all; but, unless I am deceived, they show themselves very amicably disposed to the Serbs. In this part of Turkey in Europe Servian predominance is fully recognised, the eventual annexation to the kingdom of Servia would contribute to the balance of power among the Balkan States that is considered desirable.[7]

It appears that on this subject the two neighbouring Slav peoples cannot fail to arrive at an understanding. As I have stated in effect the greatest stretch of the territory of the province in question

[1] Edited by Ede, Allom, and Townsend.

[2] Brancoff, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

[3] Brancoff, p. 19.

[4] *Pouqueville, op. cit.*, Vol. II., Book VI., p. 517.

(1) *Pouqueville, op. cit.*, Vol. II., Book VI., p. 517.

(2) "The Bulgarians form the principal nucleus of Macedonia, excepting the part wholly South-West, from Kastoria and on the Indge-Karassu (Bistritja). The mountains between the basin of Florina and Kastoria, between Kailari and Chatista, between Ostrovo and Verria, and between Vodena and Niousta, bound the territory where only Bulgarian is spoken from that of the South where Greek is the language of the peasant."—*Ami Boué*, Vol. III., p. 5, *op. cit.*

(3) Cyprien Robert adopts exactly the same separative line, adding, "To the South only of this line is the peasant of Macedonia Greek."—Vol. II., p. 230, *op. cit.*

(4) "To-day the Bulgarian race is roughly bounded by the Danube, the Timok, and by a line passing by the towns of Nisch, Prisrend, Ochrida, Kastoria, Niousta, Salonica, etc." —*Lejean, op. cit.*, p. 12-29.

(5) " Further off the frontier (Bulgarian frontier) turns from Devala across the lake of Kastoria, the Vlach town of Klisonna, Niousta, Salonica, Serres, etc."—*Irecek*, p. 718, *op. cit.*

(6) Synnet states that the towns of Ochrida and of Kastoria are on the Bulgaro-Serb boundary. (p. 72 *op. cit.*).

(7) "Thence, towards the East, and starting from Ochrida, begin the Bulgarians."—*De Laveleye*, Vol. III., p. 204, *op. cit.*

[5] Especially from *Macedonia's Population*, already quoted.

[6] These cazas would be the following, the first figures after each indicating Bulgarian schools, the second the Greek :— Djumaia, 18—1 ; Melnik, 26—4 ; Petritch, 8—4, here the Bulgarian statistics give 18 schools. The figure 8 may be a printer's error ; Raslik, 16—0 ; Nevrokop, 36—5 ; Kavadar, 20—0 ; Avret-Hissar, 25 — 3 — altogether in 7 cazas 159 Bulgarian schools and 17 Greek.

[7] In a conference held at Athens in 1906, M. Kasasis, Rector of the University, said : " We regard Old Servia, that is to say the vilayet of Kossovo, as a land wherein the Serbs have, before all others, historical and ethnographical rights that carry weight."

lies within the boundaries of Old Servia and of the old independent Slav patriarchate of Ipek, and its population is for the most part entirely Serb.

It is true that out of the thirty cazas that compose it the Bulgarians mean to claim for themselves twelve as " exclusively inhabited by their kinsfolk." [1]

The Servian diplomatists of the future will doubtless have to take account of this claim, considering to what extent a contradictory statement can be justified. [2]

Thus it is probable that they will abandon any attempt to pretensions over the northern region of the vilayet of Salonica, coveted by the extremist party of those clamouring for annexation, where the Servian element is notoriously in a very small minority.[3]

There is in this case a problem to be settled.

As to what is the respective share of the Greeks and Bulgarians in the two vilayets of Salonica and Monastir, I have made a distinction between the districts of these provinces which it is possible to class *even now* as eventual dependencies of the respective patrimonies, and those which, by consequence of the intermixture of populations, cannot be assigned to either of the two nationalities except on the basis of a careful reinvestigation.

The first class comprehends, on the Greek side, all the cazas of South Macedonia; the second, the Bulgarian reserve, would be formed from a group of cazas in Northern Macedonia. Both sets have been already named in the preceding notes.

These two categories of circumscription would constitute a kind of *indisputable territory*, put outside the regions genuinely intermixed in character, that would be the object of a further settlement.

As a result of this division, which we may remark is based on the printed statistics taken in the majority of instances from the figures of the opposite side, *the number of administrative districts representing the* DISPUTABLE TERRITORY *does not exceed a score of cantons, which taken altogether make an area not as great as two-thirds of that of Belgium.*

However, both on the Bulgarian and on the Greek side the desire to possess this portion of the Ottoman heritage, though so comparatively modest a piece, awakens ambitious claims that are almost exactly coincident in extent; if we were to represent them by geometrical figures, the one could be all but superposed on the other.

But one cannot refuse to recognise the fact that by their persisting in this obstinacy this *irreconcilable rivalry indefinitely prolongs the territorial and governmental status quo*, that is to say, maintains the existence of a situation as intolerable for the populations themselves as it is burdensome on many counts for the Powers who have assumed their guardianship.

For, and I hope I have succeeded in proving this, it is as hopeless to pursue the rainbow-gold as to dream that Macedonia can be transformed into a free province, completely isolated from the kindred States that march with its borders.

On the other hand, let us suppose that an agreement be made between the Balkan nationalities, upon the eventual partition of the three Ottoman vilayets; by the mere fact of this union, which would make an imposing association of force in view of a single end and against an adversary common to all, then the Macedonian question would be virtually settled, and with it, up to a point, I venture to say on considering the full political bearings of this arrangement, the Eastern Question itself.

The governing of the Christian peoples of the Balkans has been a permanent source of danger and has enfeebled Turkey. These peoples have been perpetually hostile under the regime of injustice and oppression which the theocratic constitution and Moslem customs impose upon them. Hence the interference from without that, by natural progression, has successively stripped the Sultans of their chief sovereign powers.

By abandoning to their fate these irreconcilable subjects, that more and more grow conscious of their strength and their rights, the Ottoman Power will not only recover its autonomy and stability, it will make all its enemies its allies, guardians henceforth as jealous as itself of the independence and integrity of the Eastern States.

EDITORIAL NOTE

We think that when the question of a delimitation of the spheres of influence of the two preponderating nationalities of Macedonia, Greek and Bulgarian, or of a definite partition, is to be dealt with, the following arguments must be seriously taken into consideration if a *fair*, *just* and *lasting* solution is to be found of that most complicated problem, the Macedonian question.

1. Two hundred thousand Greeks, *natives* from time immemorial of Eastern Roumelia, were incorporated when that province was annexed to Bulgaria in 1885; and this against their will and despite their repeated protest. What benefits these Greeks have received from Bulgarian " civilisation and freedom " may be inferred from the hardships and indignities to which they have been subjected ever since the annexation, and which culminated in the slaughter and wholesale expulsion of last summer.

2. Macedonia having been Greek from the days of antiquity downwards, the Greeks have far stronger rights than the Bulgarians can claim as the result of mere invasion and incursion. Moreover, thousands of the Bulgarian-speaking Macedonians (especially in the middle and south) are Greeks who have adopted the Bulgarian tongue owing to compulsion or pressure of surroundings; nevertheless, their aspirations are Greek, and they regard themselves as Greeks.

3. Leaving out of question the historical rights, it must be remembered that for the last four centuries at least, civilisation, culture and Christianity have been kept alive in Macedonia entirely by the efforts of the Greeks.

4. As a result of heroic struggles, often in face of the unfriendly attitude of the Great Powers, not more than one third of the Greek population inhabiting the Balkan Peninsula and the Mediterranean coasts has obtained its freedom, whereas

---

[1] These cazas will be the following :—Uskub, Kupruul, Veles, Tetovo, Costivar, Kournanovo, Kratovo, Katchani, Ichtib, Radovitch, Petchovo, Palanka, Prechovo.

[2] The Bulgarian statistics of M. Brancoff themselves prove that in this group of cazas there are more than 37,000 Serbs. Only in two cazas do his figures return nil for the Serb population.

[3] This region extends from the Bregelnitza, a tributary of the Vardar, to Despoto, Dagh in the East ; for Northern limit it has the actual frontier of the Bulgarian Principality, and in the South, lake Dorian. Its area is about 9,080 square kilometres, almost equal to that of Montenegro.

Bulgaria, without fighting, and solely through the intervention of a third power, has obtained all that it can desire, with the exception of that portion of Macedonia to which Bulgaria has claims.

5. The strategic position of Macedonia properly so-called (*i.e.* the two vilayets of Salonika and Monastir) is such that the possessor of this country holds Greece at his mercy. Therefore, although to the Bulgarians the Macedonian question is merely a dream of aggrandisement, to Greece the question is a matter of life and death; and Greece expects that the Powers, disregarding her just claims, and the vast sacrifices she has made and is ready to make on behalf of these claims, will not inflict upon her one more injustice—an injustice which would render her position intolerable and would be a continual menace to the peace of the Balkans.—Dr. C. Pouptis.

IN MACEDONIA

The Greco-Turkish "Co-operation."

EVEN yet in Europe, among those who do not remain wholly indifferent and sceptical in their attitude to Macedonian affairs, there are to be met certain publicists and politicians who sincerely believe and affirm with magnificent conviction that the Turks and the Greeks work hand-in-glove together. In the course of a recent stay in Macedonia I attempted to verify this assertion.

The inquiry was rapidly effected, since, perhaps for the first time in all my visits to these unfortunate districts, I experienced no difficulty in my search for the truth. No one in my presence ventured to revive the story of this notorious secret past that was suffered to wed the ambition of King George to the terror of Sultan Abdul Hamid. On the contrary the agents of the Great and of the Lesser Powers, the European officers, set to re-organise the Ottoman gendarmerie were one and all unanimous in acknowledging the fact that the Hamidian troops attack the Greek bands vigorously, if not with much method.

Quite lately, so our Consul told me a short time ago, a military detachment crushed, at Gernitsovo, a Greek band of twenty men; fourteen Antartes were slain.

Out of the mass of evidence from recent happenings of the usual character that I have been enabled to collect, I will select two episodes from this terrible drama that is enacted with ever-recurring scenes of bloodshed and devastation at the very gates of Europe. These events have a touching eloquence of their own, for they throw a search-light upon the savage, ferocious, unappeasable hatred that has dug a bottomless abyss between Moslem and Christian.

The date is the beginning of June. A corps of eighty Greeks, under command of three chiefs, was manœuvring between the villages of Lahove and Strebeno. Its presence was denounced to the authorities. At once peremptory orders were sent in all directions to organise the pursuit of the Giaours, the "infidel." Troops started in haste from Neveska, Florina, Clissoura, and Sorevitch. The first detachments at dawn got close to the enemy, who were recruiting themselves by long and peaceful slumbers. However, a vigilant sentinel perceived the soldiers of the Crescent. Immediately he cried a warning, and fired several shots to awaken his comrades-in-arms. The Antartes were split up into three camps, about an hour apart. They held an impregnable position among the boulders high up on a mountain.

They allowed the troops to advance, who for their part were trying to locate them and draw them as it were into the meshes of a net, gradually sweeping round them. When the Turks were almost up to the muzzle of their rifles, the Greeks rained a withering shower of bullets upon them. Some of the soldiers fell, the others recoiled, panic-stricken, before this unexpected attack. The officers consulted; after checking the flight of their men, it was impossible that those dogs of Christians should have the best of it. A brief command rang out, "Charge." Again the soldiers dashed up to storm these precipitous heights whence the Antartes defied them.

A second volley well aimed and timed laid low their first ranks. Their officers encouraged them, dragged them on, inciting them against the infidel. But all in vain. The men turned tail before the murderous fire of the Greeks and rushed in headlong flight to the plain. Meanwhile other companies came up, who revived the failing courage of the runaways and brought them back to the foot of the rocks. A third storm of lead was poured down upon their heads. Fresh corpses bedewed the soil. Again a panic, a rally, a fresh assault. The Greeks formed a square and were resolved to defend themselves to the last. In fact the struggle lasted a whole day, from four in the morning to six in the evening. The Turks hardly could advance ten paces when they were driven back a hundred. But the hour came when ammunition failed the Greeks. They had emptied their cartouche-boxes. Then they began to think of quitting their positions. How could they break the circle that hemmed them in? On the other hand the military authorities of the district had despatched to the field a gun which was to break up the enemy's three camps. The Antartes had only lost six men.

Unable to resist longer, they rushed, uttering deafening shouts, upon the cordon of troops that ringed them round. They succeeded in bursting through to the summit of the mountain. But this last effort cost them twenty-three prisoners, seven of whom were brutally murdered. As for the Turks they had lost 250 soldiers. They admitted ten slain, but it took thirteen carts to carry off their dead. Furious at this costly check, they retired to their barracks cursing these "Christian dogs" and vowing to revenge themselves as soon as could be.

Their first revenge was taken in the prison of Monastir, wherein Turks, Greeks and Bulgarians are immured pell-mell together. All the news from outside reaches the ears of the prisoners. The encounter at Strebeno was told them on the next day with a wealth of detail that exasperated the Moslems. They looked threateningly at the Greeks, and were not slow to insult them. From words they proceeded to blows, from blows to bloodshed.

The director made a show of intervening. He ordered a minute perquisition to disarm the prisoners. They took away even their pocket-knives from the Greeks. Were the Moslems searched as vigorously? Certainly they were, replies the prison Administration. The facts speak to the contrary. In fact, as soon as the Greeks were reduced to powerlessness, the Turks threw themselves upon them, armed with daggers.

The Greeks defended themselves desperately; inspired by wrath and despair they fought with

fists and feet. But they were at the mercy of their assassins. Six were killed, twenty-eight wounded.

And the soldiers on guard, what were they doing, you may ask. Well they took good care not to separate the belligerents. They hastened to hand their bayonets to the Moslems. Despite official denials this has been definitely proved by the evidence of doctors and the statements of the Italian officers.

So intense was the excitement at Monastir that even the Russian Consul, whose acute Greek-ophobia exhibits the symptoms of a mania, was seized with indignation and felt compelled to protest to the Vali. Eventually some small satisfaction was accorded him and they dismissed the director of the prison. But I have no apprehension for the future career of this official, he will get a fat sinecure somewhere else.

The Greek population of the town wished to make a striking demonstration against the indescribable behaviour of the authorities. Ten thousand men, women and children attended the obsequies of the victims. The men were all bare-headed; their attitude showed their deep grief. Never have the Christians in Turkey shown with such dignity their contempt and hatred for the Hamidian *regime*. Innumerable garlands were carried by young boys and girls.

This imposing demonstration made, it is said, a great impression on the government.

Accordingly when I consider the fight at Strebeno, the massacre in the prison of Monastir, organised doubtless by the Administration, and the hundreds of petty oppressions put upon the Greeks by the Ottoman authorities; when I recall the arbitrary imprisonment of scores of Kontzo-Vlachs who refuse to embrace Roumanism, and of so many priests and teachers who can only be reproached with too tenacious a fidelity to Hellenism; when I remember that the metropolitans of Grevene and Monastir have been driven from their sees by Hilmesco Pasha, and sent to Constantinople like common criminals; then I dare to say that it must needs be flagrant bad faith, incurable blindness or crass ignorance to pretend still that there is a league between the Cabinet of Athens and the Sublime Porte and that the agents of the Red Sultan show any underhand favouritism for the Greek bands.

MICHEL PAILLARÈS.

[NOTE.—For those of our readers who still hold the absurd and absolutely untrue idea of a so-called co-operation of the Greek bands and the Turkish troops in Macedonia, we give here a list of the fightings (with dates and places) which have taken place between them from the end of 1904 to July of 1906.

In the Vilayet of Monastir

1. Engagement of the band of Melas à Statitsa, 14th October 1904. Death of Melas and nearly complete extermination of his band.

2. Engagement of Mourikion, 6th December 1904. Extermination of the Turkish detachment; many Greeks dead.

3. Encounter of the band of Nida at Belkamezi, 15th April 1905. Many losses on both sides.

4. At Actozi, 21st June 1905, engagement between the band of Calogeri and a Turkish detachment. Death of the chief Calogeri and of some of his partisans. Four Turkish soldiers wounded and one dead.

5. At Strebeno, 3rd May 1905. Three Greeks dead.

6. Engagement of Telovo, 14th May 1905. Six Turkish soldiers dead and three wounded.

7. Encounter of Kissava, 6th August 1905. One Greek dead.

8. Four Greeks killed at Opsarina, November 2, 1905.

9. 7th November 1905. Battle between the band of Crombi and a strong Turkish detachment at Petalina; death of the chief Crombi and of ten of his partisans.

10. In the same place, 15th November 1905. An entire Greek band completely exterminated.

11. 20th November 1905; battle of Lehovo between the band of Liappi and a Turkish force. Death of the chief and nine of his followers.

12. Battle of Grounitsa (Morihovo), 27th January 1906. Thirteen Turkish soldiers killed and eight wounded. The Greeks lost only one dead and three wounded.

13. Engagement of Lehovo, 30th January 1906. Three Greeks killed, four wounded and eight captured.

14. Encounter of Osnitsiani, 30th April 1906. Two Greeks killed.

15. The same band encountered a Turkish detachment in the same place on 15th June 1906. Three Greeks killed and five wounded. From the Turkish side one officer and four soldiers killed.

16. 25th January 1906, encounter of the band Nicoloudi-Scalidi at Grounitsa. Ten Turkish soldiers killed and nine wounded. Only one wounded from the Greek band.

17. 5th February 1906, at Ostiman, engagement between the band of Tiria and the Turks. Three Greeks and eleven Turks killed.

18. Encounter at Polok, 18th February 1906, between the band of Skalidi and a Turkish detachment. One Greek and two Turks killed.

19. Encounter in the Forest of Gradenitsa, 28th February 1906. Five Greeks killed.

20. 25th March 1906. Two Greeks wounded and captured.

21. Battle of Christoforo, 30th March 1906, between the band of Doxoyani and the Turks. Twenty-five soldiers killed and wounded. The Greeks escaped unhurt.

22. Battle of the same place, band of Skalidi. All the Greeks killed. The Turkish losses unknown.

23. In the same day at Potalina. Nine Greeks killed, two wounded.

24. Battle of Tirnovo, 5th April 1906. The band of Makris loses eight killed and two wounded. The Turks had great losses.

25. At Rakovo, 24th April 1906. No losses on both sides.

26. At Elovo, 25th April. Three Greeks killed.

27. Battle of Osnitsiani, 7th May, band Litsa. Twenty-four Greeks killed and ten Turks.

28. Engagement of Ezerets, 13th May. Thirty Turkish soldiers killed, many wounded. The Greeks had no losses.

29. Battle of Strebeno, 18th May. The Greeks numbering eighty; lose twenty-five killed and twenty wounded. The Turks had seventy men killed and numerous wounded.

30. At Ostiman, 1st July. The Greeks lose eight men. The Turks none.

31. The bands of Dogri and Roupa being attacked at Rakovoy lose four men killed and two wounded.

32. At Gornitsovo the band Nicoloudi-Karavitou lose twelve killed and one captured, 14th July 1906.

33. Encounter between the band of Makri and the Turks. One killed and two wounded.

In the Vilayet of Salonica

1. 20th November 1904, a Turkish detachment captures seven Greeks denounced by the Bulgarians of the village of Bogdrutsa.

2. 14th December 1904, the band of Georgaki loses four killed and two wounded.

3. The band of Tiria loses, near Doiran, seven killed and two wounded.

4. Heavy Turkish losses at Stefanian, 26th April 1905. The band Daphotis loses five killed and three wounded.

5. 5th May 1905, at Aghios Anastassios the Greeks had twelve killed. The Turks great losses.

6. 3rd May, the band Aksitz, near Bouas, lost four wounded.

7. The band Kodros at Livsdia (Caradzova) loses his chief and four other men.

8. At Dovista (Serres) a Greek band has been captured by the Turks on the 5th June 1905, denounced by the Bulgarians.

9. The band of Akritas from Vodessa loses 4 men at Messimez on 3rd July 1905.

10. On 6th July 1906, the Greeks lose at Baltsi eleven men.

11. At Sarikioi, the Greeks lose the chief and four others killed.

12. Near Loumnitter, after the death of the chief the Greek band of seven men capitulates.

13. 27th September 1905. Band of Savvas. Three Greeks and three Turks killed at Loukovitz.

14. The band of Nesto from Livadia has been annihilated on the 2nd November 1905.

15. Battle of Choropain (Niaoussa), 11th April 1905. Thirteen Greeks killed, eight wounded. The Turks lost twenty killed and many wounded.

16. On 6th July 1906 the Greeks lose, near Iseronovon, seven killed.

In those forty-nine engagements between the Greek bands and the Turkish troops the Greeks lost 465 men. Such losses, we think, cannot be considered as a recreative sport between two so-called friends.]

MACEDONIA AND ROUMANIA

(*Continued*)

Such is the latest transformation of Roumanian policy in the Balkan Peninsula. The Roumano-Macedonian Committee of Bucharest, not being strong enough to take direct action in Macedonia, has come to an understanding with the Bulgarian bands, in order to achieve the annihilation of the Greek element in this district. Meantime the Roumanian Government on its side loses no opportunity for basely flattering Turkey; it has quite recently built a mosque at Kiustendji at the public cost, and is represented by a consul, whose true function, there being none of his nationality there to occupy him otherwise, is to act as a spy on behalf of the Ottoman authorities, and to be the instrument of the Italian propagandism in Epirus.

All these disloyal manœuvres, immoral as they are, are, however, nothing compared to the *regime* of pin-pricks and oppression that the Government, though it calls itself civilized, has inaugurated for almost a year against the Greeks in Roumania. It would take too long to enumerate all the arbitrary measures to which the Greeks have been subjected. Let it suffice to recall the closing of Greek schools, private as well as State-supported; the outrages done by the Roumanian populace to the Greek Church in the person of her priests; the gross insults heaped on the head of this Church, the Patriarch himself; the murders of Greek subjects in open daylight; the interdiction of the Greek journal *Patris;* the expulsion of its editor and entire staff from Roumanian territory, because they had not acknowledged the existence of any Roumanians in Macedonia, and finally the expulsion of hundreds of Hellenic notables, of long residence in the country, who have been exiled without any form of trial, simply by order of the executive. The justification for these expulsions, according to the avowal of the Roumanian Cabinet, lies in the fact that the victims of these measures are members of the association "Hellenismos," which, having its centre at Athens, has the aim, according to the declarations of the Roumanian Government, "of creating heroes for the Pan-Hellenic movement in Macedonia."

In the face of these outrages, perpetrated before all Europe by the Government of Bucharest, I think myself bound, both as being a Hellene and, too, in my capacity as President of this association "Hellenismos" that is slandered with such gross injustice and bad faith, to put forward in these pages an explanation of this question, in which I shall not depart from the strictest impartiality, and indeed it is in the name of the sense of fair-play that I appeal equally to all who care to look through and form a judgment on the following passage.

The Greeks in Roumania

The ancient land of Dacia was once conquered by the Roman legions under Trajan. Some military colonies were established there by that Emperor, which were intended to secure the safety of the frontiers in this distant outlier of the universal Empire.

From intermarriage between the colonists settled by Trajan and the aboriginal races sprang the present Roumanians. Many Hellenic elements went to the forming of this people, which from all time has kept up close intercourse with the Greeks. In the course of these later centuries the ties between

them were drawn more tightly, after the Turkish conquests of the Balkan peninsula. In the regions of the lower Danube, though dependent on the Ottoman Empire, and despite the anarchy of this dismal and blood-stained epoch, despite wars, raids and constant political upheavals, there yet could be found a certain respect for the rights of man, which were wholly ignored in the other provinces of the Empire. The princes were chosen from the most powerful families of the country. Their sway, though essentially despotic, was, however, a Christian Government, in every respect superior to Turkish rule, which then, even more than in our day, deserved to be called the negation of all order and of all justice.

From the beginning of the eighteenth century, the administration of the provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia was entrusted to Greeks sprung from the noblest houses of the Phanar. Among certain Roumanian historians it is the fashion to attack the Phanariot regime. But without doubt these illustrious chiefs have rendered the greatest service to the civilisation of the Danubian regions. They have founded schools, drawn up codes of law; agriculture in these lands owes its first improvements to them; they encouraged commerce and gave a favourable impulse to the local products. At this time the Danubian provinces were occupied by a population of serfs employed in the interests of a small noble caste, the famous boyars. The Phanariot princes brought in their train many Hellenes who devoted themselves to agriculture, commerce, and manufacture. Under the influence of the Phanariot regime the Moldo-Wallachian provinces acquired the elements of a certain civilisation, of which the contiguous provinces of Servia and Bulgaria, governed directly by the pashas, were stripped. The situation of the Moldo-Wallachian lands was in no respect worse than that of Russia or Hungary, a result entirely due to the administration of the Greek hospodars.

Hellenic culture reigned undisputed in the upper classes as well as in the middle ranks of society. The ambition of every Roumanian was to pass for a Greek. They adopted Hellenic manners and customs, and even gave a Greek form to their names. The influence of Hellenism continued up to the rising of the Greek nation in 1821. The descendant of a noble Phanariot family, Alexandre Ypsilantis, son of that hospodar of Moldavia, Constantin Ypsilantis, who first dreamed of the political unity of the Danubian provinces, raised in 1821 the standard of rebellion in the principality of Moldavia. In its author's ideas the rising should have united all Christians, without distinction of race, against Ottoman tyranny. To further the work of deliverance the assistance of the Greeks, Servs, and Bulgarians inhabiting Moldo-Wallachia was assured. Unhappily the movement organised by this high-spirited and noble man never came to a head. The reasons of the failure can be found partly in the abandonment of the Greek cause by Tsar Alexander I. whose aide-de-camp Ypsilantis had been, and secondly in the treason of several Moldo-Wallachians, especially the notorious Theodore Vladimirescu. When the rising had been drowned in blood the Sublime Porte withdrew from Greek hands the administration of the provinces.

A foreign rule, however enlightened and humane, cannot fail to arouse the criticism and opposition of the native people, and especially of the influential classes, who naturally have an ambition to supplant the foreigners. For many reasons no sooner were the provinces withdrawn from the Phanariot administration than the regime was at once decried and abused. I abstain from recalling at present the intrigues which in our time are starting among certain Roumanians a systematically hostile movement in respect to the rule of the Greek hospodars; its detractors, for the most part, have served and are serving a policy that is inspired much more in the interests of certain foreign Powers than in those of their country. I prefer to invoke the opinion expressed by certain Roumanian savants in the action exercised by Greek civilisation and the Phanariot administration in the Danubian provinces.

In 1887 during the *fêtes* held at the Jersey University, Professor Erbitcheano, before an audience composed of the leading lights of Roumanian society, pronounced the following memorable words:—" Let us preserve an imperishable memory of those who have been the authors of the development of education in the hearts of the Roumanian people! " (" Eterna amintire celor ce aulnorat la desvoltarea instrurtiei in neanut nostra Romanese! ")

" The Greek schools," continued this learned man, and M. Erbitcheano is as scholarly as he is honourable, " though indirectly, have been of immense utility for the Roumanians. They have educated them, initiated them in the general culture of humanity, have inspired them to think with enthusiasm of their fatherland, their civilisation and their national language.

" In Turkey the Greeks were prevented from freely expressing the love they bore their country; Hellenic civilisation and patriotic desires were forbidden by the Turkish yataghan. Finding in our native land a country defended by certain privileges, being under the rule of Greek princes, they in their enthusiasm for the deliverance of their enslaved fatherland founded here schools intended to raise up a new generation imbued with liberal ideas. In the shelter of our country, under the ægis of the privileges our princes enjoy, the Greeks have sung their hymns to liberty and their fatherland, and have spread the same enthusiasm amongst us. Was it possible that the Roumanians were not fired in their turn by the sentiments of patriotism and liberty which exalted the Hellenes? "

Another Roumanian patriot, M. Kogalniceanu, in a university lecture, also spoke in thrilling language of the immense influence exercised by the Hellenes on the revival of national feeling among the Roumanians: " It is to the events of 1821 that we owe all the progress accomplished since these events reawakened in us the national feeling that till then had deeply slumbered." (" Intimplârirol de la 1821 Sintern datori eu ori ce propasire ce amfacut de atunci, caci ele ne au desteptat duhul national ce erat adormit cutotul.")

More thoroughly and with yet more eloquence the memory of Hellenism in Moldo-Wallachia, and the historical work accomplished by it in this country, has been defended by the eminent Roumanian historian, M. Yorga, professor of history at Bucharest University, in a discourse given at the Athenæum of that city on " Roumanian Education in the time of the Phanariots."

We deem it needful to extract some passages from this remarkable lecture. The light of science has thrown up in brilliant relief the services rendered by the Greeks to the Danubian provinces. This lecture is more than an apologia, it is rather a genuine

panegyric on the influence of Hellenic civilisation in these lands.

" One of the noblest duties," says M. Yorga, " imposed on the historian is the destruction of falsehoods. It is a glorious and useful task to expose the lies of panegyrists, since this deals with all manner of untruth. But to denounce and destroy a slander and a calumny is a duty greater than that imposed on every honourable man in the face of truth. In doing this, one has the joy of fulfilling a duty that is yet more sacred—it is that of making the voice of humanity and justice heard on behalf of those who cannot reply in their own defence, on behalf of the dead.

" Do I then intend to raise up the Phanariots, to prove that these men so stigmatised in our historical treatises were deserving of honour?

" Yes, I say it without reservation. In the accomplishment of my functions my mission is to speak the truth, and I can fulfil it.

" I declare to you henceforth that the work of reparation is a patriotic work.

" The princes in question had two partisans among the nobility of this country; their court was composed of native elements as well as of favourites from Constantinople. These Boyars were delighted when apprised of the nomination of their patron (Phanariot) whom they serve loyally. Boyar Niculcea treats Constantin Mavrocordato like a king, and finds no words worthy of singing his praises. Turn on a few pages and you will read the many bounties and great works of Constantin Voda, by which he embellished the land of Moldavia.

" Nowhere do we find a condemenation of the Phanariot regime, nowhere any systematic opposition to it. Wherefore this silence? Either the Phanariots were not what they have described to us, or else the nobility of this country was at that time the most servile ever known. Allow me to take the first of these suppositions as more flattering to our patriotism.

" But why did the peasantry, the class not won over by greed for office, not murmur? Were they unable to struggle? Had they no courage to rebel?

" No, the Roumanian peasants were the same as those who have won more than one victory under the Russian flag.

" The Phanariot prince was held responsible for a situation he did not create, for a regime found there by them, after the conquest.

" Nicolas Mavrocordatos proved himself a worthy prince in Moldavia. He was simple, just, hard-working. The humblest of the people, the moujiks, gained audience of him, to the disappointment of the boyars. He ransomed men taken for slaves by the Tartars, he deceived the Turks to get an abatement of sentence for those who were condemned. He founded villages, set up fairs and markets. He rendered accounts when not compelled to do so. And, according to the chroniclers of the time, all the people of the land were happy, thanking God who had sent them a good and merciful prince, while order and plenty in all cereals and other crops reigned throughout. No one's ox or cart was forcibly commandeered. Only evil-doers were discontented for they could not steal.

" Constantin Mavrocordatos was an enlightened man whose reputation spread through Europe. He introduced order into the administration of the two provinces and new methods of Government which preceded the fundamental law he introduced.

" Thanks to him the serf attained liberty by degrees. Measures gradual and wisely conceived paved the way for enfranchisement, which ought indeed to be considered as the dawn of a new period in the history of our people.

" Gregory Ghika by his very simplicity gives the lie to the charges of extravagance, luxury and vice which are brought against the Phanariots. The prince appeared in his divan clad in a costume of common woollen material to teach a lesson to his extravagant courtiers. He deserves an honourable place among our princes of whatever epoch for the care he showed in the spreading of education, for order in the government and for progress towards the autonomy of the country. Ghika founded schools, built monuments; he put aside a part of his civil list to subscribe for the training of public teachers. His work in administration shows a nature that was radically kind, and also a civilising genius.

" Alexandre Ypsilanti checked emigration, and attracted foreign settlers to the country by reducing the taxes. He revived higher education, collected about him the learned men of all lands, dowered Wallachia with a code, and transformed the ravaged city of Bucharest into a habitable town."

(To be continued)

THE MURDER OF THE BISHOP OF CORYTZA AND THE ROUMANIAN PROPAGANDA

From Monastir to the " Bulletin d'Orient "

FOR reasons set forth later, the truth about the assassination of the Bishop of Corytza has been slow in coming to light. It is now proved that His Reverence fell a victim to Roumanian propagandism.

At first sight one is astonished to hear talk of Roumanian propagandism at Corytza. The geographical position of the town, the fact that only ninety Koutso-Vlach families winter there (they pass the summer at Pliassa), the Hellenic sympathies of these families all concur to doom such propagandism to total defeat. But as one of King Charles's ministers showed in the Roumanian parliament, those who have taken in hand the task of spreading Roumanian propaganda in Macedonia have in view not so much the interest of Roumania as their own individual advantage. The creation of every new centre of activity is, for them, pecuniarily speaking, a profitable undertaking. Accordingly they have undertaken the Roumanisation of the Koutso-Vlachs of Corytza. A school has been founded at Pliassa, where there was no Greek school in existence, another at Corytza. They engaged the services of a priest expelled from the Greek Church, a certain Papa Lambros. Other sinecures have been created. But the results have not been any more brilliantly successful than in the other Koutso-Vlach centres. The propaganda has only been able to gain over some fifteen or so heads of households, those for whom employment had been found.

However, they had found an expensive but powerful ally in the person of the Mutessarif, a prefect, Feizy Bey, a man originally from Arghyrocastron (Epirus, North), and a relative of Fehmi Pasha, chief of the secret police at Constantinople. He, seeing the impossibility of creating Roumanising communities in the district, started the idea of " Albano-Vlach " (*sic*) associations, a term which has no correspondence with reality, but which tended to attract the sympathies of the Albanians.

Another auxiliary appeared in the person of Jean Costouris. This great merchant, the representative

in Albania of many big Austrian firms, had found a very advantageous match for his son. Unfortunately marriage between first cousins, and such was the case of the two *fiancés*, is strictly forbidden by the Orthodox Church. Despite the prayers, then the threats of Costouris, the bishop thought it his duty to refuse to bless this union. Costouris, despairing of success in his efforts, turned to the Roumanisers. They received him with open arms. The marriage was celebrated with great pomp at Bucharest. Dr Leontes, president of the Macedo-Roumanian Society, was best man, and the prefect of police in person honoured the ceremony with his presence.

However, no one at Corytza could hold such a union legitimate. The family of Costouris paid for this on their return. Their enmity against Monseigneur Photius, on whom they threw all the responsibility for the situation, knew no bounds after this. Jean Costouris declared before witnesses, while handing over to his sons the keys of his safe, that he would provide his children with all the funds necessary for the murder of his enemy.

A favourable opportunity occurred on 22nd September. The bishop had set out on a pastoral tour to visit, as he did regularly, Drenovo, Bafosnitsi, and some other villages in the district. The military escort he had asked from the Mutessarif was, contrary to all custom, refused. A band headed by Bairam Fehmi and composed of five Roumanisers of Pliassa, Menkoulassi Bekiri, Ahmed of Niglista, Feito Bey of Disnitsa, and some Albanian Kavasses of the Roumanian propagandists, set an ambush for him near the village of Bradvista, where he had to spend the night. An hour before sunset Photius passed before the spot where the assassins were hidden. They opened a well-timed volley upon him. The very first shot that struck him laid him stone dead. The priest who accompanied him, hurled from his saddle by his terrified mule, counterfeited death and so saved himself. His name is Papa Iossiph.

Bairarn Fehmi, the head of the assassins, is, like Feizy Bey the Mutessarif, from Arghyrocastron. He was a professor at the Turkish Lyceum at Monastir. Last spring he informed the Greco-Macedonian chiefs that being tired of a scholastic career he was about to form a band of Albanians and that for £ Turk 400 he would put himself at the disposal of Hellenism. His offer being refused, he turned to the Roumanising party. Up till then his activities had been limited to oppressing the Orthodox Greek villages of the district. His agents visited by night the Christian quarters of the town of Corytza. They extorted money from the various inhabitants, leaving them receipts on the model of those delivered by the Bulgarian committee in other parts of Macedonia.

The news of the murder of Photius was not publicly known till the morrow, but Costouris received it the same evening when he was dining in the house of his daughter-in-law's father.

Doubtless the Mutessarif was apprised equally soon. But although he had refused an escort to the victim and consequently had a heavy weight of responsibility on his shoulders, he not only did not assist at the bishop's funeral, nor made any attempt at expressing the slightest regret for the crime, but, what is most inconceivable, he went so far as to abstain from making even an inquiry. To open this, five days later at that too, it was necessary that the head of the gendarmerie should arrive at Monastir. He had no difficulty in discovering the details of the murder and the names of the assassins. But he could only effect one arrest, the local warden of Bradista, who has made a complete confession. The others had time to disappear. It is known that they are hiding in the vilayet of Jannina. The inquiry is now directed by the procureur-general of the vilayet, who also came from Monastir. This official's first duty should have been to arrest the two instigators of the crime, the Mutessarif and Costouris. But the first keeps his place, and as for Costouris, he was able, surrounded by Moslem holy-guards, to watch the funeral of his victim from the top of his balcony.

One cannot refrain from remarking that while on the least sign of an attack against a Roumaniser, the Greek or Koutzo-Vlach notables are, as has occurred at Megarovon, Chroupista and elsewhere, thrown into prison on the mere suspicion of complicity, a Greek bishop can be assassinated without the authors of the crime undergoing the smallest inconvenience.

The affair is all the more worthy of remark because the attack at Bradista had been preceded three months before by an attempt at Pliassa, and certain facts that then occurred throw much light on the actual events. Here are the facts to which we refer. On 25th June last Monseigneur Photius was going to celebrate mass at Pliassa. On his way he was attacked by a band under Papa Lambros, which included the notorious Moslem Kavasses of the Roumanian propagandists, that have vanished since 22nd September.

His conduct suffices to prove that Mehmet Feizi was implicated in the first attempt. He took no measures against the aggressors, he had given the bishop a mounted escort that fled at the very first alarm, and lastly he was the only person who could have apprised the Roumanisers that Photius was departing for Pliassa. This he had done through his intermediary, Andrea Paulmastis. On these points the report of Photius to the Vali of Monastir may be compared.

However, it was all in vain that the community of Corytza, by two successive despatches, dated 20th and 29th June, and addressed the one to Yildiz-Kiosk, the other to the Grand Vizier, demanded justice. As uselessly did the Koutso-Vlach community of Pliassa describe, in a document whose actual text I possess and can communicate, the oppressions that the Mutessarif's agents in league with Roumanian propagandists have subjected them to. The Turkish authorities both at Constantinople and at Monastir turned a deaf ear.

They allowed Mehmet Feizy, whose relations with the propagandists must have been known to them, to become from accused the accuser, to denounce the bishop and the orthodox notables as disorderly factors, and to give a seditious character to the thanksgiving service that was held, with much pomp it is true, to celebrate the safety of Photius.

Shortly after they allowed Christakis Wikas, the best-known Greek notable of Corytza, to be murdered in the open market. He had been twenty years a member of the Administrative Council of the department.

Hence it is plain that in future even archbishops may be murdered with impunity. Photius knew it. He told his fears to the Patriarch, without, however, on that account thinking to abandon his post or give up his pastoral tours.

There is space now to note new crimes. Already one can signalise the burning of the church at Drenovo, half an hour from Corytza, fired in the night of Thursday to Friday, 5th October, by a band hired by the Roumanian propagandists. As usual, no measures have been taken against the guilty parties.

FOREIGN TRADE OF GREECE IN 1905.

