

**Greece before the Conference, by Polybius [pseud.] with a preface
by T. P. O'Connor, M. P., and an ethnological map.**

Kalopothakes, D.

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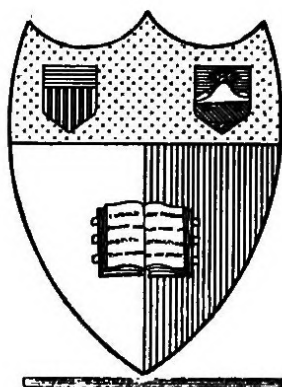
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GREECE
BEFORE THE CONFERENCE
BY
POLYBIUS

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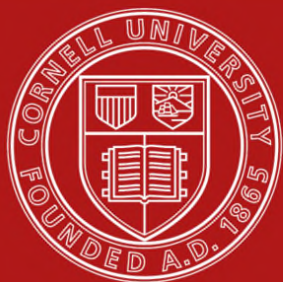
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GREECE BEFORE THE CONFERENCE

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GREECE
BEFORE THE CONFERENCE

BY
POLYBIUS

WITH A PREFACE BY
T. P. O'CONNOR M.P.

AND AN ETHNOLOGICAL MAP

METHUEN & CO. LTD.
36 ESSEX STREET W.C.]
LONDON

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ETHNOLOGICAL MAP IN POCKET AT
END OF BOOK.

PREFACE

BY T. P. O'CONNOR M.P.

AS one of the oldest survivors of the Philhellenes of the days of Gladstone, I have been requested by several Greek friends to write a preface to the pages which follow. I do so with a mixture of pleasure and of a certain resentment. The resentment is inspired by the feeling that, though the claims of Greeks to remain Greek, to govern themselves, to return to their unity, beginning in times almost prehistoric and maintained through centuries of struggle and oppression, come before the civilised world with higher title-deeds than those of almost any other nationality to-day, it should still be necessary for anyone to say a word in defence of these claims.

In a more real sense than almost any other nation, Greece is the possession, as well as the inspiration, of all mankind. And her

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influence, beginning at the dawn of human history, never recedes, never weakens. The cockle-shell in which Ulysses roved the seas compares strangely with the Leviathans that cross the Atlantic ; but a world, changing so much as these two figures embody, remains still at the feet of Homer and Plato as the greatest in poetry and in prose. In Rome, as one of the greatest of Rome's men of letters proudly avowed, the conquered won the conqueror, and amid all the convulsions of the western world,—a western world which was not born to civilisation for generations after Greece had seen her greatest hours,—Greece is still the conqueror of the soul of nations and men.

But this is only part of the immeasurable debt of Europe and the world to Greece. If to-day Europe remains European, and not Asiatic, it has been because Greece has been—along with Armenia—Europe's sentinel at the portal that stands between Europe and Asia. Again and again little Greece drove back the gigantic hordes of Asia invading Europe ;

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and Marathon and Salamis are as much victories for Europe and European civilisation as for the little country to the bravery of whose arms they belong. Though beaten in the end, Greece and Greek culture held sway in Constantinople for centuries ; and when the Byzantine dynasty fell under the Turk, it was almost as great a disaster for all the culture of Europe as for the Greek nation and the Greek race.

These are the things that have made such an appeal to these seers we call poets. Small nations demand our sympathy because of their long and heroic resistance to tyranny against overwhelming odds ; and Greece comes among the first to make this demand ; but, as distinguished from other nations who have suffered, Greece, above them all, makes her appeal to the soul and to the brain of the world.

It is thought fitting by shallow cynics to place against this appeal a scornful statement as to the unlikeness of the modern Greece to the ancient ; yet, in spite of all the disabilities

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imposed necessarily by a conquering race, the Greek of to-day bears all the signs and tokens of his great ancestry. He still sails forth from his small motherland to roam the seas and to visit many climes, and bear the merchandise of all countries to each other. The sharpness of his splendid brain, distracted from literature by ages of slavery, reveals itself in the success of his great merchants, that form prosperous settlements in every great capital of the world. The will-to-live—which is one of an indestructible and powerful race's most potent qualities—makes him not merely arise from wholesale massacre, but penetrate and multiply, and finally outnumber, as well as outwit, the once triumphant tyrant that sought to extirpate him.

It is sometimes urged against Greece, by ignorant and superficial observers, that she lay dormant intellectually and for generations physically, under the yoke of the Turk ; she produced, it is said, neither great literature nor successful revolts during that period ; so that we get a picture of a Greece at once

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ignorant and servile, content to crawl through an obscure and dishonoured existence under the frown of its master. There could be no grosser misconception of history. If one were to apply these methods of criticism to other nations, one would have to admit—even of some of the most virile—that the conquered race often was ready not merely to submit, but to combine, with the alien race that had crossed its frontiers of sea and land. The Saxon of England, the Slav of Prussia, to-day are indistinguishable from the Norman and the Teuton. The Greek never consented for an hour of his history to forfeit or to abandon the Greek ideals.

He speaks the language of Plato to-day—transformed, of course, as our language is transformed from that of Chaucer to that of Tennyson—wherever he dwells. He has never lost sight of the vision, however remote, of the restored Greece of her early and glorious days. The day after the Greek collected corpses from the Turkish massacre, he proceeded, without pause, without abatement of

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courage or perseverance, to take up the broken threads of the pursuit of his ideal. The remnant grew gradually, through a high birth-rate, until once again it challenged, and soon outran, the number of its murderers. Above all, the Greek has manifested throughout all ages and all conditions the invincible and irresistible love of the spiritual and the intellectual, which is the highest gift of his race. Over the blood-soddened ground, amid the jungle of Turkish hordes and officials, the patient and unconquerable Greek brought his school. No desert so desolate, no laws so oppressive, no massacre so sanguinary, has ever yet been able to keep away the Greek school; and in the Greek school the ancient race has been taught to keep alive the lamp of Greek thought and Greek aspiration. In the tenacity of the Greek under all these ages of oppression, I see no degradation. I see, on the contrary, one of the most remarkable instances in history of the faithful, noble, untiring, unresting pursuit of a great racial ideal.

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The sons and daughters of Greece have been scattered to many lands ; there are 400,000 in the United States alone ; there are large Greek colonies in London and Liverpool and Manchester among ourselves ; Marseilles has been for generations an asylum and a centre for Greeks. Wherever they scatter, however, the Greek never ceases to be Greek in the devotion to his motherland. The exiled Greek gives his thought, his money, his blood, to any struggle for the elevation of his land and his race. Just as in the Chinese or the Japanese home, there is a secret corner where hides the altar for worship of the ancestor, so in every Greek heart, in every Greek home, wherever it may be, there is a hidden altar, where the Greek worships the ancestors that made the glory of his race. The vision splendid of a restored and re-united Greece can no more be banished by continents and oceans than by centuries of time.

I boldly proclaim also that the history of Greece in the years just behind us—the years of this agonising war—rises to the same

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heights as in other epochs. The Greece of the Great War is embodied in one man. What figure, in this day* of great figures, stands higher than that of the champion and the mouthpiece of Greece—M. Venizelos? His combination of daring courage and of generous and broad toleration, shows a spirit as large and statesmanlike as it is courageous. What statesman of Europe has had to run such risks, to face such odds—the hourly threat of assassination, the combined influence of a court, at one time popular, and a General Staff composed of men Prussian in training and Prussian in spirit, and commanding an army under stern discipline, a democracy cheated and bullied and deceived; given the alternatives of war that was risky and a peace that, though ignoble, was safe; until he, was compelled at last to make the last desperate resort to a rebellion and a divided country—has there ever been in history so heroic a struggle of one man against such a cohort of enemies, such an army of obstacles? It is Venizelos, and not Constantine, that

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stands for Greece in this war ; and the nation that chose rebellion, and then war, under the inspiration of a simple citizen, rather than unity and peace under a king, has testified more solemnly, more bravely, to its real ideals than nations that have come into battle with a throne and a people and an army all united in opinion and all ready to war together.

Yes, Greece was late in coming into the war, but not the Greek people. She was for the war and for the Allies from the first hour ; and she—what is more important—was with the Allies in the last hours. The bravery of her troops contributed, by all testimony, to the final overthrow of the Bulgars ; and the overthrow of the Bulgars was one of the great strokes that brought our enemies to their knees. The East was the beginning of the war ; the East was the beginning of the end of the war ; and to that ending of the war, we owe as much to the bravery of the Greek and of the Serb soldier as to our own troops and the troops of France.

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These are the title-deeds of Greece to the respectful hearing of the Peace Conference ; but they are not the only ones. There is no claim Greece makes to the Peace Conference which is not justified by the fourteen points of President Wilson's historic message—not one. She is a small nation ; she demands that equality of rights with great nations which the fourteen points lay down. She has fought for three thousands of years for the principle of nationality ; the principle of nationality is the chief test of every national demand in the fourteen points. Greece makes no demand at the expense of her neighbours or of other races—sometimes even she makes sacrifices in not pushing her claims as far as she might. In some of the territory she claims there is a minority of other races ; but Greece can point proudly to her records in dealing with other races and of creeds different from her own, as proof that it is not in her spirit to oppress. Mohammedans are living to-day under her rule—loyal, contented, glad to exchange the anarchy of their co-religionists

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for her orderly rule ; she has, in conquered territory, respected the mosque as scrupulously as the Christian Church.

Which of the other Powers that claim Greek subjects have the same record ? Turkey ? Is there any sane or humane being to-day that would leave, if possible, a single Christian—or, indeed, any non-Turkish population, even Mohammedan—under the rule of the Turk ? The Arabs hate the Turk, and have justified their liberation from her rule. The Armenians still mourn their nearly a million of tortured and butchered people, and are to be given their full freedom. Shall the Greeks be again placed under the Turk—the Turk who, even since the war, has massacred 300,000, and driven 450,000 from their homes ? To do so would be an insane crime.

Let us sum up what are the demands of Greece to the Peace Conference.

I. THE GREEK ISLES. Every single one without an exception, ought to be given to Greece. It is reported that Italy demands some, if not all, of these islands ! Could any

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demand be more contrary to the spirit of the fourteen points ? In eight of these islands the population is 100 per cent. Greek ; in two, 80 per cent. These islands, like the isles of Greece, differ only from the Greeks of the mainland in perhaps a deeper and fiercer attachment to their motherland, and to the language and the culture of Greece.

I claim some right to speak frankly to Italians on this subject. I am old enough to have known Italy when, divided and impotent, she was but " a geographical expression," with a decadent and oppressive Bourbon on the throne of each little Grand Duchy, or in such a kingdom as Naples ; robbed of her capital as the symbol of her unity and a memento of her wondrous past. I saw every single step through which she climbed to the splendid strength, independence and unity of to-day, and with every step I sympathised—and I sympathised with Italy because, as an Irishman, I believed in the spirit of nationality ; and Italy fought for the national principle. Am I and all the

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other old and loyal friends of Italy to see the day when Italy is ready to trample on that very spirit which is the justification and the foundation of her own national greatness and unity? I cannot believe it.

Within the last few weeks there has been some mysterious influence—some hidden hand—raising objections to our surrender of Cyprus to Greece. I do not think a more absurd, more unjust, even a more monstrous and dishonouring suggestion has ever been made to a great nation.

2. THRACE. Here Greece is confronted by the rival claims of Bulgaria, and by the admission of these claims in the Treaty of Bucharest. I do not want to stress the case against Bulgaria in the recent war; but assuredly we owe nothing to Bulgaria, unless, indeed, it be that she contributed largely to the prolongation of the war, and that through her help in prolonging the horrors of the war she is as responsible as Germany for the hundreds of thousands of precious lives of our own and of our Allies that have been sacrificed in the

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putting down of the odious Power of which she made herself the accomplice and the ally. I put the claims of Greece to Thrace as against Bulgaria on grounds that would have been unanswerable even if Bulgaria had been as good a friend as she was a formidable enemy during the war. Bulgaria has no right to Thrace, because Thrace is a Greek, and not a Bulgarian, land. If you take Thrace as a whole, with Constantinople, the Greek population is 730,822 ; the Bulgarian is 112,174—just about one-seventh of the Greeks. Justice should be done to the national aspirations of the Bulgars ; but they must understand that their Prussian dream of a hegemony, produced by militarism and “ frightfulness ” in the Balkans, must be abandoned for ever.

3. Greece is entitled, by every principle of the fourteen points, to NORTHERN EPIRUS, with the exception of some districts in which undoubtedly the population is Albanian. In the remainder of Northern Epirus there are 120,000 Greeks and 80,000 Albanians. These populations are so commingled geographically

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that it would be impossible to divide them ; either it must be a Greek State, governed by a Greek majority, or an Albanian State, governed by a minority of Albanians. When doubts are cast on the Hellenism of Northern Epirus, it sounds somewhat absurd to all those acquainted with Greek history and with Greek personalities. Throughout all their history, Epirus has contributed to Greece its best men and its most generous gifts. Even at this very hour, Repoulis, Vice-President of the Council of Ministers ; Danglis, the Commander-in-Chief of the Greek Army, and Admiral Coundoristis, the Minister of Marine, are Albanians. They all speak Albanian as well as Greek, just as Mr. Lloyd George speaks Welsh as well as English ; they are thereby no more transformed into Albanians than Mr. Lloyd George has been transferred into an Englishman. When the people of Northern Epirus were left for a while to declare their will, they did so by setting up a Provisional Government.

4. I speak with some hesitation on the future

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of CONSTANTINOPLE, though my own strong hope is that the Greeks may be placed by the Peace Conference once more in the capital of the great Greek Empire, of which Constantinople was for centuries the head. One thing is by this time settled in the mind of all Europe, that, so far as Europe is concerned, there is no policy for the Turks but the old Gladstone policy of driving them out of Europe, bag and baggage. Apart from the crimes, extended now over centuries, by which the rule of the Turk has been always distinguished, the Turks are but a minority of the population in and around Constantinople. The vilayet of Constantinople, out of its total population of 1,173,670, has only a population of 449,114 Turks. If international difficulties stand in the way of giving Constantinople to Greece, the vilayet might be converted into an international state under the protection of the League of Nations.

5. ASIA MINOR. Within the last few days there is running through the newspapers an extraordinary rumour that objection is taken

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to the claim of Greece to the Western littoral of Asia Minor ; to this is added the even more extraordinary rumour that these objections have been initiated by America. I cannot give any credence to either rumour. If there be any of the claims of Greece which is more well-established than the other, it is the claim of Greece to the Western littoral of Asia Minor. To what population more than to the Greek littoral do the words of President Wilson more fitly and unanswerably apply. The twelfth clause of the fourteen points reads : " The other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life, and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development." If stress be laid on the words, " autonomous development," as indicating that the idea in the mind of the President was the creation of a separate state from Greece in Asia Minor, the answer is that it is the Greeks of Asia Minor who must decide that question for themselves ; and that it would be as cruel to separate by force the

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Greeks of the Asiatic littoral from their mother-land as to force Texas out of the United States.

And why should not the Greeks of the Asiatic littoral long to be united with their mother-land? In a sense they may be said to have been a part of Greece almost as long as Greece had historic existence. Long before the Christian era, Smyrna was a Greek city; it has, indeed, been a Greek city for three thousand years; and every successive tide of Turkish invasion, every new holocaust of victims through Turkish butchery, has failed to transform the Greek character of Smyrna. It has remained always what the Turks call it, thereby establishing its Hellenic identity, "Giaour Ismir," "The infidel Smyrna." Is there any city more inextricably bound up with the proudest of Greek traditions? The people still point to the cave by the river Meles, where Homer is supposed to have composed his poems, and tradition has it that it was in the valley of Smyrna that he was born. Pindar glorified Smyrna; Alex-

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ander the Great reconquered it ; it sent a prize to the Olympian games. To separate Smyrna from Greece would be as cruel as to separate Nancy from France.

I make an apology for having gone partially over again the ground which is explored with so much greater knowledge and skill by the accomplished pen which has written the pages that follow. But I feel so strongly on the right of this historic, great, and noble race to the fulfilment of its high destinies ; I have been so moved all my life—from the hour when I read the story of Greece in the lines of Byron—by the claims of the race to the redemption of its nationality and of its race, that I gladly have borne my modest testimony to the justice of the claims Greece makes. To plead for the acceptance of these claims to M. Clemenceau is unnecessary, I am sure, for he has been one of the champions of Hellenism, as of all other oppressed and noble causes, all his life. Mr. Lloyd George cannot falsify the universal judgment of his own people. I hope an appeal is quite as

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unnecessary to the great mouthpiece of America, who has given to the world a new inspiration and a new hope by his pen, by his tongue, above all, by his presence at the great Areoagus in Paris. There he, above all others—even of the great figures in that wonderful assemblage—is the authentic voice of all the democracies, of all the plain people in the world ; and the cry of the plain people is for freedom, for peace, for self-government, for the triumph of all the things for which Greece and the claims of Greece stand.

T. P. O'CONNOR

GREECE BEFORE THE CONFERENCE

CHAPTER I

GREECE BEFORE THE CONFERENCE

GREECE has enemies and detractors in the Entente, whose ill-will is due to national and other interests conflicting with Greek interests. These hostile circles did all in their power to exclude Greece from joining in the war, and, failing that, have endeavoured to poison the minds of the other Allies against Greece, so as to render them unfavourable to Greece's claims at the final settlement.

Greece is accused: (1) of having at one time followed a policy hostile to the Entente and favourable to Germany; (2) of having repudiated her obligations towards Serbia and her debt of gratitude to England and France, and that at a time when her armed intervention would have saved Serbia and kept Bulgaria neutral, if not friendly, to the Entente; (3) of having finally joined in the war too late and too feebly to be of any real value to exert any appreciable effect upon the military situation.

In answer to these charges, it may be stated:

(1) While it is true that the Government of Greece, under King Constantine, followed a policy hostile to the Entente, it is no less true that this Government did so act in usurpation of power not belonging to it and in flagrant violation of the Greek Constitution—that King Constantine, in order to pursue

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his pro-German policy, flouted the will of the Greek people as expressed by the great majority of the Greek Chamber dissolved in February, 1915, and at the general election held May 31st, 1915, at which the King and his Ministers themselves defined the issue as between "Venizelos and war" and "Constantine and peace," and at which, nevertheless, the Greek electorate returned a large Venizelist majority. After the King had a second time refused to accept the nation's verdict and forced Mr. Venizelos to resign office a second time (September, 1915), Mr. Venizelos put himself at the head of a revolution against Constantine and his pro-German policy, and, retiring to Salonica, was joined by more than half the nation; and the 60,000 volunteers of the Greek Army of National Defence speedily gave a welcome reinforcement to the Allied army in Macedonia. When, a year later, Constantine was overthrown by the Allies (who refused to allow Mr. Venizelos to execute this overthrow himself, in order to save unnecessary bloodshed), the whole of Greece, with a few exceptions, rallied to the call to arms on the side of the Entente. The few exceptions just named were certain circles which had been seduced and supported by the German propaganda, and a small minority who in entire good faith believed Constantine to be a good patriot and his policy of neutrality the best for Greek interests. Such minorities are to be found in all countries, including the United States. But the great bulk of the Greek nation heartily endorsed Mr. Venizelos' policy, which, from the very outbreak of the European war, had been to range Greece unreservedly on the side of

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the Entente and of Greece's ally, Serbia. And how steadfastly and unswervingly he has pursued that policy, through good and evil days, is a matter of common knowledge.

(2). It is equally true that, in pursuance of the pro-German policy just alluded to, Constantine succeeded in betraying Serbia by repudiating Greece's treaty obligation to defend her against all third parties. But, again, this act cannot be written down to any but Constantine himself and his unconstitutional, autocratic Government. Mr. Venizelos, in the three weeks of his return to power in September, 1915, ordered a general mobilization of the Greek army to defend Serbia against Bulgaria; and this call was responded to with alacrity by the Greek nation, so that within a fortnight the whole Greek army stood at its full fighting strength (370,000 men). And if, through Mr. Venizelos' fall from power this army was not used for the purposes for which it was called out, the blame rests entire with Constantine and his advisers. The Venizelist Press and party made courageous protests against the repudiation of the Serbian Treaty, and before Venizelos went into open revolution against Constantine, repeated public meetings were held in Greece and at least one huge popular demonstration in Athens took place, despite the repressive measures of the authorities, to denounce this infamous abandonment of Serbia.

(3). It is not true that Greece's intervention in the war was too feeble and too tardy to be of any real value. The mobilization of the Greek army has been delayed, not through any fault of the Greeks, but

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because of the great delays on the part of the Allies in furnishing the necessary equipment therefor. As an example of this, on one particular occasion, a large consignment of arms and equipment intended for the Greek army, which had got as far as Italy, was there diverted to the use of the Italian forces, for reasons of military urgency, and the Greek mobilization had to be set back.

In spite of all this, when the last offensive on the Macedonian front commenced, which ended in the rapid crushing of the Bulgarian and German-Austrian forces, Greece had on that front an army of 300,000. Indeed, that offensive would have been impossible, but for the presence and co-operation of this Greek army; for all other Allied contingents together did not amount to more than 192 battalions, a force obviously much too small to take the field against 256 Bulgarian and 4 German-Austrian battalions.

As to the military value of the Greek troops, both the French and the British generals commanding on the Balkan front have spoken in terms of warm praise and appreciation. On repeated occasions, long before the final Balkan offensive of September last, the Greek troops distinguished themselves by their gallantry and steadiness in assaulting and taking strong enemy positions. And that the enemy himself took the same view of the fighting value of the Greek troops, is proved by the fact that by far the strongest Bulgarian concentration, just before the late offensive began, was on the Struma front, where they supposed the bulk of the Greek army was massed. This enemy concentration was taken

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full advantage of by the French Commander-in-Chief, who pushed his attack home upon the other sectors, held less strongly by the enemy. And in all these latter sectors—British, French, Serbian, Italian—the foreign contingents were reinforced by strong Greek units, which gave invaluable assistance in the mountain warfare imposed by the nature of the ground over which the offensive took place. From Lake Doiran to Lake Ochrida one half of the total Greek force took a prominent part in all the drives—Italian, Serbian, French and British—which resulted in the collapse of the enemy's defence, while the other half of the Greek force held a large section of the enemy's army in check on the Struma front.

Greek public opinion has been much surprised and hurt at the strange silence of the Italian, Serbian and French official communiqués on the recent Balkan offensive, which appeared in the Allied Press, as to the strong participation of the Greek forces in all these operations. Only the British communiqués gave the Greek forces fighting under General Milne's command about Lake Doiran due credit for their share in these operations. The French higher command on the Balkan front, it is true, has testified its appreciation of the valuable co-operation of the Greek troops in repeated orders of the day and communications to the Greek authorities; but, strange to say, this appreciation was not given expression in the official bulletins issued in Paris to the Press.

