Greece

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PREFACE

To write anything final on contemporary Greece is a task somewhat resembling the web of Penelope; what was set down as the existing situation in the manuscript may require modification in the proof-sheets and contradiction before publication. But, with this reservation, I have done my best, without conscious partisan bias or prejudices, to describe the recent evolution and present condition of a country which I first visited and began to study in 1894, where I was during the war of 1897, and on many subsequent occasions, to the medieval and modern history of which my life has been largely devoted and where I have resided continuously for the last four years. Now that classical scholarship is becoming the possession of comparatively few, Greece must appeal more and more to her interesting present than to her ancient glory, and some portion of this her friends believe may be renewed in that future, to which the tenacity and intelligence of her people entitle her, and which their co-operation should secure.

W. M.

ATHENS,
5 *February*, 1928.

NOTE.—Unless otherwise stated, the dates throughout are given in new style, introduced into Greece in 1923.

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Greece

CHAPTER I

THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

THE Greece of to-day differs widely in area and soil from the little Greece over which Otho was called to rule in 1832, and which extended only from the Gulf of Volo to that of Arta, and comprised the Cyclades, Eubœa, and the Northern Sporades alone of the islands. During the ninety-six years which have elapsed since then, Greece has been successively enlarged by the addition of the Ionian Islands in 1864, of Thessaly and the district of Arta in 1881, of the rest of Southern Epeiros, Crete, Samos, most of the other Ægean islands, Macedonia, and Western Thrace (except the enclave of Karagatch), as the result of the two Balkan wars of 1912-13 and of the European War. Her only territorial losses have been the islet of Saseno, ceded to Albania in 1914 and now occupied by Italy, and Eastern Thrace with Karagatch, Imbros, Tenedos, Smyrna and its *Hinterland,* ceded to Turkey after the treaty of Lausanne. Despite that set-back, the present area of Greece is 49,036 square miles, or rather more than what it was before the European War broke out in 1914, and a little more than double what it was before the Balkan wars in 1912, while the population, despite the emigration of Bulgarians and exchangeable Moslems, thanks to the compensating element of the refugees from Turkey and Russia and the Greek emigrants from Bulgaria, is larger than at any previous time, and is variously estimated,[1] in the

[1] A. A. Pallis, *Les effets de la guerre sur la population de la Grèce.* I am indebted to Mr. Eddy, President of the Refugees' Settlement Commission, for the following details :

lack of a regular census since 1 January, 1921, at 6,200,000, 6,374,000, or even 6,600,000, settled on a territory smaller by 21,834 square kilometres. Thus the number of inhabitants per square kilometre, which was 37·5 in 1921—or 39·5 for the present area—has risen to nearly 52. Athens is said to have increased since 1921 by 77 per cent., Salonika by 186, Volo by 116, and Kavalla by 205. Another census is projected for 1928. But the development of Greece in less than a century is not to be measured by this increased area and population alone. Every successive expansion has provided fresh elements of strength and wealth. The union with the Ionian Islands added to the Greek state a group of highly civilised communities, possessing good roads and a cultured class, which had been for half a century under British administration, and before that had known for a longer or shorter period, according to the island which its forefathers had inhabited, the rule of the Venetian Republic, not, indeed, ideal, but still better than the Turkish yoke. It had added, too, the enterprising spirit of the Cephalonians, the aristocratic polish of the Corfiotes, the lively talents of the Zantiotes. The

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Loss of the territories of E. Thrace, Karagatch, Imbros, and Tenedos ...	509,397
Emigration of exchangeable Mussulmans...	380,036
Emigration of Bulgarians	49,511
Loss of life sustained during the Greco-Turkish War of 1920-1923	33,913
Total ...	972,857

Increase due to immigration of Greek refugees from Turkey and Russia ...	1,500,000
Immigration of Greek emigrants from Bulgaria	26,500
Total ...	1,526,500

annexation of Thessaly gave a granary to the state, for the great Thessalian plain was very different from the rocky and mountainous soil of much of continental and insular Greece. Macedonia and Thrace opened up vast prospects of agricultural development, now being realised, while Salonika and Kavalla are great industrial assets; Crete furnished a race of fighters, trained in the hard school of a long series of insurrections against Venetians and Turks; Chios, Mytilene and the long autonomous Samos, are the richest islands in the Archipelago. The variety of climate and products, the different characteristics of islanders, highlanders, and the dwellers in the plains, have benefited the country, and the addition of the "new" provinces has made Greece a Balkan, as well as a Mediterranean, state. Railway communication, effected little more than a decade ago, has tended to make obsolete the familiar Greek phrase, "Going to Europe," from which Othonian Greece was separated by the inhospitable sea and the wild "Slavonic provinces of Turkey." Each successive expansion has diminished the area of "unredeemed" Greece, and realised a larger or smaller portion of that "Great Idea," which was the load-star, and sometimes the *ignis fatuus* of Othonian statesmen, apt to ignore the due proportion between means and end. The very disasters of the state have at times been a blessing in disguise. Thus, the loss of territory in Asia Minor, severe as it was, has been accompanied by the concentration of Hellenism in Europe, which has become more intensive, if less extensive. Greece has probably not yet received her final territorial dimensions; indeed, in the Near East finality is unknown. She has not obtained—what nation has?—all that she desired: the Greek state is not even now synonymous with all the lands where Greek is spoken. But the evolution of history, if slow, is sure, and there are still a few "unredeemed" Hellenic lands, placed by

diplomacy under alien domination—such as Cyprus under the liberal rule of Great Britain, the Dodekanese (with Kastellorizon) under the Fascist rule of Italy—which will doubtless one day become, as the Ionian Islands became, Greek provinces. Meanwhile, the Greeks of Greece have good reason to rest and be thankful for the nett territorial results of the first century of their country's existence. Their immediate business is to consolidate and organise what they have obtained, and to see that their country is, if not the largest, the best administered and most prosperous in the East of Europe.

No one now holds the destructive theory of Fallmerayer, whom the Bavarian Regency actually thought of rewarding by a chair in the proposed University, that the Greek race in Europe had disappeared before Slavonic and Albanian inroads. Such a theory has not only been proved to be historically untrue, but is ethnologically improbable. As Queen Amalia said : "I will take Fallmerayer to talk with the Athenian women and then he will stop talking nonsense." Greece has, however, suffered not a little from the over-enthusiasm of those exclusively classical scholars who came to Athens expecting to find modern representatives of Periklês and Plato among newly-emancipated *rayah,* but who would never have supposed Fleet Street and Piccadilly to be inhabited by Shakespeares and Bacons. Similarly, the gradual evolution of the Greek language has sometimes been ignored by untravelled foreign professors, who scornfully rejected as "post-classical" everything written after the golden age, and for whom Greek history and literature were a blank from the death of Alexander the Great to the appearance of Alexander Hypselantes. Alike under Roman, Byzantine, Frankish, Venetian, Genoese, and Turkish masters, the Greek people remained fundamentally Greek ; the governors failed to