ACCORDING to the statistics of the commerce of Greece in 1905, our balance of exchange with foreign nations shows a deficit of 56,922,423 francs. In 1904 this deficit was only 46,405,834 francs. The balance of trade, to which, however, only a relative importance is assigned, is more and more unfavourable to us. We import much more than we export, and our money reserves have been, up to quite lately, negligible assets, because they kept passing to the foreigner.

Imports in 1905.	*In* 1904.	*Difference.*
Francs 140,735,362	137,732,484	+3,050,578
Exports in 1905.	*In* 1904.	
83,850,699	91,326,650	-7,046,011

It is pertinent to remark that on the whole the foreign commerce of Greece in 1905 is over the average of the last ten years, which shows, with the steady fall of the rate of exchange, the amelioration of the economic situation.

This fall can be attributed, as some say, but without any convincing proofs, to the flow of gold from America. This has perhaps contributed, as has the departure of emigrants, who have taken with them comparatively large sums for journey money and expenses of setting themselves up there; this indeed has bled our money market white. But the fall must be attributed to other causes. America has not yet returned to us a third of the money our emigrants have taken away.

The amelioration of the economic situation is shown by the deposits in savings banks. Almost nil a few years ago, these deposits now exceed 200,000,000 drachmas and increase month by month.

The economic improvement, which has involved the fall of rate of exchange, is due to the increase of wealth generally, an increase impossible to estimate even approximately in the absence of statistics. But it strikes everyone who visits Greece to-day, if they have known Greece not only as it was in King Otho's time but even ten years ago. In the small rural districts the mud roofs of the huts have given way to wooden structures. The peasant is better fed, better dressed, and sends his children to school much more than of old. There is a higher standard of comfort. The Komeri, which in Greece take the place of the French peasants' woollen stocking, do not ring empty.

The deficit of our exports as against our imports ought not then to cause us any apprehension for the economic future of the country. The balance of trade has never been favourable to us. Dating from when we began drawing up tables of commercial statistics the exports have exceeded the imports by more than a *milliard of francs*, an enormous sum for a country whose population has only altered in the same period from one million to nearly three, which should be about the population of Greece to-day. For the rest it can be stated and proved to the hilt, only rich countries import more than they export.

The loss of this milliard, if the balance of trade had the effect once attributed to it, would have reduced us to beggary. How comes it we are richer? Because there is compensation from other sources: the profits of the carrying trade, which rate at some millions; capital invested abroad whose interest comes to us; the increasing revenue from travellers who visit the country and have to expend large sums in it; the transference to Greece of fortunes acquired abroad; donations made by fellow-countrymen to benevolent institutions, which amount to some dozens of millions, etc., etc.

A comparison between the foreign trade for the first six months of this year and the corresponding period of the previous year gives these results:—

	Imports.	*Exports.*
1st Half-year 1905	61,655,314	30,914,423 francs
1st Half-year 1906	67,661,010	51,552,193 ,,

This considerable increase is more particularly due to a great augmentation in the export of raisins and oil.

The Inspectors of Mines publish some detailed statistics on the output of the Greek mines and quarries. We extract the following figures.

Besides quarries, thirty-three mines have been exploited during 1904; fifteen iron mines, five of manganese iron ore, three of zinc, one of manganese, one of chrome, two of magnesite, two lignite, one sulphur, one emery, and two of galena argentiferous lead-ore.

The output of the mines and quarries was:—

Minerals.	*Number of tons.*	*Value in francs.*
Iron	422,159	3,192,919
Iron with Manganese	108,319	1,252,839
Zinc	19,913	2,293,178
Manganese	8,549	129,700
Chrome	6,536	244,875
Magnesite	44,828	960,852
Lignite	13,500	170,940
Sulphur	1,225	132,710
Emery	6,161	656,115
Marbles	3,258	969,399
Argentiferous lead in the lump	15,186	6,381,136
	649,628	16,384,696

Compared with the mean average of the five years 1900-1904, which was 16,205,253 francs, the production of the year 1904 shows then an increase; however, it was slightly less by 70,336 francs than the production of 1903.

The Greek mining industry has employed 9893 hands, of whom 350 are women. There were seventy-three accidents in the walling, of which thirteen were fatal.

PRESS REVIEW.

THE *Temps* of November 25, in a leading article on "Crete and the Powers," observes that the recent declarations of the King of the Hellenes at the entry into office of M. Zaïmis, have put forward distinctly, though with all courtesy and moderation, what Crete and Greece expect at the hands of the Powers. These expectations seem to be in every sense legitimate.

Their aim is naturally the union, so long desired; but while maintaining their hopes of this, both Greece and Crete have loyally accepted the existing state of affairs. They only hope that those who are responsible for the present arrangement may not themselves be a clog upon its working. There is one passage in the King's speech which sets forth very happily the reciprocal nature of this obligation. "The High Commissioner, and he only, has any right to represent the Powers in Crete. By remembering, and

putting into practice this simple truth, we can avoid all complications; to act otherwise will be to revive the troubles." A further sentence makes the King's thought yet clearer. "My son, as nominee of the Powers, was justified in expecting their support, but the action of certain of their representatives in Crete has rendered that support precarious. Hence arises a paradoxical state of conflict."

Whether we consider the rights of the question or the actual position of affairs, we must admit the justice of these remarks of King George. The consuls do not hold the High Commissioner in leading-strings. And if they formulate policies and meddle with the internal affairs of the island, as too many of the consuls have done, or if they ally themselves with this or that faction, thereby thinking to exercise a direct influence on the progress of events, then they exceed their functions and play a part for which they were not cast. We could mention the names of some of these officials, whose appointment to Canea seems to have infected them with a kind of megalomania. Forgetting that they were only consuls, with narrow and clearly-defined duties, these men have devoted themselves to the task of government—a task quite outside their province. We have seen them set up their authority against that of the Prince, give orders over the Prince's head to the commanders of the international contingents, and range themselves against him on the side of his adversaries, such as M. Venizelos. Such conduct is far from satisfactory, and the protecting Powers can only avoid its recurrence by appointing consuls whose personal ambitions are less marked, or kept in check by more definite instructions.

So far as the Cretans themselves are concerned, for some weeks ample evidence has been given of their wisdom and moderation. The two proclamations of M. Zaïmis, before and after his arrival, were calculated to pave the way to reconciliation, and his actions have been in accordance with his words. He has been anxious to set right, by interpreting in a wide sense the terms of the Notes of July 10th to 23rd, and August 1st to 14th, 1906, some of the mistakes committed in these Notes by the Powers. He has confirmed the clause that the Greek officers who are to hold commands in the Cretan gendarmerie shall very shortly enter upon their service. He has explained that the financial control, mentioned in clause six of the Note of July 10th to the 23rd, has reference solely to the public loans provided for in clause five, and to the revenues raised for the purposes of these loans. He has affirmed that an administrative control is out of the question. These three promises have produced an excellent effect, and have enabled the discussions preliminary to the revision of the Constitution to be opened with the happiest auguries.

According to our information, the prime object of this revision is to strengthen alike the legislative and executive powers of the Cretan Government. The Assembly is henceforth to be elected for four years instead of two; and it will vote the budget for one year only. The public services are to be open to all, without religious test. Freedom of the press is secured, and the confiscation of newspapers is forbidden—except, indeed, in the case of a direct personal attack upon the High Commissioner, or upon one of the religions recognised and practised in Crete. The defence of the country and the maintenance of order are to be entrusted to a civic guard and a gendarmerie, both composed exclusively of Cretans—service in the civic guard will be compulsory. The High Commissioner, who will be "Supreme Ruler of the State," will be the representative of the State in its dealings with the Powers, and will negotiate and sign all treaties—subject to their ratification by the Assembly. He will also be Commander-in-Chief of the military forces.

Those extremists who desired to continue the agitation and to retard this discussion so long as martial law remained in force, have seen their plans miscarry, and one may now say that the Cretans have given those "proofs of patience" which have been so often demanded of them, and which have been made so difficult for them. It is now the turn of the Powers to offer some recompense for this patience. The first return they can make is to withdraw the exception taken to M. Zaïmis before his nomination; then, instead of allowing the ill-advised intrusion of blundering consuls to complicate his task, it is their duty to aid him by their loyal co-operation.

GREEKS AND BULGARIANS.

(FROM THE "FIGARO")

OUR correspondent at Athens, Athieus, in passing through Vienna, has met M. Athos Romanos, ex-Foreign Minister of Greece, and one of the most prominent politicians of the country. M. Romanos spoke in detail about a journey he had undertaken in Bulgaria in order to become acquainted with the situation of the Greeks inhabiting that principality. A good deal had been written about this town in the Austrian press, and our correspondent thought he ought to ask M. Romanos to communicate to him his impressions.

"The Greeks inhabiting Bulgaria," said M. Romanos, "are loyal and peaceable citizens. They serve in the army, which has even some officers of Greek nationality; they are magistrates of rank and doctors of distinction; above all it is to developing the commerce and industry of this young country that they have given their energies with considerable results. The Greeks, who are almost all Bulgarian citizens, have lived for a long time on very good terms with the rest of the populace, although belonging to the Church of the Œcumenical Patriarchate, from which the Bulgarian Church seceded about forty years ago.

"The excuse for their oppression is the violent antagonism that exists between Greeks and Bulgarians in Macedonia. This was the standpoint taken up by certain intriguers and demagogues in quest of a meretricious popularity. For it would be unjust to accuse all the Bulgarian population of the acts of savagery recently committed against the Greeks, which embrace every kind of excess, thefts, robberies and aggression on a large scale."

M. Romanos, moreover, was able to testify that these demonstrations are condemned not only by the most enlightened men of affairs in Bulgaria, but also by the more thinking section of the population which desires the good fame of the country.

"These excesses, organised on a preconceived plan, have been prepared stealthily and at length. An advocate of Varna, named Dragoulef, having enrolled 150 to 200 men of no occupation, marched with them through all the centres inhabited by the Greeks — Varna, Rustchuk, Philippopoli, Steni-

machos, Bourgas, Anchialos—to organise therein violent and riotous meetings, and to give the signal for excesses that fanatics excited by greed of gain have carried out without, unhappily, the police having interfered to prevent them."

The most terrible catastrophe was that at the little town of Anchialos, inhabited by 6000 Greeks, and founded in the fifth century before our era, on the borders of the Black Sea.

M. Romanos found here nothing but ruins, the result of the devouring conflagration kindled by the Bulgarian invaders, who were acting under the orders of Dragoulef.

According to the statistics given to M. Romanos by the sub-prefect of Anchialos himself, there have been burnt 707 Greek houses, 132 Greek shops, 56 Greek warehouses, 2 Greek schools, 2 Bulgarian schools, 2 Greek churches, 3 mills, 15 Bulgarian houses, 11 Turkish houses, 5 Turkish shops, 1 mosque.

There were spared, 208 houses, of which 172 are Bulgarian and 36 Greek, these last being situated in a quarter apart from the Greek quarter, the Bulgarian church and 100 Bulgarian shops.

These statistics prove quite clearly that this was no chance conflagration, as people have tried to assert, but rather the work of men acting upon a plan prepared in advance and for a determined purpose. Moreover, a few days before the fire, the association, self-styled Patriotic, that has its branches throughout the country and is known by the name of " Radolioubetz," of which Dragoulef himself is the founder, and whose avowed end is the persecution of the Greeks, had sent the inhabitants of Anchialos a threat to burn their town if they refused to surrender voluntarily their magnificent church, of which they were so proud, and their fine scholastic buildings. Cruel indeed is their destruction by this incendiarism.

The Bulgarian Government has taken, with a view to the future, measures to prevent such excesses being renewed.

The Greek ex-Minister cannot, however, cease to regret that these measures were not taken in time, for there is very little that is Greek left to be protected in all Bulgaria.

In reality all the Greek churches are closed or given over to the Bulgarian rite, the schools are also occupied by the Bulgarians. Even to speak his own language is counted a crime for a Greek, and it is enough for a Greek to greet one of his compatriots in the street by a simple " good-day " in the Greek language to risk being cuffed and maltreated.

Such a situation cannot, M. Romanos assures us, exist for long, and the representatives of the Greek Powers most certainly ought to make representations to the Bulgarian Government. The ex-Foreign Minister considers it impossible for Europe to allow that a population of 80,000, according to even Bulgarian statistics, a population which only asks to live in peace and order and in due respect to the laws, should be subjected to the outrages and excesses committed by a few hundreds of agitators under the complacent eye of the police and the Bulgarian troops.

If one takes into consideration that, amid the difficulties that the Powers have always invoked to put off the union of Crete and Greece, one of the weightiest was the question of safeguarding the rights of the Moslem minority in the island, which, moreover, enjoys an especial protection and lives peaceably without being in any way disturbed, it would be a truly astounding spectacle to see the same Powers completely abandon a Christian minority, which has at least as good a claim to our interest, and whose rights and liberties have been guaranteed by the Berlin Treaty.

It is imperative, according to M. Romanos, that the Powers make Bulgaria understand not only that the recent disorders be not renewed, but also that liberty of religious worship and of education be accorded to the Hellenic minority, that its language can be freely taught in its schools, that its priests may be left free to hold services in their churches and schools, which should at last be restored to their lawful owners. A.

LITERARY PAGE

ACCENT AND QUANTITY

The reading of Homer with the modern pronunciation of Greek

By CHARLES KAIMES SMITH

IT is very generally assumed by scholars that, in reading classical Greek metres, the accent must be totally disregarded, and that the quantity of syllables must alone be taken into consideration. If this view be correct, it is hard to understand how the system of accentuation, which is practically the same in both ancient and modern Greek, can have come into existence, and still harder to believe that a system invented by grammarian theorists, and contravening, as some would have us believe, both the accepted custom of the Greek-speaking world and the plain exigencies of the traditional metres, should have arrived at such a point of success as to supplant entirely the older method of pronunciation. It were far easier to believe that the secret lies in the loss of the correct sense of the relative value of accent and quantity in mediæval times.

It is admitted that the *versus politicus* of Greek comedy is largely a mediæval modification of an older quantity-metre. And the remarkable latitude enjoyed by writers of " technical verse " is evidence of a confusion as to the exact value of quantity. Indeed, the general trend of evidence goes to show that accentual pronunciation has gradually gained in literary prominence, at the expense of the quantitative value of syllables. But this in itself is not sufficient to account for the inability of the foreigner to read the ancient Greek poets in the accepted pronunciation of modern Greece without destroying the metrical rhythm of the lines.

Even in Greece it is hard to find anyone capable of giving value both to accent and to quantity when reading classical metres. I remember, only too vividly, hearing a Greek gentleman of education read the " Odyssey " according to modern laws of pronunciation. Ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, when pronounced with regard only to accent, makes a sufficiently lame ending for a hexameter. In short, it is obvious that the modern Greek laws of pronunciation, without modification, do not apply to ancient metres. The fact that all modern Greek songs " scan " by accent

alone is abundant proof of the fundamental departure from ancient pronunciation.

However, it is equally plain, that if the accents originated in anything deeper than grammarian fancy—as they must have done, to have obtained such a hold as they now possess upon the language—they must have played some part in the pronunciation of words in ancient Greece. The question to be solved is:—What were the precise relative values of accent and quantity in the days when Homer sang, and is the Homeric pronunciation capable of reconstruction from a study of the poems in their present form?

The question is, of course, very far indeed from solution. But it seems evident that the key to the mystery lies in the discovery of a *via media* between purely accentual and purely quantitative stress, and this compromise can be approached only by way of the modern pronunciation.

To take the first line of the "Iliad" as an example, we are at once confronted by a fundamental disagreement between the two systems:—

"Μῆνιν ἄειδε, θεά Πηληιάδεω Ἀχιλῆος"

for the accent of ἄειδε, if given a superior stress-value to the long penultimate, throws the rhythm out of gear: and the accent of Πηληιάδεω seems no less intractable. For the rest, the accents fall coincidently with the quantities, and present no scansional difficulty. But the line "scanned by accent" would run:—

—υ—/υυυ/— —/—υ—/—υυ/—υ

Such bears but little resemblance to a hexameter. But a careful ear will readily catch in the speaking of a cultivated Greek the quantitative values of the syllables, suggested rather than expressed—and this in ordinary conversation, not in the reading of poetry, whether ancient or modern, and there is to my mind little doubt that this quantitative value has been preserved, in point of fact, in the *reading* of prose and verse alike, with only so much modification as may have been brought to bear by the literary knowledge of the presence of the written accent. Now the natural tendency of anyone in *reading* verse, is to emphasise the beat of accent rather than that of quantity, and this tendency is naturally intensified by the insistent presence of the written accent. In other words, if the reader could be induced to forget that he was reading verse, the ancient metre would be far better preserved. A case in point occurs to me as I write. During a somewhat lengthy stay in Ithaca I had the pleasure of making the acquaintance of a priest who spoke Greek with a singularly clear and cultivated accent, and whom I, then but a beginner in the use of the modern Greek language, was able to understand with an ease which surprised me. This gentleman had a naturally poetical turn of mind, and poetical expression came naturally to him. He was also deeply interested in the great epic of his native island, and loved it for its matter rather than its form, which indeed he took entirely as a matter of course. This happy combination of circumstances enabled him to recite with perfect ease and naturalness long passages from the "Odyssey," and I observed that, quite unconsciously, he had almost solved the difficulty presented by the necessity of reconciling the apparently conflicting elements of accent and quantity, which occurred in every line. Even Δῖος Ὀδυσσεὺς became tractable on his tongue. The reason was plain. The lines were spoken, not read. The poetical affectation which haunts the ordinary reader, confronted with the written accent, and unendowed by Nature with the poetical temperament, was entirely absent from his rendering, and the two forms of stress dropped into their due relationship to one another. The quantity was given effect to a degree which preserved the swing of the hexameter, while the *tonal* emphasis of the accented syllables robbed the lines of that mechanical precision which makes for monotony, and which, by its very exactitude, renders the English hexameter—and the Homeric, as read by Englishmen—a "barbarous experiment." The very fact that the phenomenon is not susceptible of exact definition in words is sufficient indication of its significance. It lies rather in the inflection of the voice slightly raised upon the accented syllable, and so becoming a *tonal* value, than upon the equalisation of stress upon long and accented syllables. And when it is remembered that the Homeric poems were certainly recited to the accompaniment of an occasional note upon the lyre, and that the tragedies of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides were almost certainly intoned in part at anyrate, it is easy to realise that this tonal accent might be very simply emphasised without destroying quantitative metre. And as the recited poems certainly were at a very early period the criterion of literary excellence, and the "classics" also of the spoken language, it is more than possible that this tonal stress may gradually have assumed an undue importance in relation to quantity, until at length it has superseded the latter, even in the written poetry of the language. The fact emerges that to the Greeks of to-day is handed down the heritage, which is indeed a national duty, of solving for the world at large the problem of the right rendering of the greatest poet in the history of the world, for no tongue save that of a Greek can rightly master that combination of the values of both tone and weight at once.

CHARLES KAINES SMITH.
M.A., Cantab., Author of
"The Elements of Greek Worship."

OLD-AGE PENSIONS IN AUSTRALIA

ON February 27th, 1905, Lord Northcote, as Governor-General of the Commonwealth of Australia, issued a Royal Commission empowering the Hon. A. Chapman, as Chairman, with Sir J. L. Bonython and other Members of the Legislature, to inquire into (*a*) the working of the Old-Age Pensions Acts of New South Wales and Victoria; (*b*) the probable cost of, and the best means to be adopted for establishing old-age pensions for the Commonwealth. This inquiry was a continuation of one commenced by a Select Committee of the House of Representatives in 1904, which had examined three witnesses, all belonging to the State of Victoria. The Commission has now presented its Report, having held thirty-six sittings and examined sixty-four witnesses, and that Report is an important document. The Report is unanimous; and it may be stated at once that it recommends that old-age pensions be provided throughout the Commonwealth, and be paid out of the Consolidated Revenue.

The Commissioners report that in New South Wales the maximum pension is 10s. her week, re-

ducible in the case of married people to 7s. 6d. each per week, and also reducible by the amount of all independent income over those sums, and by one-fifteenth of the capital value of property exceeding £50. There are 22,000 pensioners, receiving £508,000 per annum, and the cost of administration is £19,936. In Victoria the maximum pension is 8s. per week, reducible by the amount of all independent income over 2s. per week, and by 6d. per week for every £10 capital value of property exceeding £75. There are 11,452 pensioners, receiving £205,000 per annum, and the cost of administration is £1,699. In New Zealand, as to which information was furnished to the Commissioners by the late Prime Minister, Mr R. J. Seddon, the pension is 10s. per week, reducible by all independent income exceeding £34, and by one-tenth of the capital value of property exceeding £150. There are 11,770 pensioners, receiving £325,000 per annum, and the cost of administration is £3,936.

The Commissioners observe that " a very deserving class of persons have availed themselves of the pensions offered. Many of these pensioners had shared in the work of developing the resources of Australia, but had, through a variety of causes, been reduced to a condition bordering on destitution. As the recipients of old-age pensions, such persons have had their circumstances in their declining years rendered more comfortable." This may possibly paint to a circumstance of differentation between new countries and old; but it is not the whole of the case. The Friendly Societies of New Zealand are already finding that the provisions made by Government for workmen's compensation and old-age pensions are influencing many in not joining their lodges, and are thus discouraging the movement for self-help. In New South Wales fraudulent claims have been made and allowed; children in good circumstances have been relieved from the obligation of supporting their parents; even a husband established his claim to a pension, on the ground that he had previously settled all his property upon his wife; and a costly, frequently inconclusive, and always irritating system of inquiry into claims for pensions has been set up. In Victoria, according to a witness who is favourable to the system and anxious for its extension, the present method excludes many deserving persons from pensions, and its restrictions are a discouragement to thrift. Another witness testified that a large number of persons left the benevolent asylums to secure a pension, but found the pension insufficient, and went back. According to the evidence of a magistrate of experience, " since the old-age pension system made its appearance, all effort at self-exertion has passed to the winds; means or property were concealed or distributed, and those who had previously been maintained by their children were foisted upon the State." A representative of the Friendly Societies stated that the Victorian Act of 1903 was distinctly discouraging to the exercise of thrift, inasmuch as it provided for depriving the widow or representative of a Friendly Society member, who had been a pensioner, of any sum papable by the Society at his death.

It appears from the evidence of the Government Statist of Victoria that the pensioners in that Colony are only seventeen per cent, of the population above sixty-five years of age, while those in New South Wales are nearly forty-four per cent. Nothing could show in a more striking manner the effect of different principles of administration. If New South Wales is right, Victoria must be depriving more people of pensions that ought to be paid to them than the whole number of actual pensioners. If Victoria is right, New South Wales must be paying pensions to more than twice as many people as ought to have them. It is curious to observe that Sir Edward Hamilton's Committee estimated the number of pensionable persons in the United Kingdom at thirty-two and a half per cent, of the population above sixty-five years of age. It would almost seem that they arrived at the golden mean between the parsimony of Victoria and the extravagance of New South Wales. One more remark may be made on this head. Victoria has no Poor Law; and if seems that the only relief whith its law affords to the aged and infirm is a sentence of imprisonment. A case was cited as having happened on September 23rd, 1905, of an old woman, without money or friends, and almost blind, who was sent to gaol for twelve months for the offence of having no visible means of support.

The scheme recommended by the Commissioners for adoption throughout the Commonwealth is a maximum pension of 10s. per week from sixty-five years of age, or sixty in cases of permanent incapacity, to a person continuously resident in the Commonwealth for twenty-five years (absence for not more than three years, or not more than six where the apgregate residence has been for fifty years, not to disqualify), who is a natural British-born subject of a white race, or has been for three years a naturalised resident, not being an aboriginal native. The payments to the pensioners to be made fortnightly through the Post Office.

We cannot but think that the last recommendation, that the property of a pensioner at death should vest in an officer of the Government, and have priority over all other claims, carries with it the condemnation of the whole system. It is surely a counsel of despair to say that a pensioner can only be saved from his innate propensity to spend his pension on " intoxicating drink " by enforcing against him a prohibition not enforced against any other person. If a pensioner joins a social party, is the decanter which circulates among all the rest to be kept out of his reach lest the host should be found guilty of the crime of " supplying " a pensioner with intoxicating drink? Is the proposal made in the interest of the Commonwealth Exchequer, and in the expectation that few would seek a pension burdened with a condition so unjust and so insulting? What becomes of the argument as to the deserving pioneers of the country's resources if they are to be thus humiliated? If it is thought that something is due from the Commonwealth to those pioneers, it would surely be better that it should be voted to them in that capacity than that they should receive it in common with every other person who is qualified by old age.

We find no evidence in the Report before us that either the Colonial Legislatures or the Commonwealth Commissioners have been more successful than was Lord Rothschild's Committee in devising any proposals the inherent disadvantages of which do not outweigh any benefits they would confer on the classes in whose interests they were framed. There is no " broader humanitarianism " than that which promotes self-reliance.

Published at Craven House, Kingsway, London, W.C.
Editor, Dr C. Pouptis.

The Hellenic Herald

A MONTHLY POLITICAL PERIODICAL

Vol. I., No. 3] JANUARY 1907 [Price 10/- per Annum Post Free

CONTENTS

THE OUTLOOK IN MACEDONIA . . . ——

THE FRENCH PHILHELLENIC SOCIETY FOR THE DEFENCE OF THE RIGHTS OF HELLENISM . ——

DEBATE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS IN THE GREEK CHAMBER . . . . . ——

THE ALBANIAN QUESTION . . By a Greco-Albanian

SERVO-BULGARIAN RELATIONS . . . ——

HELLENIC FINANCE—THE 1907 BUDGET . . ——

THE BULGARIAN ATROCITIES OF LAST AUGUST IN EASTERN ROUMELIA . . . Athos Romanos

PRESS REVIEWS . . . . . ——

LITERARY PAGE—BYRONIANA (two unpublished letters of Lord Byron) . . Dr L. Belleli

OUR AIMS

THE OBJECT OF THE

HELLENIC HERALD

Is to give an exhaustive account of the various movements and affairs—political, racial, and social—in the Near East; and to set forth with clearness the Greek claims in the Balkan Peninsula. In addition to articles by well-known publicists and reviews of the Foreign press, a portion of each number will be devoted to literary matters—more particularly to the literature of Modern Greece.

THE OUTLOOK IN MACEDONIA

THE three-years' period for the application of the reforms drawn up by Russia and Austro-Hungary, and approved by the other Great Powers in the famous Mürzsteg programme for the improvement of the lamentable condition of Macedonia, is about to expire, and this unfortunate province is to-day in a far worse condition than ever. This is owing, on the one hand, to the complete failure of the reforms and the continuance of the Turkish methods of dealing with the situation, and on the other hand, to the racial struggles, which grow daily more acute, of the Christian populations, and especially of the Greeks and Bulgarians. While the failure of the reforms is unanimously attributed to the inadequate manner in which they have been drawn up by the two self-styled "more interested Powers"—Russia and Austro-Hungary (which Powers are suspected of entertaining little desire of a real improvement in Macedonia), and still more to the inadequate manner in which these reforms have been applied, a great part of the European (and especially the British) Press confines its criticism chiefly to the action of the Greek bands, as though these were the main cause of the present troubles. Now the peaceful Greek population of Macedonia, being the most important (because the most numerous and commercially the most active) part of the population, is the greatest sufferer from the present anarchy, and the victim of a situation not of its own making. How this Greek population is regarded in some quarters as the aggressive element is beyond our comprehension, nor do we understand any more clearly how the action of the Greek bands (which action is purely defensive and has been provoked by six years of savage Bulgarian persecution) is condemned by those very people who are yet so ready to ignore entirely the excesses of the Bulgarian bands.

It is a well-known fact that the present troubles in Macedonia were originated by the Bulgarians immediately after the unfortunate Greco-Turkish war of 1897. The Bulgarians, while proclaiming as their aim the liberation of all the Christian populations in Macedonia, showed at the very outset of the insurrectionary movement that their main object was the weakening and extermination of the strong and influential Greek population. Their ulterior object, after the Greeks had been thrust aside from the path of Bulgarian ambition, was the annexation of Macedonia to the Bulgarian Principality, preceded, as in the case of Eastern Roumelia, by a farcical autonomy. That the Bulgarians understood in this way their *rôle* of "Liberator" is best attested by the murders (officially proved) of 850 Greeks by the Bulgarian bands during the last six years, solely because these Greeks had been good patriots and faithful to their national traditions, and because they held distinguished positions among their countrymen as notables, priests, schoolmasters, etc.: whereas these same Bulgarian "liberators" have not in even half a dozen cases attacked the local tyrants or "Beys," the true scourge of the country—in fact, they have always avoided contact with the Turkish troops, save on those occasions when the troops have surprised villages in which the bands were hiding. When the Bulgarians announced, as their reason for waging revolutionary warfare in Macedonia, the intention of liberating from the Turkish yoke all the Christian populations, regardless of creed and nationality, many Greeks joined them and helped their committees by contributing money to their funds and by assisting their wounded, privately as well as in their hospitals. But when, soon after the beginning of this insurrectionary movement, the Greeks realised the abominable ends of the Bulgarians and had to pay for the Bulgarian ambitions by their lives, they first contented themselves with the loyal means of protesting and appealing to the Great Powers for protection: only after they found these unwilling to interfere, and the Turkish Government unable to protect them, did they resort to arms. It has been repeatedly maintained that the bands are

formed in Greece and are entirely composed of Greek subjects. The truth is as follows. It is impossible to organise an armed movement in Macedonia itself, the Turkish Government not permitting to Christians even the use of the knife. Therefore the nucleus of a band is usually formed in Greece by Macedonians living in that country, to whom are joined other Greeks from various parts—Thessaly, Athens, Peloponnesus, Crete, etc.—who sympathise with the sufferings of their kinsmen in Macedonia. After crossing the frontier these are reinforced by native Greek-Macedonians. The policy of the Greek bands is, and has always been, purely defensive and protective of the Greek population from Bulgarian and Turkish aggressions. That these bands, in spite of the wisdom and the moderating influence of their chiefs, have sometimes committed excesses and have gone beyond their duties of pure protection is to be regretted but cannot be denied. But it must not be forgotten that they are operating in a country where complete anarchy prevails, and among bands which are desperately struggling for self-preservation, after receiving unbounded previous provocation, a perfect military discipline is almost impossible and cannot be expected That the murders and other criminal deeds of the Bulgarian bands ought not to be followed by a similar revenge on the part of the Greeks is, from a Christian and moral point of view, quite true, but the unchecked and continually-increasing murderous operations of the Bulgarian bands on the Greek population have rendered their recent regrettable steps inevitable. When the Bulgarian "liberators" received hard lessons from the more skilful and more warlike Greek bands, and were not able to perpetrate so easily their crimes on the innocent Greek population, the Bulgarians commenced to pose as victims of the action of the Greek bands, no longer being enabled to continue their "humanitarian" mission in the way to which they had been accustomed for six years. And while the Bulgarians continued their work in Macedonia with not less savagery but with less success than before, they tried by every means to fill the world with complaints against the Greeks, and to represent their own comparative impotence as a wise decision to stop the revolutionary movement for a while, in order to give a fair trial to the reforms. In view of the fact that there are still fifty-seven Bulgarian bands in Macedonia against no more than twenty-one Greek bands, this statement is merely impertinent. We give below a list with the names of the chiefs and places of operation of all the Greek and Bulgarian bands in Macedonia. That the murderous action of the Bulgarian bands continues always the same is evidenced by the following fact: During the last two months the Greek bands, owing to strong pressure by the Greek Government, have abated their action, and the result has been that (as we learn from a telegram [1] of the British Press Association, of the 31st December) the activity of the Bulgarians has increased once more and thirty-two Greeks have been assassinated by them in the vilayet of Salonica only, as against nine Bulgarians killed by the Greek bands.

Can any steps be taken with a view to putting an end to this fratricidal struggle, which none can regret more than ourselves? We think that if the Great Powers, instead of severely criticising and exasperating to-day one people, to-morrow the other, were once for all solemnly to declare that if the Greek and Bulgarian bands will simultaneously retire from Macedonia, effective protection will be given to their compatriots, and their national aspirations shall receive thorough investigation at the hands of an impartial commission, such a declaration, joined with the most important late statements of the Foreign Ministers of Italy and Austro-Hungary about the eventual autonomy on the bais of nationality, will have an immense and salutary effect on both sides. We earnestly hope that some such declaration may speedily be forthcoming.

[1] The Press Association's correspondent, writing from Monastir, under date December 31, states :—There is no improvement in the condition of Macedonia. On the contrary, the renewed activity of the Bulgarian bands, who had so long maintained an expectant attitude, shows that the situation is decidedly getting worse. Some measure of this activity may be found in the fact that during the two months of October and November (old style) Bulgarians murdered thirty-two Greeks in the Sanjak of Salonika alone, while in the same district, and during the same period, only nine Bulgarians were killed by Greeks. One of the latest Bulgarian exploits was the attack on the Greek village of Klepoushna (Ghilposts) near Ziliahovo, in the Serres district, in which four women, two men, and a child were killed, while another woman was severely wounded. This took place on the 31st ult.

LIST OF BULGARIAN BANDS

At Present Operating in the Greek Districts of the Vilayets of Salonika

IT is frequently maintained by the Bulgarian Government, and as frequently contradicted by the facts, that there are no Bulgarian bands in Macedonia. The long series of crimes reported by our Macedonian correspondents offer sufficient disproof. A still more direct denial is given by the adjoined list of the thirty-three Bulgarian bands which are operating in the Greek parts of Salonika—and there are quite as many Bulgarian bands in the vilayet of Monastir also. This list, which comes from an unimpeachable source, was drawn up about a couple of months ago; since then the number of Bulgarian bands has increased.

The vilayet of Salonika comprises three *sandjaks* (departments): Salonika, Serres, Drama. The following is a list of the bands operating in each of these sandjaks:—

A: Sandjak of Salonika

a. Caza of Yennidje-Vardar

1-4. The Bulgarian chief Apostoli, formerly all-powerful in this district, passes his life at present between the villages of Toumba, Tossilovo, Tscheltik, Ramna, and the Lake of Yennidje; he is at the head of a confederation of three or four Bulgarian bands.

5. A Bulgarian band of thirteen men, commanded by the Bulgarian chief, Hadji-Traïo, a native of the village of Tsegre. This band has recently killed five Greek fishers of the Lake of Yennidje, and two Greek peasants of the village of Aghii-Apostoli.

6. A band under the orders of the chief Lazo of Barovitsa (a "Verhovist," that is to say, annexionist, belonging to the Bulgarian committee of General Tsontschef). This band appeared three weeks ago in the village of Orijardji and there killed three Bulgarians who were "centralists" (that is, autonomists, belonging to the Sarafof party) This band also burned the house of the centralist Mitsko, whose young daughter perished in the flames.

b. Caza of Vodena

7. A Bulgarian band of sixteen partisans, under the chief Dimitri Djanessi. On June 21st this band massacred the Greek notable, Christos Tsitsis, and his son Constantine some time before this. The band had already killed, near the village of Vladova, three Greeks, named Bessios, Mescas, and Pyrsos. Before that, on April 28, 1906, the same band, in conjunction with that of Hadji (No. 8)—reinforced also with some Bulgarian villagers and some armed Roumanians—massacred fourteen Greek peasants, among whom were two children of ten to twelve years, who had come from their village of Catranitsa to the market at the town of Naousta. The same band was announced on September 30 near the village of Vladova.

8. A band of eight men, under the chief Hadji, a native of the village of Messimeri. This band is at work in the plain between Vodena and Yennidje.

9-11. The band of Christo Stoiko, a native of Bakovo. This band was co-operating with those of the well-known Bulgarian chief, Caratasso, and of Louka Can, ex-Bulgarian army officer. The last named two bands were equally notorious for their atrocities and for their crimes against the Greeks, but both were annihilated two months ago by the Greco-Macedonian band of Costas Garefis. The Greek chief killed with his own hands the two Bulgarian leaders, Caratasso and Louka.

12. A band of ten comitadjis, under the command of the chief Christo Babiali, and raiding the same districts.

c. Caza of Ghevgheli

13-15. The band of Lazo Oreoftsali (a nucleus of nine comitadjis), and those of Delio of Negortsa (nucleus, four comitadjis), and of Lazo Covantsali (five comitadjis as nucleus). These three bands are prowling around the villages of Radina, Smokfitsa, Konsko and others, spreading terror everywhere. The three chiefs are veritable rulers of the district. For example, they forbade the owner of the forest of Sermenlin to take wood and charcoal from his property, and he was obliged to pay £T80 to the bands before he could make use of his lands. (This fact is well known to the Turkish authorities, who are, however, powerless to apply any remedy.)

16-17. The bands of Ziffo, the Bulgarian chief of Bayaldja, and of Tsavo, the Bulgarian chief of Matsikovo, with fifteen men—all Bulgarians. These are at work in the Koutzovlach villages of Ossiani, Loubnitza, Livadia, etc., which villages they have compelled, by a long series of murders, to adhere to Roumanism.

18. The band of the chief Bintsa, a native of the village of Toussera—with a nucleus of nine partisans. This band, reinforced by some Bulgarian villagers of the Tikfes district, put to death, on June 15, 1906, two shepherds in the service of the Greek notable, Mitaos Bellas, and destroyed his flock of 1200 sheep.

19. The Roumanian band at Caratjova—with a backbone of five members. On the 12th of last March this band murdered the Greek, Stephanos Papastephanou of Loubnitza; on April 22, the Greek, John Sarabas of Livadia (Caradjova); on May 8, near Loubnitza, another Greek, whose name is still unknown; on 27th August last, on the mountain of Loubnitza, the same band murdered the Greeks, Michael Tsitsouris and George Caïmacamis.

d. Caza of Stroumnitsa

20-21. Bulgarian bands under the chiefs Manoussi and Kimoff, forty men altogether. On July 16 these bands entered the Greek village of Zimbovo, but were driven back by the inhabitants. They were formerly under the command of the notorious chief, Tschernopiëff, who was killed on July 25, 1906.

22. Apart from these bands, there is, in the caza of Stroumnitsa, a third, of which the chief is called Santi. Lately this band has killed three Greeks within eight days. In the night of October 5 they killed Dimitrios Nicolaou, preceptor of the village of Borivon; on the 8th of the same month, at Kouklich, the Greek Velkos; on the 13th, a third Greek, in the town of Stroumnitsa itself.

e. Caza of Kilkiss

23-25. Three Bulgarian bands are at present in concealment near the lake Ardjan; the Caza of Kilkiss is mostly Bulgarian.

B: Sandjak of Serres

a. Caza of Serres

26. A Bulgarian band under the orders of the chief Taska. This band, with a nucleus of nine comitadjis, is operating around Serres. On October 1 it appeared at the village of Melnikits and there murdered three Greeks, who had refused to pay the taxes demanded by the committee. On October 2 the same band killed a villager of Elsani. His body showed fifty-two knife-wounds.

b. Caza of Melenikon

27-28. Two bands under the chief command of the well-known chief, Sandanski, operating about Melenikon. On October 8 they attacked the village of Kresna, where they burned several houses. They had previously killed (in March 1906) the two Greek priests and the Greek schoolmaster of the village of Croussova.

c. Other Cazas

The Bulgarian bands are very numerous in this sandjak, owing to its nearness to the Bulgarian frontier; but for this very reason it is difficult to furnish any definite information about these bands. In point of fact they have neither fixed abode nor definite numbers. Nevertheless, they do not limit themselves to oppressing the Greeks, but carry on a bloodthirsty war against them.

All these considerations are especially true of the above-mentioned caza of Melenikon.