The Italians, whom the Greek "Evzone" (mountaineer) regiments helped to force the difficult mountain passes to the north of Lakes Ochrida and

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Presba, are equally silent; from their official bulletins, one would never guess that any but Italian troops were engaged in those operations.

It is, therefore, evident that to Greece is due a large share in the credit of the victorious Allied offensive in the Balkans, which shattered the Bulgarian army (putting out of action 192 out of 256 battalions) and thus opening the first fatal breach in the defence of the Central Empires. But for that breach, both Turkey and Austria would not have been forced to capitulate, at least for some time to come. Bulgaria's collapse gave a powerful blow to the morale of the Central Empires and their Turkish ally.

CHAPTER II

GREEKS AND BULGARIANS

GREEKS and Bulgarians have been enemies ever since, in the 8th Century, A.D., the Bulgars, a nomadic race of Tartar blood, made their appearance on the Danubian frontiers of the Greek Empire of Constantinople and gradually succeeded in penetrating into what is to-day Bulgaria and settling there. Later, they came under Slavonic influence and received a certain admixture of Slavonic blood. They were converted to Christianity by two Greek monks, Cyril and Methodius, who also created the alphabet now used by Bulgarians and Serbs, and thus gave them a written language. The fortunes of the Bulgars swayed back and forth from the 8th to the 15th centuries; at one time, owing to the military weakness of the Byzantine Empire and its unceasing wars of self-defence against the Saracens, Persians and Turks on its Asiatic borders, the Bulgars succeeded in overrunning the greater part of Greece, penetrating even into the Peloponnesus, and in establishing a short-lived Bulgarian kingdom in Central Greece and Macedonia. Soon, however, the Greek Emperors recovered time and force to break up this Bulgarian domination, and after Basil II.'s crushing victory over the Bulgarian forces in Macedonia in

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the 11th century the Bulgarians ceased to be a menace.*

Then the Turkish conquest came in the 15th Century as a wave which engulfed the entire Balkan Peninsula, and the Bulgarians were lost sight of for four centuries, being classed by the Turkish conquerors, together with the Greeks, under the general name of *Roum* (Romans), or Christians, and represented politically by their ecclesiastical head, the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople. During this long period of serfdom the Christians of the Turkish Empire were maintained in the Christian religion by the efforts of the Greek Church, which through its clergy and its monasteries kept alive, not only the Christian faith, but also the traditions of Greek learning and Greek ideas of liberty. Nor were the non-Greek Christian elements forgotten; and if throughout what is to-day Serbia and Bulgaria the mediæval language and literature of these two races were safely preserved from extinction, this is due solely to the fostering care of the Greek Church. This care is strikingly proved by the use, throughout the 400 years of the Ottoman domination, of the liturgy in the Old Slavonic language in all the

* Amongst other arguments for the Bulgarian nationalist claims put forward by the Bulgarian propaganda abroad is the so-called "historical" one, based upon the existence of a great Bulgarian Empire in the Balkan Peninsula during the Middle Ages. This statement will be found to be devoid of any historical foundation. If we open any standard history of the Balkan Peninsula, we find that during the 774 years from the Bulgars' first appearance in the Peninsula down to the Turkish conquest, Bulgarian rule is confined to the following periods and limits:—

(a) From 679 to 803 the Bulgarians had not yet crossed the Balkan Range.

(b) From 811 to 814 Kroum, their first great leader, dominated

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provinces of European Turkey where the Christians were predominantly Slavs. Also, in 1570, the Archbishoprics of Ochrida and Ipek, being Slav, received a certain measure of autonomy under the Patriarchate.

When, in 1821, the Greeks rose in revolt against the Turkish yoke, their movement found a ready response amongst the Serbians and Roumanians, but none amongst the Bulgars. It was not till half a century later that Russia, under the influence of the Panslavist movement, took up the cause of this submerged and apathetic people, who, although not of Slavonic blood, spoke a language largely Slavonic. Russian agents overran what is now Bulgaria and the adjacent districts, teaching the people that they were members of the great Slav family and that Russia would henceforth be their elder brother and protector. This was part of Russia's great scheme of getting at Constantinople and European Turkey through the aid of the Slavs of the Danubian provinces and Northern Macedonia. As a corollary to this scheme, the Greek element was to be weakened and the Greek influence over the other Christian subjects of the Sultan was to be broken up. Thus, in 1870, through Russian instigation, the Bulgarian Church declared itself independent of the Patriarch at Constantinople and an active campaign was

Macedonia and Thrace (3 years), until driven out by the Emperor Leo V.

(c) From 899 to 927 the Bulgar King, Simeon, held Macedonia (28 years), until driven out by Emperor Nicephorus Phocas. The latter's successor, John Tsimiskis, then conquered Bulgaria, which remained a Greek possession till 981 (54 years).

(d) From 981 to 1002 the Bulgar King, Samuel, held Central Greece and Macedonia (21 years), until expelled by the Emperor Basil II. Thereafter Bulgaria to the Danube was reconquered

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commenced against the Greek element from the Danube to the lake region of Central Macedonia. A few years later, in 1878, as a further step in this Russian scheme, the autonomous Principality of Bulgaria was erected by the Russo-Turkish Treaty of San Stefano, which was defined as from the Danube to the outskirts of Salonica, to Castoria and Lake Ochrida. It is to be noted that all this was done not through any effort of the Bulgarian people themselves, but through the arms and diplomacy of Russia. But Russia's designs in the Balkan Peninsula thus became too apparent for the liking of England and France, and therefore the Treaty of San Stefano was set aside and in its place the Treaty of Berlin was drawn up, which greatly altered the Russo-Turkish settlement and, amongst other things, restricted the new Russian creation, the Principality of Bulgaria, to the country between the Danube and the Balkan range; the country between the Balkan range and the Rhodope Mountains was made an autonomous province of Turkey, under the name of *Eastern Roumelia*. This province, in 1886, it will be

by the Greeks, and from 1018 to 1185 remained in Greek possession (167 years).

During the 13th century, when the Latin Crusaders captured and held Constantinople and most of the Greek European provinces, the Bulgarians came under the rule of the Wallachian adventurers, John and Peter Asen, who never had any permanent success in any of their enterprises, until the Turks appeared on the scene and overcame all others in the Balkan Peninsula.

Recapitulating the above, we see that the so-called great Bulgarian Empire in the Peninsula south of the Balkans existed only for three short periods of 3, 28 and 21 years respectively, or for a total of 51 out of 774 years. That disposes of the "historical" grounds.

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well remembered, was united with Bulgaria through a successful revolution of its Bulgarian inhabitants.

The Treaty of San Stefano, although annulled by the European Concert of Powers, has remained the charter of Bulgarian Imperialism, which, in the meantime, cast off its bond with Russia and started on a career of aggrandisement on its own account. Although the Treaty of San Stefano was entirely the work of Russian diplomacy, and created the "Greater Bulgaria" not on any ethnological basis, but on such purely arbitrary lines as would best further the Russian aims, and although the Bulgarian people and its leaders have long ceased to show any regard for those Russian aims, yet the Treaty of San Stefano is still in the mouth of every Bulgarian patriot as the most incontestable title-deed that Bulgaria possesses to the hegemony of the Balkan Peninsula. For it is evident that, if Bulgaria had succeeded in establishing herself on the *Ægean* sea-coast from Cavalla to Salonica and in the heart of Macedonia and South-eastern Albania, she would be the mistress of the entire Peninsula.

Balked of this splendid dream of easy conquest and mastery, the Bulgarians, still strongly backed by Russia, who could not foresee her foster-children's future treachery, took up an active campaign of "pacific" expansion in the Peninsula—*pacific* in the sense of going to any lengths of racial propaganda, short of war with Turkey. After the annexation of Eastern Roumelia in 1886, the strong Greek minority of that province (90,000), though protected by express guarantee in the Berlin Treaty, was gradually shouldered out of the country.

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Though these Greeks had the majority in Philippopolis, Stenimaka, Burgas, Mesemvria, Anchialos and a number of other towns, so that the mayors elected there were Greeks, and there were also several Greek members elected to the Bulgarian Sobranje (Parliament), little by little the Greeks were driven out of the country by all sorts of petty persecutions and forced to take refuge in Turkey.

Yet, even so, the process was not rapid enough for the Bulgarian Nationalists, and in August, 1906, when the anti-Greek feeling was greatly intensified owing to the bitter racial struggle in Macedonia, a general crusade suddenly broke out against the Greeks at Philippopolis, Tatar-Pazardjik, Varna, Stenimaka, Anchialos, Burgas, Sizeboly, Mesemvria, Aëtos and other towns of Eastern Roumelia, in nearly all places simultaneously. It was ostensibly a spontaneous national movement and was, of course, immensely popular amongst the Bulgarians: as a matter of fact, it was carried out by armed mobs under the entire toleration and even guidance of the Bulgarian authorities. The Greek communities of the above-named places were set upon, maltreated and forced to emigrate, leaving all they possessed behind them, except what they could carry with them. Their houses were plundered and their lands seized by their Bulgarian neighbours. Their richly endowed communal establishments—colleges, schools, hospitals, libraries, asylums, etc.—were confiscated by the State. Their churches were turned over to the Bulgarian clergy and used henceforth as Bulgarian places of worship. The Greek Archbishops of

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Philippopolis, Varna and Burgas and all the Greek clergy in Bulgaria were summarily driven out of the country. And, to cap all, the ancient and flourishing seaport town of Anchialos, inhabited almost exclusively by Greeks, was burned to the ground on August 11th, 1906. All over Bulgaria the Greek shops, schools, offices and dwellings were sacked or burned down and their inmates maltreated and expelled. * As a result of this general onslaught some 50,000 Greeks left Bulgaria *en masse*, stripped of all their worldly possessions; a few of these fugitives settled in Turkey (Thrace, Macedonia, Constantinople), but the bulk of them were transported by sea to Greece and remained there under Government support for a long while, until arrangements could be made for their settlement in various provinces.

Greece's protests at this barbarous treatment of her kinsmen of Eastern Roumelia proved fruitless. The six Great Powers were then jealously competing with each other for predominant influence in Bulgaria, which country was at that time considered as destined to be the key to the ultimate solution of the Near Eastern question. France and England did indeed enter formal protests at Sofia against the treatment of the Greeks and the burning of Anchialos, in consequence of which protests the Bulgarian Government dismissed a few officials and disavowed the outrages. But Russia, hoping to win back the Bulgarians to her side, gave them to understand that the question of reparation for these outrages would not be pressed; and thus, a population of 50,000 Greeks were driven out for good in defiance

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of treaty rights and international guarantees. No wonder that Germany, in 1914, thought she could with impunity tear up the Treaty of London covering Belgium's neutrality; for she and every one of the other Great Powers had repudiated their signatures to those clauses of the Berlin Treaty, which guaranteed the security and national rights of the Greeks of Eastern Roumelia, the protection of the Christians of the Turkish Empire, etc. Since 1906, the 50,000 Greeks still remaining in Bulgaria (I refer to Bulgaria as she was before the Balkan Wars) have evaded expulsion by simply abandoning every outward expression of their Greek nationality; being forbidden to have schools or churches of their own, they send their children to the Bulgarian schools and attend Bulgarian church services. Yet they have, like the Alsatians and the Poles, stubbornly maintained their private sentiments and brought up their children in the Greek language and sentiments; so that, in the Balkan Wars, the Greek troops were not surprised to find numerous officers, doctors and privates in the Bulgarian Army who spoke Greek and fraternized with them.

After Eastern Roumelia came the Bulgarian racial campaign in Macedonia; for the trouble in Eastern Roumelia really began in 1886, whereas that in Macedonia did not assume important dimensions till 1897. In that year, it will be remembered, Greece rashly entered into war with Turkey over the wrongs of Crete, and was badly defeated by the Turks. This left the Greeks of the Ottoman Empire without any protection; hence, the Bulgarian propaganda assumed a more virulent form. Up to that time the

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Bulgarian and Russian agents had used persuasion, political protection, money, free schools, etc., as methods for inducing the Macedonian peasantry to call themselves Bulgarians. That line succeeded with a certain section of the Macedonian population, in the northern and central districts from the frontiers of Old Serbia to Lake Ochrida and Lake Doiran, who were doubtless more Bulgarian than Greek. But it failed entirely with the majority of the inhabitants of the central and southern Macedonian districts, many of whom even used the local "Bulgarian" or Macedonian dialect, but remained faithful to their Greek nationality.*

In view of this obstinacy of a large section of Macedonia, it was decided in 1897, by the Bulgarian propaganda at Sofia to resort to more drastic means of conversion of these "Grécomanes" (*i.e.*, "Grecomaniacs"), as the Bulgarian statistics called them. Then began that system of terrorization, which the modern chroniclers of Balkan events call the "comitadji" movement. Armed bands of 10 to 25 men each were organised in Sofia and despatched under Bulgarian officers into Macedonia to lurk in the mountain fastnesses and descend upon such villages or individuals in the countryside as refused

* This "Macedonian" *patois* contains, indeed, a large Slavonic element; but it is not Bulgarian, and in the Balkan wars even the Macedonian Bulgars found that they understood the Serbians better than the Bulgarians. This *patois* also contains a large number of Greek words and roots, and seems to have been evolved from a combination of the Greek and Slavonic languages, which overlapped in Central and Northern Macedonia. It is noteworthy that it is not used, nor even understood, in Southern Macedonia, *i.e.*, with few exceptions, the territory south of the Salonica-Monastir Railway.

But even for the territory north of that line, the language test is as fallacious as in other parts of the Orient. Thus, the

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to be converted by mildness, visiting such punishment upon them as would either bring them to terms or result in their extermination. From 1897, then, to 1904, swarms of these *comitadjis* over-ran Macedonia, massacring village notables, priests, schoolmasters, burning the houses and crops, and killing the live-stock of those who refused to declare themselves Bulgarians. During those seven years those Bulgarian *comitadjis* had it all their own way, and what between killing off the Greek leaders and terrorising the rest, they were in a fair way to reducing Macedonia to a purely Bulgarian province. Greece, with her loss of prestige by the war of 1897, and with her internal weakness owing to the petty squabbles of her politicians, was unable to protect her fellow-Greeks of Macedonia. The Great Powers of Europe were busy with other international problems, and could not agree among themselves further than to urge the Turkish Government to introduce administrative reforms in Macedonia to alleviate this state of anarchy.

Finally, in 1904, a number of Greek officers and enthusiasts in Greece organised a Greek "Macedonian Defence" Committee, which equipped a number of armed bands to cope with the *comitadjis* in Macedonia. This, of course, created a widespread

Cretan and the Epirote (Margariti) Mussulmans, as well as the Jews of Janina and the Turks of the Kailar district (Macedonia), speak Greek almost entirely. Yet they would be very indignant at being called Greeks. The Greeks of Cappadocia (Kaisarieh, etc.) speak only Turkish; indeed, it is only the present school generation that has learned Greek again. But could these Christians possibly be classed as Turks? It is the national sentiment and race consciousness that is the only sure test, being the expression of that self-determination that is the basis of the coming settlement.

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guerilla warfare in that unhappy province, the armed bands of either side fighting each other and the Turkish detachments with great fury. And it has been the custom of foreign writers and journalists to date the beginning of the *comitadjis* from the first appearance of the Greek bands; yet, from the foregoing, it is clear that the trouble began seven years earlier, and was during those seven years solely the work of the Bulgarian *comitadjis*.*

The Greek bands no doubt acted with equal ruthlessness, once the racial passions had been fully unchained. But their activity soon put heart into the Greeks of Macedonia and arrested the progress of the Bulgarian propaganda. Finally, as the turmoil in Macedonia continued, the Great Powers agreed to force Turkey to grant and establish certain reforms there; whereupon, in 1908, the Young Turks revolted against Sultan Abdul Hamid, deposed him and proclaimed a constitution for the Ottoman Empire. This was in reality a clever move to accomplish a two-fold object: to forestall the coercive measures of the Great Powers, which would ultimately have led to the dismemberment of Turkey, and to knock the bottom out of the *comitadji* warfare in Macedonia. Both objects were immediately attained. But it was soon made evident to the Christians of the Ottoman Empire that this Constitution was all a sham, and that the Young Turk party were even more bent than Abdul Hamid upon

* There are published detailed lists of the numerous Greek-Macedonian notables who fell victims to the Bulgarian *comitadjis* from 1897 to 1904. No counter-list of murders, etc., by the Greeks during that period has ever been published by the Bulgarian side.

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maintaining the privileged position of the Mussulmans over the Christians and upon "Ottomanizing" the Christians by closing their schools, etc.

This discovery soon made Greeks and Bulgars coalesce against the Young Turks for the Parliamentary elections of 1911. An amicable agreement was effected between the Greek and Bulgarian leaders and headquarters in the *vilayets* (or provinces) of Thrace and Macedonia (exclusive of the Constantinople district). Of the 15 seats in the Turkish Parliament, assigned by the Young Turks to the Christians of these provinces, it was agreed, as stated above, that 11 should be occupied by Greeks and 4 by Bulgars, this being taken by common consent as the true proportion of the two races to one another in the said provinces. As regards Macedonia, in particular, the common ticket comprised 8 Greek and 3 Bulgarian seats. In Thrace 3 Greeks and 1 Bulgarian were proposed; but as there was doubt as to the Bulgarians being strong enough to return even this one deputy, it was expressly stipulated in the agreement that, in case they failed to do so, and 4 Greek deputies were elected, one of them should resign his seat in favour of the Bulgarian candidate.

This friendly electoral understanding between the Greeks and Bulgars of European Turkey was approved both by the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Bulgarian Exarchate at Constantinople. It is important as constituting an official admission by the Bulgarians that in Macedonia they were outnumbered by the Greeks in the ratio of 8 to 3, and in Thrace in the ratio of 3 to 1. It is also important as having paved the way for the formation of the

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Balkan League of 1912, which was the work chiefly of Mr. Venizelos, and which dealt the *coup de grace* to Ottoman dominion in Europe.

Yet the war with Turkey was not yet finished before it became evident to Greece and Serbia that trouble with Bulgaria was not far off. As regards Greece, this trouble began with the occupation of Salonica by the Greek Army and ended in a Bulgarian "drive" into territory occupied by the Greeks near Cavalla. Other alarming symptoms of disunion within the Alliance appeared in the spring of 1913, and it was finally decided by all three Allies to submit their disputes to the arbitration of the Czar of Russia. Mr. Venizelos throughout this troubled period was carrying conciliation toward Bulgaria to the uttermost limits, for the sake of preserving the Balkan League.* But suddenly, on the eve of the departure of the Allied delegates for Petrograd, the Bulgarian Government ordered its troops to make a sudden and simultaneous attack upon the Greek and Serbian armies, hoping thus to create some successes, which would be in Bulgaria's favour at the Conference at Petrograd. The attack failed and the Bulgarian troops were driven back upon the frontiers of Old Bulgaria. Roumania intervened also, in the last days of this Second Balkan War, and Bulgaria was forced to sign the Treaty

* He was prepared to abandon to Bulgaria not only the Greeks of Bulgaria proper and of Eastern Roumelia, but those of Eastern Macedonia, Thrace and Constantinople, allowing Bulgaria to keep the East Bank of the Strymon and the Vardar down to Ghevgheli, and to demand for her the line of Enos-Midia in Thrace. Of course, Greece was disposed to make these huge sacrifices of her nationals merely to preserve the Balkan Alliance. These were not accepted, and are therefore no longer available.

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of Bucharest of July 28th, 1913, which shattered her dream of the hegemony of the Balkan Peninsula.

Bulgaria and her foreign sympathisers have made loud outcry against this Treaty of Bucharest, as iniquitous and unjust to Bulgaria. Bulgaria is represented as having been robbed of the fruits of her victories over the Turk in 1912, it being claimed that her army bore the brunt of the campaign. It would take me too far to go into the question as to which nation contributed most essentially to the common victory. For, while it is true that Bulgaria supplied the largest contingent by land, and geographically stood nearest to the Turkish capital, yet it has been universally acknowledged, even by the Bulgarians themselves, that the Greek fleet, by its command of the *Ægean*, alone made the Allied victories possible, by preventing the Turks from bringing over their Asiatic battalions in time to turn the tables on the Allies. Suffice it, therefore, to point out that, had Bulgaria dealt sincerely and reasonably with her Allies, such was the conciliatory spirit displayed by Mr. Venizelos, that she would have reaped by far the largest share of the Turkish spoils, greatly to the prejudice of the Greek race. But she was not content with the lion's share—she wanted even more, and determined to stake it all upon a cast of the dice—upon a treacherous and sudden assault upon her Allies. She lost, and by all the rules of the game, should have been reduced to her old boundaries. No gambler can ever complain if he loses. Yet she was even given a slice of Macedonia and also a strip of Thrace, thereby gaining what she most coveted—access to the Mediterranean. One can, there-

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fore, hardly deny that she was treated with considerable liberality. In fact, it was a great sacrifice, and, in my opinion, a great mistake for Greece to consent to Bulgaria's gaining a Mediterranean seaboard—a mistake which should be rectified in the coming peace settlement, as I propose to show further along.

It is true that Serbia annexed a large portion of Northern and Central Macedonia (Uskub, Veles, Istip, Kotchana, Prilep, Ochrida, etc.), where the majority of the Christian population is not Serbian but Bulgarian in sentiment. It is also true that Roumania, who had no grievance against Bulgaria beyond the latter's pretensions to the hegemony of the Balkans, annexed a slice of the Bulgarian Dobrudja, which is inhabited by Bulgarians, not Roumanians. These are (ethnologically speaking) wrongs, which, under other circumstances, Bulgaria might demand to have rectified. And there is reason to believe that at some later time these districts may be restored by Serbia and Roumania, when the latter shall have ceased to be a menace to the peace of the Balkans, and upon the condition that she renounces all dreams of conquest and hegemony.

But as between Greece and Bulgaria, the Treaty of Bucharest was eminently fair, for it gave to Greece fewer Bulgarian populations than it left Greek populations under Bulgarian rule.

It was, of course, impossible to draw any frontier between Greece and her northern neighbours, Serbia and Bulgaria, which would also be an exact line of ethnological demarcation. The best that could be done was to draw the lines in such a manner as to

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coincide with the ethnological lines as nearly as administrative and strategic necessities would allow. About 160,000 Bulgarians were included in the territory assigned to Greece by the Bucharest Treaty. These were a sprinkling of Bulgarian villages in extreme Western Macedonia, between Kastoria and Florina, another scattering of villages north of Lake Ostrovo, another just to the north of Salonica in the direction of Lake Doiran and a few villages close to the frontier north of Drama. But in none of these districts were the Bulgarians in the majority, for beside the Greek inhabitants there was everywhere a numerous Turkish population. As against these 160,000 Bulgarians annexed to Greece (of whom 60,000 at once elected to emigrate to Bulgarian territory, in exchange for the Greeks of the Melenikon, Strumnitza and Nevrokop districts annexed by Bulgaria), one must reckon the 100,000 Greeks of Western Thrace and the 45,000 Greeks of Old Bulgaria, who are shown even in the Bulgarian official statistics of 1910 (see the *Almanach de Gotha*, 1915, p. 709). And this leaves entirely out of the reckoning the 50,000 Greeks expelled from Eastern Roumelia between 1886 and 1906.