assimilate the governed, but formed, with rare exceptions, like the British in India, a foreign garrison and a race apart. Where a mixed breed arose, the so-called *gasmoûloi,* the Eurasians or *poulains* of Greece, they became gradually Hellenised. There are still descendants of the Latin conquerors in the Cyclades (where the Latin Duchy of the Archipelago lasted down to 1566 and Tenos remained Venetian till as late as 1715), in Chios (where a Genoese Chartered Company, the *Maona* of the Giustiniani, was also ousted by the Turks in 1566), and in the Ionian Islands, of which Corfù was Venetian for over four centuries, and Cephalonia and Zante for nearly three. But otherwise the long Frankish domination has passed away without leaving much trace behind it, beyond the Roman Catholic communities in the former Latin islands, which form the nucleus of the Western Church in Greece, and the picturesque fortresses and occasional churches founded by the Western conquerors. The Turks, like the Franks, were a foreign garrison, merely encamped upon Greek soil. Like the Italians, they have left their mark upon the language of their former subjects, in the shape of a certain number of Turkish words, which the "purists" are seeking to eliminate, but which still linger in the mouths of the masses. Turkish influence naturally is most apparent in the "new" provinces, for Macedonia has been a Greek province only since 1912, and Western Thrace only since 1920. But, just as the Turks quitted Thessaly and sold their big estates there after the annexation, so the exchange of populations under the treaty of Lausanne has eliminated the Turkish element from Macedonia, while retaining it in Western Thrace. The Moslems of Western Thrace have their own electoral constituencies, electing four deputies, and four religious communities (frequently subsidised by the state and holding their own schools and property) under the direction of three *muftis,*

assisted by a local Moslem Council of Administration. They have been indemnified for the requisitioning of their property for the provisional housing of refugees, and have also received from the state large agricultural loans. They enjoy full religious freedom. Salonika, which I remember in 1897 as a typical Oriental town, is now fast becoming what George I. wanted it to be—a modern European city, with concrete buildings, a University, and a big hotel. Its population was estimated in 1927 to be 510,642. The Jewish element there, too, which had existed since the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, and had flourished for centuries under Turkish rule so that Salonika had been described as a Jewish city, has diminished since the Greek annexation. Larissa and Volo have long, and Chalkis and Athens still longer, ago shaken off the traces of the Turkish past. Here and there a few picturesque mosques and bazaars linger on to remind the traveller that here once the Turk passed by. But for Greece, as for Serbia and Bulgaria, the long Turkish domination was like a watch in the night, and they had to take up the thread of their history at the point where the Turkish scimitar had suddenly severed it. For Turkey was not creative in Europe ; and in Greece she did not interfere with the local government of the communities. Nowhere was the Turkish yoke lighter, yet nowhere was it more resented.

The influence of Byzantium has been more lasting, although more remote than that of either Franks or Turks. There has never been any period of foreign domination at which the Greeks did not cherish the ideal of replanting the Cross upon Santa Sophia. This was the ideal which the Greek Empire of Nicæa, established after the Latin conquest of Constantinople, set before itself, and which it realised in 1261 by the reconquest of the Holy City of Hellenism. This, too, was the ideal which dazzled the eyes of the newly enfranchised Greeks in the

early years of the Kingdom, when Otho and many of his subjects regarded Athens as merely a starting-place for Constantinople, not the permanent capital of the Greek state. Constantine XI., dying in defence of Constantinople, is a far more attractive figure to the modern Greek than Kodros saving Athens by his self-sacrifice. Even in Attica, such place-names as Branâs, Kalogránes, Skaramangâs, Kamaterós, Taronites, and Pikermi (the scene of the capture of Lord Muncaster's party in 1870) are Byzantine. Byzantium is associated with the political, military, and ecclesiastical hegemony of the race; it is both nearer and dearer to the Greeks of to-day than are the small city-republics of antiquity, to which most of our scholars devote their exclusive attention. Mistrâ, the residence of the Byzantine "Despots," is more visited than Sparta. Throughout the Near East, the medieval empires of the various Balkan States still exercise a fascination which may seem strange to our prosaic minds, accustomed to regard the French conquests of Edward III. (who was Stephen Dushan's contemporary) as merely a history lesson with no relation to practical politics. In Serbia and Greece it is otherwise. The Serbian claims to Skutari in 1913 were largely based upon the medieval domination of the Balshas; the Greeks in 1913 saluted in Constantine the new "Basil the Bulgar-slayer," and his name, chosen at his christening by popular acclamation instead of "Periklês" or "Alexander," which had also been proposed, was one source of his popularity, as connecting him with the last Emperor of Constantinople. Even to-day, when Asia Minor has been lost and the European frontier has receded from Chatalja, the Œcumenical Patriarchate is still maintained in Constantinople, although it has shrunk to a mere shadow of its former self, because to remove it would be to sever the centuries-old connection between Greece and Byzantium. Much would have been

tolerated in General Pangalos, had he, like Stratēgopoulos in 1261, re-entered Constantinople.

One kindred race has left a durable mark upon Greece as upon Italy. The Slavs came and went, leaving a certain number of place-names as the testimony of their presence so far south; the Catalans vanished away so completely that even the learned historian of Catalan Athens, Sr. Rubió y Lluch, can find few traces of their former sway, and the "Catalan" Madonna of Athens is now supposed to be Genoese; but the Albanians came and stayed. They naturally entered Aitolia and Akarnania first. In the fourteenth century the Byzantine "Despot" of Mistrâ, Manuel Cantacuzene, encouraged them to settle in the Peloponnese. A century later their descendants were numerous enough to rebel against the dying rule of the Palaiologoi in the Morea, where 10,000 had settled under the "Despot" Theodore I. of that family. In the fifteenth century Antonio Acciajuoli welcomed them as colonists in Attica. Again, in the eighteenth there was a further influx of Albanians, who, summoned by the Turks to suppress the Russian insurrection in the Morea, remained after their work was done. It was the great Albanian raid of 1778 which caused Hadji Ali, the Hasekês, to surround Turkish Athens in hot haste with a wall, one of whose entrances bore the name of the "Albanian Gate." In parts of Attica and in the "nautical islands" of Hydra and Spetsai there is still a considerable Albanian population. Many classic Attic sites have taken Albanian names, such as Bougiati, Liopesi (the birth-place of Demosthenes, which it has been proposed to rechristen Pæania), Malakasi, Salesi, Souli (near Marathon), Spata (whence comes the best resinated wine of Attica), and Tatoï. Mr. Kampouroglous has urged the retranslation of some of these names into their Greek equivalents, and such a movement is already on foot in various parts of Greece. The stations,

for example, on the railway from Athens to Salonika have now all received their classical names, the modern names having all been removed. Thus, the traveller who used to know the junction for Chalkis as Schematari is amazed to find it called Oinoe ; when he alights at Brallo for Delphi he finds the station labelled Kytinion, and a little earlier discovers that Dadi has become Amphikleia. So, too, in Macedonia, Vodená (the Slav name for "waters"), so-called from its splendid waterfall, has been renamed Edessa. At Spetsai, however, Albanian words cover the local map, and one sees shipowners, whose ancestors' names were taken from the classical nomenclature of the vessels, with which they fought so valiantly for the independence of Greece, present a strikingly Albanian physiognomy. The two first Presidents of the Hellenic Republic had both Albanian blood, and the late Albanian Minister in Athens (who spoke Greek fluently) told me that he used to talk with both of them in Albanian. His successor entertained the considerable Albanian population of Salamis. Boulgares, the autocratic Prime Minister of the Second Monarchy, who came, like Admiral Kountouriotes, from Hydra, "mother of lobsters and Premiers," when asked to justify the—in more than one sense—partial elections of 1874, replied in the Albanian of his native island, *aste doua ou* ("So I will"). Repoules, Mr. Venizelos' henchman, had also Albanian ancestors. But the fusion, which has made the descendants of Albanian immigrants such good Greek patriots, has been helped not only by the similarity of race, but also by the identity of religion, for the Albanians in Greece mostly became Orthodox Christians, like their compatriots in Southern Albania. Unlike the so-called *Italo-Albanesi*, the Albanians settled in Greece do not form colonies apart, but are welded with the ideals of the country, while preserving in many cases the unmistakable Albanian features and character-

istics. Like the Danish and Norman infiltration into England, the Albanian element has been a benefit to Greece.