C: Sandjak of Drama

a. Caza of Zikna

29. The band of the chief Panitsa (a group with five comitadjis as nucleus). This is at work between Karlicovo and Zirnovo.

30. The band of Const. Manoff (nucleus, seven comitadjis)—at work in the same district.

31. The band of one Baïeff, formerly a Bulgarian schoolmaster (nucleus, six comitadjis). These are at work around Kalapot.

b. Caza of Drama.

32. The band of Tsimissiroff (seven comitadjis)—near Drama and Alistrati.

33. A group of six Bulgarians (chief unknown), whose scene of operations is around Plevna and Prossotsani.

These bands kill by preference the Greek priests and schoolmasters—at the beginning of August they killed the Greek priests of Gornista and Gratsiani.

The attempts upon Drama, Gornitsa and Plevna, with bombs and assassinations on August 1, were organised by the bands of Panitsa, Baïeff and Tsmissiroff.

Note.—In the two last-named districts of the vilayet of Salonika (Serres and Drama) there is not to-day and *there never has been* a single Greek band. On the other hand, there are at least some fifteen Bulgarian bands, who continue their criminal campaign of extermination of Hellenism with the same cynical unconcern as in the past. Formerly this state of affairs prevailed throughout Macedonia, as well as in Old Servia. It is precisely this attitude of the Bulgarian committees which has provoked the formation of the Greek and Servian bands.

IN THE VILAYET OF MONASTIR

Caza of Perlepe: Bands, six. Chiefs: Petri Autor, from Orchandza, Giovam, Traïco and Gore; Lakitsi, from Perlepe, Ivan Naoum and Lekef.

Caza of Caradzova: Bands, three. Chiefs: Gissoupise, Tevzo (from Latsman), Criste Lazar.

Caza of Castoria: Bands, seven. Chiefs: Couzo (from Platsi) Mitro Vlacho; Panto Pliasof, from Smardes; Cole, from Lirpile; Thomas, from Zelenits; Manio, from Galle.

Caza of Monastir: Bands, three. Chiefs: Petre, from Germani; Tasko, from Ochrida and Plaze from Prine.

Caza of Florina: Bands, three. Chiefs: Tane, from Gornitsovon; Panteli Lisko, from Exi-Sou; Costo, from Zelenits.

Caza of Ochrida: Bands, three. Chiefs: Petro Pitsovalef, Daen Mitsko, Stavro Gogo, from Bitsan.

VILAYET OF COSSOVO

Caza of Uskub: Band, one. Chief: Vasil.

Caza of Istip: Band, one. Chief: Misse Stoyan; (Teacher).

Caza of Coumanovo: Bands, four. Chiefs: Christo, Mino Podoko, Stoitse, Mite.

Caza of Radovista: Band, one. Chief: Stamo.

Caza of Caratova: Band, one. Chief: Zordani.

Caza of Osmanic: Bands, three. Chiefs: Gazir, from Stiminik; Guergo, from Caratova, Tsernopeef.

Caza of Velessa: Band, one. Chief: Datso, from Sofia.

Caza of Pingo: Bands, two. Chiefs: Ange Petroff, Petre.

Caza of Cotzana: Band, one. Chief: Costa, from Bulgaria.

LIST OF THE GREEK BANDS

VILAYET OF SALONIKA

Caza of Vodena: Bands, two. Chiefs: Christos Stoïcos and his son from Bahovon, Nicos.

Caza of Yennitsa: Bands, four. Chiefs: Gonos, from Yennitsa; Matapas, Kavodoros. Georgios.

Caza of Verroia: Band, one. Chief: Prodromos.

Caza of Langada: Bands, three. Chiefs: Antonios, Georgios and another unknown; all from Asvestochori.

Caza of Caterina: Band, one. Chief: Hasontis.

Caza of Cassandra: Band, one. Chief. Courbessis.

VILAYET OF MONASTIR

Caza of Perlepe: Band, one. Chief: Nicos.

Caza of Caratzova: None.

Caza of Castoria: Bands, five. Chiefs: Coupos, from Bogatsicon; Georgi, from Corytsa; Pavlos, from Telovon, and two unknown.

Caza of Monastir: Bands, three. Chiefs: Goutas, Macris, Giovanis.

Caza of Florina: Band, one. Chief: Panayoti.

VILAYET OF COSSOVO

Not a single Greek band.

THE FRENCH PHILHELLENIC SOCIETY IN PARIS FOR THE DEFENCE OF THE RIGHTS OF HELLENISM

AFTER a thorough consideration of the prejudice entertained against Greek interests in the Near East, owing to a misrepresentation of the events which have taken place in the Balkans during the last years, many French Philhellenes, guided by a spirit of justice and sympathy for the Hellenic claims, united and formed a Society—" Ligue Française pour la defence des Droits de l'Hellenisme "—whose official life began on March 26, 1905. M. Homolle, the well-known archæologist and director of the Louvre Museums, has been elected President, as being the best acquainted with the Greeks and their claims. Vice-Presidents were: M. Clemenceau, the present Premier of France, and the Academician, M. H. Houssaye. At present the place of the temporarily-retired M. Clemenceau has been taken by M. Th. Reinach. The General Secretary is M. Grimanelli. Among the founders of the league are M. Denys Cochin, M. P. De Lancessau, former Minister of Marine; Th. Reinach, Gaston Deshamps, Mezières of the French Academy; Edmond Thery, Gustave Fougère, Ch. Dielp, and many other influential members of the Chamber, Senate, and Academy. At the present moment the League contains over a hundred names distinguished in French Society.

On Sunday, November 25, a general meeting of this League was held in the Hotel Continental, Paris. The chair was taken by M. Th. Homolle, President of the League, supported by MM. Henry Houssaye and Theodore Reinach, Vice-Presidents; Edmond Théry, Treasurer; P. Grimanelli, Secretary; and G. Triantaphyllides, Assistant Secretary.

After the minutes of the general meeting of March 26, 1905, had been read and passed, the President gave an account of the action of the League in the past and of its programme for the future. He stated that in accordance with the desire expressed in the general meeting of March 26, 1905, he had taken advantage of his stay in Greece on the occasion of the Archæological Congress at Athens, and he had entered into direct relations with the presidents of the patriotic associations. He had held conversations with the presidents of the Society " Hellenismos " and of the

Macedonian and Thracian Societies, and with various political leaders. In this way he had been able to obtain information as to the desires and sentiments of the Greeks relative to the questions which await settlement in the Near East, particularly in Crete, in Macedonia, and in Thrace. He had also been able to come to an arrangement with these officials, whereby direct and certain information could be obtained concerning all the events which were of importance to the cause of Hellenism. In this manner the League has come into touch with the public opinion of Greece, and relations have been established with the Hellenic patriots, who continue to correspond with the President of the League.

From June 1905 the Committee decided to organise public meetings in which members of the League and other persons acquainted with Greece and with patriotic movements in that country should bring to the knowledge of the French public the progress already made by modern Greece in the path of civilisation, and should at the same time explain the nature and the extent of Hellenic claims. The first of these meetings was to be held in the hall of the Geographical Society, at 5 p.m., December 16, 1906.

Last August serious events, which it is impossible to reprobate too strongly, took place in Eastern Roumelia. In that state the Greeks form an important minority whose rights and privileges were recognised and sanctioned by the Berlin Treaty. The Bulgarians have treated with brutal violence a peaceful population whose only crime was that of being Greek and of wishing to maintain its national language and traditions. In one town after another the business houses of the Greeks have been pillaged and their churches and schools usurped or closed: finally, the thriving town of Anchialos, founded by the Greeks as far back as the fourth century B.C., and remaining Greek through a thousand vicissitudes, was burned by the Bulgarians. The Bulgarian authorities could not or would not prevent these melancholy events, notwithstanding the fact that they were elaborately prepared and announced beforehand. Further, the authorities have by their silence confirmed the usurpation of the Greek churches and schools, whose properties they have in arbitrary fashion handed over to Bulgarian convents, churches and schools.

This is a most flagrant violation of the rights of individuals and of the express provisions of the Berlin Treaty.

As regards Crete, the concord at present happily existing between the Great Powers permits us to hope for a speedy union of this heroic island to the mother country—a state of affairs prepared for no less in the institutions of the island than in the spirit of its people. The King of Greece, called upon by the Powers to appoint the High Commissioner of the island of Crete and to replace the international police by officers of the Hellenic army, has thereby gained a considerable advantage. The Cretans are justified in regarding this as a pledge for the realisation of their desires, which will have fruition on the day when the foreign contingents are replaced by Hellenic troops.

In Macedonia acts of violence have lately become somewhat less frequent.

The League has been tempted more than once to intervene in favour of the Hellenic interests, both in Cretan affairs, and also with regard to the troubles which have desolated Macedonia. In these complicated questions it has been considered wiser, in view of the agreements between the Republic and the other Powers, to abstain from any demonstrations which might prove ill-timed. But as soon as the Greeks in Eastern Roumelia were subjected to violence the Committee of the League could no longer rest indifferent. The President was therefore instructed to seek an audience with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and to ask him to remind the Bulgarian Government of the obligations imposed upon it by the Berlin Treaty. M. Pichon was good enough to receive M. Homolle on Sunday, November 18 last. He recognised the accuracy of the facts set before him by the President of the League, and he regarded as quite justifiable the uneasiness of the Committee. He assured M. Homolle of his anxious care for the rights of the Hellenes: he even went beyond the actual request of the Committee and promised not to let these matters slip from his mind during the future.

M. Homolle hereupon remarked that the events in Eastern Roumelia had contributed to attract back to Greece the interest of European public opinion which, as a result of grievous misrepresentations, had been to some extent deflected in favour of Bulgaria. The object of the League from its foundation had been to dissipate these misconceptions, and to defend those legitimate rights of Hellenism which had been misunderstood or violated. The League must now profit by this return of public interest to the Hellenic cause and must develop its action accordingly.

M. E. Théry gave the following summary of the financial situation of the League for the period from May 30, 1905 (on which date M. Théry became Treasurer) to November 24, 1906:—

Total receipts, including subscriptions and various gifts, ...	24,890 fr. 10
Total expenditure (for 1905 and 1906 up to Nov. 24), ...	441 fr. 25
Balance, on deposit at the Crédit Lyonnais on the date Nov. 24, 1906,	24,448 fr. 85

The Treasurer's report was approved.

M. Grimanelli read his report on the work of the League: this is elsewhere given *in extenso*.

M. Triantaphyllides published the dates on which will be held the lectures organised by the League. The first was fixed for 5 p.m. December 16 last, the lecturer named being M. Homolle. MM. Henry Houssaye, Alfred Croiset, Th. Reinach, Ed. Théry, Gaston Deschamps, Gustave Fougère, Ch. Dielh, Jean Psichari, Michael Paillares, Alfred Berl are to deliver the succeeding lectures.

M. Th. Reinach proposed that the League should keep a file of *l'Hellénisme*. M. Ed. Théry expressed a desire that the memoirs, studies and other interesting documents addressed to the League might be transmitted at the instance of the secretariat to members of the political and parliamentary world. Both proposals were adopted. M. Triantaphyllides announced that the President of the League had already taken one step of the kind suggested by M. Théry. Extracts from a study by the plenipotentiary M. Ed. Engelhardt on the Macedonian question,[1] with comments by *l'Hellénisme*, have been republished in booklet form, as have also two studies by M. Levides on the Greco-Roumanian conflict and the recent events in Bulgaria, and copies have been addressed to deputies, senators and other persons in the French political world.

[1] A full summary of this study, with comments by the Editor of the *Hellenic Herald*, appeared in our last number.—ED.

REPORT PRESENTED BY M. GRIMANELLI

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—Some among you may perhaps have wondered whether some ironical pen had not surreptitiously introduced upon the agenda-paper the article: *Report of Work done by the League.* There is, however, no irony in the implied promise. Must one then charge it with temerity?

It is quite true that since our last meeting our activity has not made itself evident by a single striking action, by a single work performed so as to attract public attention. And in this we have been wise. The task to which we have devoted our energies demands prudence no less than ardour and tenacity. Above all it demands that no step shall be taken for which the time is not ripe.

Is it to be supposed that we should have rendered good service to our cherished cause of Hellenism by spreading ourselves about in manifestations and interventions at a moment when the attention of the public and its leaders was strongly attracted in another direction? Our zeal would have passed without notice, or if noticed it would have been thought impertinent. In either case it would have been most ill-timed.

Nevertheless, it must not be thought that our time has been altogether lost, or that our efforts have been limited to recoiling so as better to spring out at the favourable moment.

Our first aim was to get into contact with that Hellenism which we have undertaken to make our fellow-citizens understand and support. It was especially important to bring ourselves into close relations with the active organs, with the patriotic clubs and societies. It was also necessary to cultivate sources of information in Greece and in the Orient, particularly in those regions where the Hellenic populations penetrate, toil, struggle, suffer and hope.

This portion of our task has begun and is proceeding. Since last year, and in accordance with the desire expressed by yourselves in our general meeting, our President, M. Homolle, has turned to account for our purpose the travels which he has made in Greece and the high reputation which he so justly enjoys in that country. The Archæological Congress was the occasion of M. Homolle's visit to Greece. You may readily imagine how Athenian society welcomed one who by spirit, by sentiment, and by adoption is himself an Athenian. He has not contented himself with protecting the Parthenon, though by that he has merited our unmeasured thanks and at the same time the gratitude of Pallas Athene. He has made the Greeks acquainted with our League, he has urged them to aid us in serving their cause, and he has obtained valued help mingled with merited applause.

On returning to France, M. Homolle imparted to your Committee his exchange of views with the presidents and leading men of the patriotic societies, and with the Hellenic statesmen and diplomats who have since continued in touch with the League.

We have carefully considered our programme of action, and we are prepared to realise it. Your Committee has adopted the plan of a campaign of public lectures, which will open next month.[1] The object of this series of lectures will be:—

1. To engage, develop or re-awaken the interest of the French public in Hellenism—its peoples and countries, history and manners, thought and action, sacred memories and rightful hopes.

2. To exhibit side by side ancient and modern Hellenism and to show the true continuity of one with the other, a true evolution side by side with inevitable differences.

3. To exhibit, by a conscientious publication of documents, the true situation, the rights and the hopes of the Hellenic peoples, and with regard to this to set right more than one error which has for some time spread abroad.

4. And finally, to show clearly how closely the Hellenic cause is linked with the true interests of Western civilisation.

Perhaps it would not be amiss to prove in addition that, thanks to another but no less real solidarity, all the peoples of the East—Christian or Moslem—must profit by all that will be done for the defence of the "rights of Hellenism," and for the pacific expansion of its activity, if these peoples demand no more for themselves than security, even-handed justice, liberty for all and the progress of all.

Our series of lectures will be inaugurated by our President, M. Homolle, on December 16, 1906. It will be continued from January to May 1907, with the valued aid of MM. Henry Houssaye, Théodore Reinach, Gaston Deschamps, Gustave Fougère, Jean Psichan, M. Paillarès, Ch. Dielh, Alfred Croiset.

Apart from its general plan of campaign the League will not interdict other modes of action. Sometimes it will be able to enlighten public opinion about this or that event, about these or those affairs, ill-understood or wrongly construed—or it may be misrepresented, on account either of interests and passions, or simply of distance from the scene of action. At other times it will feel justified in appealing to the judgment and in seeking the support of the nation's leaders in favour of those rights which we wish to defend, if these happen to be assailed or misrepresented. On such occasions care will be taken to adopt a line of action suitable to the particular case and conformable to general propriety.

Your Committee has already had occasion to carry out one such duty. Roused to indignation by the excesses perpetrated at Anchialos last summer by the Bulgarians against the Greek population of that city, justly moved by the violation (accomplished or announced) of rights which had been confirmed by international agreement to the Greek minority in Bulgaria and East Roumelia,[1] your Committee decided to recall to the notice of the French Government certain formal provisions of the Berlin Treaty and of the constitution of East Roumelia, as to the observation of which clauses Europe, and in particular France, was bound to be concerned. In consequence, our President asked and obtained an interview with the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The reception accorded to our President has convinced him that the Philhellenic tradition rests always active in France. The cabinet of which M. Clemenceau is Premier will certainly not be the one to let this tradition languish.

[1] *i.e.*, December 1906.

[1] Churches have been confiscated, schools closed, persons arrested in arbitrary fashion, etc.

FOREIGN POLITICS IN THE HELLENIC CHAMBER

ON December 20 the Hellenic Chamber was the scene of an important debate on foreign policy, the principal part being sustained by the President of the Council, M. Theotokis, and by the leaders of the three divisions of the Opposition—MM. K. Mavromichalis, S. Dragoumis and D. Rhallys.

M. Mavromichalis, while recognising that the present state of the Cretan question was satisfactory, insisted strongly upon the necessity of pressing forward the reorganisation of the Greek army.

M. Stephen Dragoumis, after expressing similar sentiments as to Cretan affairs, went on to examine the Macedonian question, which he treated with that clear understanding for which he is well known. He denounced the Roumanian policy, which (despite the Abazzia conference) has always been directed against Hellenic interests: he gave an exposition of the origin and the aims of the anti-Hellenic propaganda in Roumania, and also in Bulgaria; finally, he denounced those crimes of the Bulgarian bands which have obliged the Greeks to take up arms in self-defence. After this most enlightening speech of M. Dragoumis, which has been considered as a masterpiece of eloquence, true patriotism and chivalrous appreciation of the services rendered by the Government, M. Theotokis rose and gave a comprehensive survey of the Government's policy. He began by reminding his hearers that Western Europe too frequently forgets the circumstances which have induced the Greek element in Macedonia to have recourse to arms. Even the atrocities committed by the Bulgarians from 1897 to 1904 (and, in fact, right down to our own days) would appear to have been forgotten. During the period named, the only reward of the Greco-Macedonians for their passive resignation has been the assurance, freely given, that there were no Greeks in Macedonia, and that the country was entirely Bulgarian. At the present day there is a slight change. It is admitted that Macedonia, far from being exclusively Bulgarian, is for the most part Greek. But now it is maintained that the Greek element is responsible for the disorder which prevails in Macedonia.

In the presence of these circumstances a policy of perfect frankness imposes itself upon the Hellenic Government. The Government has demonstrated the injustice of the reproaches levelled against its inability completely to close the Greek frontier, since the geographical conditions are such that Turkey is quite unable to restore order, though she can put on the disturbed areas incomparably more troops than are at the disposal of Greece. The Hellenic Government can do nothing in the matter beyond using its moral authority for urging the Greco-Macedonian population to refrain from violent action. Of this obligation the Government has most loyally acquitted itself; but while so doing it has felt itself bound to make the Great Powers understand that it will be impossible usefully to continue the suasion of this moral authority if its pacific action is met by a renewal of activity in the hostile enterprises of rival elements.

"Unhappily, gentlemen," continued M. Theotokis, "I cannot conceal from you the fact that as soon as the Greeks refrained from action our worst fears found their confirmation. We have represented to the Powers that the present state of affairs cannot continue, and that if they wish to realise their desire of pacifying Macedonia they must take energetic steps, so that those who protest so loudly against the action of the Greeks may be appeased. I am in hopes of obtaining a satisfactory solution; but if this is not obtained, let no one hold us responsible for that which may happen afterwards."

The speaker, who had already dealt with the Cretan question and with Greco-Roumanian relations, then went on to discuss the situation in Bulgaria and the condition of the national armament. At the close of his speech he declared that it was necessary for the smaller States to pursue a wise policy, calculated to gain them the goodwill of more powerful nations. "It is," he concluded, "by pursuing this course that Greece has obtained a peaceful solution of the Cretan question: it is by persevering in the same path that she will see other great questions brought to a satisfactory conclusion."

THE ALBANIAN QUESTION

BY A GRECO-ALBANIAN

THE Eastern question is not a single-headed monster, it is a hydra of many heads, and one of these is the Albanian question. In England one hears but little talk about Albania. All interest for the moment seems to be centred round Macedonia, which absorbs all the energies of the Balkan Committee and other persons interested in Eastern politics. But go to Rome or Vienna and the chances are that you will hear as much about Albania and its future as about Macedonia. Besides Greece, Italy and Austria are the countries principally interested in Albania, and in face of such powerful competitors the little Hellenic kingdom might well despair of seeing its aspirations for expansion in this direction realised. So far we have had an Austrian and an Italian propaganda in Albania, each intensely hostile to the other, but agreeing in this one respect that they are both dead against Greece. But there are persons both in Austria and Italy who question the advisability of this policy. First there are those statesmen who desire above all to see the Triple Alliance preserved, and recognise that in Albania Austria and Italy have absolutely irreconcilable claims, which are bound to lead to a conflict sooner or later, as neither country could tolerate the possession of any part of the Albanian coast by her ally.

Then again there are those Austrians who think that, in view of the difficulties threatening their country from other quarters, Austria cannot hope successfully to oppose the extension of Italian influence in Albania, and hold that the wisest policy would be to support Greece as a counterpoise to Italy. This appears to be the point of view of so eminent a person as Baron Leopold von Chlumecky, whose recently-published book on the Balkan question doubtless represents the views of a wide and influential circle. To those who know the disposition of the Albanians themselves, Baron Chlumecky's fears regarding the extension of Italian influence in Albania may at first appear somewhat exaggerated. No one who has troubled to make inquiries on the spot can have failed to be struck by the fact that Italy enjoys no prestige whatsoever on the Eastern side of the Adriatic. Even in Montenegro, where

one might expect Italy to be regarded with somewhat sympathetic eyes, the Italian is disliked and indeed despised. Go further south into Albania and you find this antipathy to the Italian character intensified. The Albanian Catholics, whose numbers are not to be despised, are wholly devoted to Austria, and the word of an Austrian Consul is almost law amongst the influential native priesthood. The fact that last summer, during the Austrian manœuvres, the Albanian Bishops went in a body to pay their respects to the Archduke Francis Ferdinand at Ragusa is merely a general indication of the direction in which the wind is blowing. Again, so far as the Mahometan landowners favour either party, they incline towards Austria, who at any-rate has the merit in their eyes of being a liberal paymistress, whereas Italy is not. It would be difficult to name a single prominent Bey who is in favour of Italy. The Italian party, so far as it exists, has been recruited from the lowest classes of the population, often too at the expense of the orthodox community, some of whom, under pressure of poverty, allow themselves to be seduced from their traditional allegiance towards Hellenism, but these conversions are, from a political point of view, insignificant. But if Austria has the upper hand at present, it must not be forgotten that she is threatened by many enemies both external and internal, and it is this fact which gives weight to Baron Chlumecky's view that Austria would do well to back Greece in Albania. Even in Italy there are prominent persons, of whom the Marquis di S. Giuliano, now Ambassador in London, is said to be one, who are in favour of Greek aspirations in this quarter.

But if Greece is to profit by a possible resignation of Austrian and Italian claims in her favour she must be prepared to extend her influence by means better calculated to win the sympathy of the Albanian population than those hitherto employed. There must be respect for Albanian nationality, above all for the Albanian tongue. It may at first sound absurd to say that Greece must work to make Albania Albanian, yet that is the best way of ultimately making it Greek, not necessarily Greek in the sense that the Albanians should abandon their tongue, customs and nationality for those of Hellenism, but Greek in heart and feeling, for it is this which has made the strength of Hellenism in Macedonia. There are many persons who speak the purest Greek and are imbued with Hellenic culture, and yet are among the bitterest foes of Greece. The real strength of Hellenism lies in people of the type of that old Macedonian peasant (a Bulgarophone) who said to a well-known French traveller: "I don't know whether my tongue is, as you say, Sclav; what I do know is that my heart is Greek." This is the kind of feeling which Greece should try to promote in Albania, and it can best be done by identifying herself with the cause of Albanian nationality. At present one has only to glance at an Albanian newspaper, whether it be published in London, Sophia or Cairo, to realise that such men as have a sense of Albanian nationality regard the Greeks as foes. But this attitude may change tomorrow if Greece declares herself pro-Albanian. It is all very well to argue that a true sense of Albanian nationality is scarcely existent in Albania itself and that therefore Greece has no interest in encouraging it. With the doctrine of nationality proclaimed in every corner of the Balkans it is absurd to think that in Albania alone it will fail to spring up. In fact there are already underground rumblings which should not escape the notice of careful watchers. After all, who heard of Bulgarian nationality before 1877? Yet look at its strength to-day.

Two things are necessary if Greece is to be successful in putting herself at the head of the Albanians and thereby bringing about that union which alone can save them both from the common danger of the Sclav. She must have good Consuls in Albania and good Bishops. Greece must send out first-rate Consuls, men of character, men of imagination, whose conception of Hellenism is broader than that which finds favour with the majority of their countrymen. Nothing appeals to the Albanian so much as personality. The Austrians have realised this and pick their Consuls accordingly. At Durazzo, for instance, the Consul is a Hungarian nobleman, wealthy, sporting, open-handed, who takes an intense interest in everything connected with the country, whether historical, ethnological or archæological. He courts popularity in a thousand little ways—by buying any old coins which are brought to him or by organising shooting battues which give employment to a large number of natives. Such a personage is bound to acquire a great hold on a people such as the Albanians, who are born hero-worshippers and above all love a gentleman. Greece must also be prepared to send out the best and wealthiest of her sons, men imbued with the spirit of Scanderbeg as much as with that of Pericles. But to be effective they must learn the language of the country, for that is the best way of getting at the hearts of the people; besides which very few of the Beys speak Greek. The Albanian language presumably is not so difficult, since Austrians and Italians learn it, and certainly it is not for lack of facilities that Greeks are usually unable to speak Albanian. Latterly, indeed, the eyes of intelligent Greeks have been opened to the importance of extending the knowledge of Albanian. The purchase and publication of Christophorides' Albanian Dictionary was a step in the right direction. How wise this step was is shown by the fact that shortly after its purchase by the Greek Government the agent of a certain Power offered a much larger sum, which the relatives of Christophorides would gladly have accepted if they had still had the disposal of the book.

As regards the question of bishops, their appointment is not of course a matter over which the Greek Government has any direct control, as they are appointed by the Patriarch. Such pressure, however, as the Greek diplomatic representative at Constantinople can exert should be used to obtain the appointment of men who are in sympathy with the Albanian people. It has recently been rumoured that the Patriarch intended sending to Durazzo a bishop with Albanian sympathies. This suggestion has been received with great indignation by those narrow-minded journalists who probably know about as much about Albania and Albanians as about Timbuctoo. All that can be said is that, if the above rumour be true, then Joachim III. has justified his election to the patriarchal throne and has realised the true interests of Greece and Albania. It should be patent to intelligent Greeks that Greece has nothing to fear from the propagation of Albanian national sentiment, provided she puts herself at the head of it. Albania has no culture of her own, nor can she turn to a kindred nation related to her as Russia is to the Sclav states of the Balkans. Thus,

with a friendly and sympathetic Greece at her side, she will ultimately turn for her culture in that direction, as so many Albanians in Epirus have done. In this way a Greco-Albanian nation may gradually be formed which may serve as a counterpoise to an enlarged Bulgaria or a possible combination of Sclav states.

At present it is not possible for Greece to extend her aspirations for expansion beyond Epirus and the territory assigned to her by the Treaty of Berlin, in which the population is largely Greek or Hellenised. But it is the duty of Greek statesmen to look further ahead, and far from desiring the complete Hellenising of Epirus, to work towards securing the goodwill of that purely Albanian part of the population which is neither Greek-speaking nor Greek in sentiment. At present it is hard to see how Albania north of the Skumbi, peopled mainly by Mahometans as it is, can ever feel itself drawn towards Greece. Yet, if Greece is successful in conciliating the sympathies of the Cretan Mussulmans, if the Greek Christians in that island show that they are prepared to treat the Mussulmans as brothers and equals, then there is yet hope that the Northern Albanians, influenced by this example, may ultimately tend towards a union which common political interests seem to dictate, though national and religious antipathy make it appear impossible. But such a happy result is only possible of attainment if Greece realises from now that she must champion the cause of Albanian nationality and trust to the good feeling thus engendered rather than to any policy of Hellenisation for the ultimate accomplishment of a close and permanent union between the two nationalities.

SERVO-BULGARIAN RELATIONS

FROM time to time the question of the relations between these two neighbouring countries comes on to the carpet in one form or another. It is evident that attempts at a *rapprochement* are made, but as a net result they appear to remain sterile.

It is well known that the Pachitch cabinet favoured an *entente* with Bulgaria. It is with this end in view that the interchange of Servian and Bulgarian professors and students was arranged. The Turko-Bulgarian complications and the aggravation of the relations between Greece and Bulgaria provided the Principality with further reasons for seeking a *rapprochement* with Servia. For the same purpose also Bulgaria was ranged on the side of Servia in the tariff war between that country and Austria. But all these instances cannot do away with the impossibility of any union between the two countries.

In the first place, Servia cannot forget the defeat of Slivnitza, twenty-one years ago. Bulgaria, which up to that time had played but an insignificant *role*, now became—thanks to the annexation of East Roumelia—a stronger power than Servia. From that moment the political equilibrium of the Balkans was destroyed.

There is another obstacle in the way of this union so much desired by the Principality, and that is the Macedonian problem. Any *entente* between Servia and Bulgaria must be based on an agreement as to their respective spheres of influence in Macedonia. Now it is a matter of common knowledge that the support of "panslavism" and the impurity of the *coup d'état* in Eastern Roumelia have encouraged Bulgaria to develop an active campaign in Old Servia against the Servians, precisely as in Macedonia proper against the Greeks. Thus the interests of the two countries are in direct opposition.

The Bulgarians are just as implacable against the Serbs in Old Servia as against ourselves in Macedonia, and for the realisation of their ambitions they count on the excellent organisation of their army. That is why they demand the autonomy of Macedonia, hoping that the weakness of Greek and Servian military organisation will permit the Bulgarians to settle affairs in their own favour by force of arms.

One may readily imagine that the prospect does not appear too pleasing to the Servians. There is no doubt that they are in opposition to the solution pre-arranged in Sophia, which would consist in creating an autonomous Macedonia. *Autonomous Macedonia* was the title of a journal founded in Belgrade more than a year ago. The journal did not enjoy a long life: it was suppressed, and the publishers were accused of being traitors who had sold themselves to the Bulgarians.

As regards the Slavs in Macedonia and Old Servia, are they Servian or Bulgarian?

This question has been seriously disputed, but up to the present no satisfactory solution has been arrived at. In the first place, the national feeling of these populations fluctuates to a disconcerting extent. Again, we cannot use the language as an ethnological criterion—in some districts the language is closely akin to Serb, in others to Bulgarian. However, it is possible to divide these populations into two classes—one approaching the Serb, the other the Bulgarian, *so far as language is concerned.* Let a line be drawn from Palanka through Istib and Velessa to finish at Gratsko. To the east of this line we shall have a population speaking a dialect tinctured with Bulgarian; to the west, we shall find a people of Servian affinities—*always, be it understood, in respect of language,* for there are villages speaking Serb but styling themselves Bulgarians. Touching these peoples, whose nationality is so hotly contested, a Servian professor, M. Tsvütch, has written a voluminous treatise which the Servian Government has had translated into several European languages. The conclusions of M. Tsvütch may be summarised in the five paragraphs which follow:—

1. The thesis which the Bulgarians endeavour to establish with reference to the geography of Macedonia is erroneous. Macedonia consists only of the two vilayets of Salonica and of Monastir. The Sandjak of Tetovo and of Uskub, which they endeavour to confound with Macedonia, are portions of Old Servia.

2. The Slavonic masses of Macedonia have no definite national sentiment, whether they claim to be Servian or Bulgarian

3. The term *bougarin*, by which a portion of the Slavonic population of Macedonia designates itself, is not an exactly-defined ethnological term, and is not in all cases synonymous with Bulgarian. The employment of this word is the result sometimes of mere habit, sometimes of the constraint of ignorance or terror. The cunning of the Bulgarian Exarchate and the violence of the terrorist bands have been the means of spreading this appellation among populations which were in point of fact entirely ignorant and heedless of national sentiment.

4. The ethnographical maps, edited by foreigners, pay no attention to the spoken tongue and are in no sense *sprachkarts:* they accept without question the name *bougarin*, which serves as national title for many Macedonian Slavs who are by no means Bulgarian.[1]

5. All the statistics are unreliable.

This study created a great sensation in Bulgaria.

But let us leave Serb and Bulgarian to wrangle over questions which concern themselves alone. We need only remark that whereas for half a century the Bulgarian propaganda has gone on like a snowball, which gathers size and velocity as it rolls, the Servians have only opened their eyes when it is too late. To the Exarchate's attempts to gain proselytes is now added the terrorism of the committees, who have succeeded in doing by force what the Bulgarian clergy failed to do by cajolery—they have compelled the Macedonians to declare themselves Bulgarians.

It is under these circumstances that the Servians, just like the Greeks, have been obliged in self-defence to have recourse to arms—and they also have in many places succeeded in driving back the Bulgarian bands. One result of this deliverance from the Bulgarian terror is that many villages in the Sandjak of Uskub, and some whole districts of Northern Macedonia, have returned to sympathy with the Servian cause.

It was impossible that these conditions should tend to improve the relations between the two countries—neighbours, but rivals—nor could the conflict of which the theatre is European Turkey fail to re-echo through the two countries. At every moment both the Servian and the Bulgarian Press allow evidence of this antagonism to leak out. Quite recently it was manifested in the course of a wordy warfare between the *Den* of Sophia and its Servian contemporary, the *Politika*. On the Bulgarian side it was maintained that: 1. There are no Serbs in Macedonia; 2. The Servian bands are agitating in Macedonia with a view to manufacturing Serbs—that is to say, they try to induce those who now style themselves Bulgarians to declare that they are Servian; 3. These bands are sent into Macedonia and there maintained by the Servian Government. To which the Servian counter-charges are: 1. The Slavs in Macedonia and Old Servia are for the most part Serbs who have only attached themselves to the Exarchate when compelled by the violence of the Bulgarian propagandists; 2. It was the Bulgarian bands which first created trouble in Macedonia, and it was the presence of these bands which forced the Servians to intervene in their turn; 3. The Servian bands were organised, not by the Government, but by the Macedonian Serbs themselves. On the other hand, is it not established that the Bulgarian comitadjis are supported by their Government? Was it not the Bulgarian Government which, less than a year ago, tried to bring into unison the rival committees of the verhovistes and the autonomists? Again, was it not the Government which at a later period suppressed the committees in order to concentrate in its own hands the direction of the Bulgarian intrigues in Macedonia, including the management of the " Interior Organisation "?

Without doubt it is a matter of public notoriety that members of the Government are at the head of the movement of the invasion of Macedonia. Petkoff and Guenadieff in particular are commonly called the arch-comitadjis. Naturally, countless Government servants follow in their steps. Every day are published acts " by order of the committee of Sophia." But the committees are officially suppressed! How then does it happen that one never sees them but always hears of them? And especially, how does it come about that their activity never ceases?

To return to the Servo-Bulgarian relations, two things have lately contributed to cool them. The first is the granting of Servian decorations to Greeks, both laymen and ecclesiastics, of Macedonia and Constantinople. The Bulgarian Press desired to see in this a manifestation of hostility to Bulgaria, and in consequence it took King Peter vigorously to task. They have so keen a sense of delicacy at Sophia—especially when they can discredit anything Greek! Besides this, the vote by the Skouptchina of 300,000 francs for the benefit of Servian refugees from Macedonia and Old Servia has not made a good impression in Bulgaria. In this vote the Bulgarians wish to see a subtle means of encouraging the defensive attitude taken up by the Serbs against Bulgarian aggressions in the Sandjak of Uskub. Yet, scarcely two months ago, the Bulgarians provided a sum of 500,000 francs—nominally, as the Government organ, *Novi-Veck*, puts it, in aid of " the unfortunate peoples of Macedonia," but in reality for the support of Bulgarian banditti in Macedonia. Here is in brief what the *Vetcherna Pochta* of 10th to 23rd August wrote on the subject: " The 500,000 francs begin already to be of use: Boris Sarafof and other comitadjis have entered Macedonia. The arrival is also announced of several Armenians who can manufacture bombs. . . . Among others, the famous chief, Antranik, has come to Sophia to exchange views with the Bulgarians and the Roumanian emissaries, accompanied by whom he has crossed the frontier." Is not this sufficiently clear?

Another example from the same *Vetcherna Pochta*, this time from an article signed by M. Daskalof and entitled " Concerning the 500,000 francs voted for Macedonia," we extract: " In Greece as in Turkey the true meaning of this measure must be appreciated. It must be understood that the Bulgarian Government has desired in this way to give an emphatic, though tacit, reply to the action of the Greek bands in Macedonia."

It seems rather bold-faced effrontery to attack the Servians for voting a relief of 300,000 francs to their kinsmen who have been maltreated in European Turkey, when Bulgaria herself has given 500,000 francs to her comitadjis in order that these may attack both the Servians and the Greeks. But we know the Bulgarians too well to be surprised at them. One thing is certain—that Bulgaria is showing much uncertainty as to the future. First the Greeks, and now also the Servians, open their eyes and begin to organise their defence. Let us not be surprised if an ill-concealed uneasiness is manifested in the Bulgarian camp, and if to dastardy are added menace and bluster.

[1] On all these points we are in agreement with the Servian writer. We will only observe that, so far as we Greeks are concerned, the *language* constitutes in no sense an ethnological criterion. There are in Macedonia Greek peoples who, though their dialects are Vlach or Slav, yet are, call themselves, and declare themselves, Greek—in spite of bribes held out to them, and in spite of assassination and of every sort of crime that menaces them. These peoples have a national sentiment, and they proclaim that sentiment. That is the true racial criterion for us and for all who wish to be impartial—the consciousness of race, freely expressed. We are able to understand, however, that Servians and Bulgarians neither wish nor desire to rely on this principle when they are disputing over populations of uncertain race and no national sentiment.

HELLENIC FINANCE—THE 1907 BUDGET

M. A. Simopoulo has not contented himself with merely laying before the Hellenic Parliament the budget of 1907: he has felt it incumbent upon him to lay before the representatives of the nation a statement of the financial position, from 1899 (the first year after the liquidation of the expenses of the war) to November 1, 1906. By this means he has hoped to furnish clear proof that the Hellenic finances have definitely entered upon the period of convalescence. The following table justifies the optimism of M. Simopoulo, who is one of those rare Hellenic ministers who understand from top to bottom the finances of their country:—

YEARS PRESENTING A DEFICIT:—	
1902	Dr. 6,224,328
1903	Dr. 1,080,681
1904	Dr. 225,291
	Dr. 7,530,300
YEARS PRESENTING A SURPLUS:—	
1899	Dr. 6,621,708
1900	Dr. 2,278,520
1901	Dr. 615,602
1905	Dr. 5,162,972
	Dr. 14,678,802
Less ...	7,530,300
Total surplus for the period of seven years ...	Dr. 7,148,502

Moreover, if one may judge from the results of the earlier months of 1906, it is certain that the year just closed will display an excess of receipts over expenditure to the amount of more than Dr. 6,000,000.

M. Simopoulo has not allowed his imagination to be carried away by the contemplation of the period of prosperity so certainly announced by these figures. In making the budget for 1907 he has counted upon the trifling increase of Dr. 1,507,742 in the receipts, whereas he has made economies of Dr. 3,063,817 in the expenditure as compared with the budget of 1906. This wise measure forms part of the programme by which the Government proposes to increase, without new imposts, the resources of the budget, thereby permitting the execution of works, and the application of measures calculated to assure the development of the productive forces of the country. The budgets of 1906 and 1907 may be compared:—

	1906.	1907.	
Receipts,	Dr. 125,753,358	127,261,100	increase, 1,507,742
Expenditure,	Dr. 127,355,593	124,291,776	decrease, 3,063,817

(The supplementary votes are included in these figures.)