The aspirations of Bulgaria to the hegemony of the Balkans can certainly not be justified by the numerical superiority of the Bulgarian race. The official Bulgarian statistics of 1910 (quoted above) give the total population of Bulgaria at 4,742,000 souls. Of these, only 3,800,000 are described as Bulgarians by race. The remainder (some 950,000, or one-fifth of the total population) are of other races (600,000 Turks, 80,000 Greeks,

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120,000 Gipsies, 80,000 Roumanians, 50,000 Jews, and the remainder Armenians, Tartars and Western Europeans).

If to the above 3,800,000 Bulgarians of the Bulgarian Kingdom, we add the Bulgarians in Greek and Serbian territory and Turkish Thrace, even accepting for these districts the very exaggerated and arbitrary figures claimed by the Bulgarian propaganda itself (see Brancoff's book), *i.e.*, a total of 1,024,000, we find that the sum total of the Bulgarian race, as estimated by the Bulgarians themselves, barely exceeds 4,800,000. As against these, Greece has a resident population of 5,000,000, of whom 545,000 are aliens (300,000 Turks, 100,000 Bulgarians, 85,000 Jews, 60,000 Gipsies, Western Europeans, etc.), or less than 11 per cent. of the total population. To these 4½ millions of Greeks of Greece proper if we add 123,000 of Northern Epirus, 436,000 of Thrace and 355,000 in Chataldja county and Constantinople, we have a total of 5,370,000 Greeks in the Balkan Peninsula alone (exclusive of the 1,700,000 Greeks in Asia Minor, nearly 350,000 in Cyprus and the Dodecanese, 200,000 in Egypt, 400,000 in South Russia and Caucasus, and 400,000 in America, in all some three millions more, thus bringing up the sum total of the Greek race to about eight millions).

In the same way, the Serbian nation will be found to number about 11 millions, and the Roumanians 11 to 12 millions. It is therefore evident that, with the exception of the Albanian nation, whose total strength probably does not exceed 1,000,000 souls, the smallest Balkan nation is the Bulgarian.

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But it is not on the strength of numbers that Bulgaria laid claim to the extensive territory in the Balkans. Some districts she claimed under the law of nationalities, urging that the Bulgarians were in the majority. Others she demanded on the ground of geographical necessity, such as Cavalla and Salonica. Others again, such as Thrace, she claimed as necessary to her commercial existence or as compensation for the enlargement of the other Balkan States.

With regard to the first category, it has been explained above that, so far as Greece is concerned, there is no district annexed to Greece under the Treaty of Bucharest, where the Bulgarians are in the majority, unless we localise such Bulgarian settlements to very tiny areas, in which case they are seen to be small and isolated groups of hamlets, scattered amongst large alien populations, and nowhere near enough to the Bulgarian frontiers to permit of their annexation to Bulgaria. Mention has also been made of certain compact Bulgarian populations in Serbia and Roumania that could presumably be handed over to Bulgaria at some future time by these neighbour-States, if their inhabitants demanded it and under conditions assuring the peace and harmonious co-operation of the Balkan States. When the new Balkan League (for the mutual defence of the liberty and independence of the Balkan States, and comprising also a customs, postal and railway union) is formed, in accordance with Mr. Venizelos's oft-expressed hope, between Greece, Roumania and Serbia, there will be a place in that League for Bulgaria, as well as for a free and

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independent Albania (not a vassal of Italy). But such a place will be available for Bulgaria only when she has accepted the realities of the Balkan situation, renounced all ambitions of lording it over any of her neighbours and determined to live with them on terms of frank and sincere brotherhood. Then, it is certain that readjustments will be made of any territories inhabited by Bulgarian majorities; and all members of the League will mutually give guarantees for the protection of the alien minorities that must necessarily remain within their respective borders—protection of their language, nationality and communal life.

With regard to the second class of districts claimed by Bulgaria on the ground of commercial necessity, it must be pointed out that as far as Cavalla is concerned,* which is Bulgaria's chief object of desire, that port is the maritime outlet only of its immediate hinterland—the plains of Drama and Sarishaban and the southern foot-hills of the Rhodope Mountains. It is not the natural outlet for Eastern Roumelia, because it is separated from that

* There has been much confusion in the minds of outsiders who have written about Bulgaria's claim to Cavalla. Bulgaria has never claimed this port on ethnological grounds, for there are no Bulgarians in the whole tract of country north of Cavalla as far as Drama, and a little beyond. Nor have there ever been Bulgarians there. In 1911 there were about 140 Bulgarians resident in the town of Drama, and less than a dozen in Cavalla. There is no Bulgarian village nor Bulgarian natives south of Drama. It is not, therefore, on the ground of ethnological character that Bulgaria has always clamoured for Cavalla, but because it was included in the Bulgaria of San Stefano, and on the plea that it naturally belongs to the Rhodope hinterland, where the Bulgarians claim to be in force. This distinction should be clearly borne in mind.

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large province by the great *massif* of the Rhodope Range, over which it will never be practicable to construct commercially paying railways and highways. Cavalla cannot even serve as a port to the Serres district, which will always prefer Salonica, nor to the Gümüldjina district, which will prefer Dedeagatch or Porto-Lago. The natural outlet to the sea of Western and North-western Bulgaria is down the Struma and Vardar valleys to Salonica. The natural outlet of Eastern Roumelia is at Burgas, that of Northern Bulgaria at Varna. The farmer and producer of any part of Eastern Roumelia will always find it nearer and cheaper to ship his produce to Burgas than to any Thracian or Macedonian port. A glance at the map will show that Dedeagatch is further than Burgas by rail from any point in Eastern Roumelia. And once the freedom of the Bosphorus-Dardanelles waterway is established, Bulgaria will no longer have the need of an outlet on the Ægean, and the Western (or what is now Bulgarian) Thracian coast district can be given where it belongs—to Greece, whose children form the bulk of the Christian population. The Bulgarians never were in any appreciable strength in this whole coast district from Cavalla to Dedeagatch. In the last Turkish census, which was taken in 1910, the Bulgarians of the “cazas” of Gümüldjina, Xanthi, and Dedeagatch are given as 23,600 out of a total population of 135,000. In the inland districts of Demotika, Ortakioi and Adrianople annexed to Bulgaria, the Greeks outnumber the Bulgarians nearly 4 to 1. In all, as is seen by the following table, the Greek population of

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the parts of Thrace annexed to Bulgaria numbers about 104,000, as against 77,000 Bulgarians.*

DISTRICTS OF THRACE ANNEXED TO BULGARIA, 1913. (Turkish Official Census of 1910.)

Caza of	Turks.	Greeks.	Bulgars.	Others.	Totals.
Xanthi	22,000	10,275	1,695	180	31,150
Gümüldjina	50,000	9,160	10,550	2,000	71,710
Achi-Chelebi	20,000	2,310	12,875	—	35,185
Dəri-deré	20,000	—	500	—	20,500
Egri-deré	35,000	—	—	—	35,000
Sultan-yeri	38,000	—	—	—	38,000
Kirdjali	32,000	—	—	—	32,000
Dedeagatch	10,670	7,371	11,558	580	30,179
Soufli (nine-tenths) ...	30,000	16,122	5,380	150	51,652
Demotica	6,315	22,080	1,460	1,260	31,115
Ortakioi	15,273	14,562	4,060	300	34,195
Adrianople (one-fifth) ...	8,000	7,000	4,000	—	19,000
Mustapha-pasha	10,000	7,000	13,000	400	30,400
Tirnovó	2,150	—	10,230	—	12,380
Agathoupolis	1,250	8,050	1,700	—	11,000
TOTALS	300,658	103,830	77,008	4,870	486,466

Of these cazas, Greece claims Xanthi, Gümüldjina, Dedeagatch, Soufli, Demotica, Ortakioi and Adrianople, with a total population of 272,000, of whom 142,258 are Turks, 86,570 Greeks, 38,703 Bulgars, 4,470 others. In the

* It is true that the larger part of these Greeks have been driven out summarily by the Bulgarians since 1914; but if justice is to be re-established, and the right of self-determination to be properly applied, these exiles must be included in the census which shall determine the fate of Western Thrace.

So weak was the Bulgarian element in Western Thrace at the time of the Treaty of Bucharest, that the Bulgarian Government officially requested the Greek Government to retain the Greek garrisons at Xanthi, Gümüldjina and Dedeagatch, until Bulgarian troops could be sent to take over the ceded district. This request was due to the fear that the Turkish population, which hated the prospect of Bulgarian rule, would raise an armed revolt if left to themselves. And Greece very loyally complied with this request of her late enemy in the field.

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caza of Agathoupolis, the Greeks form eight-elevenths of the population, but this district is in the north-easternmost corner of Thrace on the Black Sea close to the old Bulgarian border, and, hence, so far removed that it cannot reasonably be claimed by Greece. Equally, the 7,000 Greeks of the caza of Mustapha-pasha must be abandoned to Bulgaria, together with the 2,310 Greeks of the caza of Achi-Chelebi, in all 17,360 Greeks as an offset to the 38,703 Bulgars included in the six cazas first-named claimed by Greece. Of the remaining cazas, four are exclusively Mussulman, and two (Achi-Chelebi and Tirnovo) are inhabited by Mussulmans and Bulgarians almost exclusively.

The above repartition of the Thracian districts annexed by Bulgaria would still leave to Bulgaria a Thracian population of 214,466 souls, whereof 158,400 Turks, 17,360 Greeks and 38,305 Bulgars. It would indeed deprive Bulgaria of the Thracian sea-coast in the Mediterranean annexed in 1913; but this coast has only one harbour—Dedeagatch—and that a poor one, close to the mouth of the Hebrus (Maritza) river which causes such shoals, as oblige ships calling at Dedeagatch to anchor far out in the offing and discharge their cargoes in lighters. Nor is the sea-board between Dedeagatch and Xanthi accessible to the *hinterland*, for it is cut off therefrom by a high and inaccessible mountain range, the eastern spur of the Rhodope. Bulgaria's loss of commercial access to the sea would therefore be infinitesimal; but, to remove any ground for such a plea, Greece would doubtless consent to grant Bulgaria a large depot or reservation at Dedeagatch

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(just as she is prepared to grant Serbia at Salonica), which should facilitate Bulgaria's export and import trade, and which should be considered Bulgarian territory.

In fact, I am informed on unimpeachable authority, Mr. Venizelos is already elaborating a system, whereby all the Balkan States may have the fullest commercial access to the Ægean Sea through the Greek ports and on the Greek railways, including extensive reservation tracts belonging to each Balkan State at each Greek port. The facilities thus afforded to the commerce of the inland States would be in every respect as complete as if each of these States owned a Greek sea-coast.

Such a readjustment in Western Thrace will doubtless raise a loud outcry in Bulgaria and among certain pro-Bulgarian circles in America and England, who are already endeavouring to prove that the Bulgarian people are not to blame for Bulgaria's participation in the war, but were forced into it against their will, and that they are, and always have been, friends of the Allies of Western Europe. This contention is untrue and the argument based upon it, that Bulgaria should even be rewarded by further extension of territory, is preposterous. On the contrary, Bulgaria merits not clemency and reward, but signal punishment, on five distinct and irrefutable grounds: (1) Because she joined in the war on the side of Germany, and that in the most discreditable manner, allowing for months the transit of arms, munitions and German troops across her territory to Turkey, despite her neutrality; organising bands to invade Serbia and to play havoc with

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Serbia's communications, and at the same time carrying on negotiations with the Entente for months after she had concluded a secret pact with Germany, for the sole purpose of lulling the Allies into inactivity until all her warlike preparations were completed. (2) Because, in these negotiations, the Allies practically offered Bulgaria, as the price of her adherence to their cause, not only Cavalla, but also nearly the whole of Serbian Macedonia and the Dobrudja territory ceded to Roumania in 1913. This would have given Bulgaria the preponderance in the Balkans, both in respect of area, population and central position. It would have also left her practically mistress of Turkish Thrace and Constantinople, since only she, in future, would have access thereto by land.

But even that failed to satisfy Bulgaria's boundless ambitions. She wanted half of Old Serbia, Southern Albania and Greek territory down to the gates of Salonica, as well; and she demanded the immediate delivery of these territories without waiting for the result of the war. The rejection of the above offers of the Entente by Bulgaria leaves the latter State absolutely without any justification for her participation in the war on Germany's side, and for the disasters which she brought on Serbia, Greece and Roumania. And it proves more eloquently than words that Bulgarian policy has been hitherto nothing but a policy of conquest, to which her pleas of freeing Macedonia from the Turkish yoke and of gathering up her "unredeemed" nationals were but a clumsy *camouflage*. (3) Because, in the war, she acted with the most inhuman

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barbarity towards her prisoners of war, especially the Serbians, and with the utmost barbarity to all the civilian and unarmed populations of the districts into which her armies penetrated.

During the three years from October, 1915, to September, 1918, Serbia and Greek Macedonia were scourged with every cruelty that Bulgarian savagery could invent. The able-bodied were hauled off to Bulgaria, there to be enrolled as soldiers, or to be worked to death by forced labour and insufficient feeding. The women and old men were forced to dig in the trenches and carry ammunition and supplies to the firing-line. The young women and girls were shamefully violated, often by squads of soldiers in the presence of their male relatives. When the Allied armies re-occupied those territories, large numbers of little girls of twelve and fourteen were found pregnant. All the food stuffs and crops were seized, and thousands of the inhabitants died of sheer starvation. Their houses were plundered and then stripped of doors, windows, roofs and floors, which were taken to build shelters for the Bulgarian troops. And when the Bulgarians finally evacuated these territories after the armistice, they carried away, in direct violation of the armistice terms, all livestock and vehicles of the country, broke up the telegraph lines, gutted the public buildings and damaged the railways. All these atrocities were duly certified by the Allied armies of re-occupation, and have since been fully described by British war correspondents on the spot.

(4) Because, through her participation in the war, Bulgaria, thanks to her geographical position, was

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the direct cause of prolonging the world war for two whole years, of bringing ruin upon Serbia and Roumania, and indirectly, of Russia's disasters and all that followed. Had Bulgaria even remained neutral, neither Serbia nor Roumania would have been overthrown, and Turkey could not have held out against the Allies without help from Germany. The Dardanelles could have been opened and timely aid brought to Russia, thus forestalling the fatal downfall of all stable government in that country. Had Bulgaria joined in the war on the side of the Entente, even Constantine would have been forced to follow suit, and in any case the Allies would soon have been at the gates of Vienna.

(5) Because even after, crushed and routed, Bulgaria capitulated, she committed a fresh act of treachery against the Allies by secretly allowing one whole German division and one other German regiment to cross her territory by rail from the Danube into Turkey to stiffen Turkey's resistance against the Allies. She cannot claim that this violation of the armistice was performed without her knowledge or against her will, for she made no protest and, indeed, concealed the whole business until it was discovered by the Allied Commander-in-Chief, General d'Esperey.

That crimes and treacheries like the above merit punishment and demand reparation cannot easily be denied. And this punishment and reparation should fall upon the Bulgarian nation, which was entirely in accord with its rulers as to the country's entry into the war; and those who claim the contrary, are either ignorant or insincere.

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Every one of Bulgaria's political leaders, from Radoslavoff the Conservative to Gueshoff the Liberal and Malinoff the Democrat, approved and applauded Bulgaria's entry into the war. Not one politician or paper protested; on the contrary, the Bulgarian Press vied in heaping insults upon England and France, the friends and benefactors, and Russia, the liberator, of Bulgaria.*

Not a voice was raised throughout the country against King Ferdinand's policy, but everybody applauded enthusiastically, because everybody was persuaded that Germany would win the war, and that Bulgaria's great chance had come at last to secure the hegemony of the Balkans by annexing Serbia, Southern Albania, and Greek Macedonia.

How different was the course of events in Greece is entirely overlooked by the friends of Bulgaria. Greece, too, had a pro-German king, who for a time forced upon her a policy contrary to her wishes and repugnant to her traditions. But, in spite of King Constantine's active efforts, and a most insidious German propaganda, which spent millions of francs in Greece, the Greek people in the elections of May, 1915, gave an overwhelming majority vote in favour of war on the side of the Entente. When this expression of the national will was again disregarded by the King, the Venizelist party and press carried on a vigorous campaign of protest for over a year, in the teeth of severe repressive measures by the King's autocratic government; until finally, Veni-

* See Victor Kuhne: "Bulgaria Self-revealed" (Constable & Co., London, 1919), a most illuminating collection of cuttings from Bulgarian newspapers, of all shades of politics, since the outbreak of the European war.

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zelos, seeing that mere protests were of no avail, put himself at the head of an armed revolution, and led it on through the greatest obstacles until the national will triumphed and Greece joined her natural friends on the field of battle. That is how nations show their dissent from their rulers' arbitrary courses. But the Bulgarian nation evinced none of these symptoms of dissent in the matter of joining forces with Germany.

It is therefore sheer casuistry and misguided sentimentality to try to "whitewash" Bulgaria's record in this war, and to plead that she should be forgiven and even endowed with an increase of territory. She has once more appealed to the sword, and should abide by its decision. Even to let her off from the punishment due to her would be a travesty of justice and an injury and an insult to the Entente's Balkan Allies.

Just as Germany will be required to yield up all alien territories that she has wrested generations ago from other nations, and to repair the havoc and destruction she has wrought in her neighbours' territories during this war, so Bulgaria must relinquish that portion of Western Thrace to which she has no ethnological claim, and must make good the terrible desolation she has left behind her in Greek Macedonia and in Serbia. There cannot be two standards of right and wrong—one for Germany and one for Bulgaria. "Frightfulness" in warfare, callousness to all sentiments of justice towards the unarmed populations of unoccupied districts, the endeavour to falsify the ethnological character of such districts by wholesale deportations and the most inhuman treat-

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ment of the inhabitants, are common characteristics of the Prussians of the North and the "Prussians of the Balkans"—with this difference in the case of Greek Macedonia, that the Bulgarians came into its possession for two years, not by any warlike operations, but without firing a shot, being invited to enter and received as friends by the Greek Royalist authorities, thanks to King Constantine's treachery. They had, therefore, absolutely no excuse for the ghastly misrule, which left these once fair and prosperous provinces a waste and a desolation. It would be no less preposterous to allow Bulgaria to evade the obvious obligation to repair the destruction she has wrought in this war than to let off Germany from indemnifying Belgium and France. It would be just as absurd to allow Bulgaria to retain Western Thrace as to leave Alsace-Lorraine to Germany. When the thousands of Greek Thracians expelled by the Bulgarian Government since 1914 are allowed to return to their old homes just as the Belgians, French and Serbians are now returning to their ruined domiciles, it will be seen what the wishes of the population are. And such a repatriation of the exiles of Thrace is only elementary justice; to refuse it were to put the seal of approval upon the outrageous "Prussian" methods practised by both Bulgarians and Turks upon the Greeks in this war and before it—methods which are the negation of all instincts of humanity and civilisation.

As for Bulgaria, there will never be any peace in the Balkans until she is rendered impotent to attack her neighbours and acknowledges once for all that the hegemony of the Balkans is not for her, nor in-

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deed for any other Balkan State. This war will have been in vain if it does not establish beyond all dispute the right of every nation to its independence and its free development in the arts of peace and civilisation. This right is not denied to Bulgaria by her neighbours. All that is required of her is to abandon her designs upon the rights of other peoples. She has had ample opportunity of showing how she understands government over alien races, and civilisation will not permit of her giving any further such demonstrations. And, after all, this is a matter that concerns Greece, Serbia and Roumania above all other Powers, for they alone are affected by Bulgarian imperialism. Hence, in the settlement of the Balkan questions, they should have the chief voice.

CHAPTER III

THE FATE OF TURKEY

ONE of the most momentous questions to come up before the Peace Congress is the fate of the Ottoman Empire. It is already fairly probable that certain outlying sections of this Empire will be detached from Turkish sovereignty and granted independence. Thus, Arabia is already practically recognized as an independent kingdom; Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, and Armenia will also become independent of the Turkish Empire. The question, therefore, is really limited to the remaining portions of the Ottoman Empire, namely, Thrace and Asia Minor, which represent less than one-third of the total area of the Empire (about 210,154 square miles out of 710,224), but contain nearly three-fifths of its entire population (11 millions out of 20). It is with regard to these remaining provinces that the question is between maintenance of Turkish rule and dismemberment.

In 1916 and 1917, when the Entente were still under the vivid impression of the dreadful massacres and deportations perpetrated by the Turks against the Armenians and Greeks, and smarting under the submarine scourge in the Eastern Mediterranean, which had its bases on the Turkish

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coasts, dismemberment was openly talked of as the only possible solution; and Italy insisted, in the secret treaty of April, 1915, between England, France, Russia, and herself, that Adalia and the southern half of Asia Minor should be her share of the Turkish spoils; Russia taking Thrace, Constantinople, and the northern half of Asia Minor; France and England being rewarded with Syria and Mesopotamia.

The subsequent eclipse of Russia and America's entry into the war having strengthened the more enlightened elements in the Councils of the Allies, this partition of the Ottoman Empire by the four great Entente Powers, without the consent or knowledge of the inhabitants of the Empire, may be considered as null and void. Still more so is the secret promise of the *vilayet* of Smyrna, exacted by Italy in 1917 from France and England.

I have reason to know that the British Government do not consider themselves to be bound by this latter arrangement; and with regard to the secret treaty of April, 1915, would even welcome its annulment. Thus, in January, 1918, both the British Premier and President Wilson, in two memorable public statements of the Allied war aims, in dealing with the Turkish Empire, spoke of the maintenance of Turkish rule in the "Turkish portions" of that Empire.

Mr. Lloyd George, in his speech of January 6, 1918, stated that Great Britain "was not fighting to deprive Turkey of its capital or of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace, which are predominantly Turkish in race." And, further

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on, he added: "While we do not challenge the maintenance of the Turkish Empire in the homelands [*sic*] of the Turkish race, with its capital at Constantinople—the passage between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea being internationalized and neutralized—Arabia, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine are, in our judgment, entitled to a recognition of their separate national conditions," etc.

President Wilson, in his message to Congress of January 8, 1918 (containing the famous fourteen articles), puts the same idea into more general terms: "The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development; and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened," etc., etc.