The Koutso-Wallachs of Pindos are said to be diminishing in numbers with the more intensive cultivation of the soil by the refugees, and times have changed since, in the twelfth century, Thessaly was known as "Great Wallachia." The Bulgarian element in Greek Macedonia, since the exchange of populations, is now very small. Of foreign commercial colonies, there are several hundred British subjects in and round Athens, and the Maltese and Cypriotes swell the number; Patras has a few British families long settled there; at Kavalla there are the Americans engaged in the tobacco business. Americans, too, are employed in the "Near East Relief," and the United States' Legation has to do with numerous Greeks, who have taken American citizenship. An American Legion has been formed. A few Russians are stranded in Athens, victims of the Revolution. There is an Italian colony in Athens, whose members, attired in black shirts, formed a guard of honour for the Greek Dictator during a big show in the Stadion, on the principal of like attracting like. There has been a large influx of Armenians since the exodus of the Christian population from Asia Minor. There have been many openings for foreign capital, since the acquisition of the "new" provinces where, as usual, the Turks had done little, with the exception of the roads of Mytilene and Epeiros, the Macedonian railways and the quays of Salonika. Hence the terrace of the *Grande Bretagne* in Athens is often full of business men in search of concessions. The drainage of the Vardar and Struma valleys, the Salonika harbour-works, the new port of Candia, the "Power and Traction" convention for the traffic of Athens and suburbs, railways, telegraphic and aerial communications, water-works, and roads — all these have attracted

foreigners. No country suffers less from xenophobia than Greece! Witness the permissions given to the foreign archæological schools, including the Italian, to make excavations in Greece—indeed, in the case of the Americans, even in Athens itself—whereas Italy allows no foreigner to excavate in Italian territory, even in Magna Græcia. But there has recently been a protest in the Greek Press against "economic servitude" to foreigners, and the Government has categorically refused to accept any extension of foreign control on the lines of the International Commission of Financial Control instituted after the unfortunate war of 1897, on which the late Sir Edward Law was the first, and Mr. Roussin is the present, British delegate. The unpopularity of the "Power and Traction" Convention, when the motor omnibus drivers organised a demonstration in front of the Chamber with placards bearing the inscription: "We want to live by working. Down with 'Power and Traction!'" was a sign of this tendency.

There is one part of "old" Greece where a British company has been long established—since 1887—and has accomplished a great work—the drainage of the Copaïc lake. The Assembly in 1924 referred to the decision of two arbitrators, one British and one Greek, an old dispute respecting the ownership of reclaimed land. The decision was favourable to the company. Another British enterprise is the Blackburn aeroplane works at Old Phaleron. Of the Greek estates, purchased by our countrymen in the early years of Greek Independence, few remain in British hands. Those of Bell and Bracebridge in and near Athens are no more; that of Finlay at Liosia was a source of embitterment to the historian, which coloured his views of modern Greek history. Few who read the tablet in the English church in Athens to the memory of Leeves (son of the first chaplain) and his wife realise that they were both

murdered on the same day of 1854 on their estate at Kastaniotissa in Eubœa. But the Noel property at Achmetaga in Eubœa is still, except that portion upon which refugees are settled, in the possession of Mrs. Noel Baker, the granddaughter of the original purchaser. The history of this estate would form an interesting footnote to that of Modern Greece. For the house at Achmetaga, the foundations of which were laid by the Abbot of Galataki in 1835, has seen many interesting visitors,[1] among them King Otho and Queen Amalia in 1845; Buchon, the French historian of Frankish Greece, in 1841; the German scholar, Ulrichs, in 1840; successive British Ministers; the French Minister Lagrené in 1839; and the American Consul, Perdicaris, author of *The Greece of the Greeks,* in 1838 and 1841. Thither, too, in 1855, came less welcome guests—brigands, who held up the family, causing the death from fright of E. H. Noel's eldest daughter, while Frank Noel, his son, was nearly assassinated in 1873.[2] The latest arrivals on the estate are refugees from Prokopi in Asia Minor, with whom I had to converse through the medium of a boy who knew Turkish—their only language. They considered that their affairs in their new home would not progress, unless they had with them all their *lares* and *penates,* the modern equivalent of which was the relics of the local saint, which had been left with another body of Prokopians at Chalkis. This saint was St. John the Less, in real life a Russian general, captured by the Turks during the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-29, whose fidelity had made a great impression on the natives of Prokopi. Accordingly, a party of refugees from Achmetaga descended upon Chalkis by night, carried off the sacred relics, and deposited them in the church

[1] These names I culled from the two MS. "Day-books" (1835-45) at Achmetaga.

[2] Finlay in *The Times,* 11 March, 1873.

built by the first Noel and his partner, Müller. There they were closely guarded, and ere long miraculous cures were reported. Truth in the Near East is stranger than fiction, for there the Middle Ages and the twentieth century sometimes meet. Occasionally, even classical usages survive. Thus, the practice of seeking miraculous cures by sleeping all night in a temple, to which Aristophanes alluded in the *Plutus*, finds a modern parallel in the similar practice in the church at Tenos, whence came the famous *eikon* supposed to have cured King Constantine. Again, the popular belief in the efficacy of blue beads to avert the evil eye from animals may be traced back to the time of Theokritos, though the hand painted on carts, so universal twenty-five years ago, has now completely disappeared. In contrast to our pedantic methods, the best way to understand the ancient Greeks is to live among the moderns. The ancients will then become less of demi-gods but more human.

CHAPTER II

A CENTURY OF GREEK HISTORY
(1821—1920)

IF the "Balkanisation of Europe" has been one product of the twentieth century, the rebirth of the Balkan nationalities was a prominent sign of the nineteenth. First Serbia, then Greece, then Bulgaria, resumed, after the interval of centuries, their history as nations, gradually eliminating Turkey from the map of Europe, until in the present century the treaty of Sèvres put her European frontier at the Chatalja lines—a frontier only temporarily set back, in all human probability, by the treaty of Lausanne.

The Greeks suffered less than other Christian subjects of the Turks, but were also less patient of the Turkish yoke. Through the Œcumenical Patriarchate, at that time the spiritual head of all the Balkan Christians, the Greeks exercised a hegemony, which they have since lost, over the other Christian subjects of Turkey. In the two Danubian principalities they were Princes; at Constantinople they held high offices; even in Greece itself the "Spartans" of Maina were governed by a local chief, appointed by the Sultan for life with the title of *bey;* the local affairs of Athens were administered, down to the revolution, by three *demogérontes* (or "elders"), elected by the people from the class of *archontes*. There were Greek communities, such as the "twelve islands" of the Southern Sporades, which had enjoyed special immunities since the conquest of Rhodes, and were really freer under the Turks than under the Italians to-day, just as Chios preferred Turkish to Genoese or Venetian rule.