The reduction of the votes for 1907 refers in part to the payment of the National Debt—thanks to the fall in the bank rate, and in part to the expenses of the ministries of Foreign Affairs, of Justice, of Religion, of War, and of Financial Affairs—each of the reductions having long been justified by the facts which the Minister has laid before Parliament.

We note with satisfaction that the 1907 budget contains no extraordinary receipts—not even the Dr. 3,000,000 due in the course of the present year from the Athens-Piraeus Railway Company, though this sum is just as certain as if it had already been paid. In this way the sincerity of the budget is guaranteed.

Turning to the consideration of the Treasury, M. Simopoulo explains that the system followed up to the present by the State—the system, that is, of advancing to the communes the expenses of Elementary Education, on condition that the communes shall ultimately repay these sums—has during the period 1899-1905 given rise to a condition of indebtedness of the communes to the State. The liquidation of these debts has been difficult and has rendered necessary the issue of Treasury bonds. On November 15, 1906, the total value of the Treasury bonds then in circulation (including interest due on the bonds) reached the figure of Dr. 4,746,706: whereas on December 31, 1905, this floating debt amounted to Dr. 7,073,997. In other words, the Treasury has been able in less than one year to reimburse itself to the extent of Dr. 2,327,291, so that more than one-third of the floating debt (of which the disappearance is called for before 1908) has already been cleared off.

From the figures presented we see in how healthy a condition are the Hellenic finances, and we do not hesitate to say with M. Simopoulo that everything predicts with certainty "the re-establishment and consolidation of the national finances to an extent which will permit the carrying out of all the aims cherished by the nation."

M. Simopoulo considers that the existing laws will enable a greater elasticity to be given to the budgetary resources: it will, however, be necessary to have recourse to certain reforms. These reforms are provided for in a series of laws which M. Simopoulo desires to pass through Parliament without delay. These are:—

1. A law specifying the conditions necessary for nomination to all offices dependent upon the Ministry of Finance, and assuring to officials duly appointed a reasonable security of tenure.
2. A law reforming the system at present in operation in the Customs House at the Piraeus, where two-thirds of the total import duties of the whole country are levied. This reform aims at suppressing smuggling and at affording an adequate protection to honest commerce.
3. A law organising a Customs service on sea by means of steam revenue cutters.
4. Laws organising a complete system of administration, supervision and exploitation of the forests. It is calculated that this will yield the State a net annual income of Dr. 4,000,000; at present the yield from the forests is no more than Dr. 2,000,000.
5. A law reforming the central arrangements of the Finance Department. M. Simopoulo proposes other reforms, all with the same end in view, but those given above are the most important.

As our readers are aware, there are in Greece at the present day not only the ordinary budgets of the Military and Admiralty Departments, which are included in the National Budget of which we have just given an abstract: there are also two independent funds—the National Defence Fund and the Navy Fund. These are maintained by supplies which the Parliament votes for this special purpose, and also by gifts and bequests of individual citizens. It has begun to be considered as the urgent duty of every patriot to remember one or other of these two funds

in his will. Much good cannot fail to accrue to the Hellenic army and navy from these two institutions, of which the revenues are sufficient to provide immediate payment for certain armaments, or to pay the interest on loans raised for the purchase of arms and warships. A syndicate represented by the National Bank of Greece has just guaranteed a national loan to the Government of Dr. 20,000,000. The revenues of the National Defence Fund are given as security for this loan, in accordance with the conditions laid before the Parliament on November 23 last [O.S.] by M. G. Theotokis, President of the Council and Minister of War.

This success of the Government, seconded by the brilliant patriotism of the governor of the National Bank of Greece, cannot fail to encourage all patriots to contribute to the speedy enrichment of the two funds in question. It will also inspire with confidence both Hellenic and foreign capitalists, who will no longer hesitate to take part in any new loans which may be justified by the urgent necessity of strengthening the Hellenic cause and of enabling it to maintain its rights and to defend the Grecian Fatherland.

THE BULGARIAN ATROCITIES OF LAST AUGUST IN EASTERN ROUMELIA

[Mr Athos Romanos, the well-known diplomate and former Minister of Foreign Affairs in the previous Premiership of Mr Theotokis, having personally visited the places of Eastern Roumelia which have been the scene of the troubles and devastation by the Bulgarian mob on the Greek population, published his impressions in a most interesting illustrated pamphlet, from which we extract the following lines and pictures.]

A DRAMA of the most heartrending description has unfolded itself within the past three months in the Bulgarian Principality and in Eastern Roumelia—which in fact, if not by right, forms an integral portion of that Principality.

A Greek population of some 80,000 souls, established in these regions from time immemorial, and living peacably in the respect of the laws, has been attacked by the Bulgarians, who have subjected its properties to pillage and have forcibly seized its churches and schools. Almost all these Greeks, although the victims of such shameful aggression, are yet Bulgarian citizens, and have an unquestionable right to the protection of the laws of that country. They pay their taxes, serve in the army, and are honest and laborious citizens. But the fact that they have rested faithful to the Church of the Patriarchate, and that they have brought up their children in the schools of their own communities, has always been counted against them for a crime: and from the first anti-Greek manifestations at Varna last July this has been sufficient to place them outside the protection of the law.

The persecutions have been carried out under pretext of the antagonism existing between the Greeks and the Bulgarians in Macedonia. Since the creation of the Bulgarian Principality in 1878, and especially since the checks suffered by Greece in her war against Turkey in 1897, the Bulgarians have formed the design of gaining to their cause the Greek or Hellenised peoples of the vilayets of Monastir and Salonika, in which vilayets the Greek element prevails. The Bulgarians could not find any peaceful propaganda to cope with the influence of Hellenism, so they tried to impose their views by force and terrorism on those whom it pleased them to brand with "Grecomania." Armed bands, formed in Bulgaria, crossed the frontier and attacked those of the inhabitants who had remained faithful to the Patriarchate. Up to 1904 their exploits met with no resistance. The Macedonians had indeed appealed to Athens for means of defence: but they were informed that the reforms agreed upon by Austria and Russia at Muerzsteg were about to be put into practice, and that their own wisest course would be one of patience. Meanwhile the members of the bands pursued their criminal enterprise against all those who were hostile to their propaganda. Between 1898 and 1904 more than 800 Greeks perished in this way in the vilayets of Salonika and Monastir. Among their number were priests and notables waylaid in ambush or surprised at night in their sleep; women and children burned alive in the destruction of their homes; aged men killed with the most horrible refinements of cruelty.

For six long years no act of reprisal came to check this work of extermination, and in the passive attitude of the Greek element the Bulgarians found one



THE TOWN OF ANCHIALOS BEFORE THE DESTRUCTION.

more argument in support of their pretensions upon these unhappy regions. But at last the Greeks lost all faith in the efficacy of the reforms: their backs were to the wall, and they resolved to take up arms in self-defence: they, too, organised bands for the protection of their villages. From that time engagements have been frequent between the Greeks and the Bulgarians, and victory has by no means always smiled upon the latter. The Greek element of the two vilayets no longer feels itself at the mercy of the emissaries of Sophia, and is less than ever disposed to abandon its national aspirations and to embrace a cause which it has always hated. This unbending resistance was most exasperating to the Bulgarians. They filled the European Press with their complaints, and made attacks upon the Greeks of the Principality, irresponsible as these were of all that had taken place in Macedonia. But perhaps the example of the Roumanian Government also exercised an evil influence over their spirits. Moreover, the properties and funds of the Greek communities, their fine churches and their magnificent schools, have long excited the covetous feelings of the Bulgarians. The moment seemed well chosen for laying violent hands on all that remained of the ancient splendour of the Greek Church; and from July 7 to August 14, 1904, Varna, Philippopoli, Stenimachos, Bourgas,

Anchialos, and all the towns and the neighbouring villages were the theatre of scenes of brutal savagery and acts of odious pillage.

On August 12 this tale of violence and spoliation had its bloody culmination in the armed attack upon the inhabitants of Anchialos and the destruction of that city by fire. Dragoulef's hordes had consummated their work of destruction throughout the Principality. After their success at Bourgas they turned their steps towards Anchialos, a city on the shores of the Black Sea with 6000 inhabitants, almost all Greeks. They did not dare to make their attempt during daylight, for it had been noised throughout the neighbourhood that their attack would be met by an armed resistance. However, the inhabitants of Anchialos were not a very formidable body—at the outside they possessed some two or three dozen old-fashioned muskets. As the number of Bulgarians living in the town was far too small for the bands to look for any help from that quarter, it was decided to make an entry under cover of night. On August 12, at daybreak, 150 armed individuals arrived from Bourgas and began to fire in all directions. The terrified inhabitants left their



ANCHIALOS AFTER THE DESTRUCTION.

houses and sought refuge in the church. One Greek fell before the peristyle, struck down by a Bulgarian bullet. His companions returned the fire, and the assailants barricaded themselves in the Turkish mosque which faces the Greek church. Shots were exchanged, and three Bulgarians were killed. Fearful of being after all discomfited, the attackers sent for reinforcements, and 500 supporters (supplied with arms from the pillage of two magazines) came up in all haste. A murderous fusillade was directed against the Greeks, of whom more than twenty were soon killed, and many more wounded. Finally the Bulgarians set the town on fire. The panic-stricken inhabitants sought refuge—some along the coast, others in a neighbouring convent. During the day and the night of August 12 the flames gradually consumed the town. The Greek quarter, which contained 900 houses and shops, was entirely destroyed. But the flames respected the Bulgarian quarter. Here were 272 houses and a church: these are still intact. Fifteen Bulgarian houses, which happened to be in the Greek quarter, were destroyed: and at the same time all the Greek houses (numbering not more than twenty-six) which were outside the Greek quarter have escaped destruction. The lurid glow of the flames filled the horizon and was visible from all the neighbouring towns. At this sight the inhabitants of Messemoria (an ancient colony of Megara, famous during the Byzantine epoch, of which it preserves some interesting memorials) surrendered their church and school, fearing lest they should see their own city suffer the fate of Anchialos.

It has not been possible to ascertain exactly the number of victims at Anchialos. The authorities admit fourteen—ten Greeks and four Bulgarians. But, according to the most impartial information, more than thirty Greeks and Bulgarians fell before the fire began. And how many found a miserable death among the flames? No one can tell. It is to the great interest of the authorities to conceal the numbers of the dead, and the families of those victims who have fled to Athens, Constantinople and other towns remain ignorant as to how many of their relatives rest under the ruins of the destroyed city.

In the ruins one now sees nothing but cinders and burned stones. Of the magnificent church, the pride of the town, and of the great educational institution, nothing remains but the four walls. The archbishopric and its rich library have suffered complete destruction. There is no sadder sight than the numbers of unhappy women wandering and searching among the ruins of their burned houses. They look upon the spectator with eyes which still reflect the horror of the fire, and then they sadly seek the dole of food which the authorities distribute.

The destruction of this city and the massacre of so many human beings, and the material losses (estimated at several millions), have been such as to strike a most deadly blow at the reputation of Bulgaria. Consequently the telegrams from Sophia to the European journals have sought to minimise as much as possible the story of these events, and even to give the most unscrupulous misrepresentations. But if it has been found possible to deceive the public by the official accounts of the troubles in Varna, Philippopolis, Stenimachos, and Bourgas, no extenuating or minimising circumstances can be found for the burning of an entire town, which is now no more than a mass of ruins and cinders. The spectre of Anchialos in flames will long disturb the slumbers of the Bulgarian patriots. All the ferocity and the intolerance of their race has been exposed to the eyes of Europe. When, in the more or less near future, the Powers are called upon to make decision as to the lot of the Christian provinces which are ripe for deliverance from the Ottoman yoke, assuredly they will not feel able to confide a single district of mixed population to so intolerant and inhuman a Government as the Bulgarian.

Unable to hide the magnitude of the catastrophe, the Bulgarians have essayed to clear themselves of blame. They accuse the Greeks of Anchialos of having provoked by their resistance the burning of their city, and they accuse the archbishop of having incited the townsmen to revolt. To this day that prelate (one of the most learned and respected within the Orthodox Church) is detained by the authorities, simply to give public opinion some semblance of grounds for suspicion. But no one is deceived, and the destruction of Anchialos will ever be an indelible stain on the history of the Bulgarian Principality.

The burning of Anchialos has had one good result: it has saved the district of Kavakli in south-east Bulgaria (inhabited by 20,000 Greeks) from further persecutions. The Government has felt obliged to give a certain satisfaction to European public opinion by putting an end to the party struggles, depriving certain functionaries of office, and addressing circulars to the prefects, in which " these acts of extortion

and other misdeeds, which fall within the scope of criminal law " are severely condemned.

The Greek element believed at the time that justice would be done to it. It hoped for the restitution of the churches and schools, and for the reinstatement of the bishops in their dioceses. But no reparation has been accorded. On the contrary, the confiscated churches, schools and libraries have been transformed into Bulgarian establishments.

PRESS REVIEWS

From the Bulgarian Journals

The *Mir* (November 8) says about the crimes perpetrated day by day against our kinsmen in Bulgaria:—

"If there are still people in Bulgaria who doubt the complicity of the Government in the anti-Hellenic pogroms, let them study the following facts exposed by the journal *Bourgaski Glasse* (*Voice of Bourgas*), which has better opportunity than any other of following the events which have taken place in that city. No denial of them has so far been given, and it would appear that the Government will never dare to give any such denial, since the facts are well known to everyone in Eastern Bulgaria. After reading these things one is tempted to wonder in what part of the world we are living, and to ask oneself if it is possible for a Government to descend to the depth of burning the houses of its own citizens: finally, one wonders whether the Government is co-operating with the brigands in order to extort money from the inhabitants. To all these misgivings the *Bourgaski Glasse* answers in the affirmative. Here are some of the astounding circumstances which it unveils before us:—

> " Our hope has proved vain that after the catastrophe at Anchialos an end should be put to the excesses. Instead of this, all that has happened has been a change of system. Instead of united attacks, individual acts of violence and persecution have begun. Groups of malefactors, *under the obvious protection of the police and of the Government agents, surround the Greek villages and townships, threatening to burn them and to spoil and massacre the Greeks.* This system of terrorism is worse than that which has been applied up to the present, and has succeeded in convincing the Greeks that but one chance of safety remains to them—flight! "

During the discussion on the address to the Sobranië, the Vice-President, M. Kalatcheff, took severely to task those Bulgarian organs which have given a true report of the things which have been happening. We can well understand the indignation of the Vice-President of the Bulgarian Chamber.

. . . . . .

An Eye-Witness

A correspondent of the *Hamburger Nachrichten*, who has just visited Bulgaria, sends to that journal his impressions of the conditions to which the Greeks are subject in that country. This he paints in the most sombre colours: among other things he says:—

> . . . There are before me at this moment two proclamations which circulate from hand to hand, and a large *affiche* torn down from the wall of a small inn. Here are their contents.
>
> *The use of the Phanariot*[1] *tongue is absolutely forbidden—in the garden, in the restaurant, in the café, or in the street. Such is the command of the people.*
>
> *Turks, Armenians, Jews, and others! Array yourselves on the side of those who boycott the Greeks: obey the will of the people. Recalcitrants will be proceeded against and punished without mercy.*
>
> . . . . . .
>
> *In virtue of a decision of the Rodolioubet committee, our fellow-Bulgarians are urged, after the Greek schools and churches have been seized, to boycott everything Greek.*

Then follow eleven articles forbidding the Bulgarians to hold any communication with the Greeks. The appeal ends with these words:—

> *Patriots of Bulgaria, do not forget that you, the descendants of Crumm, have before you the descendants of Basil the Scourge of Bulgaria.*

These good counsels have fallen on fruitful soil. A servant in the consulate of one of the Great Powers was beaten in a public street in Philippopoli because he had spoken Greek. A lady who had entered a Greek shop to purchase some shoes was beaten by the crowd as she came out—they even went to the length of setting her clothes on fire. She was obliged to take refuge in one of the consulates! . . .

Happy country!

From "The Daily Mail"

The Greek Premier on the Problem of Macedonia

A very interesting interview with the Turkish Grand Vizier, by Mr W. Maxwell, was recently published in the *Daily Mail*. It gave the Turkish view of the Macedonian imbroglio, and was especially critical regarding Greece. With a view consonant with the policy of the *Daily Mail*, to representing both sides with absolute fairness, we instructed our Athens correspondent to call on the Greek Premier, and we publish to-day a most interesting interview giving the case for Greece.

Athens, *Tuesday, January* 1.

Mr G. M. Theotoki, for the fourth time Premier, and at present also Minister of War, was a faithful lieutenant of the late Mr Trikoupis, and since the death of that great statesman has been leader of the remains of his party. He is a tall, handsome man of distinguished appearance, of whom it has been said that if women had a vote in Greece he would be Premier for life. He received me at the War Office with his usual courteous manner, and on being informed of the object of my visit expressed his willingness to answer any questions which I might care to ask.

On my replying that I would be pleased if he would give me information on the general attitude of Greece towards Macedonia, he replied as follows:—

" For a period of six years armed bands of Bulgarians roved all over Macedonia, endeavouring to get the Greek Christian inhabitants to declare allegiance to the head of the Bulgarian Church, and backed up their efforts in this direction by committing murders and atrocities of every description. Notwithstanding repeated appeals of the Greek Government to the Powers to put a stop to these outrages, they were continued, and instead of being checked

[1] *i.e.*, Greek.

went on increasing in number and violence. News of these atrocities reaching Greece daily, public opinion here was getting more and more excited, and, finally, the Greek public having given up all hope of a stop being put to them, committees were formed with the object of taking action to protect their compatriots.

" The Greek Government was powerless to prevent these protective bands from crossing into Macedonia, as, unfortunately, we have not sufficient forces thoroughly to guard the frontier. The inability is not surprising when you consider that Turkey, with twenty times the forces at her disposal, is not able to prevent them from getting across. That these bands should occasionally have seized an opportunity to avenge Bulgarian crimes, which had continued so long unrestrained, is only natural, as it is not possible to keep armed bands under proper control in such circumstances.

A False Outcry

" Finding at last that they had to face Greek bands which they were not able to stand up against, the Bulgarians commenced to fill the world with complaints against the Greeks, and sent out descriptions of imaginary atrocities committed by Greek bands, when their only real cause of complaint was that they themselves could no longer commit crimes on the Greek Christians with impunity in the way they, for six years, had been accustomed.

" The result of the great outcry raised by the Bulgarians was that strong pressure was brought to bear by the Powers on the Greek Government to prevent Greek bands from crossing into Macedonia, and the Greek Government increased the efforts they had always been making in this direction. Probably as a result of the efforts of this Government, fewer Greek bands have been operating in Macedonia during the past two months, and the consequence is that thirty-nine Greeks have been murdered in Macedonia during this period by Bulgarians, while only seven of the latter have been killed by Greeks.

" The Greek Government have no interest whatever in hindering the efforts of the Powers to restore order in Macedonia. Quite the contrary; no one desires to see order restored there more than we do. But you must remember that the majority of the inhabitants of Macedonia are Greeks, and it is not in the power of the Greek Government to control public opinion in Greece in face of the atrocities committed by Bulgarians on our countrymen in Macedonia. If the Bulgarian propaganda in that country is put a stop to, the Greek Christians will have nothing to fear, and in such circumstances no Greek bands will be found there, as their sole object in crossing the frontier was to protect their co-religionists, who for six years had been terrorised by the Bulgarians. Once Bulgarian crimes in Macedonia cease there will be nothing more heard of ' regrettable incidents ' in that country."

I called Mr Theotoki's attention to the interview which the *Daily Mail's* special correspondent had recently been granted by the Grand Vizier, a report of which appeared on November 28 last, in which the Grand Vizier states that twenty-five Bulgarians had been killed in the village of Karadjovo, and that, according to the Bulgarians, the band which killed them was composed of Turks and Greeks, and that the Turks maintain that the band was composed of Greeks only, the distribution of arms having been traced to the Greek Consul. Mr Theotoki replied that this is not true, and that the Grand Vizier has been wrongly informed.

No Greek Consul has ever assisted the bands—on the contrary, the Consuls have always discouraged them, in accordance with instructions given by the Greek Government. It has never been brought home to any Consul that he has disobeyed these instructions.

With regard to the " regrettable incident " in the neighbourhood of Serros, which has been so much talked of and written about, Mr Theotoki said it had been definitely proved that this was entirely of a local nature, and was simply an act of revenge on one family by another, owing to the dishonouring of a female member of the first family; it had nothing to do with any of the armed bands in Macedonia. It was an incident of the kind that occasionally occurs in all Eastern countries.

FROM THE ROUMANIAN JOURNALS

The Bucharest journal, *Destepterea*, accuses the Roumanian Press of having by its articles excited and envenomed public opinion against the Greeks. The Press has not, according to the *Destepterea*, pursued its legitimate course of considering the well-being of the country: on the contrary, it has entered upon unjustifiable polemics, leading to a rupture in the relations between Greece and Roumania. A result of the frenzied agitation provoked against the Greeks by the journals has been the expulsion of Greeks—Roumanian subjects and subjects of other Powers indiscriminately. All those expelled have been men of considerable wealth and reputation—many also (such as MM. Chrissoveloni, Valsamachi, Chaïta and others) have been well known for their sympathies towards Roumania and the Roumanians.

For what reason, asks the *Destepterea*, were these Greeks expelled? Simply because their names were Greek and (so it was pretended) because they were members of the society " Hellenismos." But in point of fact that association numbers among its members many actual Roumanians—for example, Professor G. Tocileseu, of the Roumanian Academy, who was at the head of the delegation of Roumanian students who visited Athens some years ago. The truth is that the expulsions constitute a crying injustice, which it would not be easy to parallel in the annals of civilised Europe. Merchants, bankers, men of affairs, have been driven from Roumanian territory and have been forced to abandon their commercial interests and the fortunes acquired by their honourable efforts. This has been done without any legal process, and on the accusation often of mere adventurers. If the Hellenes had been subject to any judicial inquiry before their expulsion, it is more than certain that the accusations formulated against them would have been proved to be empty and baseless. The lists drawn up in this matter contained over a thousand names: and if only the smaller part of those proscribed were expelled, this is entirely owing to the wisdom and moderation of certain persons, and especially to the intervention of the higher classes.

. . . . . .

Roumania can find only brothers and friends among those who have given to our nation such distinguished patriots and statesmen as the historian, Dionysios Fotino; as Gregory Voda Ghica, the Moldavian prince who faced decapitation rather than consent to the seizure of Boucovine by the Austrians; as Costache Aristia, friend and associate of Heliade in founding the national theatre; as Asaki, Iatropoulo,

Barbu, Catarzi, Lascar Catargi, Aristache Polychroniade, Eugene Stalesco, Alexander Lahovari, Michael Pascali, Constantine, Dimitriade, Vangheli and Constantine Zappa, Teka Anastasio, and Doctors Kyriazi and Serfiote.

We may, moreover, refer to the statesmen: George Cantacuzene, the Premier of Roumania, who descends from the illustrious family of the Byzantine Emperors; General George Mano, that man of iron who is the pride of the Roumanian army; Nicholas Fleva, the famous popular orator, formerly Administrator of Crown Lands and now Minister at Rome; Constantine Disesco, Professor at the University, at present a senator but formerly a minister and destined again to hold a portfolio in the future. M. Disesco is nephew of Arnota Disesco, the distinguished Greek grammarian and superior of the monastery: though now the most merciless persecutor of the Greeks in Roumania, he is still unable to deny his illustrious Greek ancestry.

BYRONIANA

By Dr L. BELLELI

THE two letters of Lord Byron which are made public now for the first time have been transcribed from copies preserved in the Public Record Office, Chancery Lane. In all probability the originals reached their addressees, but not without a delay caused by the circumstance that they were intercepted by the British authorities and kept back for some time before they were allowed to leave the Ionian waters.

They were written in Cephalonia, two days before the poet quitted that island for Missolonghi, where his new departure in life as a commander, and perhaps the prince, of a nation was so abruptly brought to an end. The first was addressed to his trustee in London, the Hon. J. W. Douglas Kinnaird, to whom he had also written only four days before.[1] The characteristic of this letter is the buoyancy in the hopes of Byron for a complete fulfilment of the wishes that the greatest patriot in Greece or the most sympathetic Philhellene could have entertained.

The name of *Kirkdale* as expressive of a manor belonging to our poet is interesting, and, did it not occur in the second letter as well, we should consider it an error of the copyist in Corfu, who might carelessly have written *Kirkdale* instead of *Rochdale*. In fact, the latter name is to be found in four letters, written between the 11th and the 26th December 1823, to Charles F. Barry and John Bowring[2] in connection with the long-desired sale of that manor. Sir Bernard Burke in his account of "Kirkdale House"[3] makes no mention nor gives any hint whatever of Byron as the owner of the same, but in the article on "Rochdale Manor" distinctly says,[4] "*Long before* his death, Lord Byron, *under the pressure of necessity*, had disposed of Rochdale to James Dearden," etc., a statement quite consonant with what the poet repeatedly wrote to John Hanson from the East of Europe in the years 1809 to 1811, when he was in despair about his future and in want of money to meet his own needs, whereas all his correspondence during the autumn of 1823 shows that he was in an excellent financial position, allowing him to advance funds from his private chest in anticipation of the Greek loan which was being negotiated in London. It will be the privilege of other searchers to explain the puzzle arising from this new source of information, and to decide which of the two names must be accepted as the real in *all* Byron's letters of the Cephalonia-Missolonghi period. I will confine myself to the observation that no freak or obscurity in the handwriting of this particular word, Rochdale, in the originals of the Egerton collection, which supplied to Mr Prothero the contents of Appendix IX of his last volume, and to which I have resorted seeking for a clue in my perplexity, would support the hypothesis that the person who copied our letters in Corfu may, owing to difficulty in reading out the name in question, have made a conjectural identification. Another remark which may not be deemed out of place is that the two prominent men, Sir T. Maitland and Sir F. Adam, who occupied the most responsible situations in the Government of the Ionian Islands, were both from Scotland, and that a mistake about one of the finest mansions in their own country could not pass unnoticed in transcripts made by their order and undoubtedly submitted to their inspection before being forwarded to the Colonial Office

Here is the text of the letter, the concluding portion of which the copyist, himself very nearly a calligraphist, was not able to decipher with full success:—

"*December* 27*th* 1823.

"Dear Douglas,—I am embarking for Messolongi, Bowring can tell you the rest, for your dispatches will go together. 'I am passing the Rubicon'—recollect that for God's sake and the sake of Greece. You must let me have all the means and credits of mine that we can muster and master, and that immediately. I must do my best to the shirt and to the skin if necessary.

"Stretch my credit and anticipate my revenue to their fullest extent. If Kirkdale sale has been completed I can keep an army here, aye, and perhaps command it. Send me forthwith all the credits you can and tell the committee that they should muster men and put money in their purse. Why, man, if we had but £100,000 sterling in hand we should now be half way to the city of Constantine . . . but the gods give us joy!—'En avant'—a—a the Sulliots, that is their warcry—Deoneh 'Deonoé,' which being interpreted means 'Oú—Oú—Oú.'—Yours ever,

"N. B.

"The Hon. Douglas Kinnaird,
"London."

The second letter was addressed to a member of Parliament whose name is quite unknown by the hitherto published correspondence of Byron, and our copyist has transmitted it in the following form:—

"*December* 27*th* 1827.

"Dear Hotham,—I embark for Messolongi, Douglas Kd. and Bowring can tell you the rest. I particularly require and entreat you to desire Douglas K. to send me soon credits to the utmost, that I may get the Greek to keep the field. Never mind me so that the cause goes on; if that is well, all is well. . . . Douglas must send me my money (Kirkdale and all included, if the sale is completed and the purchase money paid). The committee must furnish their money and the monied people theirs, with these we will soon have men enough and all that.—Yours ever, N. B.

"*P.S.*—Mavrocordato's letter says that my presence will *electrify* the troops; so I am going over to electrify the Sulliots, as George Brennon went to Holland 'to teach the Dutch English,' who were fond of it to distraction.

"J. C. Hotham, Esq., M.P.
"London."

[1] Prothero's, Vol. VI., pp. 287-9. [2] l.c., pp. 284-292.
[3] *Visitation of the Seats*, etc., Series II., Vol. I., pp. 182-4.
[4] l.c., Series I., pp. 192-3.

Published at Craven House, Kingsway, London, W.C.
Editor, Dr C. Pouptis.

The Hellenic Herald

A MONTHLY POLITICAL PERIODICAL

Vol. I., No. 4] FEBRUARY 1907 [Price 10/- per Annum Post Free

CONTENTS

AN INTERVIEW WITH THE SECRETARY OF THE BALKAN COMMITTEE . . . . ——
THE MACEDONIAN BUDGET AND THE MANŒUVRES OF GERMAN INTERNATIONAL FINANCE
By M. Triantaphyllides
THE FRENCH PHILHELLENIC SOCIETY IN PARIS . ——
THE GREEK CHURCH AND HELLENISM
Lecture of Professor Ch. Diehl
MISCELLANEOUS . . . . . ——
PRESS REVIEWS . . . . . ——
LITERARY PAGE—
DEATH OF D. BERNARDAKI . . . ——
"ŒSTERREICH-UNGARN UND ITALIEN"
By Leopold Freiherr von Chlumecky

OUR AIMS

THE OBJECT OF THE

HELLENIC HERALD

Is to give an exhaustive account of the various movements and affairs—political, racial, and social—in the Near East; and to set forth with clearness the Greek claims in the Balkan Peninsula. In addition to articles by well-known publicists and reviews of the Foreign press, a portion of each number will be devoted to literary matters—more particularly to the literature of Modern Greece.

AN INTERVIEW WITH THE SECRETARY OF THE BALKAN COMMITTEE.

A CORRESPONDENT of the *Hellenic Herald* sends the following account of an interview with Mr. W. A. Moore, Secretary of the Balkan Committee, who has recently returned from the Balkans. Our conversation naturally turned on his journey and the impressions he had derived from his visits to Sophia, Bucharest and Belgrade.

Questioned as to what Roumania wanted to do with the Koutzo-Vlachs, Mr. Moore said that there was no attempt on the part of the Roumanians to conceal the fact that they desired to exchange the Koutzo-Vlach enclaves in Macedonia for a piece of Bulgarian territory. He strongly condemned this policy, which, he agreed, was playing with the people. At the same time he pointed out that the Patriarchate was pursuing a suicidal policy in refusing to allow the Koutzo-Vlachs the liturgical use of their language. To my remark that the Koutzo-Vlach communities in Albania which I had come across had no desire for any such innovation, Mr. Moore replied that this was not the case in Macedonia, and that many Koutzo-Vlachs there were really anxious for the recognition of their own language in the churches. He considered it of the utmost importance that the Patriarch should yield unless the story of the Bulgarian schism was to be repeated.

I then asked him about his impressions of Bulgaria, and specially as to the probability of war soon breaking out between Bulgaria and Turkey. He said that he believed war to be imminent and that Bulgaria could not long continue to bear the strain of military expenditure. His stay at Sophia had convinced him that the people were all for war, and that the Prince was the principal factor in preserving peace. Questioned as to the probable Bulgarian plan of action, Mr. Moore said that the brunt of the Bulgarian army would be thrown on Adrianople. Were an action there successful the way would be open towards Constantinople. At the same time he thought that a diversion would be made in Macedonia, and that at least a portion of the vilayet of Kossovo would be occupied.

Mr. Moore expressed his great satisfaction with the attitude of the *Hellenic Herald*, which he said was adopting the right kind of tone and insisting on the fact that "the Turk is the enemy," a point which he considered was completely lost sight of by most Greek papers in polemics against Bulgaria.

Questioned as to the relations of the Bulgarian Government with the "Interior Organisation," Mr. Moore replied that he thought their relations were very strained and that the latter were dead against annexation. In Bulgaria itself there was considerable feeling against the Macedonian Bulgars, large numbers of whom flooded the country and monopolised the good posts. I suggested that he made too much of this antagonism and that annexation certainly lay at the bottom of the Bulgarian policy. Mr. Moore admitted that some of the more far-sighted statesmen in Bulgaria were really in favour of annexation, and thought that the opposition of the Interior Organisation might be got over.

Asked his impressions of the public men whom he had met in Bulgaria, Mr. Moore said that they were a "canny" lot and showed a great lack of enthusiasm, which was in strong contrast to his experience of the Serbs, who were most excitable.

The conversation then turned on the prospects of a settlement. Mr. Moore said that no settlement could be reached unless the "enclaves" were sacrificed. Mr. Moore, like all the members of the Balkan Committee, insists on the point that any districts where the peasantry are Bulgarians should become Bulgarian, though the chief centres happen to be Greek. Thus he considered that Eastern Roumelia was essentially a Bulgarian province, because the Greeks were concentrated in the towns and were mostly occupied in trades. The country, he said, must go to those who live on the land. It was quite impossible to take into consideration a Greek town which was merely an oasis in the midst of a Bulgarian population. Thus the vilayet of Adrianople, north of Adrianople was a Bulgarian country though Adrianople itself was a Greek town.

He did not see why Greek energy should not be more concentrated on the Adriatic and the islands, Mytilene, etc.

We are very glad to have an opportunity of answering these most interesting and important points of the Macedonian question raised by so well-qualified a person as the Secretary of the Balkan Committee. We start with the Roumanian claims in Macedonia, which, though baseless and (as Mr. Moore admits) unworthy of any sympathy when their vile purpose is considered, are at the present time occupying the attention not only of public opinion but also of diplomacy.

THE KOUTZO-VLACHS AND THE ROUMANIAN PROPAGANDA

The Roumanians, after having been reduced to silence by their strong neighbours, Austria and Russia, in respect of their legitimate claims upon the three millions of real Roumanians living in the two countries named, have discovered another *Roumania irredenta* in Macedonia. Here the well-known racial differences and the confusion of national claims, coupled with the eagerness of the Turkish Government to make confusion worse confounded by adding as many new elements of turmoil as possible, have provided the Roumanians with an opportunity of fishing in these troubled waters. The aim of their base endeavours is to create a fictitious Roumanian population in Macedonia, and then—to barter this population against the coveted strip of Bulgarian territory in Dobroutza. Such is the noble aim of the Roumanian patriots! As medium for the creation of Roumanian claims in Macedonia has served that small portion of the Macedonian population known as the Koutzo-Vlachs. This people, though essentially Greek in creed, customs, education, national traditions, etc., still conserves a Latin vernacular bearing some vague resemblance to the Roumanian language. The Koutzo-Vlachs may be the descendants of Roman legionaries installed in different parts of Macedonia during the Roman occupation, and since then completely Hellenised, but retaining a corrupted Greco-Latin dialect; or (as some writers maintain) they may be descendants of ancient Greek-Macedonians who had been compelled to adopt the Latin vernacular. Which of these two theories is the more correct cannot be scientifically established; from the political point of view, however, the question of origin is not of great importance. What does matter is that the Koutzo-Vlachs declare themselves Greeks in heart and soul, and fight and die in the foremost ranks for the sake of Hellenism in the present racial struggle, as in the older defence against the Slavonian and Turkish invasions of Macedonia. Moreover, the Koutzo-Vlachs have absolutely nothing in common with the Roumanians in either character, custom or tradition. The Koutzo-Vlachs are smart, profoundly moral, highly intelligent, eager for learning, and they cling passionately to liberty and independence, whereas the Roumanians are low-minded, somewhat servile, and devoid of any strong sense of family ties and morality. The folk-lore, popular songs, wedding and funerary airs of the Koutzo-Vlachs are purely Greek, their national costume is very similar to the Greco-Albanian; while the Roumanian customs, costume, traditions are quite different from these, and in some points closely resemble the Slavonian. There is, indeed, some vague resemblance between the languages of the two peoples; the Roumanian tongue is of Latin derivation, while the Koutzo-Vlachs speak a Greco-Latin dialect, but the two languages are no more alike than any other two Romance languages, French and Italian for example. A Koutzo-Vlach, without specially learning the Roumanian tongue, can neither understand nor be understood by a Roumanian. Upon these so trifling ties the Roumanians have based their national aspirations in Macedonia, where they have now been pursuing a propaganda for forty-five years. They found a most useful instrument and an ardent supporter of their claims in the person of a clever and ambitious Koutzo-Vlach, Mr. Margaritis, formerly a malcontent Greek schoolmaster, who for personal animosities rather than from any real sentiment embraced the Roumanian cause. The great efforts of Margaritis, at whose disposal the Roumanian Government placed vast sums of money, and who had also the heartiest support of the Turkish Government, resulted in the creation of an artificial Roumanian population in Macedonia. This population consists of well-paid teachers, school-mistresses, priests and pupils, all recruited from the lowest classes of Koutzo-Vlachs and Albanians by the most tempting offers of free education (including free food, books, clothes, etc.), of sure employment (the pupils, at the termination of their education, being employed in the work of the propaganda), and of subsidies to the parents.

The soundness of the policy of the Roumanian patriots in seeking to Roumanise the Koutzo-Vlachs can be gauged from the meagre results obtained by their forty-five years of propaganda in Macedonia, in spite of all the millions spent; in spite, too, of the favour of the Turkish Government. Out of 130,000 Koutzo-Vlachs living in Macedonia and Epirus, hardly 10,000 have joined the Roumanian cause. As has been already stated, all these are in receipt of handsome subsidies from the Roumanian propaganda. This proves that they profess Roumanian aspirations, not because they have any real feeling for this cause, but solely as a means of livelihood.[1] Considering the poverty and anarchy prevailing in Macedonia, these 10,000 would adhere to any other propaganda which should care to start an adventurous policy in Macedonia. A better illustration of the insignificance and complete failure of the Roumanian propaganda in Macedonia can be given by a comparison of the Greek and Roumanian schools in the chief Koutzo-Vlach centres of Monastir, Megarovon,

[1] Before the present secret understanding arrived at two years ago between the Roumanian and Bulgarian Governments for an exchange of the Koutzo-Vlachs against a piece of Bulgarian territory in Dobroutza, the Roumanians officially recognised the futility of the Roumanian propaganda in Macedonia, and in the Roumanian Chamber, Mons. Haret, minister of Public Instruction, did not shrink from proclaiming in the tribune that sums expended during the last thirty years for spreading Roumanian propaganda in Macedonia have been but dead loss without a ghost of a result. Even before this, Professor Ourekia, senator and president of the "Roumano-Macedonian" committee, when abandoning the thankless task to which he had devoted himself for many a long year, that of Roumanising the Koutzo-Vlachs of Macedonia and Epirus, had declared with a sincerity deserving all praise that the labours of the propagandist committees had effected nothing. Many times this policy, this ambitious and Utopian dream, had been denounced in the Roumanian Parliament. It was shown that the one definite result had been to fill the pockets of Apostolos Margaritis, the inspirer of the Roumano-Macedonian movement. Finally, the former director of the gymnasium maintained by the Roumanian Government at Jannina, M. Lecanta, the man whose outspoken courage caused his recent assassination in a Bucharest *café*, condemned this policy as vain and unprofitable. In a circumstantial report, which we shall put before the reader, he proved that policy had but resulted in the squandering of large sums among certain Koutzo-Vlachs, who made their entire livelihood out of the largesses of the Roumanian Government.

Croushovon, Neveska, Cleissoura, Samarina, and Avdela. In Monastir are eleven Greek schools, including one college, five secondary and elementary male and five female schools, with 1695 pupils, against one Roumanian school (college and elementary school together) with 120 pupils, and these pupils are not from Monastir itself but mostly from the villages of the district. In Megarovon there are five Greek secondary and elementary male and female schools, with 557 pupils, against one Roumanian school with thirty-five pupils. In Neveska there is one Greek school with 125 pupils against one Roumanian with fifteen pupils. In Cleissoura there are four Greek schools with 900 pupils against one Roumanian with thirty pupils. In Samarina there are four Greek schools with 570 against one Roumanian with twenty-five pupils. In Avdela, the native place of Margaritis, there is one Greek school with thirty pupils against one Roumanian with seventy pupils.