President Wilson, as a student of history, could not, of course, subscribe to Mr. Lloyd George's view as to the "homelands" of the Turkish race; he knew that the "homelands" of that race are somewhere in Central Asia beyond the Caspian Sea, and that the Turks came into Asia Minor and Thrace as foreign conquerors in the fifteenth century. Nor could he accept the "maintenance of the Turkish Empire" in Thrace and Asia Minor, as Mr. Lloyd George does, without one word or thought for the Christian populations of those sadly misgoverned lands. In fact, if President Wilson's words are more closely examined, it is evident that he is prepared to support Turkish "sovereignty" only in so far as

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it permits of the "unmolested autonomous development" of "the other nationalities." This, coupled with President Wilson's advocacy of the principle of self-determination, cannot mean less for the non-Moslems of Thrace and Asia Minor than for the non-Turkish inhabitants of Armenia, Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, or Arabia.

But, after all, President Wilson does, in the above statement, indicate the maintenance of Turkish rule in the "Turkish portions" of the Ottoman Empire. And, as in a number of provinces, or *vilayets*, in Asia Minor and Thrace there is a strong Christian minority, the question is not so simple as it seems to many people.

Of course, it is more than probable that both President Wilson and the British Premier, in making the above-quoted statements, were holding open, as it were, a door of inducement for Turkey to abandon the German cause—a consummation that was highly desirable at that time from the military standpoint. But Turkey did not take advantage of this open door; and, therefore, these statements, in so far as they may be considered as binding upon America and Great Britain, need not form an obstacle to a settlement of a different nature.

POPULATION STATISTICS.

The existing statistics of the populations of Thrace and Asia Minor are not absolutely correct, yet they afford an approximately true idea of the proportionate standing of each of the principal racial factors.

The last Turkish census (those of 1910) were pub-

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lished when the disasters of the Balkan Wars had not yet befallen the Ottoman Empire. The only other existing census is that drawn up in 1912 by the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, which is the political as well as ecclesiastical head of the Christians of the Ottoman Empire.

A.—EUROPEAN TURKEY. TURKISH OFFICIAL STATISTICS, 1910.

Sandjak of	Turks.	Greeks.	Bulgars.	Others.	Totals.
Adrianople	128,000	113,500	31,500	14,700	287,700
Kirk-Kilissé	53,000	77,000	28,500	1,150	159,650
Rodosto	63,500	56,000	3,000	21,800	144,300
Gallipoli	31,500	70,500	2,000	3,200	107,200
Dedeagatch	45,000	29,000	17,000	650	91,650
Gümüldjina	185,000	22,000	25,500	2,200	234,700
Chataldja	18,000	48,500	—	2,340	68,840
Constantinople	450,000	260,000	6,000	130,000	846,000
TOTALS	974,000	676,000	113,500	176,040	1,940,040

GREEK PATRIARCHATE STATISTICS, 1912.

Sandjak of	Turks.	Greeks.	Bulgars.	Others.	Totals.
Adrianople	127,400	123,300	32,800	15,000	298,500
Kirk-Kilissé	55,000	86,500	28,700	1,200	171,400
Rodosto	64,700	65,500	3,400	22,000	155,600
Gallipoli	32,600	90,400	2,600	3,400	129,000
Dedeagatch	47,400	38,800	16,700	800	103,700
Gümüldjina	185,000	31,700	25,600	2,300	244,600
Chataldja	16,100	54,700	—	3,200	74,000
Constantinople	308,700	235,200	4,300	292,800*	841,000
TOTALS	836,900	726,100	114,100	340,700	2,017,800

Comparing these two tables, we find that they agree fairly well in most of the items. The Greek table estimates Turks, Bulgars and others at higher

* 122,700 Armenians, 38,800 Jews, 65,000 Greeks of Greece, 20,000 Persians, 46,100 French, British, Germans, Austrians, Italians, etc. In all the other provinces the nationalities under this column are chiefly Armenians, Jews and Gipsies.

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figures than does the Turkish table, except in the case of Constantinople where the Turkish population is much reduced. But, on the other hand, the Greek population of that city is also reckoned lower in the Greek than in the Turkish census, the Greek estimate separating the Greeks of Hellenic from those of Ottoman citizenship. Another difference as regards Constantinople is in the estimate of the "other" races. It is well known that there is a strong Armenian colony in the Turkish capital, as well as 50,000 West-Europeans. These cannot possibly be covered by the 130,000 of the Turkish census. The Greek estimates would, therefore, seem to be fairer all round.

Of the provinces enumerated in the above statistical tables, the whole *sandjak* of Gumuldjina, three-fifths of Dedeagatch, one-fifth of Adrianople, and about one-fourth of Kirk-Kilissé were ceded by Turkey to Bulgaria in 1913 and 1915. Official Bulgarian statistics of these districts have never yet been published, but, on the basis of the Turkish census of 1910, the total ceded population may be safely estimated at about 486,500 souls, of whom about 300,000 are Turks, 104,000 Greeks, 77,000 Bulgars, and 48,000 Armenians, Jews and Gipsies.

Deducting these figures from the totals of the above Turkish statistics, we should have a total population of the present-day European Turkey of 1,453,500 (or 674,000 Turks, 572,000 Greeks, 36,500 Bulgars, 171,000 others). Deducting the same figures from the Greek statistics, we should have a total of 1,531,300, whereof 536,900 are Turks, 621,100 Greeks, 37,100 Bulgars, and 337,700 others.

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According, then, to these figures, if we accept the Turkish statistics, we have in a population of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions a slight Turkish plurality of 104,000 over the next strongest nationality, which is the Greek; if we accept the Greek statistics, we have a Greek plurality of about 84,000 over the Turks. But even at their own estimate the Turks do not form more than 46 per cent. of the total population of European Turkey of to-day. And the truth probably lying somewhere midway between the Turkish and the Greek statistics, it is safer to estimate the Turks at about 600,000 souls out of a total population of 1,500,000—in other words, at 40 per cent. of the whole. It must be admitted that this is hardly a sufficient showing to justify European Turkey being called a "Turkish portion" of the Empire, still less the "homeland of the Turkish race," or a country "predominantly Turkish in race," as Mr. Lloyd George puts it.

And that is only the mere numerical aspect of the question. If one turns to the intellectual comparison between Turks and Christians in Thrace, one finds that there is hardly any ground of comparison at all, inasmuch as the Christians furnish the entire brains of the community. This point will be dealt with more fully hereafter.

B.—ASIA MINOR.

Here we have again a Turkish census of the year 1910, and a Greek Patriarchate census of 1912. For the Armenian *vilayets* we have only the Turkish census,

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TURKISH OFFICIAL STATISTICS, 1910.

(See totals in Almanach de Gotha, 1915.)

Provinces	Turks.	Greeks.	Armen-ians.	Jews	Others.	Totals.
Constanti- nople (Asia- tic shore) ...	135,681	70,906	30,465	5,120	16,812	258,984
Ismid ...	184,960	78,564	50,935	2,180	1,435	318,074
Aidin (Smyrna)	974,225	629,002	17,247	24,361	58,076	1,702,911
Brussa ...	1,346,387	274,530	87,932	2,788	6,125	1,717,762
Konia ...	1,143,335	85,320	9,426	720	15,356	1,254,157
Angora ...	991,666	54,280	101,388	901	12,329	1,160,564
Trebizond ...	1,047,889	351,104	45,094	—	—	1,444,087
Sivas ...	933,572	98,270	165,741	—	—	1,197,583
Castamcuni	1,086,420	18,160	3,061	—	1,980	1,109,621
Adana ...	212,454	88,010	81,250	—	107,240	488,954
Biga (Darda- nelles) ...	136,000	29,000	2,000	3,300	98	170,398
TOTALS ...	8,192,589	1,777,146	594,539	39,370	219,451	10,823,095

GREEK PATRIARCHATE STATISTICS, 1912.

Provinces.	Turks.	Greeks.	Armen-ians.	Jews.	Others.	Totals.
Constanti- nople (Asiatic shore) ...	124,281	74,457	35,360	5,965	18,497	258,560
Ismid ...	116,949	73,134	48,635	2,500	1,115	242,333
Aidin(Smyrna)	940,843	622,810	16,419	21,781	57,676	1,659,529
Brussa ...	1,192,749	278,421	89,966	2,854	6,134	1,570,124
Konia ...	988,723	87,021	9,729	605	15,471	1,101,549
Angora ...	668,400	45,873	98,798	478	8,749	822,298
Trebizond ...	957,866	353,533	50,624	—	—	1,362,023
Sivas ...	839,514	99,376	170,635	—	—	1,109,525
Castamuni ...	938,435	24,919	3,205	—	2,087	968,646
Adana ...	142,000	90,208	83,000	—	108,292	423,500
Biga (Darda- nelles) ...	138,902	32,830	2,336	3,340	81	177,489
TOTALS...	7,048,662	1,782,582	608,707	37,523	218,102	9,695,506

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The above Greek census was carried out because of the general complaint made against the Young Turk Government that in the official census of 1910 the returns of Turks had been enormously exaggerated, for the purpose of assigning to them a larger proportion of seats in the Ottoman Parliament. The numbers of the other nationalities could not easily be falsified, as each community keeps a careful register of its own people; therefore the only way by which the Turks could increase their strength in the Turkish Parliament was by exaggerating the numbers of the Turkish population. Thus, while the Turkish census puts the Turks at a total of 8,192,589 for the whole of Asia Minor, the Greek census reduces it to 7,048,662, a difference of 1,143,927. Both statistics, however, are substantially in agreement as to the subject races. The Greek census reckons only 5,000 more Greeks and 14,000 more Armenians than does the Turkish census; the Jews are reckoned at 2,000 less, and the "others" (chiefly foreigners and Gipsies) at 1,300 less. The Greek census, therefore, bears the marks of a more accurate and dispassionate work than the Turkish; in the district of Aidin, for instance, it reduces the Turkish population of 974,000 only by 33,500, while in the Dardanelles province it even puts the Turks at a higher figure than does the Turkish census. The greatest reduction is in the Angora district, where the Turks are cut down from 991,660 to 668,400; but there the Greeks, too, are reduced from 54,280 to 45,873, while the Armenians are reduced by less than 3,000. From everything we know of the Young Turk Party and their misrule in Turkey,

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the charge that they deliberately falsified the census returns by exaggerating the strength of the Turkish population is in every way credible and probable. It is, therefore, safer to use the Greek census as a basis of consideration.

Even so the Turks form seven-tenths of the total population of Asia Minor, outnumbering the Greeks alone by 4 to 1, and Greeks and Armenians together by 3 to 1. But this preponderance of the Turks is smaller in some provinces than in others. Thus, in Aidin, the Turks are to the Greeks as 3 to 2, but form only about 57 per cent. of the total population. In Ismid, they are to the Greeks as 10 to 6½ (or less than 2 to 1), and form only 47 per cent. of the population. In Brussa, they are as 4 to 1, and form about 72 per cent. of the total population. In Trebizond, as 2¾ to 1, and form 70 per cent. of the total population. In Adana, as 3 to 2, and form only one-third of the total population. These are provinces where the Greeks are in greater ratio. In Konia the Turks are to the Greeks as 12 to 1; in Angora, as 14 to 1; in Castamuni, as 39 to 1. In these provinces the Turks form 89 per cent., 81 per cent., and 97 per cent. of the total population respectively. For the moment, I am leaving out of consideration the districts of Constantinople and Biga, for reasons that will be explained further on.

These comparisons naturally suggest a grouping of the Asia Minor *vilayets* into two classes—those where the Turks form 75 per cent. or more of the population, and those where their ratio falls below 75 per cent. The first class comprises the *vilayets* of

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Konia, Angora, Sivas, and Castamuni. The second class the *vilayets* of Aidin, Brussa, Trebizond, Adana, and the independent *sandjak* of Ismid.

If we go into more detailed comparisons, and examine the statistics by *sandjaks* and *cazas*, we find that there are districts where the Greeks are stronger numerically than the Turks. Thus, in the 12 *cazas* of the *sandjak* of Smyrna (*vilayet* Aidin) the Greeks number 449,044, as against 219,494 Turks, who form but 29 per cent. of the total population. In the *caza* of Magnisa, 38,926 Greeks to 37,900 Turks; in the *caza* of Sokia, 25,801 Greeks to 12,987 Turks. In the *vilayet* of Brussa: *Caza* of Kios, 13,602 Greeks to 12,354 Turks; *Caza* of Mudania, 26,710 Greeks to 8,404 Turks; *Caza* of Aivali, 46,130 Greeks to 89 Turks; *Caza* of Artaki, 54,700 Greeks to 5,418 Turks. These *cazas* are mostly on the coasts; further inland, the ratio of Turks increases.

Now, if the law of self-determination is to be undiscerningly applied in deciding the future status of Asia Minor, of course the large general Turkish majority will vote for Turkish rule. The Moslem does not live willingly under infidel rule. The Moslems of India would doubtless prefer British to Turkish or Arab rule; but that is an extreme case. There is no doubt that, with all the material blessings that have come to Egypt under British rule, the Egyptians would prefer a government of their own race and creed.

But what of self-determination for the 2½ millions of native Christians of Asia Minor? Are they to be passed over in the general dispensing of liberty

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and self-government? Are the Greeks of Smyrna, Brussa, Trebizond, and Adana less entitled to such rights than the Arabs of the Yemen or the Syrians of the Lebanon?

The answer is, of course, *No*. But there are many advocates of a "reformed" Turkish rule, under which the Christian minority shall enjoy the same rights as the Turkish majority. Such advocates are mere theorists, without any grasp of the practical side of the scheme they propose. They show themselves to be ignorant alike of history and of the mentality of the Turk if they believe that Turkish rule can ever afford its Christian subjects that perfect equality, that protection of life, property and nationality, and that full participation in the government that is the birthright of all civilized peoples.

To begin with, I take it that all sides are agreed that a continuation of Turkish rule as it has been thus far, from the medieval Sultans down to Talaat and Enver, is impossible. That rule has been tyranny and absolutism of the worst and most degrading type.

The question then arises: Can Turkish rule be reformed to the extent of bringing it into harmony with modern ideas of civilized, free, popular government? For under a peace treaty like that which is now to be elaborated it cannot be made anything less. There can be no question of erecting a civilized autocracy or "paternal government" on the German pattern. The "reformed" Turkish rule must be a democratic government of the people and by the people; for the Christian minority in Asia

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Minor and Thrace is chiefly Greek, and the Greek is a democrat by temperament and by immemorial tradition. The Turk cares nothing about democratic government; his creed and traditions make for an absolutist, theocratic government. But it will be manifestly unjust to the Christian minority to force them back under such a political system as will satisfy the Turk.

Then, can Turkish rule be so "reformed" (say, rather *transformed*) as to embody true democratic principles? The answer may safely be given in the negative. Such principles are alien, and, indeed, abhorrent to the Turkish mind, to the Turkish tradition, and to the Moslem religion. Islam recognizes no equality between the believer and the infidel, but, on the contrary, preaches with no uncertain voice that infidels are dogs, created to be the servants and vassals of the faithful, and, as occasion may require, may be freely slain or downtrodden as a welcome sacrifice to the true faith. And such sacrifices would be no more impossible in the future than they have been in the past if the government is to remain in Turkish hands.

The traditions of the Turk are no less a hindrance than his religion to the realization of true democratic government. The Turk came into Asia Minor four and a half centuries ago as a conqueror and a squatter. He seized the land and reduced the natives to serfdom. He has lived ever since as the master in those lands, and the Christians as his vassals. Even if forced to accept outwardly and in theory the doctrine of the perfect equality of the Christian with himself, in his heart he will repudiate

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the doctrine, and in practice he will seek to evade it in every possible way. And this will be no difficult task if the civil administration, the judiciary, and the gendarmerie be in Turkish hands, as they will inevitably be, since the Ottoman Parliament will be overwhelmingly Turkish. It would be useless to secure to the Christian minority by means of constitutional provisions a proportionate share in the administration. Turkish cunning would, as in the past, find some sure and legal method of circumventing and nullifying these provisions. The more crying abuses of the past would undoubtedly be abolished, at least, for the time being. But the spirit inherent in Ottoman rule would remain essentially the same. The gulf that separates Islam from other creeds, and the Turk from the Greek and the Armenian is too great to allow the former to admit his former serfs and vassals to real equality. This was but too true of the Turks of the Hamidian period; it proved to be doubly true under the "constitutional" and "liberal" era of the so-called "*Union and Progress*" (Young Turk Party), the "intellectuals" of the Turkish nation, who were largely agnostics, so far as their own religion was concerned, and yet for purely racial and political reasons were far more fanatically hostile to the Christians of the Empire than the old orthodox Turks. The Young Turks were the highest product of the Ottoman race intellectually and politically; before they came into power their leaders lived as exiles in Western Europe, studied political sciences in France and Switzerland, and talked very plausibly and glibly about "liberty,

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equality, and fraternity." Their régime, once they obtained absolute power, proved to be infinitely more despotic, illiberal and hostile to the subject races of the Ottoman Empire than the worst reigns of medieval Sultans or of the bloody Abdul Hamid himself.

What has the Moslem community in Turkey to-day to offer better than the Young Turk régime, except a return to the former open absolutism? What elements are there in Mussulman society which could form and maintain real, civilized government? What political leaders can be named amongst the Turks who have any ideas as to liberal government, or any experience therein? Who is there among Turkey's prominent men whose past career offers any hope of his ability and sincere desire to offer the Christian minority their due share in the government of the country? The best advocate of the maintenance of Ottoman rule would be hard put to it to name a single Turk of any importance amongst his fellow-Turks who could safely be entrusted with the task of forming a really liberal and civilized government, and of governing Turkey in full accordance with the principles that form the basis of modern, civilized and free popular government.

This inherent inability of the Moslem to understand and to accept sincerely the doctrine and practice of free government and perfect equality between all citizens of whatever creed would inevitably and speedily lead to civil discord between Moslems and Christians, which would be tantamount to the loss of those very blessings of peace, good

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government and national progress which the coming settlement proposes to establish in the world.

The advocates of the maintenance of the Ottoman Empire will doubtless propose to establish some sort of control over this "reformed" Turkish Empire by outside Powers, or by the much-discussed League of Nations. So far as the latter is concerned, this is not supposed to be, properly speaking, its mission when it comes into being. Its rôle is to be rather that of arbiter, peacemaker, and policeman, as between one nation and another. It cannot conveniently undertake to exercise a continuous control and superintendence over the internal affairs of individual sovereign States, nor, indeed, interfere in those affairs except in so far as they affect international relations.

Therefore, foreign control and superintendence over the internal affairs of Turkey, if such is to be exercised at all, would have to be undertaken by a smaller group of outside Powers—most naturally by those Powers who have direct and live interests in Turkey. We should thus return to the old "European Concert" of the Great Powers, in which Austria's place would be taken necessarily by the Balkan League or Greece, and in which America could and should legitimately claim a seat. And it is not difficult to forecast the clash of conflicting interests, mutual jealousies, and mazy intrigue that would inevitably result from such a composite superintendence of Ottoman rule, ending, in all probability, in a fresh war. The least that one can say is that to set up any system of outside control over the internal administration of the Ottoman

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Empire would be to court future trouble by returning to the fatal friction and the shameful compromises of a discredited past. The Greeks and Armenians of the Ottoman Empire have already paid a sufficiently heavy price for the activities of the European "Concert" in Turkey.

If, then, neither the future League of Nations could conveniently undertake to be the permanent policeman of the Ottoman Empire nor a concert of the interested Powers would make any better success of the task than in the past, wherein would lie the gain to the Christians of Turkey, and to the world at large, by the maintenance of Ottoman rule? Even supposing (for argument's sake) that such outside control and supervision were made effective, what would be left of Ottoman rule but the mere name? Then why resort to so much complicated machinery merely to maintain a shadow of a rule that has not one generous tradition or liberal principle behind it in all the five centuries of its past existence, but has ever been the most hideous negation of good government and civilization that modern history has to show?

But there is still another consideration beside the question of the numerical majority of the country, which, as we have seen, is Turkish. Whoever has lived or travelled much in the Ottoman Empire knows, and can testify, that the Christians of that Empire, though numerically inferior, are intellectually superior to the Turks. As I said above, they may be described as the brains of the whole community; and the national life, intellectual progress, and material prosperity of the country is

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their work, to which the Turk contributes, and has contributed nothing. On the contrary, the Turkish Government has always blocked the wheels of progress in the country, except when foreign Governments have wrested commercial and industrial concessions from them for their own subjects by dint of long negotiation, much *baksheesh*, and occasional naval demonstrations. The Turk is not merely not civilized, he is, apparently, incapable of becoming civilized. His traditions of conqueror, soldier, and squatter, and his religion alike make him impervious to, and contemptuous of, the claims of modern civilization. His laws are based upon his creed, and nothing can be further removed from civilized jurisprudence and dispensation of justice than the *Sheri*, or Ottoman Law. His very language is largely pastoral, destitute of all scientific or professional vocabulary, cumbrous, and circuitous of expression. His traditions are those of soldiering and of an agricultural life; for these are the only two vocations that have ever attracted him. Throughout the length and breadth of the Ottoman Empire it is almost impossible to find a single physician, chemist, electrician, architect, engineer, artist, tradesman, manufacturer or skilled mechanic who is a Turk. Among the Arabs there are a few professional men; which proves that it is not merely the Mussulman religion that debars the Turk from the paths of civilization—it is that religion, *plus the Turkish blood and tradition*, to which European civilization is repugnant. This is further illustrated by the fact (already alluded to above) that the Turkish “intellectuals” (otherwise known as the

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Young Turk Party) have proved themselves just as hopeless, from the standpoint and standards of European civilization, as the most conservative Old Turk landowner or peasant, and much more blood-thirsty.

The Turk's incapacity for civilization is nowhere more clearly demonstrated than in his public administration. The large majority of foreigners who have lived long in Turkey agree in saying that the Turk as an individual in private life is usually not an unpleasant fellow to deal with, though separated from European and American standards by what seems to be an impassable gulf, but that he becomes a fiend incarnate as soon as invested with any public office. There has been no government so corrupt, so brutal, so unprincipled and incapable as that of the Turk. And whatever of corruption and incapacity is still noticeable in the public administrations of Balkan States can be distinctly traced back to the long centuries of Turkish domination, which left its deep impress upon these subject peoples. More hideous than even the long tale of butchery, oppression, and shame practised by the Turk upon his Christian subjects since his first appearance in these lands is this moral blight that his rule engendered upon the subject nationalities—a legacy of political corruption, lack of moral conscience and sense of duty, slackness, and “graft” in public office that these nations are but now beginning to shake off.

Turkish rule has ever been but one thing—tyranny; and to maintain it would be a hideous injustice to the Christian minority, which is both

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intellectually and morally the superior of the Turkish majority. If, therefore, the will of the majority, under an undiscerning application of the law of nationalities, be allowed to decide the future of these Ottoman provinces, it can mean but the perpetuation of this corrupt and tyrannical rule, and the unhappiness and unrest of the civilized minority. If the will of this majority be overruled by international control, then it will cease to be Turkish rule, and Turkish sovereignty will become an empty phrase and a useless encumbrance.