But, in spite of this privileged position, even the most highly placed Greeks were—as regards the Turks—slaves. The interval between the *Konak* at Bucharest or Jassy and the bowstring at Constantinople was slight, and an Œcumenical Patriarch, whose ecclesiastical jurisdiction extended over millions of orthodox Christians, not by any means all of his own race, might be all-powerful among the peasants of the Balkans, yet a prisoner of the Sultan in his palace in the Phanar. Moreover, the Greeks were more intelligent and better educated than their Christian neighbours or their Moslem masters; they had older and more famous traditions, which the "schoolmasters of the race" from Eugenios Boulgaris to Georgios Gennadios took care to inculcate into them. It is touching to read how, in 1814, Joannes Palamâs, the Athenian teacher, delivered a lecture commemorative of the battle of Salamis on the historic islet of Psyttaleia, which figures in the narrative of Herodotos, and in modern times was the last resting-place of Princess Cantacuzene, the married daughter of Countess Armansperg, and of the British sailors who died during the blockade[1] of 1850. The Greeks, too, had a wealthier class than the Serbs or Bulgarians. Chios was a rich and prosperous island; Demetsana and the "twenty-four hamlets of Pelion" were wealthy villages. The Greek shipowners, especially of Hydra and Spetsai, had made money—of which the existing house of Mexes is a proof—during the early years of the war which followed the French Revolution, when Turkey, whose subjects they were, was neutral, and much of the carrying trade of the Mediterranean was effected in Hydriote and Spetsiote bottoms. It is not true to say, as a recent Marxist historian has said, that the War of Independence arose from purely material and economic causes, not from

[1] Consular Registers. Vol. I. Foreign Office Despatches. British Consulate, Piræus, 16 January, 1861.

national or religious motives. That, like all great movements, was the product of mixed motives. The Greeks had, too, what the Serbs lacked—leaders of European culture and experience, besides the unlettered but shrewd chieftains, who did the fighting. But they also had disadvantages. The national characteristic of individualism was accentuated by the radical differences between highlanders and islanders, "continentals" and Moreotes, aristocratic "primates"—"Christian Turks," as their enemies called them—and democratic peasants, seafarers and agriculturists, Phanariotes and "autochthonous" chieftains. Whereas Serbia evolved two national dynasties, the former of which still occupies the throne, Greece, after the brief experiment of Capo d'Istria, a Corfiote in Russian service, and his less capable brother, Agostino, turned in despair to two foreign dynasties alien in religion and totally unconnected with the country. On the other hand, Greece received help from numbers of Philhellenes, who fought in, and even commanded, her armies and navies; edited, or furnished the printing-presses for, her early newspapers; advertised her cause abroad and, through the force of public opinion, compelled the attention of that log-rolling diplomacy which is the negation of sentiment and not always the enlightened exponent of self-interest, for it rarely judges questions on their own merits. Retarded as the progress of Greece in ancient, medieval, and modern times has often been by internecine quarrels between ambitious leaders, it made its way until even Courts and Cabinets came to realise that an independent Greece in some form—preferably in *duodecimo*—was inevitable, especially after Navarino, whose centenary was celebrated last autumn, applied to Turkey the only kind of argument which she has always understood. "There is," said a great British expert in Turkish matters to the writer in 1913, "only one place wherein to make peace

with the Turks—the field of battle." Or, as Leake wrote to Finlay, "among Turks, military forces, not treaties, determine boundaries." Russia, the great orthodox Power of the North, to whom the Greeks had in vain looked for liberation in 1770, at last declared war upon Turkey in 1828, and the peace of Adrianople in 1829 completed the work of Navarino. After the last shot had been fired in the War of Independence there remained the usual diplomatic struggle for the frontiers of the new-born state. Grudgingly, but of necessity, Greece was granted a little larger "place in the sun." Protocol followed protocol, the advice of experts was, as usual, ignored by bureaucratic sages hundreds of miles away, but finally the Gulfs of Arta and Volo, including the district of Lamia, became, in 1832, the northern frontier of Greece. But much of the Hellenic world was left outside the pale of the Hellenic Kingdom. Some islands were taken and others left. Greece received the Cyclades but not the Ionian Islands; the blessed word "autonomy," destined to serve as a panacea for the ills of the Christian provinces of Turkey during the rest of the nineteenth century, was applied to Samos, but denied to Crete, "the worst governed province" of the Turkish Empire. A costly blunder was committed, which influenced the history of Greece for nearly three generations, by the exclusion of that, the essentially, "great Greek island" from the Greek Kingdom. Yet far-seeing statesmen, such as the future King Leopold I. of the Belgians, to whom the Greek throne had been offered, were fully alive to the dangerous consequences of this mutilation. The blunder of allowing Turkey to retain Crete when Greece was formed into a state, was directly responsible for the series of insurrections in that island, for the heavy pecuniary burdens thereby laid upon the young kingdom, bound at frequent intervals to support thousands of Cretan refugees, and for the deviation to

foreign policy of energies which might otherwise have been devoted to the internal development of Greece. Facile foreign critics of the first ninety years of modern Greek politics are apt to ignore the enormous handicap placed upon the kingdom at the start by those who imposed upon it these limited boundaries. The poorest portion of Hellenism was awarded to Greece, the richest was left to Turkey, the seeds of four future wars were sown, and a feeling of unrest created, for the cramped body of Hellenism lay uneasily upon the Procrustean bed which diplomacy had cynically constructed for it. As Leake, who knew Greece not from maps but from long personal investigation, wrote to Finlay, the Greek frontier was the cause of the insurrections beyond it in 1854, so that "there must at last be an independent Greek state extending as far north as the language is spoken." With prophetic insight the great traveller wrote to the historian in 1835: "The best thing that could happen to the Sultan would be the extension of the boundaries of Greece and Servia till they meet." They met in 1913 near Ghevghelê. Small and poor as it was, however, the Greek state of 1832 was something which had not existed for centuries—a rallying point for the Greeks of the dispersion, a nucleus which the Bulgarians gained only in 1878, the Albanians only in 1914, the Jews only by the Great War, and the Armenians not even now. On a larger scale, the Greek kingdom was to the Greeks what Montenegro was for nearly 500 years to the Serbs, the one free and independent part of their national territory. The King "of Greece," as Otho was officially styled, so as not to offend the susceptibilities of Turkey, was to them the King "of the Greeks," who occupied the place which the Œcumenical Patriarch had filled during the captivity, that of *ethnarch*. Otho, and still more his high-spirited Queen Amalia, considered the King "of Greece" as

holding that larger position, and no impartial historian, now that the passions of 1862 have died away, can doubt the profound affection of the first King for his adopted country, which even in exile at Bamberg he never forgot but always forgave. But, unfortunately, the choice of the first King of Greece was unwise. Otho was young, whereas Greece wanted an experienced statesman of riper years, and his three Bavarian advisers were, it is true, men of ability in their own line, but only one of them had had any previous personal knowledge of the country which they were called to govern. In politics Germans, and especially learned Germans, are apt to be children. As a shrewd observer, who visited Greece in 1835, wrote of the Bavarians: "Greece to them is a new colony. . . . There is a want of understanding between the Bavarians and the Greeks."[1] There was also "a want of understanding between the Bavarians" themselves. The two chief members of the Regency quarrelled among themselves; Count von Armansperg was a man of the world, Dr. von Maurer a doctrinaire, and the Countess an ambitious woman, who, according to the gossips of Nauplia, the first capital of the kingdom, schemed to make one of her three charming daughters Queen of Greece. The "Queen Mother," as the Greeks called her, urged the speedy removal of the capital to Athens, and the caustic Finlay wrote in his "Journal" that "the poor weak Count allows his judgment to be led . . . by this absurd woman." But, besides this petticoat government, there were the intrigues of the "Residents," as they were then called, of the three Protecting Powers, Great Britain, France, and Russia, who had stood around the cradle of the infant state. Of these, the British "Resident," Dawkins, a born intriguer, was a supporter of Armansperg. Never-

[1] "Tabakraucher" in the *Liverpool Mail*, 21 July, 4 August, 1849, preserved in the Finlay Library.

theless the Regency set to work to create some sort of order out of the chaos resulting from eight years of war, at times foreign and civil simultaneously, preceded by three and a half centuries of Turkish neglect, and followed by more than a year of anarchy after the murder of Capo d'Istria. The Bavarians disbanded the irregulars, who were the *damnosa hereditas* of the long-drawn struggle for independence, created a centralised system of municipal government such as "European" bureaucrats love, compiled an educational code, and erected the Church in Greece into an autocephalous institution, independent of the Œcumenical Patriarchate. This drastic step, taken in 1833, long remained unrecognised by the Patriarch. Not till 1852 was the breach completely healed; and even now, although statesmen will realise the necessity of having a national Church completely exempt from the influences exerted upon its head, if he reside in an enemy's country, ecclesiastically minded historians deplore the sacrilegious separation of the Greek sees from the "Great Church" in Constantinople. Recent events have justified the ecclesiastical policy of the men of 1833—"a free Church in a free state."