It is evident the Greek pupils, even in those purely Koutzo-Vlach towns and villages where the Roumanian propaganda from the very beginning of its work has endeavoured by every means to create a stronghold of Roumanism, are beyond comparison more numerous than the Roumanian. Moreover, in all these places, not a single influential Koutzo-Vlach family, not a single man of learning, doctor or lawyer, has embraced the Roumanian cause—notwithstanding the frequent offers of high positions and other material inducements. I am in a position to prove the validity of these assertions, being myself a Koutzo-Vlach, born and bred in Macedonia among the most pure Koutzo-Vlachs, and knowing very well the feelings and aspirations of my compatriots. If the thirty millions of francs spent by the Roumanians in Macedonia had been distributed in China or in Timbuctoo they might possibly have gained more adherents to the cause.

The Koutzo-Vlachs have not limited the expression of their Greek feelings and aspirations to fighting in the first rank for the Hellenic cause. Many of them in times of peace also have given most noble and generous examples of patriotism by endowing not only the schools and charitable institutions of their native places (where all the Greek schools are maintained by the communities themselves, unlike the Roumanist schools which are supported by the Roumanian Government's propaganda) but those of Athens, the capital of Hellenism. They have given to modern Greece many of her most eminent men in politics, social benevolence, literature and science.

This faithful adherence of the great majority and of all the enlightened Koutzo-Vlachs to the Greek cause is not a result of any oppression by the Greek clergy, as some writers maintain, nor is it an artificial product of Greek education. On the contrary, it is a deep-rooted conviction of brotherhood and common traditions, grown and strengthened amidst the common sufferings and the heroic struggles for liberty which have been sustained by the Koutzo-Vlachs together with the whole of the Greek nation. This has continued from Byzantine times down to the great War of Independence and on through the repeated attempts at insurrection in Macedonia and Epirus during the nineteenth century.

In the face of such a disposition on the part of the vast majority of the Koutzo-Vlachs and the firm declaration of their Greek aspirations, in the face of the utter minority of those professing Roumanian sympathies, in the face of the most explicit canons of the Greek Orthodox Church (according to which canons there can be no change in the tongue in which the liturgy is said in a given community unless two-thirds of the members of the community ask for this change), can the Œcumenical Patriarch break the ecclesiastical laws and impose upon his most faithful orthodox sons the Koutzo-Vlachs, a language which is not only not demanded but which is absolutely hateful to the vast majority of them? Or can he act thus in order to satisfy the evil designs of the Roumanian policy of adventure, or to gratify the Utopian dreams of certain European politicians and writers?

And since Mr. Moore and other members of the Balkan Committee admit the Machiavellian policy of the Roumanian Government, we cannot understand why they consider the wise and right policy of the Œcumenical Patriarch to be "suicidal." We take this opportunity of declaring emphatically that the policy of the Œcumenical Patriarchate towards all his orthodox subjects of different nationalities has been in general just and tolerant, and has regarded the wishes of these different nationalities whenever those wishes have been expressed in clear and loyal terms. The prevailing anti-clerical disposition in many European Liberal quarters has led to a too-ready acceptance of mischievous insinuations made by interested parties against the Patriarchate. Despite this, the Greek Church has shown her motherly care and tolerance, not only by allowing and helping the non-Greek Orthodox populations to preach in their own languages, but also by in many cases inventing for them the written language which they did not previously possess—thus Russian, Bulgarian, Servian owe their written language, their very alphabet even, to the efforts of the Greek apostles, Cyril and Methodius.

WHY GREECE SHOULD NOT CONFINE HER CLAIMS TO THE ISLANDS

SPACE will not permit us to answer in full Mr. Moore's observations, but we cannot pass over his suggestion that Greek energies should be concentrated solely upon the Islands, nor can we admit his tacit assumption that in Macedonia, as in Eastern Roumelia, the Greek population is gathered into the towns, the peasantry being Bulgarians.[1]

As we have stated in a previous number the Macedonian question is not only of importance to Greece on account of the Hellenic character of the country and, in general, the indissoluble historical ties and rights of the large Greek population of Macedonia; it is a question of life or death, for past history has clearly proved that whoever holds Macedonia has Greece at his mercy. And since Greece is not an insular power, she must look to her territorial safety and regard her land frontier; it would be suicidal for her to concentrate her attention upon the islands only and not to safeguard her position on the mainland. Moreover, European writers who deal with Greek claims in Macedonia and elsewhere must not lose sight of the moral and, we would say, sacred obligations of the free citizens of the Kingdom of Greece to those Greeks who are still irredeemed. The liberation of the present kingdom was not gained only by the efforts of those who dwell within its limits, but by the common struggle of all the Greek

[1] *See* the Editor's "Historical Note" on M. Engelhardt's article, which appeared in No. 2 of the *Hellenic Herald*.

peoples, who fought and bled for the freedom of Greece, and for that reason all the irredeemed Hellenes look to Greece to be their leader and the untiring champion of their rights; and Greece cannot refuse the sacred obligation.

As for the tacit assumption that the Greeks are in Macedonia (as in Eastern Roumelia) mainly confined to the towns, we need only say that the Bulgarians themselves admit that the southern part of Macedonia is *entirely* Greek—towns, villages and all. As for the whole of Macedonia proper (that is, the two vilayets of Monastir and Salonica) the following figures and the adjoined map will show that the Greeks are in a majority not only in the towns, but in the villages as well. A free and exact census being impossible in Macedonia, we must estimate the Christian populations from the number of the schools. As these are maintained by the communities, they express the national aspirations of these communities.

There are in Macedonia (*i.e.*, in the two vilayets)—

Schools	...	Greek, 989;	Bulgarian,	545
Teachers	...	„ 1,250;	„	840
Pupils	...	„ 59,043;	„	28,050

If we estimate one pupil to twelve inhabitants this would indicate a Greek population of about 710,000 against a Bulgarian population of 340,000. An average of figures supplied by Turkish, Greek and Bulgarian statistics gives the figures (always for the two vilayets) as: Greeks, 650,000; Bulgarians, 380,000—these are roughly in agreement with the previous estimate.

Another proof of the Greek character of the greater number of the Macedonian villages is the fact that the Greek bands succeeded in a very short time in driving out so many Bulgarian bands. This would not have been possible if the population did not sympathise with and support the Greek bands.

Dr. C. Pouptis.

THE MACEDONIAN BUDGET
AND THE
Manœuvres of German International Finance

M. Triantaphyllides, the well-known advocate at the Paris bar, published in *l'Hellénisme* the following interesting article:—

THE international finance of the Germans, seconded by the diplomacy and often by the personal intervention of the Emperor William, has for long marked out Turkey as a prey, taking possession of her most fruitful revenues, and in advance rendering impossible all administrative reforms, judicial or otherwise.

A recent incident, which has given British diplomacy just cause for inquietude, provides for our consideration an example of this unscrupulous rapacity. The French Government, too, is interested in this event and in the serious consequences which may possibly be its result.

It is well known that the Ottoman treasury is always empty. The Turkish financial authorities are for ever receiving fresh and most urgent orders from the Porte that new sources of revenue may be discovered. Acting on a suggestion of the German financiers (whose advice, as we shall shortly see, was not altogether disinterested), the Government proposed to the Powers that all import duties on goods brought into Turkey should be increased by three per cent. This would provide the Government with a considerable revenue, of which German finance counted on seizing a large portion. The British Government, before giving any consent, stipulated for certain improvements in Ottoman legislation calculated to facilitate commercial transactions and mining operations in Turkey; above all, the British demands insisted that the new revenue should be devoted to the expenses necessitated by the reforms already introduced or about to be introduced in Macedonia.

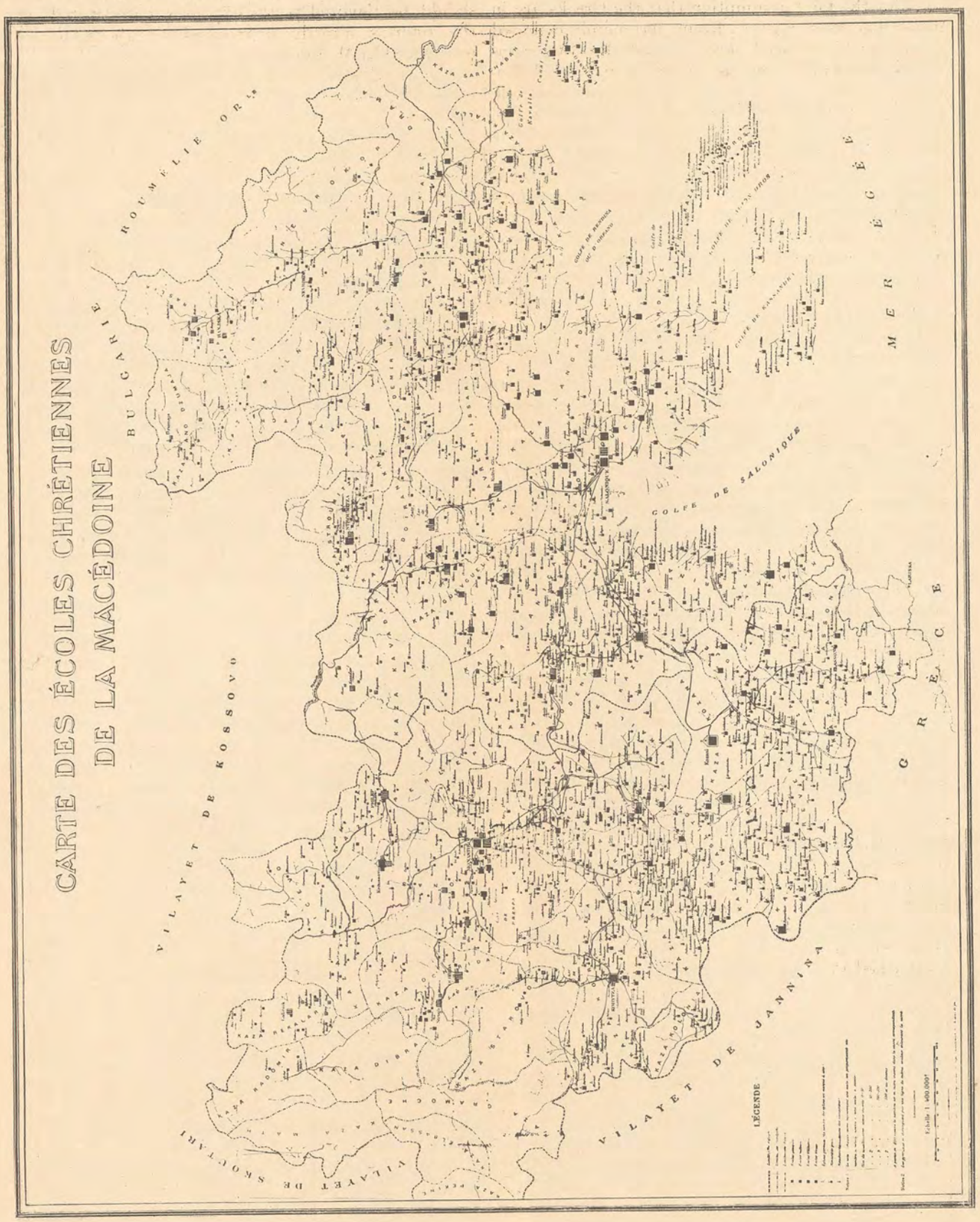
The reorganisation of the police forces, of legal machinery and of administration generally, both in Macedonia and in the neighbouring provinces of Thrace and Epirus, will not merely provide the European possessions of Turkey with the peace and tranquillity that is so desirable; it will also facilitate the economic development of these rich countries and will thereby assure the prosperity of their inhabitants. This joyous spectacle, the happiness of Christian peoples now groaning under the anarchy which prevails in these regions, does not touch the hearts of the Berlin bankers, or of the Deutsche Bank, which is at their head. In 1902 a German syndicate obtained a ninety-nine years' concession for the Bagdad Railway. So far as return on money invested is concerned, this costly undertaking is little calculated to afford any satisfaction to the organising capitalists. But the line (which is 1500 miles long and traverses a territory 20,000 square miles in extent) allows the Germans to make their grip on the resources of the country yet firmer, for the concession includes not only the line, but also the lands, forests and mines on both sides of the line, together with the monopoly of navigation on the Tigris and Euphrates. The cost of constructing this line will exceed £28,000,000. This cost is to be covered by a loan of at least £32,000,000, which will be handed over *in toto* to the Germans, so that they will make a clear gain of not less than three millions sterling—practically the same as that realised in 1870 by the famous Baron de Hirsch.

The German syndicate, being unable to obtain any "mileage guarantee" in the provinces through which the Bagdad Railway is to pass, seeks to hold, as security for the new loan, the increased customs duty, so as the better to assure the success of the loan.

That is the skilfully-concealed intention entertained by the German Commissioner to the Council of the Ottoman Public Debt. At a meeting of the Council, called to sanction a loan of £T250,000 from the Ottoman Bank to the Turkish Government for the purpose of meeting the deficit in the Macedonian budget of the previous year, the German representative made two proposals, of which the first was rejected and the second accepted by the majority. We extract the following notes from a report of this meeting sent by a correspondent to the *Echo de Paris*:—

"The German Commissioner, with his eye all the time on the interests of the Deutsche Bank, proposed that for the future the surcharge should be employed as the Ottoman Government might dispose. This very radical proposal was rejected. Then the same Commissioner suggested as a piece of bargaining that a part only of the surcharge should be devoted to Macedonia. A fresh vote was taken, and this time our representative consented to the German proposals."

Why, it has been asked in France, did the French Commissioner fail to observe the German snare? Why did he desert his English colleague and agree to the second proposal of the German Commissioner? He had been instructed by his Government to act in this matter in agreement with his English colleague, whose foresight is fully recognised, and these in-


CARTE DES ÉCOLES CHRÉTIENNES
DE LA MACÉDOINE
BULGARIE
ROUMÉLIE ORIE
VILAYET DE KOSSOVO
VILAYET DE SKOUTARI
GOLFE DE SALONIQUE
MER ÉGÉE
GRÈCE
VILAYET DE JANNINA
LÉGENDE

structions should have rendered him prudent and more circumspect. The French Commissioner is a member of the Administrative Council of the Bagdad Railway: can it be that this fact offers an explanation of his action? Of the Council in question, sixteen members are German or Swiss, and the remaining four French—M. Deffés, Governor of the Ottoman Bank; M. S. Auboineau, Director of that Bank; M. d'Arnoux, and M. Berger, the French Commissioner of the Ottoman Debt.

One can understand that the interest of the Administrative Council of the Bagdad Railway and that of the German Syndicate would, before the emission of the new loan, demand the adoption of the proposals put forth by the German Commissioner: but the political interest of France and the interests of French capitalists were directly opposed to any such thing. It was the duty of the French Commissioner to regard only these latter interests, and to turn a deaf ear to the entreaties of his colleagues of the Bagdad Railway.

There is still time to repair the French Commissioner's mistake, and to insist that the customs surcharge shall be devoted mainly to the reforms which are about to be introduced in Macedonia and also (as we demand) to be extended to those neighbouring provinces in which the condition of the Christians is no less unhappy than in the vilayets which at present are the sole objects of diplomatic solicitude. The increase of the import duties will press on the inhabitants of the Empire, and particularly on those of the European provinces. Why, then, should it be used to benefit certain vilayets to the detriment of others? The interests of the Deutsche Bank and of the Bagdad Railway Company must cede place to those of the inhabitants of these unhappy provinces, which for the last five or six years have run with blood and in which the state of unrest constitutes a permanent danger to European peace.

If the Powers consent that the additional customs receipts shall form the mileage guarantee of the Bagdad Railway, this will one day furnish the German Government with a pretext for laying its hands on the customs of the Empire—at least in the principal Turkish ports. There will appear nothing impossible in this when one remembers that the German company controlling the Anatolian Railway, after obtaining by surprise the right to construct a breakwater to protect its terminus on the Bay of Haïdar-Pacha, opposite to Constantinople, has established a veritable port in that place, and cherishes the hope of becoming one day owner of the quays in Constantinople, though these were built and managed by a French company.

This company has already gained possession of the Adana-Mersine line and of the harbour in the last-named town, buying at a low price the shares of the Anglo-French company, which had built and was working the line. This will shortly enable the German Syndicate to bring the Bagdad line down to the Ægean Sea. In a similar way the Syndicate has gained control of the French line from Smyrna to Afioun-Kahinar, amalgamating this with its own line and taking possession of the docks at Smyrna. The bonds have deserted French portfolios to find a resting-place in the strong boxes of the Berlin banks. Neither the Foreign Office nor the Quai d'Orsay can fail to be interested in this momentous question and in its serious effect upon British and French influence in the Orient.

PROGRAMME
OF THE
"LIGUE FRANÇAISE POUR LA DÉFENSE DES DROITS DE L'HELLÉNISME."

[In our issue of last month was an account of the work of the French Philhellenic Society—"Ligue pour la défense des droits de l'Hellénisme." We give below the full text of the programme of this Society, together with a list of the original members and officers of the League.]

"THE cause of Hellenism is passing through a crisis well calculated to render inquiet all friends of Greece. Those Greeks who have not yet obtained their freedom are injured and threatened, both in material and in moral respects, and even their very existence is endangered—by the Ottoman tyranny, by the envy of Christian peoples, their rivals, by the weakness of European diplomacy and by the coldness of public opinion.

"The cause of Hellenism is therefore in need of defence, and whatever enraged adversaries or estranged friends may argue against the Greeks, this defence is well merited. This cause should be defended, if only for the sake of the political equilibrium of the Orient and the common interest of Europe: it ought to be defended for the sake of justice against the tyranny of the Turkish Government and against the encroachments of other Christian States: it ought to be defended because it has rights, because it is in fact the most ancient and the best warranted representative of the idea of right, because the Greeks are the most cultured and enlightened people of the Orient, that is to say, they are the people most capable of fairness in their claims.

"For these reasons it has been decided to create a 'Ligue pour la défense des Droits de l'Hellénisme.' There is no claim of privileges, of interests, of anything exclusive or self-seeking, of anything which might nurture jealousy or animosity. Whatever sympathy and whatever gratitude the name of Greece may inspire, we seek no preference, we undertake nothing inspired by partisan spirit, and therefore leading to conflict: we only ask for Greece what she is ready to recognise on behalf of others—justice.

"For the Greeks and (as a natural consequence) for all the Christians, all Ottomans of whatever creed or tongue, for the Turks themselves (perhaps the most unhappy of all the subjects of the Sultan), we demand the necessary guarantees of the essentials of liberty—that is to say, security of life, of honour, of commerce, of religious profession, of moral and educational effort, and right to discuss in municipal or provincial assemblies all questions of local affairs and common interest. In this there is nothing contrary to the conservative policy of the Powers, nothing inimical to the integrity of the Ottoman Empire; for the best way to conserve the integrity of the Empire is to render it habitable. In this transformation of the political and moral *régime*, each nationality will take in each region a place proportionate to its numerical force, its intelligence, and its activity: and if at any date a revolution should happen to arise, the field of action of each nationality will be limited in advance to the regions occupied by the race and conquered by its national genius.

"It has appeared to us that this attitude, of defenders of the right, is in harmony equally with the Philhellenic sympathies and with the humanitarian traditions of France, that it accords with the aims of our politics in the Nearer East, and that it is in a sense a peculiarly fitting attitude for the citizens of

the sole European State which does not pursue in the Orient a policy dictated by self-interest.

"To carry out this programme we need have no recourse to arms, nor need we wage a war of money; our operations are aimed solely at public opinion; words are our only weapon, we count on no force save that of justice.

"To discover and to disseminate the truth about the Eastern Question is our sole aim. We will approach our task with the most scrupulous impartiality and with all the rigour of scientific method. We shall seek and investigate evidence as to the injustice and violence to which the Greeks in particular and also all (Christian or other) inhabitants of Turkey are subjected. We shall search and examine information concerning the sorrows, complaints, and hopes of the various peoples, concerning also the schemes of administrative reform and the unfortunately too frequently unreliable statistics by which the different nationalities seek to establish their rights or their pretensions. And in this we shall at least find a proof of the remarkable vitality and the vast expansion of the Hellenes, of the generosity with which they build churches, establish schools, maintain and propagate their language. If we fix our gaze on Athens herself, on the growth of her wealth, her swarm of merchant shipping, the development of agriculture and commerce, the fortunate entry upon manifold industries, the movement of thought, the curiosity and activity of mind, the aptitude for every kind of learning, for all activity of manufacture—regarding all this, we shall discover that Greece is still worthy of love, and that for her is justly reserved a distinguished position and a great part to play in the Orient."

Our League cannot exist without an income. We desire one which will suffice for our inquiries, publications and lectures, but we do not aspire to a wealth which might be suspected of providing for less pacific ends. The smallness of the subscription—five francs—is a guarantee of the purity and loyalty of our intentions. If there should appear benefactors desiring to exercise liberality, or if we should have any balance in hand, there will always be misery to solace or ruin to restore, sufficient to enable us to find for our money a use at once efficacious and beyond reproach.

What is before all absolutely necessary is the moral force which can conquer opinion: this will result from the number and the authority of the members of the League.

The Provisional Committee consists of:—

MM. Th. Homolle, President.
P. Grimanelli, Secretary.
Georges Clémenceau.[1]
Denys Cochin.
Henry Houssaye.
Théodore Reinach.

The following manifesto was also laid before the members of the League.

"The crisis provoked in Turkey by the Armenian and Cretan massacres and by the Greco-Turkish war has now lasted eight years, and European diplomacy has not been able to bring it to an end. The remarkable feature is that although much sympathy has been extended to the victims of Abdul Hamid's *régime*, so small a portion of this sympathy goes to the Greeks under his rule. And yet it is the Greeks who form the greater part of the Christians in the Ottoman Empire, and who, after having in a very great measure contributed to the moral emancipation of the Orient, have recently fought once more against the devastating forces of Oriental despotism—have fought once more for the cause of liberty and civilisation. The great injustice of the opinions expressed concerning the Greeks may perhaps in part be explained by the general disappointment caused by the defeat of their army, and also by the fact that the Greeks have no racial affinities with other nations, such as those, for example, which assure the Slavonic peoples of support, and enable them to be sparing in their own efforts. There is in fact no common bond between the Greeks and other nations, except their aspirations and their intellectual culture."

Among the original members of the League are:—

MM. Alphonse Aulard, Professor at the Sorbonne.
Comte d'Aunay, Senator.
Alfred Bayet, Director of Higher Education.
Alfred Berl, Publicist, Advocate in the Court of Appeal.
A. Bernard, Senator.
Jacques Bizet.
Albert Bourée, Ambassador.
Antide Boyer, Deputy to the Chamber.
Michel Bréal, Member of the Institute.
Aristide Briand, Deputy.
Ferdinand Buisson, Deputy.
Jules Claretie, of the French Academy.
Léo Claretie, Author.
Georges Cleiftie, Ex-Prefect.
Max Collignon, Member of the Institute.
Baron Pierre de Coubertin.
Alfred Croiset, Member of the Institute.
Jean Cruppi, Deputy.
Jules Delafosse, Deputy.
Auguste Delpech, Senator.
Gaston Deschamps, Author.
Frédéric Desmons, Vice-President of the Senate.
Charles Diehl, Professor of the Faculty of Letters.
M. d'Eichstal, Professor at the Sorbonne.
Maurice Faure, Senator.
Gustave Fougère, Professor at the Sorbonne.
Paul Girard, Professor in the Faculty of Letters.
Pierre Goujon, Advocate.
Paul Guiraud, Professor in the Faculty of Letters.
Paul Grauet.
B. Haussoulier, Director of Studies in the School of Research.
Am. Hauvette, Lecturer in the Faculty of Letters.
Abel Hermant, Author.
Clovis Hugues, Deputy.
Louis Leblois, Advocate in the Court of Appeal.
Eugène Lintilhac, Senator.
Edouard Lockroi, Vice-President of the Chamber of Deputies.
Alfred Mézières, of the Academy.
Comte Charles de Morny, Ex-Ambassador.
Comtesse Mathieu de Noailles.
Comte Mathieu de Noailles.
Michel Paillarès, Publicist.
Edmond Pottier, of the Institute.
Hubert Pernot, of the School of Oriental Languages.
Jean Psichari, Professor in the School of Oriental Languages.
Joseph Reinach, Ex-Deputy.
Salomon Reinach, of the Institute.

[1] Temporarily retired, owing to his duties as Premier of the French Chamber.

Louis Rodin, of the Association for the Encouragement of Hellenic Studies.
Marcel Sembat, Deputy.
Emile Worms, Corresponding Member of the Institute.
René Worms, Auditor to the Council of State.

THE GREEK CHURCH AND HELLENISM

LECTURE DELIVERED BY M. CH. DIEHL

THE second of the lectures organised by the French Philhellenic League was delivered on January 13th last by M. Ch. Diehl, a professor at the Sorbonne, on the subject of "The Greek Church and Hellenism." The meeting was presided over by M. Th. Homolle. There were also present M. Th. Reinach of the Chamber of Deputies, the Count d'Aunay (a senator), MM. E. Pottier of the Institute, Gaston Deschamps, P. Grimanelli, G. Fougère, J. Psichari and G. Triantaphyllides. The name and position of the lecturer had attracted many people, and before the time fixed for the lecture the large chamber of the Agricultural Society of France, in the Rue d'Athènes, was absolutely packed.

Before yielding the platform to M. Diehl, the president, M. Homolle, recounted the gratitude with which the Greeks had welcomed the inauguration of the series of lectures organised by the League.

"I am happy," said he, "to inform you that the first action of our League has become known all over Greece, and that from all sides have come evidence of the gratitude of the whole Hellenic world towards our French Philhellenic League. This ought to encourage us to continue the work which we have begun, and should also fill us with confidence for the future, for in approving our action the Greeks have shown that they have decided to follow that policy of wisdom and moderation of which we have sketched the outline, and which we have taken as a law for our own guidance."

These remarks were greeted with prolonged applause, which did not cease till M. Diehl had commenced his lecture, of which the substance follows:—

The Church and the National Liberation.

On April 4, 1821, the Archbishop Germanos of Patras proclaimed the insurrection against the Turks. Setting up a holy cross before the church of St. George, he caused all the people assembled to swear to fight for their religion and their country. On Easter Eve, April 22, the Œcumenical Patriarch, Gregory IV., was arrested by order of the Sultan as he was leaving the patriarchal church in Constantinople after the midnight service. Next morning he was speedily deposed, then almost at once he was again invested with the sacred robes, and hanged at the great door of his cathedral. There his body remained for three days, exposed to every kind of insult; then it was handed over to the populace, dragged ignominiously through the streets of Constantinople, and finally cast into the Bosphorus.

At the same time, many high dignitaries of the Greek Church—the metropolitans of Ephesus, of Nicomedia, of Anchialos, and (some days later) the metropolitan of Andrinople—shared the fate of the Œcumenical Patriarch.

In this striking and tragic manner, at the very beginning of the struggle for the independence of Greece, was manifested the indissoluble union which bound the Greek Church to the Hellenist movement. The prelates who dared thus to fight and to die for their Grecian Fatherland were the continuers of an ancient and glorious tradition.

The Church as Binding Force of the Byzantine Empire.

In the epoch when Byzantium was the great power of the Orient many diverse races and many discordant elements were grouped under the sceptre of the imperial master of this vast empire: it was the Church which formed the firm cement which bound one to another the varied parts of the colossal edifice. The unity which the Byzantine Empire found neither in language nor in race it found in religion; it has been truly observed that in this monarchy orthodoxy took the place of nationality.

From the shores of Italy to the confines of Mesopotamia, the imperial policy extended Hellenism by handing over colonies to people of Greek race or language, and it extended Christian civilisation by the religious organisation which accompanied each conquest. Wherever there was an annexation, however temporary or ephemeral it might be, bishoprics were at once created and an active propaganda was exercised.

This empire, it is necessary to insist, had no unity of language. But the Greek tongue, the language at once of the administration, of the Church, of the literature, ended by becoming a sort of national language. The empire had no unity of race; it was the profession of a common faith—unity in orthodoxy—which gave the empire its cohesion and its force.

And at the same time, outside the empire, beyond the frontiers of the monarchy, it is again the Church which provides the initiative whereby the different races of the Orient were led into the ways of civilisation. The work of the missions is assuredly one of the most certain and most characteristic glories of the policy of mediæval Byzantium. In this work the priest acted in union with the diplomats; like them, and more than they were, he was an agent of civilisation.

Was it not in fact the Byzantine missions which spread orthodoxy from the limits of Armenia to those of Russia, from the mountains of Abyssinia to the plains of the Danube? Was it not the Byzantine missionaries who, among all those savage populations which were floating amid the Oriental chaos, among these Slavs, Bulgarians and Magyars, introduced that religion and civilisation which have paved the way for the existence and the greatness of Servia, of Bulgaria, of Roumania, of Croatia, of Hungary, and of modern Russia?

We must remember that the great apostles of the Slavs, Cyril and Methodius, were Byzantines. We must remember that to the efforts of the Orthodox Church the Croats, the Servians, the Bulgarians and the Russians owe their place within the civilised world.

To sum up the whole matter in brief compass, Byzantium—in essential, that is to say, the Byzantine Church—has been for the Slavonic and Eastern races what Rome has been for the Western and Teutonic world.

The Church's Tradition of Tolerance and Liberation.

It may be granted that this Greek Church has not always been over-scrupulous as to the methods whereby she has led souls to orthodoxy and (at the same time) to Hellenism. Like all mediæval Churches she has not hated methods of somewhat forcible coercion; she has freely drawn the sword or kindled the stake in order to suppress heresy. It is equally true that her prelates have had faults (upon which we shall shortly have to touch briefly), for such faults

are found in all ages; but what is most essential, and is perhaps peculiar to this Church, is—strange as this may at first appear—the true spirit which she has possessed of conciliation, of tolerance and, one may boldly say, of liberalism.

Unlike what took place in the Roman Church, the Oriental and Byzantine prelates understood that when a people has been converted to a new faith it has need to understand the doctrines laid before it. Consequently the Greek prelates never hesitated to translate the Holy Scriptures for the use of such peoples into their proper languages; thus they freely endowed these Slavonic races with a liturgical language—the old Slavonic tongue, the present ecclesiastical Slavonic.

They also understood that a certain regard is due to men and to races. Thus when the famous emperor, Basil II., had destroyed the Bulgarian monarchy, he did not consider the complimentary title *Bulgaroctonos*, "slayer of the Bulgarians," as sufficient testimony to his glory; he did not believe that questions were properly solved by a slaughter of men. So he left to the Bulgarians an independent Church, over which he placed a national clergy; he seated a prelate of Bulgarian nationality on the primatial see of Ochrida; he confirmed and even enlarged the privileges which the prelates of the conquered country had received in times past from the Bulgarian Tsars. So in the thirteenth century, when a second Bulgarian empire was founded beyond the Balkans, the Œcumenical Patriarch, without hesitation or scruple raised the Archbishop of Tirnovo to the dignity of independent Patriarch over the whole of Bulgaria. Thanks to this liberal conduct, the Greek Church was able to obtain acceptance on all sides, even though its character was essentially Hellenic, and even though it was before all things the great bulwark of Hellenism.

The Church as Conserver of Christian Nationalities within the Ottoman Empire.

When the Byzantine Empire fell, the Church rendered a still greater service to the cause of Hellenism; she preserved the religion, and with it the nationality and culture of the Greeks.

Immediately after the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, Mahomet II.—impelled more by political considerations than by the spirit of tolerance—constituted the entire body of his Christian subjects into an organism of somewhat singular character, known by the Ottoman administration as the *roum-miletti*—that is to say, the Byzantine nation, an autonomous body of which the direction was entrusted by the Sultan to the Œcumenical Patriarch. From this time onwards the Christians were in a sense foreigners within the Moslem State. They were excluded from all participation in public life; their sole rèlation to the Sultan was that of taxpayers—and the taxes they paid were not light. But in compensation for this, and owing to this, they were able to maintain their religion and their national existence. In short, by the firman given to the Patriarch, Mahomet II. granted to this personage and to his bishops the continuance of the privileges which the Byzantine emperors had previously conceded to them. In this manner, by the very act of reorganising his Church on the basis of the ancient Byzantine law, the Patriarch became at once religious chief and political head of his people.

At this point the lecturer gave an account of the situation in which the Patriarchate was placed by the conquering power, of the conditions of that concordat (if it may be so called) between the conquering Moslem and the conquered Christians, in virtue of which the Greek Church maintained from the time of the conquest its right to control its own property, to regulate the laws of marriage and inheritance, to found and administer schools and hospitals, and to keep the civil archives.

In this manner the Patriarch became for the Christians the true successor of the vanished Byzantine Emperor. From him he inherited all the external prestige, and more or less of the real power. From the patriarchal palace of the Phanar, into which he transported himself towards the end of the sixteenth century, the Patriarch governed the entire assembly of Christian Churches which existed in the Ottoman Empire. As a result, the Orthodox Church was the refuge in which the Christian faith and the Hellenic nationality were able to find self-preservation. The fact must be insisted upon, that this was the means whereby that nationality continued its existence, for that is certainly one of the clearest titles to glory of the Eastern Church, and one of the greatest services which it has rendered to Hellenism.

National Education maintained solely by the Church.

By the firman which the Sultan Mahomet II. had granted to the Patriarchate, the exclusive right of opening and governing schools was conceded to the Church and to its Patriarch. It was precisely in these schools that the Orthodox Church found a marvellous instrument for the maintenance and the fortifying of Hellenism.

The Patriarch Gennadios, elected at the desire of the Sultan, was a man of learning and distinction. His first care was to reorganise the school of the Phanar—that school which at the present day (for its existence has never ceased) bears the glorious title of "Great School of the Nation," and which is to-day a sort of Normal school which educates the greater part of the teachers who give instruction in the Greek schools.

In that school there are certain elementary classes which give the elements of primary instruction; other classes study Greek literature or philosophy. For long no school existed outside this national institution of the Phanar. The patriarchs and their pupils, however, enlarged the possibilities of education. In this they were aided by the primates of the Christian communities, and also by the Phanariot laymen whom the Porte employed as "Chief Dragomans," or governors of the Danubian Principalities. With this help the patriarchs and the bishops established everywhere new schools, in which they were able more or less to maintain a national system of instruction. As time went on, and especially as the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw a renewed close contact between the Orient and the Europe of learning, the scope of this system widened, and its splendid work of instruction became yet more fruitful.

Poor and unsatisfactory these schools may doubtless have been—where the scholars opened no books except religious works. But at all events these books were written in Greek, and so they provided the most certain means for the preservation of that tongue. The Christians of the Orient displayed a touching zeal and anxiety to avail themselves of these schools. We may find evidence of this zeal in certain popular ballads, of which the following fragment may be cited as an example:

> "Brightly-shining little moon, illumine the way, that I may go to school, there to learn letters and wisdom, and all the gifts of God."

Above these primary schools there were naturally colleges and gymnasia in which the instruction was infinitely more highly developed—once more under the influence and thanks to the activity of Hellenism. In an act of the Holy Synod of 1593 we read the following characteristic passage:

> "The Holy Synod enjoins the bishop of each diocese to supervise public instruction and to make the necessary expenditure, to the end that holy and divine writings may never cease to be taught. The Holy Synod will assist those who desire to teach, and also those who desire to study but have no resources."

And this dates from the end of the sixteenth century!

The lecturer referred by name to the principal national educators, making special mention of: Cyril Loukaris, who in 1627 established the first printing press within the walls of the Patriarchate itself; Alexander Mavrocordato, of the seventeenth century, director of the National School of the Phanar, afterwards chief Dragoman of the Porte, who succeeded in obtaining the creation of several Greek schools; the celebrated Eugene Boulgaris, the "grand Didaskalos of the Nation," who was a professor at Jannina, then at Kozani in Macedonia, and finally in Constantinople, before Catherine II. of Russia called him to the bishopric of Taurus and the Chersonnese; in the eighteenth century Ptoïos, who completed his studies in France, at the Ecole Polytechnique, and was among the most honoured of the schoolmasters.

An official list, dated the middle of the eighteenth century, gives us very exact and very interesting information as to the number of these schools. There were: two public colleges in Constantinople, three in Jannina, two in Salonica, two in Bucharest, one at Jassy, one at Andrinople, one at Philippopolis, one at the Athos, one at Castoria, one at Siatista, one at Moschopolis, one at Kozani, one at Serres, schools also at Smyrna, Chios, Patmos, Mitylene, Samos, Kydonies, Trebizond, and at many other places.

All this educational movement was brought to a sudden standstill by the great crisis of Hellenic independence, and by the persecution which, in a Turkish country, was the natural accompaniment of the revolutionary movement. But as the crisis passed the Patriarchate was soon able to resume its great work of education. Through the whole of the nineteenth century down to our own time the Patriarch, receiving valuable help from various laymen, and especially from the men of letters, has quietly and effectively resumed the intellectual guidance of the country. We have seen the creation of Normal schools for elementary teachers, of gymnasia, of the commercial school of Halki, of the girls' Lyceum at Pera. With the aid of generous benefactors among the laity—Zariphis, Zographos, Zappas, Averof and others—there has been a truly vast and prodigious effort. In the single vilayet of Monastir, in Macedonia, there were in 1877, according to reliable statistics, 5371 pupils in 111 schools. Ten years later, in 1887, there were 333 schools and more than 18,000 pupils—that is to say, in ten years the number of schools and pupils had more than tripled. In 1904 there were in that region, and there are to-day, more than 500 Greek schools with more than 25,000 pupils.

It is just to observe that in this work the Church has been powerfully seconded by the liberalities of national benefactors. It is not on that account any less true that the Church has been the great worker in the cause of national development, the sacred head whereby have been perpetuated the Hellenic language and tradition.

The Church as Fosterer of Nationalities.

To the honour of that spirit of liberalism and tolerance which has already been noticed, it must be added that the Greek Church has set itself to develop and spread the life of Hellenism: in this it has succeeded so well that other nations have been able to live and to preserve their vitality under the protection of the Orthodox Church. Of this the recent re-birth of these nations furnishes the best proof. During four centuries, for all the Christian Orient, for Hellene and Slav alike, the religious family has in truth been the last refuge of nationalism.

These things must be insisted upon, for it is necessary thoroughly to grasp this difference between the Greek Church and those Western Churches to which we are accustomed: she has given her whole energy, her whole life, to the service of the cause of nationalism—Hellenism, almost more than has inspired her policy.

Now this has been done in a country where, as is well known, the religious concept is superposed on that of nationality, and in some sense mingles itself with that latter, and is perhaps the most important element of the blending of religion, race and nationality. It may readily be supposed that under such conditions this Greek Church, faithful to its past, can and must play a great part. What is this *rôle?* We must proceed to examine into this question.

Creation of Independent—"Autocephalous"—National Churches.

One admission has, unhappily, to be made at the outset. The Patriarch of to-day who, as always, takes the style of Œcumenical (*i.e.* Universal) Patriarch is no longer universal except in name. It is long since Russia withdrew herself from obedience to the Patriarchate of Constantinople. Afterwards, during the nineteenth century, as the various Balkan nationalities have succeeded in their efforts, as new states have been carved out of the Ottoman Empire, each such state has claimed for itself an independent—or, in the words of the Oriental Church, an "autocephalous"—Church. The Patriarch, interpreting liberally—perhaps too liberally—the canons of the councils, has freely recognised the complete independence of those national churches which have demanded a separate existence—of the Churches, that is to say, of Roumania, of Servia, of the Kingdom of Greece, and even of little Montenegro.