It is evident, therefore, from the foregoing brief survey of the question, that the maintenance of Turkish rule is by no means a solution worthy of the historic Conference at present assembled in Paris to evolve a permanent and satisfactory peace, which will eliminate all elements that can breed future wars by establishing such conditions as will make for peace, liberty, free popular government and progress. To maintain the present Ottoman Empire with no matter what administrative and constitutional reforms will not merely be not the "easier" solution of the Near Eastern question, it will be no solution at all, and within a very short time the whole question will be reopened.

The only remaining alternative is, therefore, *partition* or *dismemberment*. This, as I said above, will in effect be secured by the application of self-determination to Arabia, Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, and Armenia. In the case of Armenia, the law of nationalities is justly to be set aside, the majority of the population of Armenia (*i.e.*, of the *vilayets* of Erzeroum, Van,

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Bitlis, Diarbekr, and Mamouret-ul-Aziz) being Turks or Kurds. Why should not a similar solution be found for the Greeks of Asia Minor and Thrace? It will be impossible in common justice to deny these Greeks what is being given to nations that were almost unknown when the Greeks gave to the world the first great ideas of liberty and civilization. If there were no other reason for giving back these lands to their native and original owners, the repayment of the world's indebtedness to the Greek race for its civilization, its arts and its letters, would be in itself a sufficient reason.

It would, then, be not only possible, but eminently fair, to partition Thrace and Asia Minor between the Greeks and the Turks—to the Greeks the provinces where the Greek element is strongest, to the Turks those whose population is overwhelmingly Turkish—and to offer every facility for such an interchange and intermigration of the two races as to render this partition more acceptable to both sides. Thus, roughly speaking, Greece would obtain the *vilayets* of Adrianople, Aidin, and Broussa, and the *sandjak* of Ismid. Turkey would be limited to the *vilayets* of Konia, Angora, Castamuni, and Sivas. The *vilayet* of Trebizond would become, according to the long-expressed wish of its Christian inhabitants, the "*Pontus Republic*." The *vilayet* of Adana should be annexed to Armenia, to give the latter State a much-needed outlet to the Mediterranean.

Constantinople cannot be left under Turkish rule. Its command of the Straits, which must henceforth become and remain a free and neutral international

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waterway, and the enormous importance of its position as half-way house between Europe and Asia, between the Euxine and the Mediterranean, are reasons why it cannot remain under the retrogressive, antiquated, corrupt, and alien rule of an Asiatic squatter-folk. As well appoint Turkish *zaptiehs* to regulate the traffic of London or the public works of Greater New York. Constantinople is destined, once freed of the incubus of Turkish rule, to become the greatest mart and city of the whole of the Mediterranean and of Eastern Europe and Asia. On the other hand, it cannot safely be put under the control of any one European State. It can only be self-governed—by its citizens, under a republican constitution. For the first years of its existence, and until it builds up stable political institutions, this Byzantine Republic can be under the protection and guidance of the League of Nations. Its territory should be composed of both shores of the Bosphorus with the *sandjak* of Scutari on the Asiatic side, and with the *sandjak* of Chataldja on the European side—the Prinkipo Islands, the Gallipoli Peninsula, and the opposite Asiatic *sandjak* of Biga (Dardanelles).

This Byzantine Republic would then comprise the following populations:—

Sandjaks					Turks.	Greeks.	Others.	Totals.
Constantinople (Eur.)	...	...	...	...	308,733	235,215	297,160	841,108
Chataldja	...	...	...	...	16,100	54,787	3,188	74,075
Scutari	...	...	...	...	124,281	74,457	39,752	258,490
Gallipoli	...	...	...	...	32,613	70,431	5,100	108,174
Biga	...	...	...	...	138,902	38,830	5,757	177,894
TOTALS	...	...	...	...	620,639	473,720	370,957	1,459,742

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The *vilayet* of Adrianople, excepting the *caza* of Gallipoli, and the Asia Minor *vilayets* of Aidin and Broussa, with *sandjak* of Ismid, would be annexed to Greece.

In the *vilayet* of Broussa there are two *sandjaks* (Kiutahia and Afion-Karahissar), whose Turkish inhabitants form 91 and 98 per cent. respectively of the total population. These *sandjaks*, being contiguous to the *vilayets* of Konia and Angora, might be detached from Broussa *vilayet* and given to Turkey. In that case, the parts allotted to Greece in Asia Minor would be as follows:—

				Turks.	Greeks.	Total Population	
Vilayet Vilayet of of Broussa	{	Sandjaks					
		Smyrna		219,494	449,044	754,046	
		Magnesia		247,778	83,625	337,925	
		Aidin		162,554	54,633	219,959	
		Denizlu		197,317	7,710	205,457	
		Mentesseh		113,700	27,798	142,142	
	{	Brussa		215,492	82,505	353,976	
		Bilidjik		194,391	26,670	239,236	
		Balikesr		246,851	150,946	408,957	
		Ismid		116,949	73,134	242,333	
TOTALS				1,714,526	936,065	2,904,031	

On the other hand, it must not be forgotten that the islands that fringe the Asia Minor coast from the Dardanelles to Castellorizo, and which are almost exclusively Greek in population, belong geographically and commercially to the Asiatic mainland and should be included in the latter's population. Some of these islands belong to Turkey, like Tenedos, Imbros, Castellorizo and the Dodecanese, but are in Greek, French or Italian occupation. Others, like Samos, Nicaria, Chios, Mitylene and Psara have been awarded by the Great Powers to Greece; yet as

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Turkey has hitherto refused to recognize this award, she cannot complain if they are included in the count of her Asia Minor populations. Some of them, like Samos, Chios and Castellorizo, are so close to the mainland that they must go with that mainland for the safety of the islanders. If, now, the populations of these islands are added to the foregoing table, we have the following results:—

	Turks.	Greeks.	Total Popu lations.
Asia Minor mainland, as above...	1,714,526	956,065	2,904,031
Tenedos, Imbros and Castellorizo	1,550	21,877	23,427
Dodecanese	11,560	102,727	118,837
Mitylene	14,376	125,753	140,439
Chios	850	71,724	73,524
Psara	—	565	565
Samos	300	50,277	50,917
Icaria	—	14,760	14,760
TOTALS	1,743,562	1,343,745	3,326,500

Of the total population, the Turks form 52.5 per cent. If arrangements could be made for the intermigration or interchange of the 275,000 Greeks of the *vilayets* of the new Turkish State with an equal number of Turks of the above table, then the Greeks in the above districts would be increased to 1,618,748, and the Turkish population reduced to 1,468,562.

Greece would unquestionably give full civic rights and complete religious protection to the Turkish population, that should elect to remain in their homes. It must be said to Greece's credit that she has always shown the greatest toleration and liberality toward her Mussulman subjects. In the first Balkan War the Greek armies everywhere

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respected the Turkish mosques, schools and dwellings, in contrast to the Bulgarians, who made a point of desecrating mosques and violating Moslem domiciles. Even the small Protestant Bulgarian community at Drama, Macedonia, in 1912, when that town was occupied by Bulgarian troops, forcibly took possession of a Turkish mosque in the market-place and converted it into a Congregational chapel. When reproved for this act by their spiritual fathers, the American Board missionaries at Salonica, they refused to give up the mosque. And it was only when the Greeks regained Drama, that the Turks regained their mosque! Indeed, all mosques and Turkish schools, which had been confiscated and desecrated by the Bulgarians in E. Macedonia in 1912, were restored to the Turkish inhabitants when the country was finally annexed to Greece in 1913. And the Greek Government has even undertaken to build a mosque at Athens for the Moslem community—an undertaking that has been set back by the European War. What is more important, the Mussulmans of the new provinces acquired by Greece in 1913 were at once given full political rights, including the franchise, and in Macedonia, where they are in more compact masses, have elected fifteen Mussulman deputies to the Greek Parliament. The Turks of Asia Minor and Thrace have, therefore, every assurance that under Greek rule they will not only have equality before the law and equal civic rights with the Greeks, but also full liberty and protection for their public worship and their communal schools. Mr. Venizelos has very broad ideas on this subject, as he has

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shown by appointing a Mussulman governor for the province of Drama, whose population is pre-eminently Turkish.

The *vilayets* of Konia, Angora, Sivas and Castamuni, plus the *sandjaks* of Kiutahia and Afion-Karahissar detached from the *vilayet* of Brousa, as above, would then form a purely Turkish State, which could be safely left to a "reformed" Turkish administration. It would comprise a small Christian minority of 571,000 (whereof 296,000 Armenians and 275,000 Greeks in a total population of 4½ millions).

	Vilayets.	Turks.	Greeks.	Armen-ians.	Total Population.
Konia		988,723	87,021	9,729	1,101,549
Angora		668,400	45,873	98,798	822,298
Sivas		839,514	99,376	170,635	1,109,525
Castamuni		938,435	24,919	3,205	968,646
Brussa					
Sandj.	Afion-Kar. ...	244,698	1,200	5,040	250,938
,,	Kiutahia ...	291,317	16,800	8,800	317,017
TOTALS		3,971,087	275,189	296,207	4,569,973

Here, again, the exchange of these 300,000 Armenians for an equal number of Turks of the Armenian *vilayets* would not present insuperable difficulties; and thus the new Turkish state could find itself freed of the Christian minority, and the latter be more content under their own nations. But if it preferred not to emigrate, this Christian minority would be amply protected against oppression by the Turkish Government owing to the presence of so many Turks in the neighbouring Christian states. It is possible that some readjustment could be made in the eastern districts of the

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vilayet of Sivas whereby a large portion at least of the 170,000 Armenians of that region could be territorially annexed to the neighbouring Armenian state. Also, a small tract around Amasia and Marsovan, where the Greeks are in great strength, could probably be annexed to the Pontus Republic. In any case, the Turks would still be masters of a large territory, inhabited by more than one-half of all the Turks in existence, and to which the other half could gradually migrate, if they so desired, to live under the Crescent and the sacred law of the *Sheri*. But it is doubtful whether this emigration will ever assume large proportions provided the Turks in Greece and the other States receive full liberty and protection; and there is no doubt that in the end Turks and Christians will settle down to an amicable and peaceful existence together, such as they have never known thus far, and would never experience so long as Turkish rule were to be maintained over the mentally superior Christian races.

CHAPTER IV

THE DODECANESE

THIS group of twelve islands (Rhodes, Cos, Carpathos, Cassos, Symi, Patmos, Nisyros, Tilos, Leros, Astypalaea or Stampalia Halki and Calymnos) is known otherwise as the Southern Sporades. They are inhabited exclusively by Greeks, with the sole exception of a small colony of Turks in the town of Rhodes. The total population in 1912 was 143,000 souls. Some of these isles are barren and waterless, depending for their water-supply on rock-hewn cisterns in which the winter rains are collected. Others, like Rhodes, are highly fertile and produce olives, figs, lemons, etc. But the bulk of the Dodecanesian population are hardy seafaring folk, renowned especially as sponge-fishers; in fact, the sponge trade of the E. Mediterranean is (or was, up to the seizure of these islands by the Italians in 1912) almost entirely in the hands of Dodecanesian skippers and traders. This sponge industry brought so much money into the Dodecanese, that the inhabitants of the barren isles lived in ease and comfort.

Under the Turks the Dodecanese enjoyed practical autonomy. Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent by a *firman* dated 1523, granted these islands exemption from the payment of all taxes, except an annual tribute of 170,000 piastres (about \$7,000)

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to the Imperial Treasury and forbade all Turkish military or civil officials from interfering in the internal affairs of the islanders. These privileges were confirmed by later Sultans and when, in the 19th century, two or three attempts were made by the Sublime Porte to abolish them, the intervention of England forced the Turks to desist from their purpose. It is true that, in consequence of the participation of some of these islands in the great Cretan revolution of 1866-9, Turkey found a plausible pretext for establishing a Turkish governor, a military guard and a customs house at Rhodes; and the Young Turks in 1910, by an Imperial Decree, declared that, under the new Constitutional *régime*, the privileges of the islands were considered as abolished. But, in view of the energetic protests of the islanders, this decree was left in abeyance, and thus, in 1912, the Dodecanesians were still self-governed, each islands having its mayor and Board of Aldermen, which carried on the local government and levied a tax of 3 per cent. on the yields of the sponge-fisheries, providing the inhabitants, in return, with street cleaning and lighting, and with free schools, municipal physicians and apothecaries, for the gratuitous treatment of all illnesses. A general assembly of delegates of all the Twelve Isles met annually at Rhodes for the discussion of matters concerning this little maritime commonwealth.

This was the situation in the Dodecanese, when the Italians, who were then at war with Turkey, effected a landing at Rhodes in April, 1912. The Italian troops were received with open arms by the Rhodians, who saw in them their liberators from

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the last remnant of Turkish sovereignty. Native riflemen rounded up the Turkish garrison in the interior of the island and assisted the Italian troops in making them prisoners. The same cordial reception was given to the Italian naval and military representatives by the other islands. Gen. Ameglio, Admiral Presbitero, and the other Italian representatives assured the islanders by official proclamations that the Italian occupation was destined to free them from the Turkish allegiance and to secure them freedom and self-government.

But it soon became evident to the Dodecanesians that the Italians were planning to establish themselves permanently in these islands. And so a General Assembly was convened at Patmos on July 1, 1912, which drew up a Declaration, which, after greeting the "Italian Sister-nation, its King and Government," and expressing its gratitude for the liberation of the Dodecanese from the Ottoman subjection, proceeded to declare that the people of the Dodecanese desired, above all else, to be united with their mother-country, Greece, but in the meantime, were content to establish, in the spirit of the Italian proclamations, an autonomous State, to be known as the "Aegean Commonwealth," and to be governed by the same laws as their brethren of Free Greece. A deputation of three delegates was nominated to hand this Declaration to the Italian commander-in-chief at Rhodes for transmission to the King of Italy, and to the Italian Parliament and Government; copies were to be transmitted, also, to the representatives of the other Great Powers.

This act of the islanders aroused the anger of the

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Italian Commander-in-Chief, who flatly refused to receive the deputation. And from that time on, the attitude of the Italians toward the Dodecanesians underwent a complete change, for this declaration was not at all in harmony with Italy's aims and projects in these islands.

In the meantime the war between Italy and Turkey came to an end by the Treaty of Lausanne, almost immediately after the outbreak of the Balkan War (October, 1912). By the terms of this treaty, Italy agreed to return the islands to Turkey, as soon as the latter had fulfilled all her obligations under the same treaty. This clause evoked energetic protests from the Dodecanesians, who hastened to remind the Italians of their promise that the Turkish dominion over the islands had been abolished for good, and to declare that under no circumstances would the Dodecanese consent to resume its former allegiance to the Ottoman Empire, but would declare its union with Greece. During the Balkan War, the Greek fleet swept the Aegean Sea and captured all the other islands of the Turkish Archipelago; and Turkey was only too glad to have the Twelve Isles under Italian occupation, because this kept off the Greek fleet. But when peace was signed between Turkey and the Balkan States (1913), and Turkey demanded the retrocession of the Dodecanese, the Italians took refuge in the pretext that Turkey was still secretly supporting the Arabs of Tripoli against the Italians' occupation, and they consequently refused to relinquish the Twelve Isles. The dispute was still pending when the European War broke out and four months later Turkey joined

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on the side of Germany. Italy did not join the Entente for several months after that, but she retained a tight hold upon these islands, and in the secret treaty of April 23, 1915, with England, France and Russia, she demanded and secured the definite cession of the Dodecanese to her absolute sovereignty.

In the meantime, from 1912 on, the attitude of the Italian authorities toward the Dodecanesians became more and more harsh. Gen. Ameglio forbade all public gatherings, any display of the national colours (blue and white) and any prayers for the King of Greece or for the success of the Greek arms during the Balkan War.* On one occasion Italian troops broke up by force of arms the usual religious procession on the Greek Church festival of the Epiphany, which they suspected to be a political demonstration.

When Gen. Ameglio found that these acts did not have the desired effect, but rather confirmed the islanders in their stubborn determination of passive resistance, he decided to resort to more drastic measures. The mayor and aldermen of all the islands were deposed from office by his order and imprisoned or expelled, and a few natives of no repute, who had been won over to the

* NOTE.—Herein he forgot how faithfully he was copying the tyrannical edicts of the Austrians in Lombardy before Italian unity was achieved. It is a well-known historical fact that, when the Austrians forbade the display of the Italian national colours—green, white, red,—the Italians displayed large slices of water-melon at their windows and balconies, thus circumventing the prohibition. And many Dodecanesians, no less stubborn, proceeded to whitewash their houses white, with doorways and windows picked out in blue.

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Italian cause, were appointed by Gen. Ameglio to rule in their stead. All Dodecanesians who happened to be abroad, were refused readmittance to their native isles; and, as a large number of them are constantly travelling in the interests of the sponge trade, this measure hit the island-folk very hard.

Then edicts were issued forbidding the inhabitants of any island or any village in the larger islands to leave their homes for more than eight consecutive hours at any one time. If a labourer went from one island or one village to another to find work, or stayed in the field beyond the allotted time, he was at once arrested, imprisoned and then expelled from the whole Dodecanese.

These measures soon had the effect of causing many islanders to decide to emigrate to America; herein they found every encouragement on the part of the Italians, who only insisted upon the emigrants signing declarations that they would never return. Of course, in most cases, they were forced to sell all their property to raise money for their journey. Thus they cut themselves off doubly from their native land. Thousands of these emigrants arrived in Greece on their way to America, and were there held up, owing to the new American immigration regulations, which obliged the American Legation and consulates in Greece to refuse to *visa* the passports of enemy subjects (internationally, the Dodecanesians were still Ottoman subjects). Thus these poor wretches were forced to stay in Greece, where work is scarce, and after exhausting their little stock of money, became "refugees," dependent upon the pittance which the Greek Government could

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afford them. To put a stop to this exodus from the Dodecanese, the American Legation at Athens telegraphed to the British Vice Consul at Rhodes, who represented American interests in the Twelve Isles, to issue a public notice, by publication in any local papers and by notification to the head men of the several isles, urging prospective emigrants not to leave nor to sell out their belongings before communicating with the American Legation, which would then inform them whether they could grant a *visa* to their passports or not. And this measure, put an effectual stop to emigration. The Italian Government has since endeavoured to persuade the U.S. Government to relax the severity of its passport regulations, but so far no such relaxation has been ordered.

The food supply of the Dodecanese comes from outside, since the islands themselves do not produce any of the necessities of life. The Italian military authorities put the native population on the scantiest possible bread ration (*one pound of flour per head a week*), while the troops were fed abundantly. When the many rich Dodecanesians settled in Egypt and France heard of this measure, they offered to charter steamers to carry flour and foodstuffs to their starving countrymen for free distribution, but the Italians refused to allow these supplies to enter the country. Nor would they permit Dodecanesians abroad to remit money to their families in the islands. The native sponge-fishers and owners of sailing ships were forbidden to leave or to fish in native waters, on the plea that they were in league with German submarines. Thus, hemmed in on all sides, between

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starvation and lack of work, at a time when their sailing vessels could have earned a rich harvest by carrying freight for the Allies in the Aegean Sea, thousands of Dodecanesians fled in their boats to the nearest Greek islands, and the number of these refugees, plus the exiles, in Greece amounts to-day to over 80,000, or more than one-half the population of the Dodecanese in 1912. Of the remainder, thousands have died of hunger and sickness, the old municipal system of doctors and pharmacies having been abolished by the Italians along with the elected magistrates. The rate of mortality in the islands has increased by something like 230 per cent. since 1914, chiefly, of course, amongst children and old people. Instead of the old town tax of 3 per cent., which sufficed to cover all their public expenditure, the Italians have introduced a number of their own varied taxes, thus grinding down whatever was left of the former prosperity of these isles. The population, through emigration, expulsion, and starvation, has fallen in some islands 60 to 70 per cent.; thus, in Symi, which, in 1912, had 20,000 inhabitants, the population is to-day, 6,780, and in Calymnos has fallen from 21,000 to 8,314, as is proved by the last issue of ration tickets.

Yet this industrious and enlightened island folk have every right, not only to a tolerable existence under a free government, but also to the determination of their own political destinies. That at the Peace Congress they will come into their own, they are all firmly convinced. With the United States at the council-board, they are confident that the iniquitous secret treaty of 1915 be-

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tween Italy and the Entente will be annulled—indeed, there is reason to believe that both France and England will offer no serious opposition to its annulment. When the delegation of this purely Greek island commonwealth demand their right of union with Greece, under the law of nationalities (to which Italy owes her own establishment as a united nation) and the right of self-determination, they cannot conceive that anyone can say them nay. The recent resignation of Signor Bissolati is proof that the spirit of Mazzini is not dead in Italy.

That imperialistic Italy herself feels how much she is in the wrong, is apparent from the stringent censorship by which she has endeavoured to cut off the Dodecanesians from all communications with the outside world. But the Dodecanese is not Armenia nor yet Northern Epirus in its geographical position, to be stifled into submission without a cry. The secret communications between the islanders and their kinsmen in Greece are as irrepressible as the clandestine press was in Belgium under the late German occupation, or as the patriotic leagues in Italy in the first half of the 19th century under Austrian tyranny. And the Dodecanesians who have achieved wealth and eminence abroad, chiefly in Egypt, Greece and France, are astonishingly numerous for such a small island folk. The present Greek Minister at Washington, Mr. Roussos, is a Dodecanesian, who was an eminent barrister and judge of the Mixed Tribunals in Egypt, before Mr. Venizelos called him to his present important post.

The situation in the Dodecanese is a melancholy and humiliating example of how a democratic nation

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like Italy can forget whence she sprang and what constitutes her noblest traditions. Italian Imperialists lay claim to the Dodecanese upon three grounds:

1. Upon the historical title of the ancient order of the Knights of St. John, who held sway at Rhodes in the Middle Ages, and who were Italians or led by Italian Grand Masters. The King of Italy, who is an ardent collector of coins, considers as the gem of his valuable collection a coin struck by one of his ancestors of the House of Savoy, who defended Rhodes against the Turks, and who afterwards adopted as his crest, "*Fortitudine ejus Rhodum tenuit*" (By his valour he held Rhodes). His fame is perpetuated upon modern Italian coins by the initials F.E.R.T. stamped around the rim. Of course, this claim cannot but seem rather unconvincing in our times. The Knights of Rhodes were a small military caste of foreigners who occupied Rhodes as conquerors for some length of time, and were ever an alien element there. In fact, beyond a few ruined buildings and fortifications in the town of Rhodes itself, there is not a trace left of this order; and the Italian Imperialists might just as logically lay claim to Rhodes and to the entire Mediterranean Sea, for the matter, on the strength of the Roman Empire, which swayed the entire then known world for the space of three centuries.