The fall of von Maurer left Armansperg in power, which he kept, with the title of "Arch-Chancellor," even after the King came of age in 1835, till 1837—the year which witnessed the foundation of the University and Otho's marriage. He then made way for another Bavarian, Herr von Rudhart, "a rough looking person who stands firm on his heels," as Finlay described him, and who told an attaché that he had no rights "but the King's will." But Rudhart's tenure of the Premiership, as his office was called, was brief; he had an active opponent in the British Minister, Sir Edmund Lyons, who had learned diplomacy on the quarter-deck, and made the most of a personal incident. After Rudhart's

dismissal, Bavarian autocracy continued in the person of the King, who acted as his own Prime Minister of a Cabinet mainly composed of Greeks. This system was injurious to the throne. The King, instead of confining himself to general policy, immersed himself in petty details, read, marked, learned, and digested every decree submitted to him for signature, and "took ten days to decide who was to be schoolmaster in Syra." His deafness aggravated his natural tendency to spend time over meticulous points, while the mere fact that he had no responsible Premier, behind whom he could shelter himself, exposed him to all the odium of unpopular measures. The Revolution of 3-15 September, 1843, ended this Bavarian autocracy. The provinces (which Otho and his Queen visited at great personal discomfort), according to a contemporary diarist, did not want a revolution for a constitution, which was a town-bred movement, partly due (as all political movements are) to personal motives, but none the less inevitable. The saying of Cavour that "the worst Chamber is better than the best ante-Chamber" is especially true of a country like Greece, where wits are sharp, where the critical faculty is strongly developed, and where *cafés* and newspapers abound. Like most Greek revolutions, that of 1843 was bloodless, and over in a few hours. Great Britain approved the entry of Greece into the number of constitutional states. A National Assembly, composed of Greeks from both within and without the kingdom, adopted the Constitution of 1844 after a discussion between the "autochthonous" and the "heterochthonous" Hellenes, which revealed the jealousy of the native leaders for the black-coated and linguistic Phanariotes, who "knew more letters" but had not, with some notable exceptions, borne the burden of the battles for independence in which the yataghan had been more serviceable than the pen, and books had been converted

into cartridges. Of these the greatest was Alexander Mavrokordatos, the leader of the "English" party, whose chief opponent was Kolettes, the chief of the "French" party. The Constitution of 1844, which lasted for twenty years, confirmed the independence of the Church, declared that the heir to the throne must be orthodox, and created a Senate, composed of at least twenty-seven persons, nominated by the King, and a Chamber of at least eighty members, all over the age of thirty, and elected for three years by manhood suffrage. Thus Greece, for the first time since the National Assembly had been dissolved at Pronoia, the suburb of Nauplia, in 1832, had a Parliament, and at last was started on the career of Constitutional Monarchy, after four Constitutions during the War of Independence and a trial of the presidential system, of anarchy, and of absolute government.

Down to his death in 1847 the dominating figure of public life was Kolettes. An Epeirote, trained in the school of Ali Pasha of Joannina, whose son he had attended as a doctor, he had played a considerable part in the War of Independence, and during the presidency of Agostino Capo d'Istria had seceded at the head of the so-called "constitutional" party to Perachora, the "village" which lies "beyond" the now fashionable watering-place of Loutraki. He had subsequently been Minister in Paris, where he was dubbed "General" by admirers of his fustanella, and made influential friendships, so that when he became Premier, the French regarded him as their man, and banked upon him, much as, seventy years later, the British banked upon Mr. Venizelos. Kolettes, like Signor Giolitti in pre-war Italy, succeeded not by oratory, but by the art of managing men. A foreign contemporary described him as "the first man in Greece," but with "no habits of business . . . false and intriguing, but clear-headed

and with great knowledge of men," whom he could wheedle at his will. A politician of small expedients rather than a statesman of broad views, he represented Nationalism—always wearing the national dress—and advocated a policy of expansion, whereas his rival, Mavrokordatos, thought that the first duty of Greece was to make herself the model kingdom of the Near East. In justification of Kolettes' policy, it must be remembered that in his Premiership Greece seemed to be the only heir presumptive of the Turk. That was the opinion of Cobden, who visited Athens in 1838. Nor was it then altogether Utopian, for Bulgaria did not exist, Serbia was small and suffered from the feud between her two rival dynasties, that of Karageorgevich and that of Obrenovich, and the Œcumenical Patriarchate was a Greek propagandist throughout the Christian provinces of Turkey. But the defect of the Nationalist programme was the disproportion of its means to its end. For little Greece had to face not only the whole force of the Ottoman Empire but the supposed interests of the Great Powers, especially Great Britain and France, with whom the "integrity" of that Empire was then a dogma for which they would fight. Hence Otho, whenever he sought to make a Nationalist gesture, found himself confronted by his two Western "Protectors," who, during the Crimean War, did not hesitate to occupy the Piræus, just as during the Great War sixty years later they did not hesitate to occupy various points of Constantine's kingdom. In 1839, Greece had, for the first time, entered into official diplomatic relations with Turkey, but under Kolettes an incident between the King and the Turkish Minister, Mousouros (afterwards for so many years Ambassador in London), caused the expulsion of Greek Consuls from Turkey. On the other hand, Greece had already made remarkable internal progress, even under Bavarian

autocracy. The Scottish lawyer, Edward Masson, after twenty years' experience of Greece, wrote in 1842: "Through her University and her Press, Athens has already begun to lead public opinion, all over the Levant, in matters of literature, politics, and religion." In 1835 the unenthusiastic Finlay wrote in his "Journal": "In spite of all the awkwardness of the Bavarians, how much progress Greece has made!" In 1841 the National Bank, one of the most important Greek institutions, was founded, and before the September revolution the Rhizareios School, the Observatory, and the present Cathedral had been added. It is characteristic of the stability of the National Bank as compared with the instability of Cabinets, that its first governor held office for twenty-eight years and its second for twenty-one, while in eighty-seven years it has had only nine.