More than this, even within the Ottoman Empire, in which one might have expected the jurisdiction of the Patriarch to rest unchallenged, it has been attacked. Not to mention the Bosnian and Herzegovinian Slavs—these the Church has handed over to their own clergy, who depend on the Cabinet of Vienna—there has been the Bulgarian schism, which has withdrawn part of the Macedonian vilayets from their obedience to the Patriarch.

On the other hand, the Government of Prince Couza confiscated in 1862 the so-called "dedicated" properties,[1] which the princes ruling over the United

[1] These properties represent to-day a revenue of not less than fifteen millions of francs.

Principalities (the Roumania of to-day) had devoted to the Church. This confiscation has made a considerable diminution in the resources of the Patriarchate, which, " with an excessive and perhaps somewhat *intransigeant* pride," refused the compensation which was offered at the time in exchange for the confiscated properties.

When the great services rendered by the Orthodox Church to the cause of Christianity in the Orient are remembered, there might well appear some ingratitude in these successive abandonments of the Patriarchate by so many of its ancient clients. The subject is a delicate one, but it must be examined. For if we would judge with exactitude the present conduct of the Greek Church, if we would define with precision its part in modern politics, we must examine the point briefly, but with the utmost frankness and impartiality.

Some Faults and Mistakes of the Church.

It cannot be denied that in the course of long centuries the Greek Church has made many blunders and has even at times committed serious faults. Doubtless, these mistakes and these faults are to be explained by the conception which this Church has always formed of the part she ought to play, and by her long tradition as worker for the propagation and extension of Hellenism. Nevertheless, it may be questioned whether, in the accomplishment of that task, she has not now and then been lacking in tact and wisdom. These remarks apply not to any recent actions, but to the events of ages.

Reference has already been made to the conciliatory tolerance of those at the head of the dioceses, bishops of the same race as those over whom they were in office, but there was a period of the Byzantine Empire when this wise policy was abandoned. Over countries peopled entirely by Slavs were placed bishops who were either Greek or at least entirely Hellenised. These took the place of the national prelates, and thus the dioceses were administered by bishops who were foreign to their congregations and who, naturally, bore a sufficiently curious relation to those beneath them.

An example will illustrate in interesting and significant fashion the habit of mind of these Greek prelates. At the close of the eleventh century, in the time of Comnenus, Theophylactos was Archbishop of Ochrida in Bulgaria. He was a man of much intelligence and of an excellent disposition. He had, however, lived long at court, he had been brought up in princely manner, and when his services were rewarded by the archiepiscopal see which gave him supreme rule over the whole of Bulgaria, the poor man regarded his new position as one of unexampled misery. Those of his letters which have been preserved are full of laments. He never ceases to complain of that veritable valley of tears, Ochrida, to which he had been banished—of that city whence, as he says in one place, there assailed him even before he reached the city a breath of death, like that from a charnel-house. The literary purism of the polished writer shuddered to find under its pen the barbarous names of the Slavonic dioceses—Glavinitza, Widdin, Stchlanitza. The elegant courtier revolted at the thought of life among these not over-cleanly Bulgares, who clothed themselves in evil-smelling skins, and who seemed to sully him by mere contact. He hated the thought of life among these savages in contact with whom he seemed to become a savage himself, in this uncivilised country where (as he writes again) there is no good thing to be learned, among a people who shocked at every turn his literary dilettantism, and who heard his eloquence, he writes, as asses hear the music of the lyre.

Under such conditions, one may readily understand that this prelate had no tenderness or indulgence for his Bulgarian parishioners, to whom it was his duty to minister, among whom he was condemned to live. According to him, this people was endowed only with vices. The Bulgarian character, he wrote, is the natural source of every kind of wrongdoing. The relation is easy to understand, and one can see that our bishop would simply consign the objects of his ministration to their master the devil. It is equally easy to see that the parishioners would not be likely to have much more tenderness for their archbishop than he for them, so that a state of open war prevailed between him and them.

Notwithstanding this unsatisfactory state of affairs, Theophylactos was an extremely fine man: only, he was a Greek, he was a prelate of the court, he had not the slightest interest in the Bulgarians over whom they put him to govern. Now the case of Theophylactos, Archbishop of Ochrida, had been paralleled by that of many another Greek prelate, especially after the year 1453.

Much evil has been spoken of the Phanariot clergy —of their greed, of the possibly reprehensible lives which many of them led, of the extreme ignorance of the lower clergy. We must guard against indulgence in hasty and exaggerated generalisations. Still, in one respect perhaps, the Phanariot clergy has been guilty of a great fault. For long they were scrupulous in maintaining national prelates at the head of the non-Greek dioceses. But in the seventeenth, and especially in the eighteenth centuries—at the very moment when the educational work was producing the wonderful spread of Hellenism—the Greeks were tempted to monopolise all the episcopal sees. In 1765 the Patriarch Samuel induced the Divan to suppress the Servian Patriarchate of Ipek; in 1767, that of Ochrida.

It must at once be added that not all the Phanariot clergy were of this sort. It is beyond doubt that the lower clergy were always natives, and that, by natural development, many of these priests of Slavonic origin raised themselves to episcopal honours. Nevertheless, the system existed, and it was fundamentally a vast mistake. It has given rise to a mass of accumulated hatred, and it is owing to this that we have seen a rupture of those bonds of common faith which had, up to the middle of the nineteenth century, united all the Orthodox Christians around the Œcumenical Patriarchate.

These things must be exposed, for they are true. But however true they may be, it must be added that their consequences have been bitterly expiated, alike by Hellenism and by the Church. And however real these things may be, they must not on the one hand induce us to forget the great services rendered, nor on the other hand must they blind us to the great work which (in a domain doubtless more limited than formerly, but still of vast extent) is even in our own day reserved for the Orthodox Church.

The Church's Present Position as Champion of Hellenism: Rivalry of her Slavonic Offshoots.

At the present time, the Greek Church is, voluntarily or involuntarily, out of connection with the greater part of her Slavonic dioceses, which have become her rivals and her adversaries.

The Orthodox Church of the Patriarchate stands before us as the brilliant representative, as the champion in fact, of Hellenism: and this fact is at once her weakness and her strength. Weakness, in that the Œcumenical Patriarchate is involved—wholly and passionately involved—in a racial strife, so that it no longer stands, as of yore, at the head of all the Christian communities of the Empire. But the position is a source of strength also, for it provides a more definite *rôle* for the Patriarchate, and points out more clearly for it a sphere of action.

At the present time, the Œcumenical Patriarchate is, for all Hellenes, the unquestioned head of the Greek Church in Moslem regions. It is well known with what sentiments of deep attachment the entire race regards that Church which for so many centuries has shared its joys and sorrows, its troubles and miseries, and which has thus become and has remained the great type of the Hellenic national idea. In virtue of this, the Patriarchate is a force to be reckoned with, a force which is ever active, and before which the Ottoman administrative authorities have more than once had to capitulate. Now a force of this nature can clearly be no mere shadow. In the vast domain which is under the influence of the Œcumenical Patriarchate—in Greek Asia, in the Asiatic islands, in Macedonia and in Roumelia—the Greek Church has proved her strength by the *rôle* which she never ceases to play. She has continued with admirable and tireless energy that traditional task which has occupied her entire existence—the propagation of Hellenism by means of the school.

Statistics of the Church's Educational Work.

Below are the figures of a census published by the Patriarchate in 1904. It should be at once explained that these figures were not collected with any reference to Greek politics, for they refer to all the dependants upon the Patriarchate.

In 1904 there existed 4211 Greek schools, attended by 270,423 pupils of both sexes.[1] These figures are, however, too low, as the census did not extend to thirteen dioceses, some of which would have interested us—particularly the diocese of Anchialos.

Below are particulars of the numbers of schools and pupils in certain dioceses:—

	Schools	*Pupils*
Asia Minor:—		
Ephesus	146	14,200
Smyrna	72	11,761
Aïdin	52	4,370
Cæsarea	59	5,810
Trebizond	66	4,600
Amasia	225	8,925
The Islands:—		
Chios	99	7,460
Mytilene	46	6,950
Epirus and Macedonia:—		
Jannina	184	7,603
Castoria	153	6,925
Monastir	67	3,836
Vodena	72	4,282
Serres	61	4,395
Epirus and Macedonia—*contd.*		
Drama	67	3,682
Salonica	40	6,404
Eastern Roumelia:—		
Philippopolis	45	4,408
Thrace:—		
Andrinople	88	8,243
Heraclea	120	6,595
Constantinople (71 and 64 primary)		11,780

These figures show that there was no exaggeration in the estimate already made of the importance of the work done by this Church—work which is bound to produce immense results in a country in which, it cannot be too often repeated, religion and language are concepts infinitely more important and more fundamental than the idea of nationality: in a country where, according to the terms of Article 10 of the firman granted in 1870 to the Bulgarian Exarchate, it is public opinion, opinion expressed by a two-thirds majority in a plebiscite, which decides whether a Christian community shall pass over to the Bulgarian Exarchate or shall remain under the Greek Patriarchate: in a country where so great a force rests in rights gradually acquired, and confirmed by public, diplomatic and official documents.

Moderation of the Church's Claims.

Here, perhaps, it may not be out of place to remark that, contrary to what is often said, the Œcumenical Patriarchate has played a far less provocative part in the racial struggle than is generally believed, and is too frequently stated. Even at the height of the Bulgarian crisis in 1861, the Œcumenical Patriarchate offered to establish a Bulgarian seminary and Bulgarian bishoprics. In 1867 the Patriarchate allowed the vilayet of the Danube to be made into a separate independent ecclesiastic province.

It must be admitted that since these evidences of toleration other sentiments have displayed themselves: and that to schism the Patriarchate has sometimes replied by excommunication. But it must not be forgotten that with regard to another Slavonic people, the Servians, the Patriarchate has been able to maintain continually that spirit of conciliation and tolerance to which so frequent reference has been made.

In the diocese of Uskub, the Patriarch Constantine V. installed in 1899 a bishop of Servian nationality, and at the present time, in the Church of that city, the liturgy is said alternately in Greek and Slavonic. In the Slavonic villages in the diocese the priests are Slavs, and they say the liturgy in their own tongue.

As the Patriarchate has displayed such respect for the rights of others, it may justly demand that some respect shall be paid to its own rights. Especially may the Patriarchate expect this in regions where its own rights are clear and incontestable—above all in Eastern Roumelia, where Article 385 of the Act of Constitution gave a formal guarantee to the various religious communities that they should be permitted the use of their own languages in the scholastic institutions maintained by such communities.

In spite of these incontestable facts, it is hardly necessary to say with what bitterness and fury the struggle rages in Macedonia and Roumelia, where the unhappy state of affairs is too notorious: but it is less well known that the same strife prevails in other regions, which on the surface appear perfectly calm and peaceful.

[1] And 6636 teachers. These figures refer to all the Greek schools in the Ottoman Empire, excluding those of the Archbishopric of Constantinople, which, however, is the most important. There are in the diocese of Constantinople seventy-one secondary schools and sixty-four primary schools. The secondary schools include the National School of the Phanar, the Halki Commercial College, the Academy of Theology, the Zographion, the Zappeion Boarding-School, the Ioakimeion and the Greco-French Lyceum Hadji-Christo. The full figures are:—

Pupils	11,788
Teachers	360
Annual Cost	£T30,896 [£28,400 sterling].

Conclusion. Hopes for the future.

Here M. Diehl described the antagonism between the Slavonic and Hellenic causes. He laid before the eyes of his audience scenes from the monastic life of Mount Athos; one by one he displayed the most famous Greek and Russian monasteries of the Holy Mountain; then changing the scene to Jerusalem, in the middle of the orthodox Easter procession, he showed again the domains of Hellenism coveted by the Panslavists; then on the lantern-screen he threw a view of the cupola of St. Sophia, object of the endeavours alike of Greek and Russian. At this point the lecturer referred to the famous Greek legend (given by Théophile Gautier in his *Voyage en Orient*) according to which the priest, who was saying mass in the sanctuary of St. Sophia at the moment when the troops of Islam burst into the basilica, vanished into the wall of the *hieron*. There he waits till the deliverance of Constantinople and the return of Christianity to St. Sophia shall allow him to resume the service interrupted four and a half centuries ago. The lecturer continued:

Will the event predicted in the legend ever come to pass? Will the priest of 1453 ever issue from his wall to mount again the altar steps? To speak in less legendary style, will the Œcumenical Patriarch ever regain entrance to his basilica? That is the secret of the future. But at least, at the end of the year 1906, which has in many ways been a cruel one for the Greek Church, on the eve of the opening of a new year for the Orthodox Church, one can offer that Church no better wish than that she may continue to pursue with success the task which for centuries she has made her own. Let us express the hope that this Greek Church, resting faithful to her long and glorious past, may pursue with success (though with an activity always tempered by wisdom and justice) that peaceful effort which for centuries she has made for the cause of Hellenism. We may, we must, hope that this Greek Church, conscious of her rights, conscious also of her duties and regardful of the rights of others, may at length attain the end at which she has always aimed—the honourable recognition of the just rights of Hellenism.

Prolonged applause greeted this ardent peroration, and the distinguished lecturer was warmly congratulated.

M. Homolle made a few remarks before declaring the meeting closed.

" I wish to add nothing," said he, " unless it be our thanks for the admirable lecture of M. Diehl: I wish to leave you under the influence of the words which you have heard. But I cannot omit to mention that Greece is to-day at the close of one year [1] and that to-morrow she will enter upon another. Let us all then unite to send as from a single heart a message of sympathy and affection to that Greece which is happy to live under the rule of King George, and also to that Greece which suffers and struggles not without often enduring bloodshed, but which yet never loses hope, and whose hope will not always be in vain."

Amid the acclamations of the entire audience it was decided to send two telegrams: one to His Holiness the Œcumenical Patriarch at Constantinople, the other to Athens to M. Theotokis, President of the Chamber. Each message conveyed the hopes of the League for the prosperity of the Greek Church and of the Greek nation.

M. Homolle announced that the next lecture on " Hellenism in Asia Minor " was to be delivered by M. Gaston Deschamps on January 27, in the hall of the Geographical Society of France.

[1] Since January 13 of our calendar corresponds to December 31 in the Greek reckoning.

MISCELLANEOUS

We learn that the destroyer *Thyella* has arrived in Greek waters. This is the first destroyer of the Hellenic Navy, which will, about the end of this year, possess a homogeneous flotilla of eight torpedo boat destroyers. This flotilla, which forms only a part of the constructions provided for in 1904, will be built and armed by money withdrawn from the National Navy Fund, which owes its existence almost entirely to the voluntary contributions of the Hellenes.

The principal dimensions of the *Thyella* are as under:

Length	223 ft.
Breadth	21 ft.
Draught	12 ft. 6 in.
Displacement	400 tons
Speed	31 knots.

She is similar to the destroyers built at Poplar by the Yarrow Shipbuilding Co. for the Japanese Navy, which rendered such excellent service during the late war. The *Thyella* differs slightly from these vessels, for several improvements have been introduced as a result of the experience of that war. These improvements are partly in the vessel herself and partly in her armament, which consists of:

3-inch semi-automatic guns	2
2¼-inch semi-automatic guns	4
18-inch torpedo-tubes	2

The artillery is made by the Hotchkiss Co. at Saint Denis, the tubes and torpedoes in L. Schwartzkopf's works in Berlin.

The seven remaining destroyers are—the *Niki*, launched and on its way to the Piræus; the *Doxa*, built by the Vulcan Company at Stettin, launched, will shortly proceed to the Piræus; the *Naukratoussa*, built in the Yarrow works at Poplar, will shortly be launched. Four other vessels are under construction and will be launched in the course of the year 1907.

Each of these vessels with its armament will have cost, roughly, £60,000. Those which are being constructed in the Vulcan works differ only in slight details from the ones built by Yarrow's.

M. N. Leondopoulos, the distinguished naval constructor, who is highly esteemed by his colleagues of the Hellenic Navy for his solid knowledge, is entrusted by the Greek Government with the supervision of the construction of the destroyers ordered in this country.

THE MASSACRE AT ZIRNOVO

Apart from the numerous isolated crimes committed by the Bulgarian bands, which crimes increase in proportion as the Greek bands cease from defending the Hellenic communities, never a month and scarcely a week passes without there being a wholesale massacre of Greeks.

In December we had the massacres at Tehovo and at Klepousna; now has come the turn of Zirnovo. A large Bulgarian band made itself responsible for this town. During the night of January 5 this band entered the village of Zirnovo, which is situated in the caza of Nevrokop, and put to death the family of the Greek *moukhtas* and some other peasants, whose identity has been established. Then the bandits set several houses on fire, destroying

the corpses. They did not end with this. Meeting in a street of the village the wife of one Gogos, they set upon her with hatchets and killed her. When the police arrived the malefactors had made good their escape. In all there were nine victims, including two women, and many houses were destroyed by fire.

A BULGARIAN TRAITOR

LAST month the Turkish authorities, suspecting that the comitadjis intended to blow up the great bridge across the Strymon near Tziflidjik (in the Demir Hissar district) sent a detachment of troops to guard this bridge.

One morning a sentry observed a peasant crossing the military zone in the direction of the bridge. Fixing his bayonet he summoned the peasant to stand. "Do not fire," cried the latter, "it is I, Yankof." Now this Yankof—or Stoyannof, to give him his true name—was an emissary of the committees; his principal work was the carrying of bombs and dynamite to the comitadjis—some were found on him at the moment of his arrest. But since he had fallen into the hands of the police, he thought it prudent to purchase safety by divulging all the secrets which had been entrusted to him.

Accompanied by Turkish police-officers he went from village to village and, with written proofs in his hands, denounced his accomplices. His revelations have already led to the arrest of more than fifty Bulgarians. In addition, large quantities have been discovered of bombs, dynamite, cartridges, photographic apparatus; also plans and other documents relating to the Bulgarian terrorist committees. Stoyannof is at present at Salonica, where Hilmi Pacha is making use of his services. It is stated that the traitor has received a reward of £T500.

The following, according to our contemporary, *Pharos tis Thessalonikis*, are the terms of Stoyannof's confession:

"Ever since youth, when my head was filled with hopes and wild schemes, I have followed the bands of terrorist comitadjis, deceived by their false promises. I hoped in this way to realise the future that I had seen in my dreams. Thus I have wandered in the mountains for many years, and I have become chief of a band.

"I have recoiled before no crime, no infamy, while following the plans and the aims of the Bulgarians. Nevertheless, the light of truth has gradually illuminated my mind. I became a prey to a remorse which permitted neither rest nor sleep. I saw that I had been a savage brigand, an assassin, that, blind and unknowing, I had wallowed in a mire of crime. Realising this, I have cursed my life and my miserable situation.

"We used to be sent out by our committees, which described themselves as formed for the defence of the interests of a respectable Government. Now I saw clearly that we were hated and execrated by the faithful subjects of that Government, and that they only joined in our projects under the pressure of force and terror. I saw that we were but the criminal instruments of certain chiefs who regarded solely their own interests; I saw that the religious differences were such that our schemes could result in nothing but the massacre of wretched inhabitants. And all this blood wantonly shed could produce no advantage for the people or for the country.

"I thus felt myself bound to abandon these abominable and fruitless methods, and I have taken the first opportunity of doing so which has presented itself. As soon as the first detachment of Imperial troops has arrived at Tsiphlitziki I have surrendered myself, so that, at least, the district of Demir-Issar may be purged of the fatal pressure of the murderous comitadjis."

PRESS REVIEWS

FROM THE "PALL MALL GAZETTE," *February* 3, 1907

THE CHAOS IN THE NEAR EAST

MORE MACEDONIAN HORRORS

NOTHING could prove more clearly the mistake of those who want England to interfere, single-handed, in Turkey, for the sake of restoring order in Macedonia, than the reports which come week after week from that scene of never-ending horrors. Much as may be said against the Sultan's arbitrary rule in general, it is the several Christian nationalities themselves among whom those atrocities are enacted. The Bulgarian bands of invaders continually massacre Greeks and Serbs from race-hatred and from religious bigotry, claiming, as they do, whole polyglot and creed-divided Macedonia for their own nationality and "ex-Archist" faith. The Turkish troops put in a hand, off and on, for the sake of restoring order among these Christian sects who "love each other" in such strange fashion. But the devil's dance presently begins with renewed fury.

The Massacres of Klepusna and Zerinovo

Thus, there has recently been an awful slaughter at Klepusna, because half the population of that village had remained adherents of the Greek Patriarchate. In view of the danger threatened to those villagers by a Bulgarian Committee, the Turkish Government had for a time allowed the Greeks of that place to arm themselves. Unfortunately, that permission was withdrawn afterwards. Thereupon, the Bulgarian freebooters rushed in, declaring that, if that remnant of the people of Klepusna did not adopt the schismatic faith, their fate was sealed. As they refused to change their religion, a rush was made upon them, bombs and petroleum being also used for destroying buildings. A number of the inhabitants, men, women and children, were killed and burnt. In the full report before me, with all its ghastly details, it is said that a Turkish detachment present was surrounded by the Bulgars, and remained inactive during the murderous business.

This slaughter was presently followed by one at Zerinovo, where the village was also partially burnt, and a number of Greek notables, together with some women, were assassinated by Bulgarian raiders.

From Monastir news comes about sanguinary encounters between Bulgarian freebooters and Servian bands—both belonging to a Slav-speaking race! As to the persecution of the Hellenic population in Bulgaria, a remarkable little book has appeared in French on that subject, from the pen of M. Romanos, a former Minister of Foreign Affairs. It is written in most moderate language; but its facts are an overwhelming proof of the complicity of the Bulgarian authorities in a persecution which has driven thousands of Greeks out of the country, in violation of the clearest stipulations of the Treaty of 1878. For instance, the writer states that, at the

outrageous scenes at Philippopolis, the pillage of the Greek school took place under the eyes of the Bulgarian cavalry, which was drawn up there.

Political Scandals at Sofia

In Bulgaria itself Parliament has been the scene of stormy debates on account of alleged financial scandals at the sale of Crown domains. The Minister of Finances, who bears the name of Payoff, was accused, both in the Chamber and in the Press, of having, on that occasion, favoured a member of the Legislature, M. Jordan Jonoff. Though, after the most violent debates, the matter was quietly settled, the effect is said to have been a very bad one on public opinion.

In the Bulgarian Press the Government is much attacked as having contrived to get into difficulties with almost all the countries in its neighbourhood. Liberal as well as Russophile journals agree in denouncing that state of things. The *Mir* says: "Last year Bulgaria was made to enter into a tariff war with Austria-Hungary on account of Servia. This year the principality has unsatisfactory relations with Russia, Servia, Greece and Turkey. We are on the point of declaring war against the whole world."

Truly, these Balkan States are in a very mixed condition; to interfere there in the interest of order would tax English policy somewhat beyond possibility.

The Bulgarian Organ, "Balkanska Tribuna," in its issue of January 8-21 says:

THE "NATIONAL GENIUS" OF THE BULGARIANS

When the Prince proclaimed his faith in the "national genius" of Bulgaria, the ministers hastened to make in his honour a celebration in which this patriotic spirit might play a great part. They ordered a war against the Greek Churches and against the Greeks themselves. The campaign, carried on with the utmost rancour, has had deplorable results. One after the other the Greek Churches have passed into Bulgarian hands, and new sponsors, chosen by the "heroes," have baptised them with Bulgarian names. When the ruin of Philippopoli was complete and the victory had been gained it was thought that this new glory deserved to be celebrated by a grand illumination. So Anchialos was burned. The flames from this town shed a blood-red glow over the heights from which came the signal for the "national movement." And in this way the "national genius" was consecrated.

LITERARY PAGE

DEATH OF D. BERNARDAKI

News comes from Mytilene of the death of Demetrius Bernardaki, the learned Greek historian and Hellenist. Born on December 24, 1833, at Aghia Marina in Lesbos, son of the Cretan Nicolas Bernardaki and of Erifili Moussouros, he commenced his studies at Mytilene and continued at Athens. Here, never ceasing to study, he attracted notice by his works on Grecian antiquity, his epic poems, and his Pindaric odes. In 1855 he went to complete his studies in Germany, where the savants already regarded him as a Hellenist of note. In Germany he wrote his earliest dramas, *Maria Doxapatri* and *The Kypselides*, and his famous *Pindaric Ode*—the last was regarded as a masterpiece of this kind of composition. In 1861 he returned to Athens, where he was appointed Professor of General History and Greek Literature at the University. For eight years he lectured, not only to young University students, but also to all the learned classes of Athens. The fame of the master was such that long before the hour of his appearance to lecture, the corridors, the porches and the garden of the University would be filled by the crowds attracted by his lectures. His success, no less than the outspoken independence of his nature and the sometimes pungent frankness of his opinions, made him many enemies. In 1869 Bernardaki left the University and retired to Mytilene. In 1881, however, he acceded to the importunities of Tricoupis and of his countless friends and admirers, and he returned to Athens, where for some months he once more occupied the Chair of Literature, and was also Director of the National Library. But after a short time he again retired, and withdrew definitely to Mytilene. In vain Tricoupis, and the ministers who succeeded him, made the most flattering offers to allure Bernardaki back to Athens: he opposed to their entreaties a regrettable obstinacy which deprived the national University of the services of the most considerable master of Modern Greece.

Twenty-five years ago, the Ottoman Porte decided to invite him to enter the Turkish service as Inspector of Greek schools in the Archipelago. In offering Bernardaki this charge at a high salary, Saïd Pacha informed him that he would not be expected to abandon his Greek citizenship: he would be required to do nothing except to report on the Greek educational movement. Bernardaki considered this proposal unbefitting him, so he declined it with dignity and not without a certain irony.

The philological, dramatic and linguistic works of Bernardaki were considerable. His principal plays were: *Fausta*, *Merope*, *Nicephorus Phocas*, *Euphrosyne*. He published a *Grammar* and a *Sacred History*; his signature is, moreover, to be found below many philological studies. But it is his learned edition of *Euripides* and the accompanying commentaries which have gained him a place among the leading Greek scholars of the whole world. He leaves also numerous unpublished dramas, studies, and other works, including a *Lexicon*.

In him Greece has lost not merely a master, but one of the most upright of men and far-seeing of patriots. The death of Bernardaki is an occasion of national mourning.

The place occupied by Bernardaki in Greek literature was so great, his work so considerable, that a small sketch such as alone is possible in these pages can in no sense offer any adequate account. For Bernardaki was not only one of the most eminent Hellenists of our time—he was a poet, an historian, a dramatist, a critic, an encyclopædist.

Catholicity was the most essential feature of his mind. He "took all knowledge for his province" and moved with equal facility over every department of learning. There was no science in which he was unversed, no literature with which he was not familiar. His lectures on general history at the University of Athens revealed him as an historian of note: his dramatic work is that of a master to whom modern Greece can show no equal. As critic, linguist, thinker, he was no less eminent than as a scholar: and his grammatical and philological research was epoch-making. And without touching formally upon the vexed subject of *diglossia*, he seemed by his own style, by the "language" which he employed, to

open a way along which lies the solution to this question which neo-Greek literature seeks to answer.

His knowledge of and power of expression in Greek was without parallel—and he had an equal grasp of Latin. The study of languages and literatures was one of the pleasures which he permitted himself as relaxation of his toils—for in the compass of his small frame was enclosed a simply prodigious capacity for work. He sought repose from one task merely by applying himself to a different one, and in the same day he would pass easily from his researches in some language to the study of a science. During quite recent years, when age had already begun to leave its mark upon him, he occupied the interval between the writing of two dramatic works by entering upon the study of Russian: and he pursued his studies in Russian with the same energy which he had devoted in former years to the acquisition of Turkish, Arabian and Persian.

While yet quite young, he revealed himself as a profound Greek scholar. In Germany, where he went in 1855 to complete his studies, he soon attracted attention: and his masters, the German classical scholars, were not long in discovering that this intractable pupil was a severe critic of their methods of interpreting the classics, and a no less doughty opponent in argument.

He acquired a profound dislike for the Teutonic savants of whom the majority were in his eyes merely odious pedants. His literary polemics, though at times somewhat virulent, and though they made him many enemies, were yet of such quality that his adversaries themselves could not withhold respect and admiration.

"ŒSTERREICH-UNGARN UND ITALIEN." By Leopold Freiherr von Chlumecky. Vienna, 1907.

Baron Chlumecky's book is a very important contribution to the literature of the Near Eastern Question, and contains several points which single it out for special attention. The fact that the author is the son of a former minister and belongs to the official classes lends a weight to his views which popular and alarmist books, such as *Unser Letzter Kampf*, do not possess. The main thesis of the work is that Austria can no longer tolerate the extension of Italian influence in Albania without the most serious consequences, political and economic, to herself. A glance at the map is sufficient to convince anyone that, with Albania once in Italian hands, Trieste and Fiume would be entirely dependent for their existence on the goodwill of Austria's ally. It is these two ports which guarantee the economic independence of the Ducal Monarchy, as being its sole outlets to the sea; but their doom would be sealed if it were ever in the power of Italy to close the Straits of Otranto.

While Austrian policy in Albania is prompted by considerations of self-defence, that of Italy is purely imperialist and aggressive. The question is—who is winning the game? Baron Chlumecky, who is rather pessimistic, thinks that Italy is getting the upper hand, and supports his opinion by pointing to the enormous extension of Italian activity in Albania during the last ten years—the establishment of numerous consulates, post-offices and schools, the constant increase of communications between the two countries, the commercial and industrial undertakings which find ready support both in the commercial and political circles of Italy. Perhaps Baron Chlumecky is inclined to pitch his note a little too high. He does not allow enough for the undoubted antipathy which the Albanian entertains towards the Italians, while he over-estimates the gain which Italy has derived from her propaganda. To take one instance, the Montenegrin Tobacco Monopoly, which is in Italian hands, has aroused the greatest dissatisfaction against Italy, as anybody who has been in Montenegro knows.

The really important point about the book is the author's conclusion that it is Austria's interest to foster Greek influence in Albania and to aid Hellenism against the aggressive tendencies of Italy and her Roumanian *protégé*, especially in Epirus. This suggestion is most striking coming as it does from a person of Baron Chlumecky's standing, because it is so contrary to the traditions of Austrian policy. From the time when the Austrian Government handed over Righas, the apostle of Greek Independence, to the Turkish authorities, Austrian hostility towards Hellenic aspirations has been most marked. This hostility, it is true, arose chiefly from an objection to the principles of Revolution and Nationality which could not but be distasteful to the Austrian autocracy. There could be no more significant sign of Austria's transformation from an old aristocratic police-state into a modern democratic country than this hand held out to the little country where freedom and democracy have always been cherished.

As a political move, the value of an Austro-Greek *entente* is obvious. Austria does not wish to quarrel with her ally; at the same time she is scarcely strong enough, in view of other complications, to oppose the Italianising movement in Albania. In Greece, Austria might find an ally possessing a real stake in the country which is equally threatened by Italy's propaganda. A mutual withdrawal of Austria and Italy would be the best way of healing the continuous friction between the two allies. Austria would probably be ready to make the sacrifice, as she does not aim at territorial expansion in Albania and is only compelled to adopt a "dog-in-the-manger" policy owing to her vital interests in the Adriatic. Italy, on the other hand, to whom the Adriatic is of secondary importance, is not as likely to renounce hopes and ambitions which seem to exercise so powerful an influence over the imagination of her people.

The conclusion to be drawn from the book is that, apart from satisfying ambitions of Italy, a Greco-Albanian kingdom is the natural solution of the Albanian question, and they are most likely to conduce to peace. Whether Greece will be equal to the task assigned to her is another question which depends largely on the capacity of the Greeks to gain the support and affection of the Albanians.

Baron Chlumecky also touches on the Macedonian question. He strongly condemns the Roumanian propaganda which aims at detaching the Koutzo-Vlachs from their traditional allegiance to Hellenism, with the Machiavellian intention of bartering them to Bulgaria when the day for winding up Turkey's affairs arrives. While he holds that a Slavophil policy in Macedonia might conciliate the Slav nationalities in Austria, he is quite conscious of Austria's dilemma, that in supporting the Slavs outside the monarchy she will only strengthen the party of Slav Irredentism which, with the Prince of Montenegro at its head, looks forward to the creation of a greater Servia.

Published at Craven House, Kingsway, London, W.C.
Editor, Dr C. Pouptis.

The Hellenic Herald

A MONTHLY POLITICAL PERIODICAL

Vol. I., No. 5] MARCH 1907 [Price 10/- per Annum Post Free

CONTENTS

THE "PRUSSIA" AND "BELGIUM" OF THE BALKANS ——
THE GREEKS IN ROUMANIA . . . . ——
HELLENISM IN MACEDONIA . . . By M. Paillarès
FROM BELGRADE—SERVO-BULGARIAN ANTAGONISM ——
FIAT LUX . . . . . ——
FROM SOFIA . . . . . ——
A MANIFESTO OF THE BALKAN COMMITTEE . ——
PRESS REVIEWS . . . . . ——
LITERARY PAGE—
PICTURESQUE GREECE . . . By M. G. Fougeres

OUR AIMS

THE OBJECT OF THE

HELLENIC HERALD

Is to give an exhaustive account of the various movements and affairs—political, racial, and social—in the Near East; and to set forth with clearness the Greek claims in the Balkan Peninsula. In addition to articles by well-known publicists and reviews of the Foreign press, a portion of each number will be devoted to literary matters—more particularly to the literature of Modern Greece.

THE "PRUSSIA AND BELGIUM OF THE BALKANS"

THE present month has witnessed two of the most appalling events which have taken place in the Balkans for many a long year. These events have not surprised those who have followed the disintegration of political life in Bulgaria and Roumania during recent years, but they have come as a severe shock to the numerous light-hearted admirers of the "wonderful political and social progress" of the two Danubian states, who, with hasty and superficial judgment, have not hesitated to dub one of the states "the Belgium" and the other the "Prussia of the Balkans."

On March 11, Mr. Petkoff, the Bulgarian Premier, and, in the opinion of many people, the ablest statesman and foremost patriot of his country, fell a victim to the assassin's hand—and this in the very heart of the capital. Thus he followed in the fatal path of his predecessors—Beltcheff, Vulkovitch, Stambouloff and Kantcheff. The assassination of Mr. Petkoff may or may not have been the outcome of political intrigue (though the murderous plots which have been so marked a feature of Bulgarian politics render the former view at least probable): in any case we cannot overlook the obvious connection of this event with the abnormal and feverish state which has now for many years characterised public opinion in Bulgaria. This unhealthy psychological condition is due to many causes, in all of which the murdered Premier was an important factor. The first of these causes is the long-continued strain of the Bulgarian policy in Macedonia. This policy was largely inspired by Petkoff, who, n common with his political friends, made use of continual deception to induce the Bulgarian people to bear heavy financial burdens in pursuit of their aims, of which they promised a speedy success. Nevertheless, failure has marked all efforts of the Bulgarians in Macedonia; the comitadjis have lost heavily in men, and the disorganisation of the country consequent upon these revolutionary methods has entailed vast financial loss upon the Bulgarian population. Little wonder that the Government's persistence in this ruinous policy has had a far-reaching effect on the national *morale*. The means whereby Petkoff and his party hoped to appease this national discontent only provided a second cause which inflamed public feeling more than the first. The plan was to give all the lawless elements of Bulgaria a free hand in their dealings with the Greeks. Thus last year, in all parts of Eastern Roumelia, the Government officials looked on and made no attempt to prevent the mob from looting the Greek population; though the disapprobation of Europe was, indeed, able to exact a formal repudiation by the Bulgarian Government. In fact, the Bulgarian Government not only dissociated itself from these acts of violence: it gave the most solemn assurances that the Greeks should receive back again all the schools and churches which had been seized, and should, moreover, henceforth enjoy the protection of the Government. Nevertheless, no restitution has been made, no protection is accorded, the conditions remain unchanged, and the Greeks find that their only hope of security is in flight to Greece. The last cause which has led to the unhealthy excitement of public opinion was provided by the brutal methods which Petkoff employed for the repression of the students' riots on the occasion of the inauguration of the National Theatre. These riots, as is well known, arose out of the widespread dissatisfaction with the tyrant system of Government associated with the name of Petkoff.

A politician whose name is associated with a repressive and tyrannical internal policy, an unscrupulous disrespect of treaty obligations, a callous disregard of the rights of members of other races who have the misfortune to live as good and faithful citizens under his Government—a politician of this type has no claim to be enrolled in the illustrious list of noble European statesmen. And it is a poor compliment to German civilisation that the country in which such a politician finds scope is called "the Prussia of the Balkans."

The second event upon which we would lightly touch is the agrarian rising in Roumania. The vast dimensions which this rising has attained, and the brutal savagery of the scenes which have been its outcome, have brought Roumania into a very undesirable prominence and have greatly lowered the country's prestige in the eyes of the world. The most obvious cause of the rising has been, of course, the merciless exploitation of an ignorant peasantry

by unscrupulous landowners: but there has also been some parallel to the conditions which we have seen to be so fruitful a source of disturbance in Bulgaria.

In Roumania, too, there has been a violent movement against peoples of other than Roumanian blood —Jew and Greek in particular. The Government has not only failed to check, it has actually encouraged this movement. It has taken unjustifiable measures of repression against innocent members of these races, and it has refused to punish flagrant acts of criminality on the part of the anti-foreign mob. In the towns there have been many assassinations of Greeks, and the criminals, so far from being punished, have been acclaimed as national heroes. We give in another place a graphic account of a few occurrences of this nature.

The action of Government in allowing and encouraging the perpetration of such crimes against an innocent people has naturally returned upon itself. An unlettered peasantry could not be expected to possess the subtlety of casuistry which sees that one assassination is the height of patriotic devotion, while another is a vile and brutal murder. The Roumanian Government has tried to persuade European public opinion that the rising was due to an anarchical movement from the outside. And who, we may ask, was at the bottom of this external anarchical influence? Doubtless it was some subtle machination of German or Russian intrigue engineered by some wily and experienced diplomat. Not so. The seed of anarchy was—so the Roumanian Government tells us—the escaped mutineers of the Potemkin! A handful of ignorant seamen, placed in a foreign country and unable even to speak its language, are able, in a few months, to set the country from end to end ablaze with revolution! The tale is, of course, preposterous. The plain fact is that the rising was due to a deep discontent and a profound disturbance of public sentiment, due to the two causes which we have already indicated. That this is so is shown by the eagerness of the ministers (who transformed themselves into newspaper correspondents and began frantically to telegraph their version to the journals of Europe) to spread abroad this story of an anarchist conspiracy, and to divert attention from the agrarian trouble, which might affect not only the prestige of Roumania, but also her credit in the European markets. The Roumanian Government would be well advised to spend at home the millions which it squanders on non-existent Roumanians in Macedonia —the money might be used for the education of its peasants and ameliorating their miserable conditions of life. The events of a few days have revealed a chaos of disorganisation, and a condition of economic breakdown, which show that the Balkans no more have their Belgium in Roumania than their Prussia in Bulgaria.

THE GREEKS IN ROUMANIA

ON March 10, Charalambos Constantatos, a wealthy Greek manufacturer of Guirgevo, in Roumania, was assassinated in that town. The murderer was arrested and declared that he had never known the victim, and that he had only arrived in Guirgevo three days before the crime.

It is evident that we have here a political crime similar to that of which the Greek manufacturer Papadimitriou of Calafat and Paraschides at Bucharest were victims.

It is less than a year since Constantatos was the object of an attempted murder. The criminal Tsiaras, who was arrested in connection with this attempt, made a formal admission of his designs upon the life of Constantatos, but in court he was able successfully to plead an *alibi*.