2. Upon the ground of "equilibrium of power" and "compensation" to Italy for what France and England may get by way of increase in their possessions or influence in the Mediterranean. In this

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respect, Italy aspires to Adalia, Smyrna, and indeed, to the better part of Asia Minor, and to these regions, the Dodecanese is a convenient, if not a necessary, stepping-stone. If England is to "get" Palestine, or France Syria, then Italy must have Asia Minor. This reasoning is that of the old *régime*, or school of European diplomacy—the diplomacy that delighted in secret treaties and barter of lands and peoples with no regard to the wishes of the latter. But Italy cannot fail to perceive that this old order of ideas of "equilibrium" and "compensation," has been shattered by the Great War, and that henceforth, if there is to be peace on earth, only the laws of nationality and the right of all civilized communities to govern themselves can be taken into consideration in the laying out of the new map of the world. If Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia are to be placed under the special protectorate of France or Great Britain, it will be because these countries are not yet sufficiently advanced in civilization to set up an efficient government of their own race. And such protectorates will, and must, be framed in a way, that they will serve as a preparatory stage for the ultimate self-government of these protected countries. The Dodecanese, however, cannot be compared with such countries, any more than can Smyrna or Northern Epirus. These regions are occupied by populations sufficiently advanced in civilisation to make their claim to self-determination unanswerable. For all of these the Greek kingdom to-day exercises the same irresistible attraction which little Piedmont once exercised for Lombardy and Tuscany and the Sicilies.

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3. Upon the ground that Italy cannot afford to allow Greece to grow into a serious rival in the E. Mediterranean by the union of all Greek-speaking and Greek-feeling lands in the kingdom of Greece. This third ground is, of course, not openly and explicitly put forward, but it is much urged in semi-public discussions by the Italian expansionists. The Corfu channel must not belong to Greece, although the island of Corfu is Greek and the opposite mainland is inhabited by Greeks, because this channel forms a splendid naval base, and in the hands of a large Greek State would be a "menace" to Italy's security in the Adriatic. In the same way, Italy is claiming the whole E. shore of the Adriatic down to Albania, excepting a few harbours near Montenegro, ignoring the fact that the whole eastern shore from Pola to Antivari is inhabited by a compact Jugo-slav population, with almost no genuine Italian admixture. And this, on the ground that Italy is not "safe" unless she controls the entire Adriatic Sea.

Happily there are Italians—and they are not the least far-sighted—who realise that the doubtful advantage of incorporating alien populations within the Italian frontiers is outweighed by the benefits which will accrue if, on the other side of the Adriatic, Italy can, through a different policy, have for neighbours two nations animated by friendship and a will fruitfully to co-operate with her.

CHAPTER V

NORTHERN EPIRUS

THE strip of country adjoining the north-western frontier of Greece and comprising the towns and districts of Santi Quaranta and Himarra (on the sea-coast facing Corfu), Delvino, Argyrocastro, Tepeleni, Klissura, Premeti, Liaskoviki, Erseka, Moschopolis and Corytsa, is called by its Greek inhabitants "Northern Epirus," by the Italians "Southern Albania." It is inhabited by a population of 223,000, of whom 101,000 are Mussulmans and 122,000 Christians. Mussulmans and Christians are either Greeks or Albanians* by race, the Mussulmans having been converted to Islam by force soon after the Turkish conquest. There are practically no inhabitants of Turkish blood.

The whole of what is to-day called "Northern Epirus" formed, under Turkish rule, one united province with Jannina, Prevesa and Arta. It was only in the middle of the 19th century that Corytsa was detached and annexed administratively to the *vilayet* of Monastir, to which it was much nearer

* There has been much controversy amongst savants over the origin of the Albanians, some calling them Pelasgians, others Illyrians, etc. But it seems fairly certain that the Albanian race belongs to the Greco-Latin branch of the Indo-European family, and is hence closely related to the Greek. The peculiar characteristics of the Albanians are due to their long isolation in an inaccessible mountain country.

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than to Jannina. And Epirus has been one of the most important centres of Greek education and patriotic activity from the 17th century down. The schools of Jannina and Moschopolis were the nurseries, where Greek letters and traditions were fostered during the long night of Turkish oppression. From these centres the schoolmasters and priests went out to all parts of the Ottoman Empire to minister to the spiritual wants of the Greeks, and to keep alive their national and racial consciousness.*

In 1770, Moschopolis, with its Greek Schools, printing-press and library, was plundered and burned to the ground by an invading horde of Albanian Ghegs from the north, and though rebuilt again, never recovered its former prosperity or importance. Its schools were transferred to the less exposed town of Corytsa, which since then became a Greek educational centre.†

While N. Epirus has ever been an integral part of Epirus, Albania and Epirus, on the other hand, have ever been distinct and separate countries, not only in Roman times (Epirus and Illyricum), but also in Byzantine times and under the Turks. The latter

* It may be mentioned, in passing, that in many places in N. Epirus ancient Greek remains—pottery, coins and inscriptions—have come to light, proving that the country in ancient times was Greek. The same is not true of Albania.

† Curiously enough, in the early years of the present century, Albanian nationalists and their foreign sympathisers began speaking of Corytsa as the "intellectual centre" of Albania! In 1907 the writer took the trouble to obtain first-hand information from one of these sympathisers (an American missionary) as to just what there was at Corytsa to justify this title, and learned that there was one small Albanian printing-press, and one school for girls, with 55 pupils. And this at a time when the Greek schools of Corytsa numbered over 2,000 pupils. Nor has this proportion ever varied since then.

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erected Epirus into a "Pashalik," with Jannina for its capital, as distinct from the "Arnaoutluk" (*Arnaout* is the Turkish name for an Albanian). And up to the Balkan War of 1912, this division was maintained in the two *vilayets* of Jannina and Scutari respectively, the former extending north of Avlona and Berat nearly to the river Skumbi. In this *vilayet* up to the year 1887, the only official language was Greek; after that year, the official Government Gazette published its decrees and notices in both Greek and Turkish.*

Commercially, also, the *vilayet* of Jannina was, up to 1913, a separate district, having little or no dealings with the *vilayet* of Scutari. Only Avlona, being the northernmost Epirote sea-port, traded with Durazzo and the other towns of the Albanian lowlands.

Under the famous Ali Pasha of Tepeleni, the Greek population of all Epirus was greatly oppressed and reduced, while the immigration of Albanian Mussulmans from the north was much encouraged. This brought an Albanian minority into the country and has been the cause of so much confusion and controversy of late years as to the natural, racial and political boundaries between Epirus and Albania. This persecution of the Epirotes was kept up by the Turkish governors from Ali Pasha's day (1820) to our own times, especially after the uprisings in Epirus against the Ottoman yoke in 1854, 1866 and 1877. In consequence of these persecutions, thousands of

* All the extant letters and decrees of Ali Pasha of Tepeleni, who was a fierce Greek-hater, are in Greek; which proves that Greek was the only written language in his day that was understood by the Epirotes.

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Epirotes were forced to emigrate to the Kingdom of Greece, to America, to Egypt and other lands, where their well-known commercial aptitude enabled them in every case to acquire a comfortable living, and in many cases to build up large fortunes.

Yet, in spite of this emigration and the Albanian influx, Epirus remained preponderantly Greek. It is estimated that of 150,000 Epirotes who have emigrated during the past 30 years, more than one-half left their families behind and retained their landed property, thus keeping up a strong bond with their native land. The Albanian minority, strongest in the Avlona-Berat district, diminishes in strength as one proceeds southwards, and dwindles to a mere fraction in the Prevesa district. The chief distinction between these Albanian minorities and the native Epirotes is that of religion, the bulk of the Albanians being Mussulmans. As regards language, in Southern and Central Epirus, that is, from Preveza northwards to well beyond Jannina, Greek is almost the sole language, even amongst the Mussulmans. Further north, in N. Epirus, Albanian is equally prevalent with Greek, both languages being spoken by both Greeks and Albanians.

At Avlona and Berat Greek is everywhere understood, but is the ordinary language only of the Greeks, who are in the minority. It must here be mentioned that even outside of the N. Epirote boundary-line claimed by Greece, there are nearly 45,000 Greeks and 78 Greek schools.

The last Turkish statistics (1908) of the population of N. Epirus are given in the following table:—

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Cazas of				Mussulmans.	Greeks.	Others.	Totals.
Argyrocastro	...	...	...	20,994	20,162	815	41,971
Delvino	...	...	...	4,510	16,725	415	21,651
Himarra	...	...	...	4,460	5,873	—	10,333
Tepeleni	...	...	...	17,885	6,093	50	24,028
Premeti	...	...	...	15,138	10,823	888	26,849
Pogoni	...	...	...	480	20,545	380	21,405
Corytsa	...	...	...	35,057	35,216	174	70,447
Colonia	...	...	...	10,622	4,843	—	15,465
Starovo	...	...	...	22,789	3,827	—	26,616
TOTALS	...	...	...	131,933	124,108	2,722	258,765

This table gives the population in full of the *cazas* named. Some of the latter, however, are only partially included in the N. Epirus, of which the present chapter treats. Thus, about two-thirds of the *caza* of Tepeleni, about one-half of the *caza* of Premeti, and one-half of the *caza* of Starovo are not claimed by the Greeks, but remain to Albania.

Given these deductions, the following statistics, issued by the Provisional Government of N. Epirus in 1913, will be seen to tally pretty closely with the above Turkish figures—

Cazas of				Mussulmans.	Greeks.	Totals.
Argyrocastro	...	...	...	21,023	21,094	42,125
Delvino	...	...	...	5,350	16,386	21,736
Himarra	...	...	...	4,750	7,218	11,968
Pogoni	...	...	...	810	20,996	21,806
Tepeleni (part)	...	...	...	5,855	4,386	10,241
Premeti (half)	...	...	...	9,265	8,721	17,986
Corytsa	...	...	...	34,171	35,438	69,609
Colonia	...	...	...	9,644	5,057	14,701
Starovo (half)	...	...	...	10,104	3,305	13,409
TOTALS	...	...	...	100,981	122,601	223,582

The promoters of the Albanian cause, chiefly Italy and Austria, have impugned both the above statistics on the ground that the Turks, not wishing to favour

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the national aspirations of the Albanians, classed all the Christian inhabitants as Greeks, and that this classification has been seized upon by the Greek nationalists as the basis of their claim to N. Epirus.

But in the aforementioned statistics of the Provisional Government of N. Epirus, there is also a table analysing the census of the Greeks according to the domestic language spoken by them ordinarily. This table is as follows:—

Cazas				Greek speaking.	Albanian speaking.	Vlach speaking.	Totals.
Argyrocastro	...	...	...	13,178	7,916	—	21,094
Delvino	...	...	...	12,231	4,155	—	16,386
Himarra	...	...	...	3,865	3,353	—	7,218
Tepeleni	...	...	...	—	4,386	—	4,386
Premeti	...	...	...	—	7,121	1,600	8,721
Pogoni	...	...	...	18,615	—	2,381	20,996
Corytsa	...	...	...	—	33,894	1,544	35,438
Colonia	...	...	...	—	5,057	—	5,057
Starovo	...	...	...	—	3,305	—	3,305
TOTALS				47,889	69,187	5,525	122,601

From this tabulation, it is seen that the Provisional Government of N. Epirus (which forced the Great Powers to acknowledge that the will of the N. Epirotes was against their proposed annexation to Albania) admitted officially that a little over one-half of the Greeks of N. Epirus speak the Albanian language in their homes. That they also speak and write Greek in their out-of-door relations, and especially in their business, the writer can testify, from all the cases with which he came into contact during an extensive tour in N. Epirus from Corytsa to Santi Quaranta in May, 1913. Even the Mussulman boys signed their names in Greek.

It has already been pointed out in Chapter II.,

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p. 15 (note) that the language test is not conclusive in determining nationality. In addition to the instances mentioned there proving this truth, Switzerland is a striking case of a nation speaking three different languages, yet absolutely united in its national consciousness and its determination to maintain its independence against the three great neighbouring States, whose languages it uses. So with N. Epirus; in Corytsa, Starovo, Colonia, Premeti, and Tepeleni, the Albanian language is prevalent; as one nears the western sea-coast, Albanian retires gradually into the secondary place and Greek becomes the prevailing language, both languages being everywhere understood and used. But except for such of the inhabitants as have been won over by Italian terrorism or blandishments to declare themselves Albanians, and to adjure Hellenism, the bulk of the Christian population, whether Albanian or Greek in domestic speech, is Greek in sentiment.

The most striking proof of N. Epirote loyalty to the Greek idea is furnished by the magnificent, public-spirited donations and endowments given by natives of N. Epirus to the Greek nation during the past half century. The City of Athens is full of splendid public buildings and institutions, representing many millions of dollars, the gifts of patriotic N. Epirotes, who have made fortunes abroad. The beautiful Academy of Fine Arts, one of the finest buildings of Athens, and the Astronomical Observatory, were the gifts of Sinas of Moschopolis. Bangas, of Corytsa, left a hotel in one of the big centres of Athens, with £20,000, to the Greek Navy Fund. The Zappa brothers, who endowed

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Athens with her Exposition grounds, and Constantinople with her biggest Greek High School for Girls, hailed from Lambovo (north of Argyrocastro). Zographos, founder of a large Greek school at Constantinople, and of a Prize Fund for the Encouragement of Greek Studies at Paris, was a native of Droviani. Arsakis, of Premeti, founded and endowed the Arsakion at Athens, which is the highest Normal School* for Women in Greece. Tositsas and Stournaras, of Metsovo, established the Polytechnic Institute at Athens, a fine group of marble buildings. Averoff, also a native of Metsovo, spent his large fortune in founding at Athens a Reformatory for youthful criminals and the Military Academy, in rebuilding in Pentelic marble the ancient Panathenaic Stadium for the Olympic Games, and in providing the Greek War Navy with the battle-cruiser which bears his name, and which played such a decisive part in the first Balkan War against Turkey. What other population of 122,000, living in a poor and mountainous land, has given such magnificent proofs of patriotism and public spirit?

The N. Epirotes have been no less public-spirited as regards the cause of education in their own native province. Bangas, Adamides, Liakchis, Tsiticas and other citizens of Corytsa, endowed their native town with a fund of several million drachmas for the support of the Greek schools of that district, and of the hospital and poor-house of the town.*

* In this connection, and as showing the strong Greek feeling of the people of Corytsa, I may mention that in 1884 a certain Avramides, of that town, who had made his fortune in Roumania, offered a donation of 400,000 drachmas (£16,000) for the schools of Corytsa, on condition that Albanian be taught in them as a foreign

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Thus the district of Corytsa can boast of 44 schools, with 3,652 scholars of both sexes; this includes a Gymnasium or High School for Boys, a High School for Girls, two Grammar Schools for boys, one for girls, and two kindergartens, all in the town of Corytsa.†

The total of the Greek schools in N. Epirus is as follows:—

	Cazas of				Schools.	Teachers.		Scholars.
Argyrocastro	...	...	...	...	50	...	59	1,916
Delvino	...	...	...	...	24	...	33	1,063
Himarra	...	...	...	...	8	...	14	507
Pogoni	...	...	...	...	42	...	57	2,061
Tepeleni	...	...	...	...	16	...	20	540
Premeti	...	...	...	...	30	...	34	1,018
Corytsa	...	...	...	...	44	...	83	3,652
Colonia	...	...	...	...	14	...	16	490
Starovo	...	...	...	...	10	...	10	265
TOTALS	...	...	...	...	238	...	326	11,512

The history of the N. Epirus question is so recent as to be within the memory of all; yet a brief recapitulation will be convenient.

language. This offer was rejected by the community in a general assembly. Similarly, in 1910, Douros, another citizen of Corytsa, offered 150,000 drachmas (£6,000) for various public institutions, without putting any conditions upon his donation. Yet this offer, too, was rejected, because it was addressed to the "Orthodox Community of Corytsa," instead of to the "Greek Orthodox" Community!

† All these schools were forcibly closed by the Albanian invaders, who occupied the town and district of Corytsa upon the withdrawal of the Greek garrison in 1915, and who proclaimed an "Albanian Republic." When, a few months later, a French force from Florina took possession, permission was granted for the Greek schools to reopen. The writer was painfully surprised to hear, during this summer, an American missionary—who is carrying on an Albanian school for girls at Corytsa—inveigh against the French for this act of elementary justice, on the ground that the Greek schools "seduced the Albanian youth from their allegiance to the Albanian cause by teaching them to love the Greeks." That strange phrase sums up the attitude of nearly all the partisans of the Albanian propaganda.

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Up to 1912 there was no such question. The Italians had long had an eye to Epirus as a whole, but beyond maintaining two perfunctory Italian schools at Jannina and Avlona, they had accomplished nothing.

When the Balkan War broke out and Greek troops invaded Epirus, took Jannina after a tough siege and advanced northwards, Mr. Venizelos, wishing to respect Italian susceptibilities and acting upon a private understanding with the Italian Government, ordered the Greek army to refrain from occupying Avlona or Berat, especially as Austria and Italy, as soon as Turkey's defeat became apparent, hastened to proclaim the Albanian State. Greece even evacuated the little island of Sasson, which lies at the entrance of the Bay of Avlona, and which belonged to Greece by the treaty of the cession of the Ionian islands of 1864. This complaisance on Greece's part was the result of a private verbal understanding between Mr. Venizelos and the Italian Government to the effect that, if Greece avoided occupying Avlona and Berat, Italy would not dispute the Greek occupation and annexation of N. Epirus. But as soon as the Balkan War was ended, Italy, acting in accord with Austria, demanded the evacuation of N. Epirus by Greece. Mr. Venizelos thereupon asked that the matter be decided by the Great Powers on the basis of the law of nationality and self-determination by the inhabitants of N. Epirus. England, France and Russia were favourable to the Greek annexation, but Italy and Austria made such an outcry over the matter

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and even threatened to proceed to such extremes, that those other Powers gave way, and a compromise was effected by the sending of an international commission into N. Epirus to ascertain, not the wishes, but the *language* of the population. In this Commission the Italian and Austrian delegates made every effort to browbeat the inhabitants into declaring themselves Albanians. They even penetrated into the houses and cross-examined the women as to whether they spoke Albanian or not. Then the Commission adjourned to Florence and there drew up the Protocol of Florence, November, 1913, which decided that N. Epirus should be annexed to the State of Albania.

Mr. Venizelos bowed to the decision of the Great Powers and ordered the Greek garrisons of N. Epirus to withdraw. But the N. Epirotes thought otherwise, and flew to arms. A Provisional Government was formed under the presidency of Mr. Zographos, son of the patriotic millionaire of Droviani, arms and munitions were seized from the Greek army stores, and the N. Epirote minute-men were reinforced by volunteers from Crete and other parts of Greece. The Albanians, led by Italian, Dutch and Turkish officers, made several fierce onslaughts, especially in the Argyrocastro and Delvino districts, but were finally beaten off; and in 1914, the Powers were forced to enter into negotiations with the N. Epirote Provisional Government. A conference was convened at Corfu, which recognised the right of N. Epirus to be self-governing under a nominal Albanian suzerainty.

And this compromise was formally communicated

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by the Powers to the Greek Government, thus recognising the special interests which Greece had in N. Epirus. Then the European War broke out, and shortly afterwards all the Powers, including Italy, Austria and Germany, agreed to the provisional reoccupation of N. Epirus by Greece, it being stipulated that this reoccupation did not prejudice the final settlement of the question, which would be taken in hand at the close of the war.

Unfortunately for Greece, this moral victory in the N. Epirus question was gambled away by King Constantine, who, after driving Mr. Venizelos from office twice in 1915, utilized N. Epirus as a channel of contact and communication with the Central Empires, importing arms and gold, and exporting corn and other supplies.

In vain did the then British Minister at Athens (Sir F. Elliot) warn Constantine that these doings in N. Epirus would bring about an Italian occupation there. Constantine disregarded this warning, as he did many others, until the Allies, seeing how openly and shamelessly Constantine was violating the neutrality of Greece, finally acceded to Italy's importunities and entrusted her with clearing away the hostile communications in N. Epirus. The Greek troops were ordered to withdraw, and the Italians, landing at St. Quaranta, advanced into the interior as far as Colonia (Erseka).

Almost all the districts of N. Epirus were taken possession of by the Italians, who at once set out to realize their long-cherished designs in this country. The Greek inhabitants were speedily made to feel the iron hand. They were placed before the alterna-

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tive of exile or of declaring themselves Albanians. Thousands refused, and were promptly packed off to the nearest Greek frontier, but many of the notables were imprisoned and deported to Italy. The Greek schools (184, with 233 teachers and 7,577 scholars) were all closed, and in their place, Albanian schools were opened with teachers from Italy, in which only Albanian and Italian was taught. The Greek Bishops and priests were driven out, and the Greek churches handed over to Albanian priests from Avlona, who officiate in Albanian. And the remnant of the Greeks, thoroughly cowed by all these measures, have been forced to affect submission, declaring themselves Albanians, attending Albanian church service, and sending their children to Albanian schools.

But the Italians were not content with thus "occupying" N. Epirus; they soon extended their operations to Central and S. Epirus, as well, on the pretext that King Constantine's generals at Jannina were hostile to the Entente. Italian forces marched southward, and occupied Jannina, driving out the Greek civil authorities and judiciary; and they were within a day's march of Prevesa when the French stepped in and forestalled them by landing a force and hoisting the French flag. Prevesa was the only corner of Epirus whence the Greek civil and judicial authorities were not expelled.

That Constantine's machinations were a mere pretext and that Italy aimed at getting the whole of Epirus into her grasp, in the belief that Greece would be dismembered at the close of the war, is proved by two indisputable facts:—first, that in all places in

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Epirus, except Jannina, where the Italian troops penetrated, they not only deposed the Greek municipal and civil authorities, but also closed the Greek schools and opened Italian schools. They also openly encouraged the strong Mussulman population of Margariti, Konispolis, etc., who had not yet had time to forget Ottoman rule, to revolt against Greece and to demand annexation by Italy. When, however, Mr. Venizelos returned to power in July, 1917, and demanded the evacuation of Southern and Central Epirus, the Italians, after many evasions and delays, had to comply. Secondly, that throughout the internal constitutional conflict in Greece between King Constantine and Mr. Venizelos, Italy backed up the former as far as her obligations to the Entente would permit, and showed marked hostility towards Mr. Venizelos and his sturdy fight against Constantine's reactionary and pro-German activities. She was glad to seize Epirus on the pretext that Constantine was there, plotting and acting against the Entente; but, in reality, the Italians were secretly in sympathy with that monarch, and his most trusty followers looked to Italy as to a friend. So much so, in fact, that, when the Italians were at Jannina, and the garrison of Preveza decided that if they advanced upon that town, they should be resisted by force of arms, the Constantinist Commandant of the town sent a special messenger by boat to Corfu to urge the Italian Admiral to come at once with a fleet of warships and occupy the town. And this invitation would have been acted upon, but for the timely arrival and landing of the French at Preveza, whose

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inhabitants and garrison received them with open arms.