The chief event of the years immediately following the death of Kolettes was the ridiculous affair of Don Pacifico, which caused an unpleasant incident between Great Britain, or rather Palmerston, and Greece. Don Pacifico was one of these individuals of dubious nationality who cause so much trouble to Foreign Offices. The most prominent personage of this episode was a Gibraltar Jew, who had been Portuguese Consul-General, and whose house had been sacked during an anti-Semitic riot. Those who knew the modest style in which Don Pacifico lived were surprised at the value which he placed upon his furniture and papers. Palmerston, who did not love Otho, took the opportunity of sending in simultaneously five other claims of British and Ionian subjects, including that of the historian, Finlay, for land enclosed in the Royal garden, and rounded off the British bill of costs by demanding the islets of Cervi and Sapienza off the coast of the Peloponnese as having formed part of the Ionian Islands. The British ultimatum was the forerunner of a blockade of the Piræus. The

results of this high-handed action were the condemnation of Palmerston's policy by the House of Lords, the delivery of his famous *Civis Romanus sum* speech in the House of Commons, the protests of France and Russia in their quality of "Protecting" Powers, and the great increase in Otho's popularity. Don Pacifico's claim was cut down to very modest proportions, and that to Cervi and Sapienza was dropped. The Crimean War led to another dispute with Greece, whose people naturally sympathised with Russia in her double capacity of orthodox Power and enemy of Turkey, and whose King—and still more Queen—wished to seize this occasion for obtaining Epeiros and Thessaly. But the insurrection planned in those provinces only provoked a Turkish ultimatum, the results of which were averted by the Anglo-French occupation of the Piræus, which brought the cholera in its train. Both these events again enhanced the popularity of the patriotic and plucky King. But Otho's reign was drawing to a close. His racial sympathy with Austria during the Austro-Italian War of 1859 alienated from him the feelings of his people, enthusiastically favourable to Italian independence—a fact now forgotten by the masters of the Dodekanese. Prayers for the victory of the Italian arms—in which Otho as a German could scarcely have been expected to participate—were even offered up in the chapel of St. Isidore on Lykabettos. A demonstration against imported straw-hats by youths wearing the native hats of Siphnos was made the pretext for a fight between "Garibaldians" and "Austrians," in which the future Premier, Rhalles, was a leader against the Government. Moreover, the question of the succession to the childless Otho was a perpetual irritant, and a new generation, the so-called "golden youth" of Athens, had grown up, as the result of their University studies, with anti-dynastic ideas, of which Epaminondas Delegeorges was

the hierophant. "How long," a local poem asked, "will the foreign locust, how long will a deaf Bavarian devour our unhappy country? Arise, brothers! It is high time." A modern Harmodios thought that he was serving his country by trying to assassinate Amalia. The garrison of Nauplia, twenty-nine years after Otho's landing there, revolted, a local lady became the "mother of the revolution," and, while the King was making a tour of the Peloponnesian coast, the fortress of Vonitza, on the Gulf of Arta, started the revolution of 1862. Returning to Athens, he found his deposition an accomplished fact. Weary of the continual insurrections which had marked his reign, and anxious not to be the cause of bloodshed, he left Greece, never to return. But neither he nor his spirited consort ever forgot the land which they had loved so well, and he subscribed to the funds raised during the Cretan insurrection of 1866. As in 1843, the revolution was not the work of the Greek people, but of a minority. The chief author was the old conspirator, Theodore Grivas, all powerful in Akarnania, who died before he could reap the fruits of his last conspiracy; while Benizelos Rouphos, grandfather of General Pangalos' Foreign Minister, secured the adhesion of Patras through his local influence, and Delegeorges headed the "golden youth" of Athens. Thus, in the words of a current doggerel, "in a single night, without resistance, after boldly smashing the lamps of the capital," the first Monarchy fell. "The goats," wrote Finlay in a private letter, "came to our house during the thickest firing, and I have not heard that any of them were either killed or wounded."

A Provisional Government, composed of Boulgares, the Hydriote politician, Kanares, the famous seaman of the War of Independence, and Rouphos, was formed, and a National Assembly summoned to elect another King, for it was felt that Greece was not ripe for a

Republic. The Greeks wanted an English prince, the future Duke of Edinburgh, for whom, on a plebiscite, they polled 230,016 votes against 2,400 for the Duke of Leuchtenberg, the Russian candidate, a nephew of Alexander II. But, as the protocol of 3 February, 1830, had expressly excluded the members of any of the three "Protecting" dynasties, neither of these candidates was eligible, and the British Government had already refused to permit Prince Alfred's acceptance, even although the Assembly ratified the plebiscite. It promised, however, to find someone else, and, after a long search and much bargaining, found him in the person of the second son of the future King Christian IX. of Denmark. Thus a Danish lieutenant of seventeeen became in 1863 "George I., King of the Hellenes," as he was now nationalistically styled. The new King had not come one moment too soon, for during the "interregnum" Athens had been the scene of sanguinary civil war between the factions of "the mountain" and "the plain," which recalled the anarchy preceding the arrival of Otho. With George came as adviser another Dane, Count Sponneck, who soon proved himself to be less able and tactful than the Bavarian advisers of Otho. He was speedily compelled to go.

George I. brought with him the first addition which had been made to the Greek kingdom—the seven Ionian Islands and their insular dependencies. Nearly half a century's experience had made it obvious that the British Protectorate was irksome to most of the inhabitants and a source of no profit but much annoyance to the Protecting Power. Great Britain was in this dilemma: If she governed her Ionian subjects autocratically, she exposed herself, as a liberal Power, to the reproaches of the rest of the world; if she granted them a liberal Constitution, as she did in 1849, she prepared the way for an agitation against her own rule. It

was useless to point out to all but a small number of Corfiote office-holders, that the Ionians were materially better off under the beneficent British control than they would be under the less effective and poorer administration of little Greece. Nationality is a powerful force, and the Ionian Radicals, who followed Lombardos, saw no reason why the British should condemn in Greeks the aspirations which they applauded in Italians. Gladstone's Mission in 1858 failed to convince the Ionians that what they wanted was reform, not union. In 1863 a treaty bound the British to cede the islands to Greece on certain conditions—the neutralisation of the two northernmost islands, Corfù and Paxo, the destruction of the most important of the Corfiote forts, notably the fortifications on the islet of Vido, built "with banknotes" in 1837, the maintenance of the British cemeteries (on the crumbling stones of which may still be read many names of famous English families[1]), and heavy charges for the new King's civil list, and for various pensions. By the irony of history the Allies themselves violated the neutrality of Corfù when, in the late war, they made it the headquarters of the defeated Serbian army. In 1864 the islands were formally handed over to Thrasyboulos Zaïmes, father of the present Greek Premier. Thus the new King started with one great asset.

He was by nature better suited than Otho to rule over Greece. He paid little attention to details, usually allowed his Ministers to do pretty much what they pleased, provided that they let him alone (although he dismissed six administrations during his reign), and was democratic without being undignified. His tact was more useful than genius; he was a good diplomatist, and his family connections—for his father was father-in-law of

[1] *Cf.* the author's article in the *Morning Post*, 7 November, 1925.

half Europe—were valuable to his country. He was a good man of business, and he had children—perhaps too many for a small state. He lacked the enthusiasm of Otho, and there were many parts of his kingdom which he never visited, spending his long vacations at Aix-les-Bains and Copenhagen. He never inhabited the palace begun for him at Tripolis, rarely sojourned at Mon Repos in Corfù, and took no interest in the classical past of Greece. "He did not go to see either the Gate of the Lions and the Treasury of Atreus at Mycenæ or the so-called tomb of Leonidas at Sparta," wrote Finlay in a letter of 1866, just as Tagore came to Athens without visiting the Akropolis! He was, in fact, a thoroughly modern man. His marriage with a Russian, who "made the sign of the cross in the orthodox manner," delighted his people, but Queen Olga was later accused of being too Muscovite. The mere fact that he reigned securely over Greece, despite critical moments, such as the war of 1897, for nearly fifty years is a tribute to his capacity for never being in the way and never out of the way, and he possessed that saving sense of humour which is a British rather than a Southern characteristic. Above all, if, being human, he had his likes and dislikes in politics, he never allowed his personal feelings against a Minister to prevent him from accepting him as his adviser. Herein he differed from his successor.