The public prosecutor was not more serious in his proceedings against the notorious maniac, Poutsareas, and his accomplices, who made an attack upon Constantatos in the station at Philaret. There has not yet been even any judicial inquiry, in spite of the representations of the Russian Minister, who has been in charge of Greek interests since the Greco-Roumanian rupture.

The consequences of this deliberate leniency on the part of the Roumanian magistrates have not been long in declaring themselves. Emboldened by this impunity, encouraged also by the acquittal of the murderers of Papadimitriou and Paraschides, who were even glorified as national heroes, the band, which carries on in Bucharest the campaign against the Greeks, attempted to extort money from Constantatos by the threat of death.

Knowing only too well what was to be expected from the customs of Roumanian politics, and knowing also that, whatever a Greek may do in Roumania, he is always on the wrong side, Constantatos had on one occasion handed over £120 to the band. Summoned to make a second contribution, he refused, and his assassination followed immediately.

The murderer is in custody. But we may rest assured that he has no cause for anxiety—unless, indeed, the magistrates are compelled to do their duty under instructions from the present Cabinet, whose supporters, during their term of opposition, never ceased to condemn the policy of the late ministry. The Roumanian bench acts with justice when it is compelled. So do the Roumanian juries. Let it be repeated: the assassins of Paraschides and Papadimitriou were unanimously acquitted.

But that is not all. Not only does murder go unpunished, but the vilest calumnies on the victims are spread abroad. Thus, in order to justify the Guirgevo crime, the Roumanian Telegraphic Agency has sent out an account, in which Constantatos is described as having subsidised the "Greek propaganda in Macedonia"! Moreover, the Roumanian Government, desiring to modify the bad impression caused by the Guirgevo affair, has stated, in the columns of the official organ, *Roumania*: "The responsibility for this crime falls, in the first place, upon those juries which, by time after time scandalously acquitting undoubted criminals, have imbued the lawless classes with the hope of impunity. This year again criminals taken in the very act have been acquitted: let all those who are responsible for these acquittals realise that the innocent blood which was shed yesterday in Guirgevo calls out upon them."

These are words, and nothing but words. Just as in Bulgaria the anti-Greek demonstrations have been the indirect work of the ruling body, so also in Roumania the Government has encouraged the anti-Hellenic movement, of which the results have been only too deplorable. When the bench displays such facility in accepting the pleas of *alibi* set up by common murderers, it is not of much use for the Government to try to clear itself of responsibility by issuing such proclamations as this. Those to whom the proclamations are addressed know well enough that they are to be read with the tongue in the cheek.

The truth is that, during the last three years, the fact that a man has been Greek—or Jew—has meant that he was open to every sort of ill-treatment, that his persecutors could pursue their work without fear or caution—they might even hope to be paraded in triumph after a mock trial, like the murderer of Papadimitriou at Calafat.

The reason for all this lies in the desire to exasperate the Hellenes and to be revenged upon those of them who have published in Roumania the failures of the Roumanian propaganda in Macedonia. And at the back of this is the vain hope that these measures will ultimately force the Greeks to make some sort of bargain with the imaginary Roumanian claims in Macedonia.

Not only the Roumanians, but also the Bulgarians join in the assassination of Greeks in Roumania. It was by them that a Greek Macedonian, John Constantinou, a native of Kastoria, was strangled in his sleep at Braïla. This time the authorities did take action. They arrested two Bulgarians on whom lay grave suspicions. The inquiry would appear to have revealed the existence of a vast plot against the Greeks, for, three days later, twenty-four other Bulgarians were arrested. The very priest of the Bulgarian church in Braïla was implicated in the affair. Further, it was proved that an emissary of the Sofia Revolutionary Committee had recently been sent into Roumania, his mission being to reorganise the formerly-existing local sub-committees, and to collect funds for the sending of Bulgarian bands into Macedonia.

Ill-disposed towards the Greeks though the Roumanian Press has shown itself, it is from Roumania journals, and especially from the *Patriotul*, that our distinguished contemporary, the *Patris* of Athens, has borrowed the foregoing statements.

HELLENISM IN MACEDONIA

(*A lecture delivered by* M. Michel Paillarès *before the French Philhellenic League.*)

After a short introductory speech by the President, M. Paillarès took up his subject, "Hellenism in Macedonia." M. Paillarès has frequently visited Macedonia and has travelled about over all parts of the country, and he has made a minute study of the nationalities of the various elements, and of their schools and other resources.

Before reaching Macedonia, and even upon arrival in Salonica, M. Paillarès had heard the most diverse estimates of Hellenic influence in Macedonia. Some assured him that there were no Greeks in Macedonia! There were Greeks, admitted others, but they had been imported. Others, again, said that the Greeks formed the most numerous, the most highly cultivated, and the wealthiest members of the population. From such a maze of contradiction it was impossible to disentangle the truth. However, M. Paillarès travelled about in Macedonia, through towns and villages and he countryside: and in the course of his wanderings he came across the Greeks. He even found them in large numbers. And instead of seeking information on the subject from strangers to the country, he preferred to consult the natives themselves; and, in particular, he set himself to investigate the facts.

When M. Paillarès had just entered upon his inquiries, the first thing that came to his notice was the Gradabor tragedy. A whole Greek family had been slaughtered by the band of the Bulgarian, Mitro. The father, Traïko Steriou, had been dismembered and hacked to pieces; the body of his wife, Elizabeth, was covered with dagger-wounds; his eldest son had been tortured and crucified; a younger son burned alive, after he had been submitted to the most cunning refinements of cruelty.

"And absolutely the only reason for this," said M. Paillarès, "was that the Greek notable, Steriou, and his family, refused to entertain the Bulgarian propaganda, and that nothing could shake their attachment to the Hellenic cause. And let it not be forgotten that this crime was committed before there was a single Greek band in Macedonia: the country contained no bands but those of the Bulgarian comitadjis."

Some time after this event, in November 1904, M. Paillarès arrived at Ghirzista, in company with the Russian colonel, Svirsky, chief of the Russian bureau. Ghirzista had just been the theatre of a frightful crime. Several Greeks had been murdered and burned—the schoolmistress, Catherine Hadjiyorjis, twenty years of age; one Anghos Chiros, his wife and two daughters; two young girls, and a peasant, Gregory Mino. The bandits had condemned the young schoolmistress to death because she had refused to hand over the school to the Bulgarians. At the moment of the crime she was in the house of Anghos Chiros, and all the witnesses of the crime perished with her. The lecturer continued:

"The body of the schoolmistress was headless, and it was only possible to establish her identity by the aid of some trinkets which had been sewn on to her dress. Her limbs had been consumed by fire: nothing of them remained but ashes. The two young girls had preserved intact the tress of hair that their mothers had with loving care braided that morning. I would gladly refuse to believe in the reports of such ferocity, but the reality is overwhelming. One must resign oneself to the truth and one must face the abominations of which mankind is capable. In company with the Russian colonel, Svirsky, I questioned the notables of the place, and received the information that the village had been *punished* for refusing to expel the Greek schoolmistress. On continuing to make inquiries, I was informed that at Lougountsa there had been more decapitations. My colleague, Herr von Tyzska, correspondent of the *Lokal Anzeiger*, joined me in obtaining an exact account of this new atrocity. We received our information from the relatives of the victims. The wives of the Greek priest Stoyan and of one Nicolas Rongottis were subjected to horrible tortures—one of them before her husband and children, who were compelled to be present, mute and helpless spectators of the crime. There was also a child, four years of age, shot by the comitadjis because the Koutzovlachs who lived in the village insisted on calling themselves Greeks and refused to join the Roumanian cause.

"It would take too long to describe all the horrors of which I have been a sad and indignant witness. I travelled through Demir-Hissar, Barakli-Djoumaïa, Serres, Nevrocop, Razlog, Djoumaï-Bala, Melnik, Petritch, Drama, Cavalla, Niaousta, Vodena, Sorovitch, Clissoura, Kastoria, Monastir, Megarova, Tirnovo, Florina and a hundred other villages, and everywhere I saw the same thing: men dying, with the proud and ardent boast on the lips, '*Zito i Hellas!*—we are Greeks!'

"Rather than renounce Hellenism, these Greeks

have faced death in its most horrible forms. At a later period the Greeks banded together to defend themselves: but at the time of which I am speaking none of the defensive bands had yet been organised, and so the tale of massacre went on from one year to another. Unhappily, it is not yet ended."

At this point the lecturer turned aside for a moment from his narrative to describe the salient points of the Greek national character: love of liberty, democratic spirit, activity, spirit of initiative and enterprise, extreme individualism, and love of country, of which the Greek has given such striking evidence. M. Paillarès gave a brief survey of the working of the communal, ecclesiastical and educational institutions among the Greeks in Turkey, which institutions form one of the most important national forces. He went on to an account of the scholastic organisation of Macedonian Hellenism, of which he had made a special study.

"I have visited the high schools at Salonica, Serres, Vodena, Kastoria and Monastir, and a hundred boys' and girls' elementary schools. I have inspected their classes and questioned their pupils. All the children were fond of choral singing: they sang the 'Marseillaise' in honour of the French journalist who had made so long a journey to visit them.

"I asked them: 'Are you Turks?' 'No, sir,' they replied with accents of decision. 'Are you Bulgarian—Servian—Roumanian?' In each case the answer was an unhesitating 'No.' 'What are you then?' 'We are Greeks!' And they soon found opportunity to tell me that French was one of their studies. 'Do you love France?' I asked. 'Ah! yes.' 'Why?' 'Because France is a noble and generous country and a well-wisher of our own nation.' One of the things which the Macedonian patriarchists learn in these schools is that there is a free Greece, which watches over them and looks forward to the time when they too shall be free. The writer who penned the words 'at the bottom, the Greek cares little for national independence,' was guilty of a mistake so vast as to be almost a crime: no people has ever supported the tyrant's chains so impatiently as have the enslaved and oppressed Greeks. All the young men are already trembling with revolt: all are dreaming of the thrice-happy day when the sky-coloured flag shall once more float above the ancestral home."

The speaker now turned to the number of schools in Macedonia. He referred to the previously-published lists, which had been supplied by Mr. Delyanni, Greek Minister in Paris, and by Mr. Zolotovitz, Bulgarian Diplomatic Agent. These lists do not agree with one another. M. Paillarès did not wish to assert that either list was entirely right or entirely wrong: he accepts as correct Mr. Zolotovitz's estimate of 782 Bulgarian schools, with 39,468 pupils, in Macedonia, and also Mr. Delyanni's figure of 998 Greek schools with 59,640 pupils. The lecturer continued:

"I ought to make the further remark that I have submitted the figures of the Greek estimate to several officers of the French mission, who have passed the figures as correct, so far as their own knowledge extends. Commandant Foulon observed a slight mistake: a Greek school was counted in a village which has no such school. On the other hand, a Greek school which exists in another village was omitted from the list. The figures given, in fact, are fair to both sides, and, on the whole, they make a pretty close approach to accuracy.

"But, as I shall shortly be able to satisfy you, my personal investigations have exposed a gross deviation from exactitude—not, indeed, on the part of Mr. Zolotovitz, whose integrity is beyond question—but by the unknown author of a recent book, who figures before the European public under the name of Brancoff.

"In any case, there are in Macedonia thousands upon thousands of pupils to satisfy whose needs there are hundreds of Greek schools. Now, these institutions have been founded, maintained, and endowed by the parents themselves. It is the desire of the Macedonian people which has called them into being and which assures their future. And since there are both Greek and Bulgarian schools, each family will naturally send its children to the school where is taught its own native tongue. Consequently we may (and in fact must) conclude that the Macedonians who send their children to the Greek schools are themselves Greeks. This does not admit of doubt. We may illustrate this point by a comparison with conditions nearer home. In Germany there are numbers of little Polish children who refuse to pray in German. Can we regard the parents of these children as Prussians?

"If one seeks for the Greeks in Macedonia one finds them in the orphanages, in the countless churches which surmount the acropolis of towns (Kastoria alone has 74 churches), in the hospitals. Among the Christian communities it is only the Greeks who have founded hospitals. In the hospital of Serres, which Commandant Lamouche and myself visited, we observed that the Greeks received and succoured the Bulgarians' invalids, although the comitadjis were slaughtering Greek priests, teachers, old men, women and children.

"One finds the Greeks in the cloth factories and in the thread mills of Verria, Niaousta and Vodena, which employ over a thousand workpeople. They are found in the workshop, in the office, in the fields. They are found in every corner of Macedonia: in the busy towns, in the quiet hamlets, on the icy plains. They are in Djumaï-Bala, on the Bulgarian frontier. And need it be added that there are more than a hundred thousand Greeks in Eastern Roumelia?

"If anyone should fall ill in Macedonia the doctor who attends him will be Greek, the apothecary who makes up the prescription will be Greek. [Of this I speak from personal experience. At Vodena I had a grave attack of malarial fever, and it is to three Greek doctors that I owe my recovery. And here it is my duty to thank them publicly for the devoted and absolutely disinterested care which they lavished upon me.] If you seek intellectual companionship, if you would talk literature, art, science, politics, it is always to the Greek you must address yourself. I have met many who in general culture are far above those consuls who seek to assume a superior attitude towards them.

"The Greeks form the great majority of the Christian population of Macedonia. They are Greek in origin, sentiment, aspirations and, in almost every case, in language also. However, one section of this Greek population is bilingual, speaking both Greek and Slavo-Macedonian: and some are Slavophone. These latter are frequently denied to be Greeks, because they are Slavophone: but nothing could be more unjust. The position requires a little explanation. The continued ebb and flow of Servian and Bulgarian invasion has left, in some regions of Macedonia, a sort of alluvial deposit of Slavonic

words, which the work of ages has amalgamated into a meagre *patois*, the Slavo-Macedonian.

"This dialect is claimed by both the Bulgarians and the Servians. In a report addressed to M. Delcassé, M. Steeg, the French consul at Salonica, said that he was informed by a German scholar that the character of the dialect was Bulgarian. On the other hand, Mr. Simitch, the Servian Diplomatic Agent at Sofia, informs me that a commission of Russian scholars has pronounced the dialect to be Servian in its main lines. M. Steeg himself hazarded the view that no very clear line of demarcation can be established between the Serbs and Bulgarians in Roumelia. My own private opinion is that this dialect is neither entirely Servian nor entirely Bulgarian: it is a Servo-Bulgarian mixture, plentifully spiced with Greek, Vlach, Albanian and Turkish—it is a sort of crude extract of all the elements of Macedonia itself. Naturally, on the borders of the Principality, the tincture of Bulgarian is decidedly pronounced, and near the Servian frontier the character of the dialect approaches more nearly to the Serb. In the centre it is a confused and unrecognisable *patois*; in the west it bears some similarity to Servian. At Vodena I discussed the local dialect with a Bulgarian apothecary and a Servian schoolmaster; both were obliged to confess neither the inhabitants of Sofia nor those of Belgrade would be able to sustain conversation with the Slavophone Macedonians. An old patriarchist settled the matter by the simple confession of faith: 'My tongue may be Bulgarian, *but the heart is Greek!*'

"Is there any ground for surprise in this? It is known that in Asiatic Turkey there are thousands of Greeks who do not know their own language, but speak Turkish. And is it not equally well known that in Crete and the islands the Turks speak Greek? M. Steeg, in a report addressed to the Foreign Office, informs us that in the vilayet of Salonica there are 110,000 Moslems who speak Bulgarian, 4000 who speak Greek, 3000 who speak Vlach, and also 75,000 Jews whose dialect is a degraded Spanish. Who will maintain that these Moslems are not Turks, but Bulgars, Greeks or Vlachs? Who will venture to suggest that Spain ought to claim these Jews as her own sons? The intervention of King Alphonso in Macedonian affairs would provoke an outburst of Homeric laughter in all the Cabinets of Europe. How many Europeans, born in the Levant, speak their own mother-tongue? In Cyprus I have met with many Frenchmen and Austrians who ordinarily speak Greek. The greater part of the French and English colonies in Smyrna speak Greek in their own homes.

"In the Orient, more than anywhere else, we must beware of basing our judgment on a single particular. Here the rule is the exception, and the exception is the rule. At the same time it is well to note that the Macedonian Greeks are almost all Greek-speaking.

"In the report already cited, M. Steeg states that, in the vilayet of Salonica, there are 180,000 patriarchists who are *exclusively* Greek-speaking, 120-130,000 who usually speak Slavo-Macedonian, and 25,000 who speak Vlach. But of those who in this vilayet speak the Slavo-Macedonian dialect, some 80,000 are bilingual: they speak Greek also. That is, out of some 335,000 patriarchists there are, roughly, 260,000 who do, and 75,000 who do not, speak Greek. But those who do not speak Greek are yet Greek in sentiment.

"If the Bulgarians demand the Slavo-Macedonians, so on the other hand do the Roumanians try to claim the Koutzovlachs.

"From time to time, according to the fluctuations of Roumanian policy, the Cabinet of Bucharest lays a more or less vigorous claim to the Koutzovlachs. There is no need to discuss at length these Roumanian claims, for no one takes them seriously. Every traveller, every writer, every diplomat recognises the Hellenic tendencies of the Koutzovlachs. A recent French consular report has stated that 'there will always be *some* perverts to Roumanism in Macedonia so long as the agents of the Roumanian propaganda are willing to pour money into the pockets of adventurers.' But when the Roumanian treasury closes its purse-strings these opportunist Roumanians will soon betake themselves elsewhere. M. Steeg's report to M. Delcassé states the Vlachophones are 'the most determined champions of the Hellenic cause'—a statement borne out by my own experience, for I have nowhere found more fierce, more fanatical, more uncompromising Greek patriots than among the Koutzovlachs of Monastir. I had an instance of this one Sunday as I was walking with M. Gauthier, the French consul. Suddenly we heard in the distance a great noise, which grew and grew till it seemed a veritable tempest. Then we saw a priest, pursued by a hundred infuriated villagers, who were showering blows upon him, and who chased him right into the French consulate. These men were Koutzovlachs, and the priest was an ex-patriarchist, a Roumanian pervert. He had apparently provoked some youths of the Hellenic community, who had retaliated by hurling insults upon him.

"The priest, believing himself in personal danger, had drawn his revolver and fired several shots. The noise of the quarrel caught the attention of the neighbouring Christians, who rushed out of their houses. Hardly had the priest levelled his revolver when they were upon him and the chase began. He made for refuge in the house of an apothecary, where the Roumanian propagandists had their meetings, but the shouting crowd headed him off. By this time all the Koutzovlachs of the neighbourhood were on his track. At this moment the archbishop passed, driving with the Greek consul, amid the acclamations of the crowd. It looked as though things were about to go ill with the wretched Theodorou, the Roumanising priest. Fortunately, however, the French consul was able to put an end to this regrettable, but significant, incident.

"This Roumanising priest, Theodorou, had not had a single defender: not one person in Monastir had come to help him. Worse still, the apothecary, who was centre of the Roumanist propaganda, had closed his doors in the face of the victim, for fear lest the pharmacy should be overrun and pillaged. In other words, in Monastir itself, the headquarters of Roumanist action, there are no Roumanians; the Koutzovlachs are Greeks in thought, in tendencies, in traditions and in aspirations. It is the Koutzovlachs who are the most vigorous and implacable opponents of Roumanian and Bulgarian intrigue. They have formed a secret committee, which is the terror of the consuls, of the Vali, and of the comitadjis. Neither the Metropolitan nor the Greek consul can restrain their occasionally immoderate patriotism. They regard as an enemy every European who is not Philhellene. A Koutzovlach lady said to me, 'I have ceased to visit in the consuls' houses, for they have a mania for discovering Roumanians or Bulgarians.'

One of their prominent men gave voice to the sentiment, 'If the Patriarch ever gives way to the Roumanian demands, we will kill all the archbishops whom he sends us. We are Greeks first and patriarchists afterwards.' It is in truth a forlorn hope, that of Roumanising this people.

"Language is not always an infallible test of race. Consider France, for example. There are millions of Frenchmen who do not speak French in their families: they speak Breton, Norman, Picard, Flemish, Alsatian, Savoyard, Dauphinois, Niçois, Provençal, Gascon, Catalan, Basque, etc. Thus in France, which we French think the most civilised country of the earth, millions of our people are absolutely ignorant of their national tongue. In the Eastern Pyrenees, where I passed my childhood and boyhood, there are numbers of peasants who understand French no more than Chinese. I am informed by M. Vilar, of the Senate, who does me the honour of being present this evening, that even to-day in places where there is no school—at Toulon, for example—not even the rising generation can speak anything but the *patois*. When I visit a Catalan village I cannot converse with the older men until I have revived my fading memory of the dialect of the country which I learned long ago. What of those Frenchmen who, in England or Spain or Italy or Germany or elsewhere, speak the language of the country in which they live—is France to abandon all claim to them?"

There is one and only one clear indication of nationality, and that is the will of the individual—his free adhesion to this or that nationality. Acting on this principle, M. Paillarès was the first writer in the Press of Western Europe to advocate an ethnological plebiscite in Macedonia. The Greeks have expressed the most earnest desire for such a plebiscite. So far as the technic character of Macedonia is concerned, no reliance can be placed on the statistics.

"These are of no validity. I have been able to submit those of Brancoff, mentioned above, to an examination on the spot. Let us glance rapidly at them. In chap. 1, p. 17, that author gives his estimate of the population of Macedonia. For the vilayet of Salonica his figures are: 501,140 Bulgarians, 147,097 Greeks, 25,421 Koutzovlachs. M. Steeg, in the report which we have already quoted, gives:

180,000 Greeks speaking Greek only.
120,000 or 130,000 Patriarchists speaking Slavo-Macedonian.
25,000 Patriarchists speaking Vlach.
210,000 to 220,000 Exarchists.
3000 Uniates and 1000 Protestant Bulgarians.

We have seen that the Slavophone and Vlachophone patriarchists call themselves Greeks. The Hellenic cause can therefore lay claim to 325,000 or 335,000 supporters, as against 210,000 or 220,000 Bulgarist partisans. But let us grant that there may be an amorphous mass of doubtful patriarchists: we will estimate their number at, say, 60,000—this figure is assuredly not too small. We will leave these 60,000 out of consideration until they give a clear indication of their sentiments, and we will subtract the whole number from those we have designated as Hellenists. This will be unfair to the Hellenists: nevertheless, it will still leave 275,000 Greeks against 220,000 Bulgarians. Now Brancoff only admits a total of 147,097 Greeks for the three vilayets! The misrepresentation is manifest. And every impartial mind will admit, on examining Greek statistics, that the Hellenists are more modest in their estimates than are the Bulgarians. Brancoff treats the Servians even more unfairly than the Greeks. He simply suppresses them. Not a fraction of a Serb will he admit for the whole territory.

"Let us examine the populations of a few towns.

"At Strumnitza, Brancoff publishes a total of 6384 Bulgarians, 35 Greeks, and 18 Vlachs. This does not prevent him from seeing 650 pupils in the Greek schools! He does not explain the magic which enables a Greek element of 35 people to include 650 school boys and girls; and the mystery remains unsolved. *I myself have counted* 600 pupils of both sexes in the Greek schools of this town. The truth is, that there are more than 3000 Greeks in Strumnitza. And according to the testimony of the Russian officer whom I interviewed in this town the Bulgarians do not number 6384. They are in a minority—1500 or 1800. Now Strumnitza is situated much nearer to the borders of the Principality than to the coast. It is under the heels of the committees.

"At Monastir there are, according to Brancoff, 100 Greeks, with 1620 pupils in the Greek schools! The mystery thickens. Shall I venture to expose the true facts? There are in Monastir about 20,000 Greeks, with 15 Greek schools which I have visited, whose walls cannot contain their 2500 pupils. Between 100 and 20,000 there is some margin. If there are people who 'talk big' at Athens, it would appear that they find imitators among the *sober and serious* Bulgarians!

"One may recall, in passing, that Mr. Delyanni, Greek minister at Paris, stated, in an interview with the editor of the *Temps*, that there were in Monastir 11 Greek schools with 1695 pupils. Mr. Delyanni understates his case.

"At Tirnovo, Brancoff records not a single Greek family: but he admits 230 Greek children in the schools. The comprehension of such figures is quite outside the reach of any sane person. A visit to the place has satisfied me that there are 3000 Greeks in Tirnovo: this will explain how there come to be, not 230, but the actual total of 375 Greek pupils. The school expenses of the place, some £220 per annum, are provided by the Hellenic community. Tirnovo is a Koutzovlach town, in which there are less than a score of Roumanist pupils.

"In Megarovo, another Koutzovlach town, the same statistician will not allow the shadow of a Greek family. He is, however, constrained to admit 305 Greek children! A house-to-house visitation shows, in round numbers, 2500 Greeks and 300 Greek pupils. The Roumanians are represented by a score of boys and girls.

"At Salonica, Brancoff sees 8000 Bulgarians. But M. Steeg, French consul in that town, finds no more than 3000 or 4000.

"At Kiretch-Kevy, Brancoff finds 8920 Bulgarians, who have not a single child in any of the schools: and though there are no Greeks in the town, there are yet 2 Greek schools with 770 pupils of both sexes. Strange, is it not? But do not wonder overmuch as to the explanation. It is quite simple: in Kiretch-Kevy there is not a single inhabitant who claims to be Bulgarian. I speak from personal investigation."

M. Paillarès now referred to the attachment of the Macedonian Greeks to the Greek cause, the sacrifices they undergo for the sake of maintaining their schools hospitals and churches—the emblems of their

nationality—and the struggles which they are yet waging against violent adversaries, who do not hesitate to make use of falsehood, intrigue and the most odious crimes, in order to enfeeble the cause of Hellenism, and to strengthen themselves at its expense. M. Paillarès closed his lecture, which was loudly applauded, by throwing on the lantern screen views of Macedonian places of interest, scenes of propagandist crime and figures of the victims of these crimes and the ruins left after them, and, finally, views of Greek schools in the towns and villages of Macedonia.

FIAT LUX

I

THE London papers of January 29 published a telegram from Constantinople, stating that the two councils of the Œcumenical Patriarchate, in spite of the repeated advice which they had received, had unanimously rejected the demands formulated by the Vlachs for the introduction of the Vlach tongue in their schools and churches.

It is neither by ignorance nor by chance that the London journals make use of the ambiguous expressions, "Vlach demands," "Vlach language"; these vague turns of speech recur from time to time in the journals of Western Europe, and the use of them is always prompted by design.

There is one very curious feature of this affair manufactured by Roumanian Government, which dignifies its invention by the name of the "Koutzovlach Question," and exploits the question with so much ingenuity—that feature is the great doubt and uncertainty of the Roumanians themselves as to the point which, nevertheless, forms the principal object of the Roumanian recriminations. It is repeated *ad nauseam* that what is above all necessary to the welfare of the Koutzovlachs is the suppression of Greek and the introduction in school and church of a new language. Let us examine the point in the hope of discovering what this language really is.

Those journals in Western Europe which—directly or indirectly—seek their inspiration in Bucharest talk now of Roumanian, now of Koutzovlach. They are careful not to explain the matter more exactly, and the Western reader (little enough in touch with Oriental questions) is left to suppose that the expressions "Roumanian language" and "Koutzovlach dialect" are synonymous, or, at all events, that there are but the most insignificant differences between the two idioms. Hence, the course pursued by Roumania may readily appear perfectly natural: it should seem, after all, as though Roumania were but trying to obtain for the Koutzovlachs a sort of official recognition of their undeniable right to use their own language, and to free themselves from "the odious yoke of Greek, which is only imposed and maintained by violence."

All this is very plausible. But, from beginning to end, it is absolutely false. Roumanian and Koutzovlach are two separate languages. Whether we consider the peasant, with his rude dialect full of Slavonic words, or the polished citizen of the great towns, whose language is being continually purified by the expulsion of these barbarous intruders, their place being taken by words of Latin origin—in either case, the Roumanian can neither understand nor be understood by the Koutzovlach. In connection with this, we may recall an actual incident which is not devoid of a certain piquancy.

Two years ago a priest of Monastir, the well-known Papa Theodore, was received in state in Bucharest. An incident of this visit was his official reception by the Minister of Public Instruction. The minister several times addressed the priest in Roumanian, the priest replied in Koutzovlach, but neither of them could make out what was the other's meaning. It is true that each of them could speak Greek with perfect ease, but no worse humiliation could be conceived than for a fervent Roumanian to have recourse to that hated language. Serious difficulties seemed likely to arise, when a happy discovery rescued the actors in this patriotic scene: Papa Theodore spoke Turkish! A Turkish interpreter was at once procured, who translated into Roumanian what the priest spoke in Turkish. Under these sufficiently bizarre conditions the interview was carried on. It is said that some Roumanians who happened to be present had the bad taste to consider that the Government was pushing the game a little too far.

All the Koutzovlachs understand Greek. They all speak Greek, and use no language but Greek in their correspondence. They still frequently employ in their families their own Koutzovlach dialect. This contains some seventy-five per cent. of Greek and Turkish words, and not more than twenty-five per cent. of Latin origin. What could be more absurd than the attempt to establish any relations whatsoever between this linguistic medley and the Roumanian language?

Had the Roumanians demanded that the Koutzovlachs should use their own dialect, in school and in church, one might perhaps have understood their position. But this is precisely what they do not want. Their aim is to exclude at one stroke both Koutzovlach and Greek, for the greater glory of Roumania. It is true that the Koutzovlachs do not understand Roumanian, but it is charitably proposed to remedy this defect. Some Roumanised Greeks have been sent, at great cost, from Roumania to Macedonia, to diffuse the knowledge of Roumanian, but up to the present their labours have borne no fruit.

In the presence of these grotesque endeavours we cannot refrain from repeating the famous description given by Mr. Haret, a former Minister of Public Instruction in Roumania: he summed up the whole Roumanian campaign in Macedonia in the words: "Fraud and trickery." This trickery is carried on at the expense of a population which always has been, and always remains, Greek. We know that their sentiments do not change, but it is none the less our duty to protect them from the base manœuvres of a propaganda which, though fully aware that its efforts cannot in the end produce any result, nevertheless pursues its evil endeavours in Macedonia solely for the purpose of using them afterwards as the basis of arguments which, the Roumanians hope, may prove of force in a different quarter.

II

When it is a question of exposing the dishonourable tactics of an unscrupulous adversary, whose favourite and most potent weapon is falsehood, no course is open but to go on repeating the same things a hundred times, until the full truth stands clear before all eyes. We shall therefore not cease to

denounce the plans of the Roumanians who follow in the footsteps of the Bulgarians and rely on the efficacy of widespread slanders upon the Greek clergy and the Patriarchate.

The position taken up by all their organs is invariably the same: there is in Macedonia a body of Koutzovlachs whose sole desire is to learn and adopt the Roumanian language. To the realisation of this praiseworthy desire the Greek priests oppose a desperate resistance, by methods in which religion plays a small part. But, happily, Roumania is there to help. She is strong, and she keeps guard: to her falls the duty, at once glorious and humane, of succouring the Koutzovlachs in this struggle. What man of common honesty could hesitate to recognise the rightness of that attitude, and the solid foundation of the Roumanian claims?

This plan of campaign is simple and clear, it has but one fault: it is rather played out, and is distrusted by the European public. It is now nearly half a century since the Panslavists first began to work in a similar manner on behalf of the Bulgarians. In thousands of publications they depicted European Turkey as an exclusively Slavonic country, whose inhabitants were groaning beneath the heavy yoke of an ignorant, rapacious and depraved Greek clergy. At the time when this was stated and currently believed the whole of the Balkan peninsula, except the coast, was a *terra incognita* for the Western world. Since then, railroads and other means of rapid transit have been opened, and the country has become more easy of access. And thus, during recent years, when the Bulgarians have been so loudly maintaining that Macedonia is a Bulgarian country, it has not been difficult for the Greeks to prove that nothing could be less true—not even the enormous superiority of means for influencing public opinion, which the Bulgarians enjoy, has been able to prevent this exposure. The Roumanians, who are employing the same method as the Bulgarians, are a little behind the times. It is easy, nowadays, to examine and weigh these random assertions; and if any believe that merely by stating in print that the Greek clergy in Macedonia are the oppressors of the Koutzovlachs they can induce the public to accept such statements, they are greatly mistaken. Europe now understands the state of affairs in Macedonia, the part played and the responsibilities served by each of the elements. In speaking of Europe, we refer, as might be supposed, to that part of the public which does not content itself with reading, but which compares and judges. The serious reader smiles when he is told of the atrocities of the Patriarchal ogre, but he knows what sum of money is set apart each year by the Roumanian budget towards the expenses of the propaganda. He knows that this money serves to support Roumanist schools, not only among the Koutzovlachs but in the capital itself. He knows that it is not in subsidies that the Roumanian priests and teachers are lacking. And he knows that, since March 1905, the Roumanist Koutzovlachs have had *moukhtars*, representatives in the provincial councils and the independent communities. Above all, he does not forget (unhappily for the Roumanians) that in spite of all these elaborate provisions the Roumanians lack just the one little thing which is the absolute essential—they lack any solid and compact nucleus of genuinely Roumanophil population.

The *Matin* of November 10, 1904, described how the Roumanian communities are organised:

"Macedonia is at present like the property of a rich man on his deathbed: on every side of him rise up new claimants to the heritage. We all know that Greece has claims, which she bases on her rights of old standing: Bulgaria, too, by daily incursions on the scene, keeps herself before the eyes of Europe. Now a third power, Roumania, is also trying to rake up a claim, so that she too may one day have something to say about the succession. This country has suddenly bethought itself of some vague relationship between itself and the hundred thousand odd Koutzovlachs who dwell in Macedonia. Now these latter are the most violent partisans of the Hellenic cause, but the Roumanians try to see in them long-lost brothers, who must be rescued from a lamentable error. The mode of 'rescue' is simple. The Roumanians have endeavoured to found in Macedonia a number of religious communities devoted to their cause, and they have vainly sought to constrain the Patriarchate to favour the development of these communities. The Roumanian agents go about from village to village in order to obtain petitions, each signed by twenty people, which the Turkish authority exacts as a preliminary to the authorisation of a community. The price of these signatures runs from two to three guineas apiece. But the Koutzovlachs are a refractory people, and so far as they at least are concerned the Roumanist propaganda has no great hope of success."

As the above passage suggests, it is the general consensus of Koutzovlach feeling which repels the Roumanist propaganda. A further witness to the fact is the celebrated writer, Max Nordau, whose testimony is the more valuable as M. Nordau is himself a declared champion of the Roumanian people. In November 1905 M. Nordau wrote:—

"Are the Koutzovlachs Roumanian? The Roumanians say they are, but the Koutzovlachs say they are not, and it would be difficult for anyone who trusts to the 'principle of nationalities' to deny that the Koutzovlachs have the right to decide this question. . . . Those Koutzovlachs who desire education turn always to Greek learning, and Greek is the only language which this people will tolerate in all the higher relations of life—in church, in school, in legal and administrative affairs. Could one imagine a clearer and more certain manifestation of their true sentiment? And this impassioned tendency towards complete Hellenisation is strikingly spontaneous. What efforts have not the Roumanians made during the last forty-five years to turn the Koutzovlachs from the natural path of their evolution! . . . The Koutzovlachs, whom the Roumanians wish to represent as 'irredeemed Roumanians,' have so little conscience of their Roumanism, have so little desire to make common cause with the Roumanians, that they burst out violently with the declaration of their Hellenism, and that they repel angrily the desire to endow them with the Roumanian language."

And here is testimony of the Koutzovlachs themselves:

"*To His Holiness the Œcumenical Patriarch.*

"MOST HOLY FATHER,—We, the undersigned, Orthodox Christians, inhabitants of the city of Monastir, have the honour respectfully to submit the following to Your Holiness:

"Although in our homes we use the Koutzovlach dialect—which has nothing in common with Roumanian—we are, from all antiquity, Greek.

" Devoted sons of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, we place it on record that we have always lived under the titular protection of the Great Church, in the most perfect and indissoluble union with our Greek-speaking brothers.

" We have never separated our cause from that of the Greeks: with them we form one people.

" We here make solemn proclamation of this community which unites us in the same unshaken fidelity to the Empire, and in an equal devotion to our Holy Mother Church.

" We are filled with horror and indignation by those intrigues and machinations whereby foreigners have sought to sow discord between brothers.

" We beseech the Great Church graciously to lend her consideration to our declarations and protests. We are confident that the powerful interposition of the Church will protect us from the attacks that are levelled against us and the pitfalls that are prepared for us.

" We ask that the blessings of Your Holiness may be upon us, and we remain, Most Holy Father, Your devoted sons,

" The Inhabitants of the City of Monastir.

" Monastir, *March* 10, 1904."

At the foot of this address are placed the seals of all the parishes, all the corporations and all the associations of the city, and also thousands of signatures. The original of a second address, similar to the first, was sent, several months ago, to the Russian representative, and copies of it have been sent to the representatives of the other Great Powers. Similar documents have been sent from all the Koutzovlach centres to the Patriarchate, where they are at the disposition of anyone who wishes to make himself acquainted with them.

Such are the sentiments of the Koutzovlachs, the people most directly concerned in the matter. But may it not have happened that by some chance the Roumanians are ignorant of all this?

The reports of Mr. Lecanta (himself a Koutzovlach, and native of Perlepe), Director of the Roumanian School in Janina, and those of M. Haret, ex-Minister of Public Instruction, free us from all doubt on this point. Extracts from these reports will appear in the article on " Roumanian Pretensions " in the next number of the *Hellenic Herald*. We would call the reader's special attention to the extracts, contained in that article, from Mr. Lecanta's official report, dated November 26, 1901. Mr. Lecanta states that " There are no Greeks in Macedonia except in the southern parts and in Epirus, so that the soldiers of Hellenism are the Vlachs and, in Albania, the Albanians; it is, however, well known with what conviction those defend the Hellenic idea—as well as and perhaps better than if they were Greeks by race; they even hazard their lives for the Hellenic cause." He goes on to condemn the existing method of the Roumanist propaganda, which he regards as futile and ridiculous. So he goes on to propose a change of attitude, and to describe yet more perfidious means of seduction. He advises, for example, that gifts of money shall be made, with a pretence of disinterested motives, to the Greek schools of the country: by this means he hopes to induce these schools to include in their curricula a special course of Roumanian. The plan has already been tried once, without success. In October 1880 the Roumanian Minister in Constantinople officially informed the Patriarchate that a credit of £2400 was about to be voted by the Roumanian Chambers towards the schools and churches of the Œcumenical seat, on condition that the expenditure of the money should be controlled by a commission of four members under the presidence of the Roumanian Minister, and that the Patriarchate should content itself with the exercise of an indirect supervision.

One thing must be repeated and repeated: the Koutzovlachs, according to the Roumanian calculations, reach the respectable total of 600,000; if they are really so anxious to abandon their own dialect and the Greek language, in order to adopt Roumanian in their liturgy and instruction, how is it that so imposing a mass of Orthodox Christians does not apply for confirmation of these desires to the Supreme Ecclesiastical authority, whose rule it obeys?