And Italy's hostility to Mr. Venizelos and his pro-Entente movement is but too well-known. Not only did she make every effort to persuade England and France not to take up that movement, nor to admit Greece into the Alliance, but even after England and France had formally recognised Mr. Venizelos's Provisional Government as the *de facto* government of the larger part of the Greek kingdom, Mr. Venizelos's envoy to Rome (Mr. Alexandris, now Greek Minister at Berne), was refused recognition, or even reception at the Italian Foreign Office and the Italian press was forbidden even to mention his presence.

It was but too evident that Italy desired, as part of her scheme of expansion in the Balkan Peninsula and the Levant, to keep the Greeks divided by internal discord, until after the war, and meanwhile to exclude Greece from the Alliance, so as to have a proper excuse for debarring Greece from any share in the subsequent settlement. Nay, more than that, she hoped, as I said above, that if Constantine's position and anti-Entente policy in old Greece could be maintained, and his government remain the only officially recognised Greek government, throughout the war, Greece would be punished by the Entente by the loss of her new provinces, Salonica being given to Servia, Cavalla to Bulgaria, and Epirus to Italy.

These are grave charges to be brought against a great free nation and a member of the Entente Alliance in these days of enlightenment. They smack

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more of olden times—the times and ideas of Machiavelli or Metternich's Holy Alliance. But they are none the less true in every particular, as proved by events which are matters of common knowledge, and could be fully corroborated by the confidential correspondence of the Entente Governments. Italy has, unfortunately, shown but too plainly in her attitude and policy towards both the Greeks and the Jugoslavs during the course of the war, that she has forgotten (it is to be hoped only temporarily) her old traditions, to which she owes her own unification and position as a Great Power, and given herself up to dreams of expansion and imperialism at the expense of neighbouring States and nationalities.

The position in N. Epirus to-day is this:—Italy, through her military occupation of the larger part of N. Epirus, has succeeded in disarming the Greek population, which had in 1913-14 so successfully resisted the unjust decree of their annexation to Albania, and in driving out of the country all the courageous and irreconcilable Greek citizens. Of the Greek notables, 134 are still languishing in prison-camps on the little island of Favignana (off the west end of Sicily), and elsewhere in Italy. Just as in the Dodecanese, the Italians have mercilessly exiled any N. Epirote who asserted his Greek sentiments; and Albanians (chiefly Mussulmans) have been brought down from Avlona and Berat to take the place (including the homesteads and lands) of the exiles.* The remainder of the Greeks have been

* A striking example of this systematic effort to exterminate the Greek element in N. Epirus was furnished recently at the American Legation at Athens. On October 14th last a man, with both his feet amputated above the ankles, presented himself and asked to

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forced to submit, outwardly at least, to "Albanization." On the other hand, the Italians have made every effort to win over the Albanians to their side by carrying out an extensive scheme of road-building and other public works of real utility. And all foreign visitors to the country have been "personally conducted," to give the impression that it contains none but happy and contented Albanians. Thus, various American officers and professors have returned thence and published their impressions of "Southern Albania," wherein not a word is to be found that could lead a reader unacquainted with Northern Epirus to suspect the existence of even the most insignificant Greek minority. An American savant (a Mr. Clark), who is associated with the American Archæological Institute at Rome, has even been sent to the United States to

be heard by the Minister. He produced official documents proving his identity and story, which was as follows: His name was Basil Liolios, aged 49, a native of Krania, a N. Epirote village near Delvino. In May, 1917, he was arrested at his home by the Italian authorities on the charge that he was in league with "Greek bands." (This was at a moment when the Italians were in occupation of S. Epirus as well, so that the nearest "Greek bands" were 200 miles away.) He was kept in prison for six months before being brought up for trial (Nov., 1917), when he was condemned to one month's imprisonment, being finally released on December 17, 1917. During his imprisonment he was kept in irons, in the midst of conditions of great filth; the irons wore through his ankles and, being foul, gave him gangrene in both feet. He had to be carried out of prison upon his release. A few days later (December 25th) he applied for permission to leave for Corfu for medical treatment. This permission was withheld for three whole months, and it was not till March 10, 1918, that he was allowed to leave. At Corfu he arrived in a hopeless condition, and both feet had to be amputated to save his life, as duly certified by the Corfu Hospital. Meantime, his wife and children were driven out of their house in Krania by Albanian Mussulmans, under the approving eye of the Italians, and his lands appropriated. He is now a penniless refugee at Athens, living on a pittance from the Greek Government.

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lecture on "Southern Albania" in this sense, and to predispose American opinion favourably towards Italy's aims.

Now it is evident (even from the most extreme "Albanian" standpoint) that a country that less than four years ago flew to arms and, under the leadership of men of their own race and country, successfully beat off desperate onslaughts led by trained European officers, cannot have been utterly purged of its former inhabitants. There are thousands of N. Epirotes living on government and private relief in S. Epirus, Corfu, and elsewhere in Greece. There are the notables, who have now completed nearly two years' imprisonment in Italy. There are the N. Epirote bishops and clergy who have found refuge in Greece. But, in spite of all this, there must still be many thousands of Greeks remaining in N. Epirus who have not had the heroism to face death or exile, and who have reverted to the outward submission which has been handed down as a tradition of the old days of Turkish tyranny.

If justice is to be done to the N. Epirotes, and their free self-determination to be consulted, it will unquestionably be necessary that the Italians evacuate the country and some other Allied Power, which has no special interests in, or designs upon, N. Epirus, send a force to maintain order until all exiles return and take part with the other original populations in a free and unhampered expression of their sentiments and wishes as to their political future. In this *plebiscite* none of the Albanian immigrants from the north, who have inundated N. Epirus, since the Italian occupation, should be allowed to participate.

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Joint local committees of citizens of both parties can easily sift out these immigrants and squatters. And it is hardly to be doubted that, given these conditions, the large majority of the N. Epirotes will be found to hold fast to their Hellenic blood and traditions.

It may be urged that, given guarantees for the protection of the Greek element as to their schools and churches, and as to their equality of civil rights, the Greeks of N. Epirus can be assured of as good an existence under the future Albanian State, or under Italy, as under Greece. To begin with the Albanian State: As yet, nothing has been settled, either about the form of government or the social structure of that State, even in the vaguest outline. To the student, however of the Albanian nation and of events in the short-lived Albanian "Kingdom" of 1913 under Prince Wied, it is evident that, with the existing deep religious cleavage amongst the Albanians, their traditions and their social fabric, it will be extremely difficult, if not impossible, at least for a hundred years, to found one united, free and independent Albania. Three-fifths of the whole Albanian nation are Mussulmans; of the remainder, half are Roman Catholics, and half are Greek Orthodox. The central (and by far the largest) section of Albania is Mussulman, the northern districts (between Alessio and the Serbo-Montenegrin frontier) are inhabited by Catholics, while the Orthodox Christians are to be found massed in South Albania, that is, in the triangle Avlona-Berat-Darazzo, with a not inconsiderable admixture of Mussulmans. Amongst the Catholic tribes of the north, as well as

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amongst the Mussulmans of the centre, the clans form the social fabric, a class system to which the laws of the new State would have to be adapted, seeing that it comprises three-fourths of the nation. The Southern Albanians (Tosks) are, thanks to their long contact with their Greek cousins, democratic and more adaptable to modern ideas. But they are hopelessly in the minority, and unless they are given local self-government of their own, it is difficult to see how they can be governed by the same laws as their fellow Albanians further north. Again, there would probably have to be a considerable measure of local home-rule granted to the Catholics of the north, who would not brook to be ruled over by the Ghegs of the Mussulman centre. All Prince Wied's efforts to reconcile the powerful Catholic chieftains with the Mussulman *beys* and to form a united government out of these so diverse elements, proved a failure, and had the European war not broken out, leading to the speedy invasion of Albania by the belligerents, it is certain that civil war would have broken out in the country. In this welter of conflicting creeds and social institutions, it is difficult to imagine the Northern Epirotes, with their superior aptitude for civilized pursuits and their keen, commercial instincts, as leading the life of social and political progress, to which their superior civilization entitles them. They will be the natural prey of their less advanced, but more primitively forceful neighbours, the Mussulmans of the Gheg districts, who are robbers by tradition and instinct. Under a Mussulman government, as the central government of the Albanians must necessarily be, these Greeks

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of Northern Epirus would not enjoy real liberty, safety and peace, unless they were granted local home-rule to the exclusion of any interference of the central government in the administration or public order of Northern Epirus. But in that case, where would lie the advantage of putting this autonomous district under a mere rude imitation of civilized government, as the Albanian must necessarily be for more than one generation? What would the cause of European peace gain by such an arbitrary subjection of these civilized Epirotes with their schools and their commerce to what at best can only be a confederacy of alien clans, whose only law hitherto has been the will of each chieftain? What man or men amongst the Mussulmans or Catholic Albanians can be found, possessing sufficient political enlightenment, knowledge of civilized institutions and influence, to enact just and wise laws and to enforce them? Essad Pasha, who is undoubtedly the best Albanian of note, is but a rude soldier, trained under Turkish ideas, and but little versed in modern ideas of government. He has acquired a sufficient smattering of such ideas to converse glibly about them, but whoever has seen much of Turkish pashas, military or civil, finds Essad a typical specimen of this class, fitted perhaps to rule over his fellow Moslems, if he can get the mastery over the other clans beside his own, but incapable of giving to the other sections of the Albanian State anything better than the average Turkish rule.

Everything, therefore, points to the difficulty of establishing a stable, enlightened and liberal native government in Albania, at least for several genera-

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tions, unless under a close and rigid foreign control. And such control would mean Italian rule, which might or might not be beneficial to the Mussulmans of Central Albania or for the Catholics of the North, but certainly would be fatal for the Greeks of Northern Epirus. Nor can any legitimate reason be adduced why Northern Epirus, unfitted to be ruled over by the Ghegs of Central Albania, should be placed under a foreign rule, when her history, her geographical position and the racial settlement of her population (or of at least the most civilized section of it) would all point toward her being allowed to unite with Greece, under whose rule her citizens will enjoy not only security of life and property and commercial prosperity, but equal civic rights under a free, democratic government?*

If to this solution it should be objected that Greek rule would seek to crush out the Albanian element or minority, one can only point out that there are to-day

* Up to the time of the Italian occupation of Northern Epirus, even many of the Mussulmans preferred annexation to Greece, with the security of life and property and facilities for commerce, that would thereby be theirs, to union with Albania and anarchy. But if, as the result of the Italian propaganda, there should be to-day a strong minority preferring Albanian to Greek rule, or unwilling to accept the latter, it should not be difficult to effect here, too, a peaceful interchange and intermigration between these Albanian "ireconcilables" and the Greeks who are settled in Albania north of the boundaries claimed by Greece, and whose strength is shown in the following table (Turkish Statistics of 1908):—

	Greeks.	Greek Schools.	Greek Teachers.	Greek Pupils.
Caza of Tepeleni	1,460	2	2	49
Caza of Premeti	2,907	5	5	189
Sandjak of Berat	29,252	54	74	1,851
Sandjak of Durazzo & Elbasan	10,500	17	26	820
Totals	44,119	78	107	2,909

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200,000 citizens of Greece (in Hydra, Spetsai, Kranidi, Andros, Tenos, Euboea and in the immediate vicinity of Athens itself) who are Albanians by race and language—descendants of Albanian mercenaries, who were brought into Greece two hundred years ago by the Turks to buttress Turkish rule and keep the Greeks in subjection; these Albanians settled permanently in the aforementioned districts and have ever since maintained their national language in the midst of greatly superior intellectual surroundings. The women of these Albanian settlements speak Albanian almost exclusively; the men, of course, speak Greek as well. Yet they regard themselves with pride as Greek citizens, and have ever fulfilled their duty as such with devotion and loyalty. In Mr. Venizelos' present Cabinet, Admiral Coundouriotis, Minister of Marine, and Mr. Repoulis, Minister of the Interior, belong to this Albanian stock and speak Albanian fluently. Indeed, the Greek fleet, which played so important a part in the Greek War of Independence (1821-1827), was furnished by the Albanian patriots of the islands of Hydra and Spetsae at their own expense, and manned by Albanians. The names of Miaoulis, Coundouriotis, Saktouris, Bouboulis and others, all men of Albanian blood and speech, are amongst the most honoured in the annals of the Greek Revolutionary War. The mere fact that Albanian continues to this day to be spoke in the majority of the villages of the Attic plain, shows that under Greek rule there is entire freedom for citizens of friendly and kindred races.

As a matter of fact, Mr. Venizelos, when offered a

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free hand in Albania by Germany, if he would only keep Greece neutral in the late world war, stated publicly that, quite apart from other reasons of duty and sentiment which put Greece entirely on the side of the Entente, the conquest of Albania by Greece was an undertaking entirely out of harmony with Greek aims and democratic ideas. Greece, he said, wished more than any other State to see Albania free, strong and independent; and the Albanian nation could count upon Greece's aid and sympathy in all their efforts to establish a strong and enlightened government. It is more than certain that in the Balkan League, which is to be formed after the war, between Greece, Serbia and Roumania, there will be a place for Albania, provided she can achieve her own unity and is willing to maintain her independence. "The Balkans for the Balkan races," will undoubtedly be the motto of the Balkan League.

CHAPTER VI

GREECE AS A FACTOR IN THE ORIENT

IN the foregoing chapters I have endeavoured to show that the Greek claims are based, not upon arguments drawn from ancient history, but upon present day facts—upon the existence of Greek populations, whose demand for liberty and whose wish to be united with their brethren of Free Greece cannot justly be overlooked by the Peace Congress.

But as the rights of these Greek populations may be considered as conflicting at certain points with Turkish, Bulgarian, Albanian and (last, but not least) Italian interests, it may not be amiss to consider whether *ceteris paribus* where it is necessary to give the preference to the one or the other side, it is not distinctly to the interest of civilization and of peace that Greece should be given this preference.

The immense services to civilization rendered by Ancient Greece through its arts and its literature, its philosophy and its science, as well as through its successful resistance to Asiatic invasions, are too well-known and too universally appreciated to require emphasis here. Nor need I dwell upon the early propagation of Christianity through the Greek language and the Greek people; nor on the long and

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arduous fight waged by the Greek Empire of Byzantium against successive waves of Asiatic barbarians, which, but for that Empire, would have swept into Western and Central Europe.

All these title-deeds out of a glorious past of twenty-five centuries would be but mere memories, if the descendants of those ancient and mediæval Greeks had been utterly unworthy of their forbears.

Now, while it is true that in the domain of arts and sciences the Greeks have dropped behind the nations of the West, owing to five hundred years of the most degrading and revolting foreign oppression that history has to show, they are rapidly regaining this lost ground and have given evidence of retaining certain of the best qualities of their ancestors, which make them a valuable factor for peace and progress in the Orient. These qualities are their intelligence and sobriety, their love of liberty and their strong bent towards learning and knowledge of every kind.

The French military and British naval officers who were called recently to reorganise the Greek Army and Navy testified unanimously to the surprising quickness with which the average Greek soldier or sailor grasps the new conditions of warfare created by this great war. Greek workmen in American factories are looked upon as amongst the most intelligent and capable elements. The Greek seamen are ranked by foreign authorities as second to the Anglo-Saxon mariners. The Greek's love of freedom has not only made him to strive after its possession for himself, but also to share it with all others who live within his land. He has, perhaps,

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been illiberal and suspicious in the past toward foreign missionaries, suspecting them (unjustly, of course) of seeking to undermine his nationality by working against his national Church; but he has ever been more than tolerant of Mussulmans and Jews. And as his nation has grown stronger and more firmly established, his attitude towards foreign missionaries has grown more friendly and understanding of their aims has improved. His strong democratic temperament is a valuable asset for the world's democracy, in the midst of races that by temperament and tradition are strangers to democratic ideas.

His love of learning and thirst for knowledge find expression in his schools, which exist wherever there is the most insignificant Greek community. If the teaching in these schools is often behind that in other countries, there is, on the other hand, a large body of Greek educationalists, who are constantly striving to improve and bring up Greek education to the best and most modern Western standards. There is no other nation in the Eastern Mediterranean which is so keenly bent upon modern ideas in all things, as the Greeks.

On the other hand, the Greek has ever been an intrepid seafarer and an enterprising merchant. Just as hundreds of years before the Christian era the Greek colonies spread all over the coasts of Sicily, Italy, France and the Black Sea, and laid the foundations of the civilization and prosperity of those countries, so, to-day, there are flourishing Greek colonies in England, France, the United States, Italy, Egypt, Syria, Southern Russia, Rou-

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mania, the Caucasus, and even in British India and South Africa, which are respected and valued as members of the communities in which they have settled. Greek enterprise and industry are a considerable force in the Levant. The Greek mercantile marine carries the Greek flag into all seas, and in proportion to the population of the Greek Kingdom, Greece ranks higher as a seafaring nation than many of the Great Powers.

All these qualities render the Greek nation a valuable factor for the work of establishing and maintaining liberty, knowledge and material progress in the Orient. Neither Turks nor Jews nor Egyptians are comparable to the Greeks in this respect; and while all these other races are to be fostered and protected in their independence and free development, the help and benefit that they can reap for their independence and development from the civilizing influence of the Greeks is very great.

A strong Greece, therefore, is far from being a menace and a peril in the Eastern Mediterranean, as Italian Imperialists claim, but is, on the contrary, a guarantee for the liberties of the Balkan and Oriental states, and for the freedom of commerce and the advance of civilization in the Eastern Mediterranean.

All that the Greeks ask is the unification, not of all the lands that have been Greek in the past, nor of all those where strong Greek populations live to-day, for that would be impossible, but of those more compact sections of the Greek family, which can conveniently be bound up into one State, without prejudice to the due rights of other neighbouring

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racés. For those other Greek communities, which cannot geographically be included in this State, Greece asks only that they be so protected by the coming settlement, that they may be enabled to preserve their language, worship and traditions under those free democratic institutions that the Greek character instinctively cherishes, and that form the corner-stone of modern civilization. If such be the settlement in the Near East that will be elaborated in the Conference, then the Orient, after so many centuries of strife, bloodshed, tyranny and suffering, will at last settle down to lasting peace and secure prosperity.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

STATISTICS OF THE POPULATION, DIVIDED ACCORD- ING TO NATIONALITIES, OF THE VILAYET OF ADRIANOPOLE. 1912.

Sand-jaks	Kazas	Greeks	Turks	Bulga- rians	Arme- nians	Jews	Adherents of the United Church	Tota
Adrianople.	1 Adrianople ...	41,285	44,953	7,000	3,500	9,500	300	106,538
	2 Hafsa ...	9,160	8,235	730	—	—	—	18,125
	3 Dimotika ...	22,080	6,315	1,460	150	1,110	—	31,115
	4 Mustapha-Pasha ...	7,000	10,000	13,000	—	400	—	30,400
	5 Ortakeui ...	14,562	15,273	4,060	—	—	300	84,195
	6 Ouzun-keupru ...	19,197	10,610	5,600	—	—	—	35,407
	7 Kirdjali ...	—	32,000	—	—	—	—	32,000
		113,284	127,386	31,850	3,650	11,010	600	287,780
Kirk-Kilissé.	1 Kirk-Kilissé ...	28,171	16,420	14,695	—	880	—	60,166
	2 Agathupolis ...	8,050	1,250	1,700	—	—	—	11,000
	3 Viza ...	16,815	9,140	—	—	—	—	25,955
	4 Midia ...	9,180	660	400	—	—	—	10,240
	5 Lule-Burgas ...	7,662	13,339	655	50	230	—	22,436
	6 Baba-Eski ...	6,624	9,728	975	—	—	—	17,327
	7 Tyrnovo ...	—	2,150	10,230	—	—	—	12,380
		76,502	52,687	28,655	50	1,110	—	159,504
Rodosto.	1 Rodosto ...	26,020	20,775	—	13,000	2,500	—	62,295
	2 Tchorlu ...	11,100	13,500	—	1,600	1,300	—	27,500
	3 Malgara ...	15,020	14,390	2,730	3,200	—	396	35,736
	4 Hiropol ...	3,410	15,660	250	—	—	—	18,720
		55,550	63,725	2,980	17,800	3,800	396	144,251
Gallipoli.	1 Gallipoli ...	17,869	11,487	—	1,250	1,850	—	32,456
	2 Madytos ...	8,967	5,252	—	30	—	—	14,249
	3 Myriophyton ...	19,206	1,569	—	—	—	—	20,775
	4 Peristasis ...	12,046	2,935	—	—	—	—	14,981
	5 Keshan ...	12,343	11,370	2,000	—	—	—	25,713
		70,431	32,613	2,000	1,280	1,850	—	108,174
Dedeagatch.	1 Dedeagatch ...	7,371	10,670	11,558	350	230	—	29,979
	2 Enos ...	3,600	3,590	—	—	—	—	7,190
	3 Suffi ...	17,880	32,140	5,380	30	20	100	55,550
		28,851	46,400	16,738	380	250	100	92,719
Gumuldjina.	1 Gumuldjina ...	9,160	50,000	10,550	800	1,200	—	71,710
	2 Xanthi ...	10,275	22,000	1,695	100	80	—	34,150
	3 Achi-Tchelembi ...	2,310	20,000	12,875	—	—	—	35,185
	4 Dari-dere ...	—	20,000	500	—	—	—	20,500
	5 Eghri-dere ...	—	35,000	—	—	—	—	35,000
	6 Sultan-yeri ...	—	38,000	—	—	—	—	38,000
		21,745	185,000	25,620	900	1,280	—	234,545
Total in Vilayet of Adrianople ...		366,363	508,311	107,843	24,060	19,300	1,096	1,026,973

APPENDIX

STATISTICS OF THE POPULATION, DIVIDED ACCORD- ING TO NATIONALITIES, OF THE VILAYET OF CONSTANTINOPLE AND THE INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENTS OF DARDANELLES AND ISMID. 1912.