Greece had not only a new King, but also, after a wearisome discussion, a new Constitution—that of 1864, which lasted till 1911. Its chief feature was the abolition of the Senate, so that Greece became a thoroughly democratic, unicameral state—for the Council of State, adopted by a small majority, was abolished in 1865. Unfortunately a premium was placed upon parliamentary obstruction by fixing the quorum as high as one more than half the number of deputies, which varied from 150 to 234. A still graver error, which has had serious

consequences, was the admission of military and naval officers as deputies, for thus soldiers were invited to mix in politics, and the germs of the future "stratocracy" were sown.

The first twelve years of the reign were mainly occupied with the Cretan insurrection of 1866-69, the arrest of Lord Muncaster and his party by brigands at Pikermi, and the question of the Laurion minerals. After a temporary union with Egypt from 1830 to 1840, the "great Greek island" had returned to the tender mercies of Turkish administration. An insurrection broke out in 1841, another was threatened in 1858, and eight years later began one of the most serious in the island's turbulent story. But the moment was ill-chosen and the rising premature. However, the Greeks of the kingdom, incited by the numerous Cretans in Athens (who played much the same part as the Macedonians at Sofia), warmly sympathised with the movement, and the heroic act of the Abbot of Arkadion, who blew up his monastery rather than surrender, aroused intense enthusiasm, and put a severe strain upon the official neutrality of the Government; even the cold Finlay admitted in his posthumous *History of the Insurrection in Crete*[1] that "the affair . . . was glorious," and truly prophesied in *The Times* that "annexation to Greece can alone bring peace to Crete." France and Russia were of his opinion; but official Britain was opposed to union. The Turks, as usual, produced paper reforms, in the shape of the "Organic Statute of 1868," which for the next decade was the charter of the island. But, as the insurrection continued and was fomented by volunteers from Greece, the Turkish Government sent an ultimatum to Athens. Diplomatic relations were interrupted; but Bismarck proposed a conference, and

[1] Intended for *The Times*. Published by the present author in *B.S.A.* (1927), xxvii., 91-112.

war with Turkey was postponed till 1897, and union with Greece till 1912. Scarcely had the Cretan question ceased to occupy attention than the capture of Lord Muncaster's party and the murder of some of them by brigands aroused vehement indignation in England. It was true that only two of the band were Greeks, and that the advice of those who knew the country regarding the negotiations with the captors was disregarded; but the social importance of the victims gave great publicity to this affair. There had been a recrudescence of brigandage owing to the return of armed bands from Crete — a phenomenon also noticed after the late European War. But during the intervening years it greatly diminished. The Laurion mines, celebrated in antiquity, now absorbed public attention, to the exclusion of foreign politics. The question, as put concisely by Finlay in his *Times'* correspondence, was whether MM. Roux, Serpieri and Company were entitled to extract ore from the so-called *ekvoládes,* the surface ore which the ancient miners had left behind them, or "whether this unsmelted ore is not national property, though it lies on the surface, and whether it is not from its position excluded from the mining concession." The Government occupied the mine by force, and passed a law nationalising the *ekvoládes*. As the concessionnaires were a Franco-Italian company, those two Governments protested and sought the intervention of the other Powers. The matter dragged on for some six years, and France and Italy seemed about to break off diplomatic relations, when a *deus ex machinâ* appeared in the person of the millionaire, Syngros, who in 1873 purchased the rights of the foreign company for 11,500,000 francs, and formed a Greek company. Thanks largely to the speeches of Delegeorges, then Premier, the mineral wealth of Laurion had become much exaggerated during these negotiations, Greece caught a "mining fever,"

speculation was rife, some individuals made large sums, many citizens were impoverished.[1]

The outbreak of the great Eastern crisis with the Herzegovinian insurrection in 1875 failed to arouse the Greeks to the necessity of looking after their share of Turkey's European Empire. Greece took no part in the fighting; but, when Russia entered the struggle in 1877, an "Œcumenical" Government of all parties, containing four ex-Premiers, was formed under the presidency of the aged Kanares, with Trikoupes as Foreign Minister, and a policy of preserving neutrality in the hope of obtaining British support of Greek aspirations at the proper time. The approach of the Russians to Constantinople caused the substitution of a war policy, and a new Cabinet with Deligiannes at the Foreign Office. Insurrections were started in Crete and the frontier provinces; but they came too late. Russia and Turkey had already come to terms, and the treaty of San Stefano dealt a tremendous blow at the hopes of Hellenism. The creation of the Bulgarian Exarchate in 1870 had already undermined the traditional supremacy of the Greek Patriarchate; the creation of a big Bulgaria threatened the territorial expansion of the Greek kingdom. Happily for Greece, the Turkophil Beaconsfield found it to be a British interest to oppose this aggrandisement of the Slavs. The Berlin Congress, at which the Greek delegates were heard but could not vote, cut down and cut up the big Bulgaria of San Stefano. Still the creation of a Bulgarian principality revived the medieval rivalry of Byzantine Emperors and Bulgarian Tsars, and Macedonia, left in Turkish hands, became the cynosure of both Sofia and Athens, not to mention Serbia and Austria-Hungary, now entrenched in Bosnia. Salisbury, indeed, suggested that Turkey should enlarge the Greek frontier up to the rivers Peneios in Thessaly

[1] A. Syngros, Ἀπομνημονεύματα (Athens, 1908), iii., 51-89.

and Kalamas in Epeiros. But it required two conferences, at Berlin and Constantinople, before the Turks could be induced to cede, in 1881, Thessaly up to a point just north of Tempe, and the district of Arta; in 1882 the disputed Thessalian defile of Karalik-Dervend was added. Crete received an enlarged charter, the "Pact of Halepa," which staved off the next insurrection till 1889, while Cyprus, more fortunate, was occupied by Great Britain on payment of a tribute of £92,800 to Turkey, which was till last August continued after the annexation in the form of the island's share of the Turkish National Debt. It has now been abolished on condition that Cyprus contributes £10,000 to Imperial defence.

Greek internal politics now became a duel between Trikoupes and Deligiannes, the former a great constructive statesman of big views, the latter a great parliamentarian of profound local knowledge, and a Nationalist in foreign politics. They may be compared with Mavrokordatos and Kolettes in a former generation. Trikoupes, "the Englishman," was not sufficiently Greek, Deligiannes, the Moreote, was not sufficiently European. When Eastern Roumelia was suddenly united with Bulgaria in 1885, both Serbia and Greece demanded compensation; the former went to war, the latter, with Deligiannes in power, was restrained by a blockade, of which the commanding officer, by the irony of Fate, was the Duke of Edinburgh, who might have been the blockaded King. A recent Greek historian considers that this blockade saved Greece from disaster.

The next decade was mainly occupied with financial and industrial problems. Whenever foreign politics are in abeyance, Greece makes rapid internal progress, and during this unsensational period when she had "no history," in the "drum-and-trumpet" sense of the word, she was extending her network of railways, while

in 1893 the Corinth Canal was at last opened. A severe financial crisis in that year, followed by a currant and a currency crisis, constituted, however, a temporary setback, and indirectly caused a large wave of emigration to the United States. This was the beginning of that Americanisation of Greece, which has been intensified since the Asia Minor disaster. Meanwhile, Greek party politics suffered a severe loss by the defeat of Trikoupes at Mesolonghi, and the annihilation of his party at the elections of 1895. The greatest statesman up to that time produced by modern Greece gave up politics and, like Mr. Venizelos in 1920, retired abroad, where he died at Cannes in 1896 of a broken heart. The latest Greek historian of this period, Mr. Aspreas,[1] has pronounced the following judgment: "During the fifty years' reign of George I. twelve political leaders altogether governed the country . . . none of whom was justified by his contemporaries. . . . One after the other, small and great, they descended into their graves with bitterness on their lips and sorrow in their souls." The example of Solon shows that ancient Greek statesmen had a like experience.