It does not require a great deal of reflection to show that the whole position is one of revolting injustice. Although the Koutzovlachs never cease to proclaim that they are, always have been, and always will be, Greeks, and that they will not allow anything to separate them from the Patriarchate, the Roumanians spare no efforts to induce the Patriarchate to abandon a people, the sacrifice of which seems imperiously demanded by the interests and the future schemes of Roumanian politics. And as though to darken the shadow on this picture, already so black, they dare to speak of inducing or compelling the Patriarch of Constantinople—the Chief of the Eastern Church, and the Head of the Greek nation within the Turkish Empire—to offer to the world the shameful spectacle of an evil shepherd who dismembers his own flock; they dare to imagine him addressing the Koutzovlachs in these terms:

" Your repeated protests of devotion to the Great Church, the striking proofs which you give every day of your unity with your Greek-speaking brethren, the indignation which you manifest when a foreign race preaches to you a gospel of strife and disunion—all these things have no weight with me. I turn the back on you, I disown you, I repudiate you, I separate you for ever from the assembly of the Greek people. I forbid you to use the Greek or the Koutzovlach language, and I impose upon you the Roumanian tongue, a tongue which until this moment you have never learned. Moreover, I will trample underfoot the most formal canons of the Church, and I will have a Roumanian bishop consecrated who will have no jurisdiction save over the Koutzovlachs. Soon he will be followed by another, and another; and before long they will form a Vlach Exarchate, which will take the earliest opportunity to separate itself from the Church of Constantinople. For it is by this means alone that I can make certain that the schism shall arise which could not be established by the defection of the Greek ex-Bishop of Messembria in 1895, nor by the establishment of that nucleus of a future Vlach Exarchate, the Roumanian chapel in Galata, nor the recent attempts to suborn another of my bishops. I declare broken all the links that have hitherto bound us together: henceforward, you are to obey those who have converted you into Roumanians. *Nescio vos.*"

Such is the conscienceless inconsequence into which the Roumanians would impel the Patriarchate. Of course, the Patriarchate scorns their unrealisable pretensions and refuses to give them any sort of sanction, so the Roumanians turn to the Imperial Government, from which they hope to obtain the necessary authorisation. They forget their duty to render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and

to God the things that are God's. But we may conclude by reminding them that, from the capture of Constantinople down to the present day, the Ottoman Sultans have always recognised and have never contested the right of the Œcumenical Patriarchate to regulate, with perfect freedom, all questions relative to the priesthood, the religious organisations, and the liturgical language.

FROM SOFIA

For some time the Bulgarian public has looked with no very favourable eye on M. Tittoni, the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs; and there has been much inquietude in Sofia as a result of this minister's latest pronouncement in the Italian Chamber on the subject of Foreign Policy. M. Tittoni sketched out a scheme for the autonomy of Macedonia "on a basis of the principle of nationalities." This scheme, which would take into account the importance of each element, and which would doubtless involve a grouping of the various races according to the rights of each,[1] does not satisfy the Bulgarians.

What *they* demand is autonomy pure and simple, autonomy "realised in its entirety," to quote the words of the official organ, the *Macedo-Odrinski Pleg/ed*, which, in a leading article, declares that Bulgaria cannot possibly be satisfied with any other solution of the problem. "We will not disguise the fact," so says this journal, which reflects the views of the Government and of the committees, "that to any partition scheme Bulgaria will offer the most determined (and, if necessary, bloody) resistance." And the same journal offers, as a reason for this, that Bulgaria holds firmly by "the territorial integrity of Macedonia."

Why are the Bulgarians so deeply concerned in all this? Why, indeed, if not for the reason that they cherish a secret hope of being strong enough some day to seize hold of this "autonomous Macedonia"?

Now, the Greeks can never accept an autonomy of this character, and here they are in agreement with all who desire an impartial, equitable and permanent solution of the problem. M. Tittoni spoke of the *Principle of Nationalities*. He is right: he has hit upon the only remedy for the present ills of Macedonia. As has been maintained in the columns of the *Hellenic Herald*, the Greeks know how to bring their ambitions down to the level of their rights. To Servia, that which is Servia's; to Bulgaria, that which is Bulgaria's; and to Greece, that which is Greece's. Respect for this principle of nationalities must be the base of our respective claims. Once more we ask, Why cannot the Bulgarians also act upon the same principle? Because, presumably, they hope to possess themselves of Macedonia — of the whole country. They say that they constitute a majority in that country. So be it. If then the problem is solved by satisfying the claims in proportion to the rights of each of the nationalities interested, the greater part of Macedonia will fall to their share. But if, as is highly probable, and in fact absolutely certain, their ambitions pass the limits of their rights, they will be reduced to their just proportions. That, however, is just what they fear, and that is why they are so strongly opposed to all idea of an ethnological census. That is why they talk of a Macedonia "autonomous in its entirety"—which they hope to absorb later on. And these are the views not only of the committees, but of the Government, and in fact of all Bulgaria. The journal referred to above says so quite openly.

The autonomist principle is discredited. Men who used formerly to defend it by all sorts of special pleading have ended by abandoning the cause—this disenchantment has extended even to Bulgarian political leaders. M. Danef, formerly President of the Council and now leader of the Opposition, has declared that such autonomy as the Bulgarians demand is incapable of realisation. The more weighty and impartial of the European journals have expressed the same opinion. The *Temps*, for example, whose investigation of the Macedonian question is characterised by obvious impartiality, has for more than two years abandoned all reference to autonomy.

The *Temps* would seem, indeed, to offer reproof to the supporters of the autonomist scheme, for it has repeatedly advocated an ethnological census of Macedonia—a proposition which has not been so fortunate as to receive the approval of political circles in Sofia, where, on the contrary, the suggestion has been very ill entertained. But here is the most disagreeable surprise for Sofia. All the Bulgarian journals published the following news, which came from Vienna on 29th January:—

"The Newes Wiener Tageblatt *is informed that a meeting of the Balkan Committee has recently been held in Manchester. The President declared that the British Government must work towards a settlement of the Macedonian Question, on the basis of a partition of Macedonia between Greece and Bulgaria.*"

"This is the most unkindest cut of all!" Who could have expected so passionately Bulgarophil an association as the Balkan Committee to propose a solution other than that desired by the Panbulgarists? This made the Panbulgarists pause for a moment. Yet, with the blind obstinacy which characterises them, they soon regained hope, and begin to take up again the chorus of autonomy. But if they are not careful they will soon find that no one will listen to them.

For long the Bulgarians essayed to capture Macedonia by their ecclesiastic and scholastic propaganda—peaceful in its methods, though vigorous and energetic. Then they tried to overrun it by fire and sword. But this second period proved less successful than the first; they were defeated on all sides, their forces decimated and driven out of Macedonia. Lately, it is true, they have been gathering together their forces for a renewal of operations—they have already entered again upon their odious campaign, with more energy than ever. In view of the approach of spring, the preparations for their bands have been pushed on with feverish haste. But neither fair means nor foul are likely to bring them more success in the future than in the past. A third resource is left to them—war. But if they enter upon war, they have the fear that their last state may be worse than their first.

The rhodomontade of their ministers, the insolence of their press, are alike *vox et præterea nihil*. At the bottom they are afraid to launch out into war. And probably their prudence in this respect is neither excessive nor misplaced.

[1] Paragraph III. of the Meuriteg agreement makes provision for a reform on these lines. On this subject *see* Dr Engelhardt's study in No. 2 of the *Hellenic Herald*.

FROM BELGRADE

SERVO-BULGARIAN ANTAGONISM

THE relations between Servia and Bulgaria are far from showing any improvement. On the contrary, each day sees them go from bad to worse. Members of the Bulgarian Interior Organisation continue their violent attacks on the Serbs of the Sandjak of Uskub and of the northern parts of Macedonia: sanguinary conflicts have resulted, and from brothers the two Slavonic races have become enemies.

It is not any ideal of liberation from the Turkish yoke that has given rise to this fierce and merciless strife. As the Bulgarians have wished to destroy all traces of Hellenism in the two vilayets of Macedonia which are predominantly Greek, so they desire to undermine the cause of Serbism, especially in Old Servia. These facts are not new; the grave effects of this Servo-Bulgarian antagonism, and the causes which have given rise to it, have been discussed many times. It is, however, necessary to keep in mind the circumstances, which offer a sufficient explanation of the activity with which the Servians are organising means of defence, and of the need which they experience of opposing their own bands to those of their enemies.

During January of this year there were very grave encounters in the districts of Koumanovo and Keprele. Two other serious conflicts have just taken place in the same regions. Reports of these engagements have come from all quarters, and the information shows that the Bulgarian bands have suffered a complete defeat.

The organisation of the Servian bands appears to be an object of special care on the part of the Government. It has already been reported in the columns of the *Hellenic Herald* that the Servian exchequer has voted a sum of £12,000 for the equipment and maintenance of the bands. Kourchoumly is one of their principal points of concentration, and it is stated on good authority that storehouses of arms and munitions have been established in that town for the use of the Servian comitadjis. It appears that ten thousand rifles have recently been sent, on the personal order of the Minister of War, from Kragojievats to Kourchoumly. Vrania is another centre of the organisation of the bands. And in Belgrade itself combatants are enrolled with scarcely any pretence of concealment.

Between the capital and Uskub, the headquarters of the Servian "Interior Organisation," there is incessant communication, and comitadjis and messengers are continually passing to and fro, under various pretexts and in every sort of disguise.

The Servian bands do not all operate simultaneously, they enter upon the scene by turns and in groups. It is thus impossible to know quite exactly their number, but there would appear to be about forty of them.

During the past fortnight a number of prominent members, including some chiefs of the bands, have been here in Belgrade. Some of these chiefs have become famous: Lipserovitch, for example, Gregovitch, Zimovitch, Poupitch, Foustitch, Louchich and others These persons come here, one after the other, to receive instructions, to report upon their work, and to receive the pay for their followers.

No one who understands the Macedonian problem, no one who knows which side has been the aggressor and which the victim in these troubles, can regard the Servians as seriously to blame for thus defending themselves. Like others, they have been attacked by the Bulgarians and they have retaliated: they have acted rightly. But it is to be hoped that their success will not whet their appetite, that they may not feel emboldened to pass from the defensive to the offensive, and to attempt to spread their propaganda beyond the limits of its legitimate sphere. It seems possible that the measure of success which they have already attained may tempt them to try to extend their action into the centre of the vilayet of Monastir. But in that region it is for the Greeks alone to oppose Bulgarian aggression. The Servians would be better advised to confine their efforts to Old Servia and those Northern regions where the Greeks at least have not, and never will have, the smallest desire to oppose their claims.

A MANIFESTO OF THE BALKAN COMMITTEE

In the year 1903, at a time of great disturbance and bloodshed in Macedonia, the Balkan Committee was formed in Great Britain as the outcome of a strong feeling on the part of Englishmen that, owing to the part our country had played in the formation of the Treaty of Berlin, we had a large measure of responsibility for the state of Macedonia. Since that year the Committee has done all that lay in its power to keep the question before the British public, and to press upon the British Government, and through it upon the Great Powers of Europe, the urgent need for energetic measures of reform in Macedonia. This has been the Committee's main object, but it has also endeavoured to promote in England a more widespread and sympathetic knowledge of all the Balkan States, animated by the hope that these States may be allowed to develop their own national life and institutions, free from foreign interference.

It is manifest that the peaceful and secure development of the Balkan States must always be retarded while the Macedonian Question, which is of such vital importance to them, remains an open one; and it will not be denied that a speedy solution of this question is urgently to be desired on the grounds of humanity. But no protection whatever has yet been obtained for the victims of misrule, and after four years of continued effort and of close attention the Balkan Committee feels that the time has come when it should state that the chief obstacle that has been encountered in the endeavour both to concentrate British public opinion and to overcome the unwillingness of the Great Powers to effect a solution has been the failure of the Balkan and Danubian States, that is to say, Bulgaria, Greece, Roumania and Servia, to adjust their policies to one another and to agree upon a common solution. Just as in Macedonia itself the most unfortunate feature has been the strife between the various Christian races, upon which the Committee expressed its strong opinion in an appeal for co-operation made to the leaders of the various nationalities in July 1905, so in the region of politics the isolated aims of each of the Balkan States have prevented success of any kind. It is, of course, not the case that the Balkan States have been uniformly hostile to one another. Nothing has been more welcome or of better augury for the future than the growth of friendly relations, economic and political, which has in some cases been very marked, and recently there have been signs that these friendly relations were growing amongst all the States. But so far they have not resulted in the display of any spirit of compromise in regard to Macedonia.

The Committee desires to urge in the strongest manner possible the necessity for such a spirit, and the great risks that are run by pursuing isolated policies. Should it be possible, as the result of a frank and friendly discussion

between the States concerned, for an agreement to be reached, and should the Powers then be informed of the solution which would meet the wishes of the States most closely bound by ties of blood and language to the various sections of the Macedonian population, the Committee is convinced that such an important pronouncement could not be entirely disregarded, and that a very great impetus would be given towards the long-deferred solution of the most vexatious question in European politics.

J. WESTLAKE, *President.*
NOEL BUXTON, *Chairman.*
W. A. MOORE, *Secretary.*

March 18, 1907.

PRESS REVIEW

From "The Westminster Gazette"

TURKEY AND BULGARIA

To the EDITOR *of* THE WESTMINSTER GAZETTE.

SIR,—So little space is given in the British Press to the state of anarchy prevalent in Macedonia that the letter of your correspondent is a very welcome contribution. I would only take exception to one or two expressions :

1. The allusion to the "absurd pretensions" of the Greek Patriarch "over the Greek Church in Bulgaria" conceals one side of the case. If Bulgaria desires to stand well in the estimation of the olden States of Europe she must not allow her quarrel with the Patriarchist propaganda in Macedonia to affect her attitude to the Greek Church in Bulgaria. The seizure of Greek churches and Greek schools in Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia, and the anti-Greek movements such as took place at Philippopolis and Anchialos last year, must be rigidly and sternly forbidden by the Government. There is a large Greek population in Bulgaria, particularly in the coast towns, and if Bulgaria hopes for the sympathy of Western Liberalism in a death-struggle with the Turk, she must show herself capable of the larger destinies which a successful war would put into her hands.

2. The allusion to "armed Greek bands carrying war and fire into peaceful Bulgarian villages" can serve no good purpose. As pointed out by Sir Edward Law in his recent letter to the *Times*, the organisation of Greek bands in Macedonia is a direct consequence of the similar policy inaugurated by the Bulgarian bands in 1898. Two "wrongs" don't make a "right," but one "wrong" leads to another "wrong." Those of us who are beginning to despair of any fruitful outcome of the Muersteg programme are inclined to the view set forth in the recent manifesto of the Balkan Committee—namely, that the emancipation of Macedonia depends upon the possibility of the hitherto rival Balkan States "adjusting their policies to one another and agreeing upon a common solution."

If only Greece, Bulgaria and Servia could come to an agreement, either in the direction of partition or zones of influence under international control, or by the presentation to the Great Powers of a common demand for the termination of Turkish rule and the creation of an autonomous State, such an agreement would have enormous weight and would greatly tend to facilitate a solution. Pending such an agreement, the less said about the misdeeds of the rival bands in Macedonia the better.

3. It is rather dangerous to encourage the idea that Bulgaria would emerge successfully from a war with Turkey. I have seen one Balkan war, and don't wish to see another, unless its success is absolutely certain to terminate the Turkish *régime*. Now, whilst the Bulgarian army would probably occupy Salonika, and might reach even Adrianople, it is more than doubtful whether it would ever get back to Bulgaria *unless* it had the co-operation of the other Balkan States. A full, free and frank discussion of, and adjustment of, their rival claims by the minor States concerned, however difficult, humiliating or impossible such a conference and adjustment may seem at present, is, in my humble judgment, the surest if not the only foundation upon which can be erected the enchanting structure of a peaceful, prosperous and progressive Macedonia.—Yours respectfully,

A GLADSTONIAN LIBERAL.

[*Extract from the* Ecclissiastiki Alithia, *official organ of the Œcumenical Patriarchate.*]

THE RIGHT OF THE GREEKS IN BULGARIA AND IN EASTERN ROUMELIA

WE have elsewhere published the clear and categorical declarations made by the President of the Council of Bulgarian Ministers to the deputation from the town and district of Philippopoli. These declarations leave no doubt that the junto which controls Bulgarian policy has formed a firm and fixed resolve of completely crushing the Greek communities and making them amalgamate entirely with the Bulgarian element. And this is to be brought about by trampling underfoot the rights guaranteed to these communities by international decrees.

Nevertheless, ever since these acts of violence began, the Bulgarian Government has never ceased to protest against the accusation that it tolerates and even encourages these excesses of which the Greeks are sufferers. It has always pretended to be surprised at what has happened; it has always protested its inability to defend some hundred thousand of its subjects by bringing the excesses to an immediate end. These self-justifications of the Bulgarian Government have been repeated both by the Bulgarian press and by the foreign journals in the service of Bulgaria.

But something more than mere words is required if the Government wishes to silence those who still level the accusations against it. It was in the power of the Government to let actions reply to words—it could have restored to their rightful owners the communal properties, churches, schools, and so forth, which had been seized. What, then, was the use of replying to the deputation, that, "the treatment of the question would be based upon the report submitted to the Council of Ministers by the Commission which the Government had appointed to investigate the matter?" What is it that the Commission is to investigate? Is not the Government itself perfectly aware of, has it not itself recognised for twenty years, the rights of property of the Greek communities in respect of the churches, schools and other communal establishments which have been confiscated? But is it possible that the Government fears the anger of the Bulgarian people? In point of fact, there is absolute quiet within the Principality, and the Government is perfectly free to devote all its attention to measures calculated to assure the maintenance of order. Moreover, at the very moment

of this recrudescence, the instigators of the troubles at Varna were speedily repressed, and the confiscated churches were restored: does not this prove that the Government was master of the situation, and was able without difficulty to impose its will on whoever might attempt to create disorder? What, then, is the object of these evasions which, for a period now amounting to eight months, have deprived the Greeks of the exercise of their religion (for now they have no churches), and which oblige them to inter their dead without any funeral service, and to leave their children unbaptised?

Apart from this matter, M. Petkoff has made certain other declarations of importance. He has notified the Commission that "the educational question has been definitely settled by the application of Article 10 of the law on Public Instruction, and that the question of the Metropolitans will be decided by a law which is shortly to be submitted for the approval of the Sobranië."

These declarations amount to a flagrant violation of two International agreements—the Berlin Treaty and the Constitution of Eastern Roumelia. We give the stipulations relative to these matters:

BERLIN TREATY

"Article 5. The Public Law of Bulgaria shall be based upon the following stipulations:

"The liberty and external practice of all creeds are assured to all inhabitants of Bulgaria, and to foreigners within the country: there shall be no interference, either with the hierarchical organisation of different communions, or with the relations between them and their spiritual chief.

"Article 20. The treaties, conventions, and international arrangements of every description, now concluded or to be concluded hereafter, between the Porte and the Foreign Powers, shall be of force in Eastern Roumelia, as throughout the Ottoman Empire. Immunities and privileges, of whatever nature, granted to foreigners, shall be respected within that province. The Sublime Porte undertakes that the general laws of the Empire, confirming religious liberty to all creeds, shall be enforced within that province."

So far as Eastern Roumelia is concerned, these clauses of the Berlin Treaty were supplemented by the Constitution [the "Organic Law"]. According to the dispositions of this, the three languages of the country—Bulgarian, Turkish, and Greek—are placed on an equal footing, and are to be used in all proclamations, whether official or not (Art. 22); instruction is free, and the cost of elementary and secondary education is chargeable upon the religious communities, which have the right of administering their own schools, including (Arts. 38, 347, 356) the right to appoint both teachers and inspectors; each community has the right to have taught in its own schools the languages which it may itself choose, and is not to be constrained, by any authorities whatsoever, to introduce the teaching of any language except its own (Arts. 358, 360); in Eastern Roumelia there is to be absolute freedom of religious practice (Art. 28); the religious communities are to retain all their former rights and privileges, and no hindrance is to be created in the relations of these communities with their spiritual chiefs, whether resident in the country or not (Arts. 335, 336); no confiscation of properties whatsoever is permitted (Art. 31); the communities retain all their sources of wealth, and cannot be expropriated except for reasons of public utility, and according to the terms of the laws concerning such matters (Art. 341); and, finally, no modification may be made in the Constitution without the previous consent of the Sublime Porte and of the Powers Signatory to the Treaty of Berlin.

If then the Œcumenical Patriarchate has addressed itself to the Imperial Ottoman Government and to the Powers Signatory to the Treaty of Berlin for the safeguarding of the rights of its flock, it has committed no illegal or improper action, such as M. Stancioff, Minister for Foreign Affairs, has imputed to the Commission: the Patriarchate has merely availed itself of a well-known and legal right. The above-cited conditions of the Treaty of Berlin and of the Constitution of Eastern Roumelia prove that the question of the orthodox Greeks of Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia is not, as the Bulgarian Government would like to pretend, a matter of internal order: it is a question of international order, in which Europe has full right to interfere. In fact, if the European Powers have placed a hundred thousand Greeks under the Bulgarian administration, they have only done this after laying down in a solemn document the conditions of the life of these Greeks under their new authority, and after forbidding all modification of these conditions without the previous consent of the Powers.

LITERARY PAGE

PICTURESQUE GREECE

A LECTURE DELIVERED BY M. GUSTAVE FOUGERES

THE fourth of the lectures, organised by the French Philhellenic League, was delivered by M. Gustave Fougères, who lectured on "Picturesque Greece." No better guide to the beauties of Greece could be found than M. Fougères, who is, if we may use the term, a specialist in the matter.

He knows Greece, not only through having formerly been, for a prolonged period, a member of the French School at Athens; he has also returned to the country on several occasions. Two years ago he was charged with the preparation of a new *Guide Ioanne*, and in connection with this task he made long travels in the country. As a result of these travels we have just had the first part of the guide—*Athènes et ses Environs*. All who have visited Athens, provided with this handbook, cannot fail to have appreciated the author's sound learning, his wide knowledge of men and things, and the fulness and utility of the information given respecting the artistic treasures and the natural beauties of the country.

In his lecture, M. Fougères devoted himself especially to a description of the beauties of Greece; he essayed to analyse the charm of its landscapes and to reveal to his auditors the secret of its so marvellously varied character. We shall shortly see with what happiness he succeeded in this task.

M. Fougères began by asking the question, "Why do we love Greece?" Travellers, he said, make the reply, "Because she is beautiful." Rarely, said M. Fougères, does any man, possessing a soul, look on Greece without at once feeling the lightning stroke of "a love that grows in an instant and lasts to eternity."

But that passion is not a mystery in their life, a secret locked up in their soul: it is a flame, which spreads and radiates from their being. Like a knight-errant of old, who poured out to all ears the praises of his lady, and the avowal of his sublime and spiritual devotion, so the lovers of Greece delight to exhibit their idol, with no jealousy save that of gaining new lovers for her. And this sentiment

passes often from simple literary enthusiasm to a complete devotion of the heart. I have often seen this happen, and in evidence I will unfold to you a little drama, of which I was a witness, and which is a fitting scene to lay before a gathering of men who all love Hellas.

One October evening, twenty years ago, the party, seated round the dining-table in the little refectory of the French School at Athens, was in no very gay mood. One of the students gathered round the frugal table was to leave for France the next day. The frank comradeship of a free and adventurous life always renders these separations more than usually painful. However, they concealed their emotions, and kept up an appearance of cheerfulness, by a hypocritical exchange of thoughts on the pleasures of the life of a *fonctionnaire* in a French prefecture, but a sudden irresistible burst of sincerity tore aside the mask. He who was about to leave Athens was the first to burst out: "Well," he exclaimed, "I may as well admit the truth: it rends my heart to leave this country. I feel that it has seized hold on me entirely. This departure is not merely the end of a roseate youthful dream, it is a sorrowful exile." And his friends, who had just been singing with some irony the well-known lines, "In every parting is some tinge of death," realised that in such a parting as this was some tinge of death, more than the poet said; he understood the grief which each was to experience in his turn; and their eyes moistened and grew tender as they thought of the hard fate which was tearing this young Frenchman from Greece to exile him in France.

What potent sorcery had enchanted these men with a fascination rivalling that of their own fair France? Nothing but the beauty of Greece, felt and contemplated during many years of untiring study. The charms and attractions of which that beauty is composed we shall now proceed to examine, without any fear that analysis may diminish beauty: for to know and to understand well is ever the surest path to right appreciation.

What first strikes me, as characteristic of the beauty of Greece, is that it is a thing unique and without parallel in any other country. It is not unlike the beauty of Provence, of Italy, or of the other Mediterranean countries. Something of it is seen, it is true, in the suave curves and azure waters of the Riviera or the Bay of Naples, around Etna or among the Corsican mountains. But if these recall the beauty of Greece, they fall far short of the reality. To see this reality in all its splendour, we must pass the Adriatic. We approach Corfu and penetrate the Corinthian Gulf: it is an entry in a new world. We have entered upon the domain of the beauty of Hellas, upon that region which geologists know under the happy title of the "Ægeid"—a name whose mythological associations conjure up in the mind a fabulous country of dream and mystery. But this is a real country: its spell depends on no dreamy haze, but on the decisive and clear-cut beauty of its forms. The charm of the Grecian sea-board has been best described, not by any poet or man of letters, but by the German geologist Philippson. I borrow a page of his description: it is not one of your superficial personal impressions, such as are always untrustworthy guides, it is an analysis which does truly illuminate, with that capacity to call forth clear images, with which the gift of accurate observation sometimes endows the scientific imagination, when (to borrow the words of Lucretius) the grandeur of natural spectacles is yet further exalted by the comprehension of causes.

"In the Ægeid," says the learned Philippson, "the most striking characteristic is a wonderfully rich and intricate mosaic, the union, within a narrow compass, of the most violent contrasts, a bewildering intermixture of every sort of geographical form and phenomenon. Lofty Alpine masses are penetrated by gulfs rich in sheltered coves; little bays, covered with the wildest exuberance of Southern vegetation and thronged with a dense population, are landlocked by barren and precipitous mountains, or surmounted by pineclad summits.

"Hardly anywhere in Greece is there a lofty viewpoint from which one does not see in some direction the far-off shimmer of the sea; and there is no place in the Ægean from which cannot be seen the dominant peaks of the Isles or the coast. This contact of curving beaches and deep-blue sea against sharply-defined mountain summits, hardly a shadow or an outline of the rock being masked by the slight herbage, and this juxtaposition within incredibly narrow limits, of the most violent contrasts of vegetation and culture — all this endows the Ægean landscapes with a beauty that is all their own and that is not rivalled in any other of the Mediterranean regions."

Such is the glorious aspect of the Ægeid from without. If we penetrate to the interior, the outlook is of no less surpassing loveliness. Picture an array of natural amphitheatres, each enclosed within a circle of mountains. All these valleys have a similar plan, yet each has its individual character; from the very first one's impression is of ordered difference, of variety in unity. And withal, each is clear and complete in itself; a single glance around suffices to sweep over the whole extent of one of these little countries. Our eye and our imagination are not accustomed to views so clearly defined as these. In our own country we can lay down the whole of a district on the map, but we can hardly represent it in any other way. Our artists talk glibly of the 'corner of Normandy, of Brittany, of Surrey, of Devonshire," or whatever has most captivated them; but they cannot on one canvas show all the characteristics of any one of these favoured regions. It is not so with Greece. There each part of the country stands before the mind's eye, a clear and distinct image. As I speak these words, I see before me Attica, Thessaly, Bœotia, the Argolid, Laconia, Messenia, Arcadia: I see them all, a series of visions, each perfectly clear, each exactly defined and marked off from its fellows. Each of these countries has its own particular character, its own self-completed structure, its own harmony of mountain, sea and plain.

Let us examine more closely in what this harmony consists. In the midst of a plain rise up here and there isolated rocky pinnacles; around are the forms of mountain masses, undulating, rising and falling in supple curves, so clearly designed that the eye can follow all their windings and flexures; all stands out sharp and definite; nowhere is there the smallest vagueness or indistinctness to give any impression of chaos. The rock rises sharply; one passes abruptly from the plain to the mountain. The shape of the rocky mass is vigorous, its outline bold and frank, its silhouette limned with clear-cut precision. No contour is vague or hazy; nothing is mediocre or commonplace. And at the same time there is nothing vast or boundless, nothing which passes the range of the eye and which the eye cannot grasp in its entirety, nothing which is out of relation with the scale of humanity.

The essential characteristic of these landscapes, then, is their harmonious definiteness. Everything is frank mountain or frank plain; nowhere does one

find those undecided, chaotic, half-and-half forms which are neither mountain nor plain but something confusedly intermediate. One rarely sees in Greece those bewildering oceans of undulating country, such as the Bocage in the Vendée or the plain of Artois where the vision of the whole is lost in a medley of details. Picture to yourself the country around Paris: you see this or that detail, some pretty corner, a bend of the Seine below the hills of Saint-Cloud, the terrace of Saint Germain—but the scene is confused and cannot be seized as one whole. There is no plastic harmony; in its place is the harmony of a soft and caressing atmosphere.

In Greece, the eye never loses its grasp on the scene. Every mountain range has its corner-stones, isolated summits rounded into finely-chiselled domes, which stand out serenely against the blue sky. They dominate the country like guardian-gods of each locality. They resemble one another as do the sisters in Ovid's poem—all have the aspect of one family, but each has her individual features. Once one has seen them, one stores them up in the memory and never loses remembrance of their forms. I can see the circle of them now, raising their aërial turrets amid the splendour of the atmosphere; they crown Greece with a glorious diadem, of which the jewels gleam and glisten from the summits of Olympus, Eta, Parnassus, Helicon, Taygetus and other haunts of old-time gods. There they stand, always serene, always accessible, ever gracious and protecting; they attract our regard and so elevate our thoughts above the concerns of every-day life, but they bring not the baffling weariness of the infinite. Their presence attracts and reassures; one thinks of them as looking down upon us with an interested gaze, as watchers and defenders. And surely they must hold converse among themselves—one recalls the pretty verses of Rhigas Pherraeos:

"Once discord fell between Mounts Ossa and Olympus;
And thus Olympus, turning, spoke to Ossa:
Cast not reproaches on me, wretched Ossa, thou slave of the Turk,
I am that ancient Olympus whose fame all nations know,
My summits are forty and two, from my flanks spring threescore streams,
From each tree-top on my side floats a standard, beneath each branch stands a klepht.'"

Over all this relief is the pure air and the bright sunlight of Greece, in which nothing is lost. It floods every mass with illumination, and searches out and throws into prominence all the details; the light is living, vibrant, almost palpable and material in its transparence. It enters every crevasse, every rocky cavern; it penetrates to the depths of the sea, and makes each gulf a mirror of the incandescent atmosphere; nothing could surpass the magic and glory of it. There is no heavy deadness of shadow, with impenetrable blackness in crude opposition to the lighted portions. The shade itself is instinct with light; it is a lightly-tinted vapour, in which the eye seeks and finds a refuge of mystery amid the dazzling glory of the ether.

Now let us lightly touch upon the colouring of this natural architecture, a colouring fine and subtle, though amid such splendour of illumination. In Greece the colours do not burst out in crude and startling dashes; they are not concentrated, as with us, into little patches of brightness, whose intensity is multiplied against the pallidy vagueness of a leaden sky. In our northern climes, tone and outline are soft and undefined; through the moist and heavy atmosphere we see, standing out violently against the surrounding mistiness, the green of a field, the red of a tiled roof, the gloom of a shady coppice. But under the southern sky of Greece, the colour is everywhere diffused, the glory of the sun overpowers and extinguishes in absorption whatever might otherwise be rude and startling, and at the same time it warms the sombre masses of rock into a beauty of soft tints. The only "plashes" of colour are due to the white houses and churches, and these harmonise with the tone-scheme of the whole. This scheme has for base the blue of the sky; the diffused blue, reflected from the rocks of grey or fawn, is decomposed into a hundred rainbow hues—purple, violet, blue of every shade. Between the atmosphere and the screen of distant mountains is an interchange of complementary colours; the rock, prism-like, gives out soft and blended tints as of some natural fresco or pastel.

In the evening, when the weary sun begins to fail in a blood-red agony, the blue sky takes a sadder hue. The change comes in an instant, a ruddy light, settling on the serrate mountain-crests or on the grey shoulders of the hills, tinges them with a lilac glow. Then is the fugitive moment of faëry, when Hymettus is suffused with purple and each pinnacle of rock sparkles as an amethyst on the brow of the mountain; the glamour of colour makes the whole resemble some wonderful picture from the brush of a divine artist.

That artist is the sun. His palette provides a marvellous array of colours, well chosen to produce the effects which I am essaying to describe, and his canvas is the beautiful calcareous rock which is the framework of Greece. This rock divides naturally into bold outlines, and breaks up into decorative ridges, which seem as though made for the sole purpose of acting as screens for the luminous shafts of Apollo.

Now, if with one glance you would take in the whole organism of the land of Hellas, if you would at once contemplate all its beauties and seize all its contrasts, then mount with me on one of those dominating summits, which the ancients used to call the navels of the earth. Let us ascend Parnassus. Even the boldest author, said Boileau, can never hope to obtain Parnassus' summit; but it is easily accessible to the modern traveller who has the aid of a good mule and a vigorous guide, for they will ascend by an easier route than the poet's stony path. Thanks to their aid, here we are, like Apollo soaring in the empyrean, 8193 feet above the sea. Beneath our eyes is extended a spectacle worthy to divert the solitude of a god. The setting of the picture is the shining circle of the sea, whence stand out afar the scattered isles, which join the distant Asiatic coast; on the horizon looms up grey Mount Athos; the Greeks maintain that they can even see Constantinople and the white dome of St Sophia, but envy has, perhaps, sharpened their eyes unduly in that direction. This sea is visibly furrowed by the numerous steamers and caïques which ply on its surface. At our feet the sea appears again, winding its way far inland and penetrating everywhere, shimmering like a mirror amid the mountains. And on the shelving shores of these inlets, the gleaming white coast towns nestle and slumber. We see the Greece of mariners, of *karavias* and *scales*.

Nearer us, and on a higher level, are the hollow plains—the vast green prairie of Copaïs and the fine undulations of Attica. This is the rural Greece of vineyards, cotton swamps, maize fields, and tobacco plantations, with great grey villages built on its soil. Still higher is the mazy network of shady ravines, where the sound of goat-bells and the yelp of dogs rise clear and distinct into the air. This is pastoral

Greece, the country of the "Vlacho,"[1] of the *phrygana*, of the tangled thicket and the scanty pasture. Last and highest of all, on the very slopes of the Olympian pedestal which bears our ephemeral divinity, the silent mystery of the forests, whence spring the eternal streams, which descend in long circuits, distributing freshness to the labyrinthine ravines and the valleys fringed with lentisk and tamarind.

From the tops of these summits, the observatories of Greece, one sees in action the harmony of the country's organism, the rhythm of its functions, the solidarity which links the mountain to the plain and the plain to the sea.

The springs and torrents from the mountain bring life to the valleys; the valleys merge into gulfs and so give scope to the ports; the activity of the ports is reflected on the capes and islands, halting-places on the ocean highways to the coasts of the Eastern and the Western worlds. The contemplation of this panorama yields a double sense of harmony: a plastic harmony of form and colour, the active harmony of a living organism.

There is, moreover, in this country a singularly harmonious accord between the works of man and external nature, so that the beauty of ruined architecture adds to that beauty with which Nature has endowed the country. Greek art is, in truth, a product of Greek soil: there is between them an accord prefigured by the identity of material, the unity of lines and proportions, the ordered and logical balance. A Greek acropolis, with its buildings of local stone, takes natural root in its rocky base. So closely akin are the masonry and the rock one, that the eye does not always readily distinguish one from the other. Transplanted into our climates Greek architecture loses much of its appropriateness and much of its beauty: examples of this are found in all the capitals of Europe, in Paris the Madeleine, in London the Royal Exchange, and so elsewhere. Of course, wherever we meet with Greek architecture, the artistic taste will observe certain qualities of proportion and of line which are equally valid in all places and for all times, but the imagination suffers—a dream of heavenly splendour ends in mere gloom and misery. The harmonious geometry of the Propylæa of the Parthenon, the aërial flight of the colonnades of Ægina and Sunium—these must stand on the pedestals ordained and fashioned for them by the divine architects of the Acropolis of Athens and the Attic promontories.

But there are in Greece other ruins than those of antiquity. There are Byzantine churches and convents, Frankish, Venetian and Turkish castles. These buildings are not devoid of picturesque attraction, but they are not natives of the country: they are "metics," planted by transitory conquests. Greece does not see in them the simple and robust beauty of her own children. But the sun of Hellas, loving to create unity beneath his rays, generously clothes them in their isolation with the same golden glow which irradiates the autochthonous marbles.

Over all this wondrous beauty of nature and are hovers the breath of antiquity—"the glory that wat Greece"—the mystery and turbulence of the Middls Ages, the restless spirit of modern times: everywhere in this land beloved of gods and men are memorials of the history of bygone civilisations. One does not visit Greece as one visits Norway or Switzerland. Her beauties are not only for the physical perception: she offers not less to the eye of the imagination and to the spirit which can feel a past which is everywhere present and of which new memories are evoked at each new step. The poet Lucan relates that when Cæsar was visiting the Troad his guide cried "Pause, traveller, nor trample on the dust of an hero." And every guide in Greece, had he the perception of a Lucan, might say the same at each turn in the road, In Pausanias, the ancestor of Baedeker or the *Guide Ioanne*, the same sentiment is repeated again and again like a refrain. There is not a plain nor a valley, not a rock or stream, not a cape or bay, which is not rich in some historical or mythological memory, and which historian, poet and even simple guide (if the guide be a Pausanias) have not marked out for immortality.

It is the privilege of the Greek race that its exploits stand out in such bold relief from the general history of the world. This is doubtless because the Greeks have fought for ideas and sentiments which are common to all humanity. And thus it happens that all the substance of this little country is as it were a concrete image of the soul itself; and its every memorial of antiquity stands out for us as representing some general idea. The battlefields of Thermopylæ, Marathon, Cheronea and Mantinea, remind us of the struggles for the defence of civilisation and liberty; the valleys of Athens and Sparta are instinct with inspiring lessons in patriotism; and every rock, stream and ravine is sacred with the haunting presence of the gods which have liberated and taught humanity —Athena, Apollo, Demeter—or of those Muses which are but personifications of the supreme dignity of thought.

The more recent past reminds of episodes in Frankish history—episodes of which the descendants of the Franks need in no wise be ashamed. The strong castles of the Villehardouing, Champlittes and la Roches are not remains of an evil and oppressive conquest. The Frankish princes created more than they destroyed: they did not deface the beauty or tyrannise over the life of Greece. The Greek rhymester of the Chronicle of Morea bears witness that they were more just and law-abiding than the ruinous administration of the Byzantine.

Lastly, there are evidences of the unhappy days of Venetian and Turkish ascendency, but even these do not evoke only sad memories; these are a link whereby the history of the War of Independence is joined on to the heroic days of antiquity. The geographical structure of Greece is such that, when she is called upon to defend herself, the same exploits are repeated in the same places. The shades of the modern patriots sleep in the same cemeteries as those of the old hoplites. Within a few steps of Thermopylæ fell Diakos and the Bishop of Salona, defending the bridge of Alamanna with 700 Palikars against 4000 Turks. Not far from Cheronea is the Khani of Gravia, where Odysseus with 180 men held 3000 Turks at bay. Near Mantinea, Valtessi (or Mavromikhalis) and Kolokotronis, with 1000 men, drove headlong the 6000 Turks of Mustapha-Bey and Kiamil-Bey. This unity of ancient and modern heroism has been naïvely symbolised by popular imagery, which delights to crown the patriot chiefs with a gorgeous antique crested helmet, which might move to envy the shades of Leonidas and Epamimondas. And Solomas has celebrated the same thing in the proud verses of the Greek national anthem:

> "Child of our ancestral valour,
> New-born in our father's blood,
> We greet thee, Liberty!"

The Greek genius has at all times known how to achieve great ends with small means.

[1] Vlach = pastor.

Published at Craven House, Kingsway, London, W.C.
Editor, Dr C. Pouptis.