Sand- jaks	Kazas	Turks	Greeks	Arme- nians	Bul- garians	Jews	Gipsies	Other Nation- alities	Total
Constanti- nople.	1 Stamboul ...	213,605	45,580	78,241	2,859	10,814	—	7,502	358,541
	2 Pera ...	90,178	175,200	40,989	1,472	27,877	—	123,656	459,372
	3 Kutchuk- tchekmedje	4,950	14,495	3,500	—	100	—	150	23,135
		308,733	235,215	122,730	4,331	38,791	—	131,308	841,108
Chatalja.	1 Chatalja ...	7,200	32,225	30	—	25	—	20	39,530
	2 Buyuk- tchekmedje	3,980	11,681	—	—	—	—	—	15,661
	3 Silivri ...	4,920	10,851	873	—	2,010	230	—	18,864
		16,100	54,787	903	—	2,035	230	20	74,875
Skutari.	1 Skutari ...	81,117	34,640	50,360	—	5,670	—	17,000	168,787
	2 Khartalimi	10,500	9,670	2,200	—	25	—	—	22,395
	3 Guebize	12,300	8,000	—	—	—	—	300	20,600
	4 Princes Isds.	670	10,250	300	—	—	—	800	12,020
	5 Belkoz	4,894	2,597	1,900	—	—	—	397	9,788
	6 Chili ...	14,800	9,300	800	—	—	—	—	24,900
		124,281	74,457	55,560	—	5,695	—	18,497	258,490
Ind. Govt. of Dardanelles.	1 Dardanelles	26,875	11,500	1,284	—	2,825	—	66	42,550
	2 Ezine ...	15,434	6,900	621	—	165	—	6	23,126
	3 Bairamitsi	19,889	1,000	25	—	251	—	9	21,174
	4 Biga ...	58,588	9,100	398	—	98	—	—	68,184
	5 Aivadjik	18,116	4,390	8	—	1	—	—	22,455
		138,902	38,830	2,336	—	3,340	—	81	177,469
Ind. Govt. of Ismid.	1 Ismid ...	18,223	9,603	18,550	—	2,500	—	—	42,876
	2 Karamoursal	5,000	19,732	2,875	—	—	—	—	27,607
	3 Yalova ...	5,000	14,894	1,000	—	—	—	—	20,894
	4 Adapazar	32,374	14,333	14,220	—	—	1,007	—	61,934
	5 Khandra	37,452	7,689	5,101	—	—	—	—	50,242
	6 Gheiveh	18,900	12,883	6,889	—	—	108	—	38,780
		116,949	73,134	48,635	—	2,500	1,115	—	242,333
Total Vilayet of Constantinople		449,114	364,459	159,193	4,331	46,581	230	142,825	1,173,673
Total Independent Govts. of Dardan- elles and Ismid...		255,851	105,964	50,971	—	5,840	1,115	81	419,822

APPENDIX

STATISTICS OF THE POPULATION, DIVIDED ACCORD- ING TO NATIONALITIES, OF THE VILAYET OF SIVAS. 1912.

Sandjaks	Kazas	Turks	Greeks	Armenians	Total
Sivas.	1 Ghildiz	41,300	—	5,731	47,031
	2 Sivas	86,171	962	17,233	104,366
	3 Tounouz	58,585	—	4,672	63,257
	4 Azizié	89,189	—	2,743	91,932
	5 Gourzoun	20,925	—	3,865	24,790
	6 Darendé	21,174	—	3,993	25,167
	7 Dabridjé	36,781	—	8,081	44,862
	8 Khotskhir	41,066	6,740	11,258	59,064
	9 Kafik	56,023	—	6,494	62,517
		451,214	7,702	64,070	522,986
Amasia.	1 Amasia	48,000	3,038	12,640	63,678
	2 Medjidouzou	18,700	1,738	2,568	23,006
	3 Hadjikeui	17,005	—	7,012	24,017
	4 Merzifun	24,000	6,082	5,820	35,902
	5 Ladik	31,995	6,602	8,420	47,017
	6 Kavza	18,800	12,577	2,560	33,937
	7 Osmantjik	20,000	—	7,960	27,960
	8 Vezir-Keuprou	19,500	6,702	3,620	29,822
		198,000	36,739	50,600	285,339
Kara Hissar Sarkhi.	1 Messoudié	7,110	6,437	2,826	16,373
	2 Kara-hissar	9,000	14,250	4,800	28,050
	3 Souseiri	7,500	2,920	3,670	14,090
	4 Koilu-hissar	7,390	1,720	3,250	12,360
	5 Rechadié	7,500	2,434	3,500	13,434
		38,500	27,761	18,046	84,307
Tokat.	1 Tokat	61,875	5,757	15,466	83,098
	2 Nikshar	15,675	6,359	3,891	25,925
	3 Erbaah	31,350	15,058	7,837	54,245
	4 Zileh	42,900	—	10,725	53,625
		151,800	27,174	37,909	216,893
Total of Vilayet of Sivas ...		839,514	99,376	170,635	1,109,535

APPENDIX

STATISTICS OF THE POPULATION, DIVIDED ACCORD- ING TO NATIONALITIES, OF THE VILAYET OF BRUSSA. 1912.

Sandjaks	Kazas	Turks	Greeks	Arme- nians	Bul- garians	Jews	Other Nation- alities	Total
Brussa.	1 Brussa ...	72,993	21,850	14,584	—	2,548	1,251	113,226
	2 Kios ...	12,354	13,000	23,895	—	—	777	50,026
	3 Mihalitsi ...	43,259	16,745	3,218	—	73	441	63,736
	4 Mudania ...	8,404	26,710	—	—	—	—	35,114
	5 Kremasti ...	33,777	3,800	4,887	—	80	—	42,544
	6 Adranos ...	44,705	400	4,225	—	—	—	49,330
		215,492	82,505	50,809	—	2,701	2,469	353,976
Biledjik.	1 Biledjik ...	74,465	13,250	3,552	—	6	—	96,273
	2 Souchout ...	32,142	4,000	3,651	—	47	—	39,840
	3 Inegiol ...	45,000	—	2,149	—	—	—	47,149
	4 Yeni-shehir ...	42,784	9,720	3,470	—	—	—	55,974
		194,391	26,970	17,822	—	53	—	239,236
Afun- Karabissar	1 Afun Kara- hissar	75,406	1,200	4,812	—	—	—	81,418
	2 Boldaven ...	33,770	—	—	—	—	—	33,770
	3 Santikli ...	104,602	—	170	—	—	—	104,782
	4 Azizié ...	30,910	—	58	—	—	—	30,968
		244,698	1,200	5,040	—	—	—	250,938
Kutahia.	1 Kutahia ...	106,176	6,800	3,307	—	—	—	116,283
	2 Eskishehir ...	38,200	4,500	4,074	—	100	—	46,874
	3 Ushak ...	70,000	3,800	1,419	—	—	—	75,219
	4 Gediz ...	39,261	1,500	—	—	—	—	40,764
	5 Simav ...	37,677	200	—	—	—	—	37,877
		291,317	16,800	8,800	—	100	—	317,017
Balikesri.	1 Balikesri ...	103,624	16,184	2,574	—	—	—	122,382
	2 Aivali ...	89	46,130	—	—	—	—	46,219
	3 Kemer ...	12,549	7,239	9	—	—	—	19,797
	4 Adramiti ...	27,393	13,033	—	—	—	32	40,458
	5 Artaki ...	5,418	54,700	952	—	—	1,083	62,153
	6 Gionen ...	25,601	2,850	44	—	—	—	28,495
	7 Panormos ...	36,976	9,610	3,879	1,635	—	915	53,015
	8 Pigaditsi ...	12,771	—	29	—	—	—	12,800
	9 Sindirdji ...	22,430	1,800	8	—	—	—	23,638
		246,851	150,946	7,495	1,635	—	2,030	408,957
Total of the Vilayet of Brussa...		1,192,749	278,421	89,966	1,635	2,854	4,499	1,570,124

APPENDIX

STATISTICS OF THE POPULATION, DIVIDED ACCORD- ING TO NATIONALITIES, OF THE VILAYET OF AIDIN. 1912.

Sand- jaks	Kazas	Turks	Greeks	Arme- nians	Bul- garians	Jews	Other Nation- alities	Total
Smyrna.	1 Smyrna and Nymphæon	96,250	243,879	7,628	415	16,450	51,872	416,494
	2 Vourla	4,445	40,670	—	—	15	260	45,390
	3 Krini	7,780	50,709	—	—	50	500	59,039
	4 Karabournna ...	8,000	15,510	—	—	—	—	23,510
	5 Sivri-hissar ...	9,800	11,667	—	—	40	100	21,607
	6 Palæa-phocæa ...	2,100	19,514	350	—	250	100	22,314
	7 Mene-men ...	10,309	11,216	508	—	100	1,500	21,633
	8 Kousadasi ...	8,775	11,052	59	—	140	200	20,226
	9 Balndir ...	9,300	6,850	150	—	25	—	16,325
	10 Thira ...	20,500	5,000	—	—	10	300	25,810
	11 Odemission ...	19,500	7,700	1,200	—	50	150	28,600
	12 Pergamos ...	22,735	25,277	1,500	—	1,000	586	51,098
		219,494	449,044	11,395	415	18,130	55,568	754,046
Magnisia.	1 Magnisia	37,900	38,926	2,000	—	1,000	600	30,426
	2 Soma	5,000	1,890	—	—	—	—	6,890
	3 Kirka-gach ...	35,373	5,173	—	—	—	—	40,546
	4 Ak-hissar ...	14,500	9,586	882	—	—	—	24,968
	5 Kassaba ...	26,900	6,090	1,000	—	600	—	34,590
	6 Giordes	18,040	2,600	—	—	—	—	20,640
	7 Esmeh	26,128	750	—	—	—	—	26,878
	8 Demirdji ...	21,362	1,640	—	—	—	—	23,002
	9 Salihli	21,318	4,220	—	—	—	—	25,538
	10 Kula	13,747	6,950	—	—	—	—	20,697
	11 Alashehir ...	27,510	5,800	78	—	27	335	33,750
		247,776	83,625	3,960	—	1,627	935	337,925
Aidin.	1 Aidin	46,578	19,982	300	—	1,890	114	68,864
	2 Sokia	12,987	25,801	59	—	—	—	38,847
	3 Tsina	24,975	550	1	—	—	—	25,526
	4 Bozdogan ...	27,945	1,500	—	—	14	—	29,459
	5 Nazli	50,069	6,800	274	—	120	—	57,863
		162,554	54,633	634	—	2,024	114	219,959
Denisli.	1 Denizli	33,316	3,580	430	—	—	—	37,326
	2 Sarakeui	12,200	3,000	—	—	—	—	15,200
	3 Buladan	22,481	400	—	—	—	—	22,881
	4 Tsala	40,882	320	—	—	—	—	41,202
	5 Kara-agach ...	36,062	220	—	—	—	—	36,282
	6 Dawas	52,376	190	—	—	—	—	52,566
		197,317	7,710	430	—	—	—	205,457
Mentese.	1 Mugla	38,757	3,930	—	—	—	114	42,801
	2 Mermeris	12,128	720	—	—	—	—	12,848
	3 Budrum	8,817	5,060	—	—	—	131	14,008
	4 Milassa	21,187	7,071	—	—	—	336	28,594
	5 Koftzé	18,569	1,800	—	—	—	—	20,369
	6 Makri	14,242	9,217	—	—	—	63	23,522
		113,700	27,798	—	—	—	644	142,142
Total of the Vilayet of Aidin		940,843	622,810	16,419	415	31,781	57,261	1,659,529

APPENDIX

STATISTICS OF THE POPULATION, DIVIDED ACCORD- ING TO NATIONALITIES, OF THE VILAYET OF ANGORA. 1912.

Sand- jaks	Kazas	Turks	Greeks	Arme- nians	Jews	Gipsies	Other Nation- alities	Total
Kaisariéh.	1 Kaisariéh	91,319	14,152	27,080	—	—	2,503	135,048
	2 Devellou	23,967	5,049	12,335	—	—	342	41,693
	3 Idjesou	19,507	4,000	33	—	—	—	17,540
		128,787	23,201	39,448	—	—	2,845	174,281
Yosgat.	1 Ak-dagh-maden ...	25,589	12,911	4,992	—	333	—	43,824
	2 Yosgat	48,000	3,230	22,000	—	1,555	3,000	75,785
	3 Sungurlou	26,658	1,100	1,205	—	537	121	29,615
	4 Tsoroum	30,000	1,560	5,109	—	—	—	36,669
	5 Boyazlian	27,090	—	12,679	—	—	250	40,019
		157,337	18,801	44,985	—	2,424	3,371	226,912
Khirshehir.	1 Medjidié	10,178	—	—	—	—	—	10,178
	2 Keskin	40,589	—	223	—	—	—	40,812
	3 Khirshehir	45,565	717	123	—	—	—	46,405
	4 Avanos	20,667	—	—	—	—	—	20,667
		116,999	717	346	—	—	—	118,062
Angora.	1 Angora	32,693	3,154	12,019	478	—	109	48,452
	2 Bey-pazar	19,193	—	—	—	—	—	19,193
	3 Nallikhan	15,607	—	—	—	—	—	15,607
	4 Kalaidjik	197,851	—	2,000	—	—	—	199,851
	5 Tchibuk-abat							
	6 Yaban-abat							
	7 Moukhaletjik							
	8 Ayas							
	9 Zir							
	10 Sivri-hissar							
	11 Khaimana							
	12 Balia							
		265,283	3,154	14,019	478	—	109	283,043
Total in Vilayet of Angora		668,400	45,873	98,798	478	2,424	6,335	823,298

APPENDIX

STATISTICS OF THE POPULATION, DIVIDED ACCORD- ING TO NATIONALITIES, OF THE VILAYET OF TREBIZOND. 1912

Sandjaks	Kazas	Turks	Greeks	Armenians	Total
Trebizond.	1 Trebizond	89,225	38,625	11,915	139,765
	2 Sourmena	44,312	8,804	282	53,398
	3 Aktsé-abat	40,265	11,081	4,204	55,550
	4 Vakfé-kebir	23,492	762	80	24,334
	5 Kourelé	33,682	640	211	34,533
	6 Tripoli	30,999	17,821	708	49,528
	7 Kerassun	46,207	44,214	6,582	92,003
	8 Ordou	92,191	19,390	7,339	118,920
	9 Tzevizlik	4,283	13,437	—	17,720
		404,656	154,774	26,321	585,751
Tjanik.	1 Fatza	29,119	2,670	887	32,676
	2 Ounieh	50,083	7,552	4,942	62,577
	3 Tsar-sabah	73,605	9,727	14,382	97,714
	4 Samsun	39,599	78,643	1,264	119,506
	5 Bafra	41,048	37,495	1,110	79,653
		233,454	136,087	22,585	392,126
Lazistan.	1 Rizeh	93,176	1,424	—	94,600
	2 Athina	37,622	400	—	38,022
	3 Hopeh	33,520	400	—	33,920
	4 Of	67,567	700	—	68,267
		231,885	2,924	—	234,809
Ghioumous- hané.	1 Ghioumoushané ..	25,091	5,997	1,367	32,455
	2 Toroul	23,512	48,135	—	71,647
	3 Kilkit	25,564	1,626	126	27,316
	4 Siran	13,704	2,990	225	17,919
		87,871	59,748	1,718	149,337
Total of the Vilayet of Trebizond		957,866	353,533	50,624	1,362,023

APPENDIX

STATISTICS OF THE POPULATION, DIVIDED ACCORD- ING TO NATIONALITIES, OF THE VILAYET OF KONIAH. 1912.

Sand- jaks	Kazas	Turks	Greeks	Arme- nians	Gipsies	Jews	Other Nation- alities	Total
Koniah.	1 Akshehir	36,051	1,860	—	—	—	—	37,911
	2 Ilghen	21,455	690	—	—	—	—	22,145
	3 Koniah	51,986	4,822	5,000	12,000	70	430	74,308
	4 Beyshehir	37,919	—	—	—	—	—	37,919
	5 Seitshehir	25,513	—	—	—	—	—	25,513
	6 Bozkhir	31,107	310	—	—	—	—	31,417
	7 Hadem	10,143	—	—	—	—	—	10,143
	8 Karaman	20,316	601	—	—	—	—	20,917
	9 Eregli	18,749	306	—	3,000	—	—	22,055
	10 Karabunar	23,427	—	—	—	—	—	23,427
	11 Espiasan	17,525	—	1,900	—	—	—	19,425
		294,191	8,589	6,900	15,000	70	430	325,180
Adalia.	1 Adalia	66,542	6,916	78	—	375	—	73,911
	2 Elmali	39,565	1,222	411	—	20	—	41,227
	3 Kas	34,272	465	—	—	—	—	34,737
	4 Akshehir	22,854	150	—	—	—	—	23,004
	5 Alaya	32,854	6,500	—	—	25	—	34,379
		196,087	10,253	489	—	420	—	207,258
Burdur.	1 Burdur	88,600	2,565	987	—	45	—	91,165
	2 Tefenni	61,368	—	—	—	—	—	61,368
		149,968	2,565	987	—	45	—	153,565
Isbarta.	1 Isbarta	51,100	6,574	600	—	20	3	58,297
	2 Egherdir	63,000	2,222	—	—	—	—	65,222
	3 Ouloubourlou	4,000	1,300	—	—	—	—	5,300
	4 Karagatch	34,000	—	—	—	—	—	34,000
	5 Yalovatch	22,237	—	—	—	—	—	22,237
		174,337	10,096	600	—	20	3	185,056
Nigdeh.	1 Hamid	15,600	1,200	—	—	—	—	16,800
	2 Bor	8,800	3,189	—	—	—	—	11,989
	3 Nigdeh	46,300	32,203	753	—	41	38	79,335
	4 Akserai	73,000	1,356	—	—	—	—	74,356
	5 Arvsoun	5,600	2,350	—	—	—	—	7,950
	6 Nevshahir	14,540	10,790	—	—	—	—	25,330
	7 Ourkioub	10,300	4,430	—	—	—	—	14,930
		74,140	55,518	753	—	41	38	230,490
Total in the Vilayet of Koniah		988,723	87,021	9,729	15,000	605	471	1,101,549

APPENDIX

STATISTICS OF THE POPULATION, DIVIDED ACCORD- ING TO NATIONALITIES, OF THE VILAYET OF KASTAMUNI. 1912.

Sandjaks	Kazas	Turks	Greeks	Armenians	Other Nation- alities	Total
Kastamuni.	1 Ineboli	64,368	3,685	200	8	68,211
	2 Djiddeh	40,000	284	6	—	40,290
	3 Dadai	43,682	40	192	—	43,914
	4 Kastamuni	21,596	1,900	429	—	23,925
	5 Arats	35,950	50	—	—	36,000
	6 Saframболи	53,962	4,137	—	—	58,099
	7 Tashkeuprou	41,129	125	484	—	41,738
	8 Tosia	33,650	612	113	—	34,375
		334,337	10,783	1,424	8	346,552
Bolou.	1 Bartin	51,572	712	—	—	52,284
	2 Eregli	38,583	3,845	—	—	42,428
	3 Bolou	50,815	450	396	—	51,661
	4 Ghioinek	18,553	—	—	—	18,553
	5 Gherdé	45,036	—	39	—	45,075
	6 Doustseh	33,529	—	72	—	33,601
	7 Medrini	30,461	—	—	—	30,461
	8 Hamidié	50,675	—	—	—	50,675
		319,224	5,007	507	—	324,738
Kaugari.	1 Kaugari	88,719	1,143	345	—	90,207
	2 Isklit	20,215	—	574	—	20,789
	3 Tcherkesskeuoi .	56,473	—	41	—	56,514
		165,407	1,143	960	—	167,510
Sinope.	1 Sinope	46,291	5,689	314	—	52,294
	2 Boi-abat	40,300	986	—	2,079	43,365
	3 Ayantjik	32,876	1,311	—	—	34,187
		119,467	7,986	314	2,079	129,846
Total in the Vilayet of Kastamuni		938,435	24,919	3,205	2,087	968,646

APPENDIX .

STATISTICS OF THE GREEK POPULATION AND SCHOOLS IN THRACE AND ASIA MINOR.

Administrative Districts	Sandjaks	Greeks	Schools	Pupils
Vilayet of Adrianople	Adrianople	113,284	178	12,640
	Kirk-Kilissé	76,502	100	7,239
	Rodosto	55,550	49	3,415
	Gallipoli	70,431	97	9,777
	Dedeagach	28,851	91	5,830
	Gumuldjina	21,745	47	3,989
		366,363	562	42,890
Vilayet of Constanti- nople	Constantinople	235,215	108	16,860
	Chatalja	54,787	71	5,436
	Skutari	74,457	58	7,633
		364,459	237	29,929
Vilayet of Broussa	Broussa	82,505	65	6,436
	Balikesri	150,946	113	15,480
	Kutahia	16,800	10	1,385
	Afiun-Karahissar	1,200	3	155
	Biledjik	26,970	20	2,059
		278,421	211	25,515
Vilayet of Sivas	Sivas	7,702	23	921
	Amasia	36,739	110	3,815
	Kara-Hissar	27,761	73	3,191
	Tokat	27,174	79	2,878
		99,376	285	10,805
Vilayet of Koniah	Koniah	8,559	11	2,120
	Adalia	10,253	9	1,056
	Burdur	2,565	2	300
	Isbarta	10,096	6	935
	Nigdeh	55,518	65	6,060
		87,021	93	10,471
Vilayet of Angora	Angora	3,154	3	365
	Khirshehir	717	3	85
	Kaisarieh	23,201	46	2,565
	Yosgat	18,801	23	1,410
		45,873	75	4,425
Vilayet of Kastamuni	Kastamuni	10,783	12	855
	Sinope	7,986	12	831
	Kangari	1,943	1	75
	Bolou	5,007	7	605
		24,919	32	2,366

APPENDIX

TABLE—continued.

Administrative Districts	Sandjaks	Greeks	Schools	Pupils
Vilayet of Trebizond	Trebizond	154,774	280	16,579
	Samsun	136,087	323	14,253
	Ghioumous-Hané ...	59,748	148	6,043
	Lazistan	2,924	7	320
		353,533	754	37,195
Vilayet of Smyrna	Smyrna	449,044	237	38,729
	Magnisia	83,626	75	9,320
	Aidin	54,633	51	4,980
	Mentese	27,798	28	2,581
	Denizli	7,710	14	915
		622,810	405	56,525
Vilayet of Adana		70,000	—	—
		70,000	—	—
Independent Governments	Ismid	73,134	100	7,202
	Dardanelles	32,830	38	3,144
		105,964	138	10,346
Dodecanese	Patmos	2,700	6	385
	Leros	6,000	7	790
	Kalymnos	18,000	11	1,600
	Kos	10,550	10	901
	Nisyros	5,000	5	300
	Astypalea	1,200	1	85
	Symi	16,000	9	1,466
	Tilos	1,300	2	125
	Halki	2,740	3	214
	Rhodes	25,010	55	3,226
	Karpathos	8,527	13	690
	Kasos	5,700	6	503
		102,727	128	10,285
Imbros, Tenedos, Kastelorizo, Islands	Imbros	8,125	10	1,385
	Tenedos	3,752	2	450
	Kastelorizo	10,000	3	837
		21,877	15	2,672
TOTAL		2,543,343	1,735	243,424

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