Another Cretan insurrection, the last of the series, broke out in 1896 and led to war with Turkey. The moderating influence of Trikoupes, who had calmed the immature insurrection of 1889, was no longer there to prevent the agitation from forcing Greece into a war for which she was quite unprepared. Deligiannes, his successful rival, whom the King had summarily dismissed in 1892, was now again Premier, but the real power, in so far as Cretan policy was concerned, was in the hands of the "National Society," the successor of a similar irresponsible organisation, the "National Defence," which Trikoupes had dissolved in 1882. The "National Society" was founded in 1894 by three

[1] Πολιτικὴ Ἱστορία τῆς Νεωτέρας Ἑλλάδος ii., 241.

officers, and owed its extension in large part to the eminent historian, Sp. Lampros, Prime Minister in 1916, who was that rare combination—a great scholar and an excellent organiser, as he showed at the Olympic Games of 1906. This body, availing itself of the Nationalist feeling aroused by the first Olympic Games held in Athens in 1896, when a Greek won the Marathon race, and of the Moslem attack upon the Christian quarter of Canea early in 1897, agitated for war, with the object of securing the union with Crete, which the insurgents had again proclaimed. The declaration of a number of British Members of Parliament deluded the enthusiasts in Athens into the belief that the British Government favoured them. The King, who knew the real state of affairs, was in a difficult position, and his better judgment was against intervention. But his Premier, forced by public opinion and unable to find anyone better able to govern than himself, followed the current which he could not stem. The King's second son, Prince George, was sent with a flotilla and Colonel Vassos with a military force to Crete, whence the last Turkish Governor departed for Corfù. The Powers (except Germany, then strongly opposed to Greece, owing to the Greek debt, despite the marriage of the heir-apparent, Constantine, with the Emperor's sister) bombarded the insurgents, of whom one was the future Greek Premier, Mr. Venizelos, and proclaimed the "autonomy" of the island. But the main interest was now transferred to the mainland, where war began. From the outset the result was a foregone conclusion; no Balkan state stepped forward to assist Greece, but her Christian rivals for that apple of discord seized the opportunity of her difficulties to improve their own ecclesiastical position in Macedonia; while Germany was bitterly hostile to her, and German officers placed their strategic knowledge at the service of the Turkish

generals. Against such a combination, Constantine, then young and inexperienced, could do little, especially as the war was directed from Athens, and the fleet was mysteriously paralysed. In a month all was over, after the Turkish victories of Pharsalos and Domokos, when, for a moment, it looked as if the Turks might enter Athens. The internal situation was, indeed, critical. The portraits of the Royal Family vanished from the shop-windows, and those of the one popular general, Smolenski, took their place. The returning Garibaldians were a further element of danger. Their leader, the late Ricciotti Garibaldi, told the writer that he was "offered the dictatorship": Smolenski, had he been a Pangalos, could have taken it. But Smolenski was a loyal soldier, not an adventurer, and the throne was saved by the advent to the Premiership of the Opposition leader, Rhalles. The Powers slowly, but surely, intervened,[1] the Sultan had no motive for further victory, an armistice was signed, and Crete evacuated. Except for a slight strategic rectification of the Thessalian frontier, the temporary occupation of that province till 1898, and a war indemnity, Turkey gained nothing from "The Thirty Days' War," whereas Crete in 1898 (after a British Admiral had bombarded Candia, as a punishment for the murder of the British Vice-Consul and a treacherous attack upon the British troops) received autonomy under Prince George of Greece, as High Commissioner of the Powers. Abdul Hamid might well have asked whether it was worth while to have gone to war in order to install this Greek Prince in Crete. But the improbable usually happens in the Near East. The Turkish troops left Crete, and the sole vestige of the Turkish domination, which had existed directly over all but three points of the island since 1669 (except for

[1] *Cf.* letter of Mr. Skouloudes, Foreign Minister in 1897, in the *Skrip*, 6 November, 1924.

the brief Egyptian interval), was a Turkish flag on the islet in Suda Bay. Greece received an International Commission of Control over her finances, upon which each of the six Powers was entitled to be represented. This institution still exists, but the "Œcumenical" Government in 1927 categorically declined to extend its scope. The Cretan question was, however, not yet settled: autonomy was to the diplomatists "a blessed word," and it was Greek, but it was only a halfway house to union. Prince George was for some time popular; a Constitution was adopted, a Cretan police force formed on an Italian model, the four Powers which still interested themselves in Crete (for Austria had also withdrawn from the Cretan Concert) removed their authorities from the island, and the Moslem minority was further reduced by emigration; Candia, thanks to the excavations of Sir Arthur Evans at Knossos, became a tourist resort. But the Prince became autocratic; he dismissed one of his five "Councillors," Mr. Venizelos, and thus laid the foundations of that quarrel with the Royal Family which so profoundly affected Greek politics. Mr. Venizelos, who had already been an insurgent, withdrew to the fastness of Therisso, where a provisional National Assembly met in 1905 and voted for union. Next year, weary of Cretan politics, the Prince resigned; the four Powers permitted the King to choose the new Commissioner, and his choice fell upon the most tactful of Greek statesmen, Mr. Zaïmes, who had already been twice Premier. This and the appointment of Greek ex-officers to organise the Cretan militia were further steps towards union. It was not long delayed.

Meanwhile, however, Greece had been occupied with the Macedonian question, and her internal politics were a see-saw between Deligiannes, who was assassinated for private reasons in 1905, and Theotokes, a former

lieutenant of Trikoupes. Such "Byzantine" questions as a translation of the Gospels into "vulgar" language, and a similar adaption of the *Oresteia* of Æschylus led to riots and political crises at a time when all parties should have combined to reorganise the resources of the country after the disastrous war of 1897. But at that time "the language question" keenly interested the rival adherents of the "purist" and the "vulgar" speech, and political motives were ascribed to the advocates of a "Revised Version," dictated (it was suggested) by Russian agents, who sought to banish that heirloom of the Greek Church, the Greek of the New Testament, from common use. The Macedonian difficulty was of a more mundane order. That unhappy province, which the Berlin treaty had left under Turkish rule, was the happy hunting ground of several rival propagandas, Greek, Bulgarian, Serbian, and Koutso-Wallach (this last supported by Roumania), each convinced of its historical claims, each ready to furnish "official statistics" to the guileless traveller in search of the truth. But religion, as well as arithmetic, was made to serve the interests of racial propaganda. The foundation of the Bulgarian Exarchate had embittered the struggle, which was keenest between Greeks and Bulgarians. Rival bands carried on guerrilla warfare at the expense of the miserable peasantry, and Exarchists and Patriarchists slew one another to the greater glory of their respective races and Churches. The slow-footed Powers (except Turkophil Germany) applied a programme of reforms, and partitioned Macedonia into five sections. Meanwhile, the Turks remained the nominal masters, not altogether displeased to see their Christian subjects quarrelling among each other as to which language the Macedonian peasant should use in his prayers, whereas Austria-Hungary, from the *Sanjak* of Novibazar, meditated an advance to Salonika at the

fitting moment. That city, the cynosure of so many eyes, was then largely Jewish, partly by race and religion, partly by race alone, for the so-called Deunmehs were Jews converted to Islam.

The Turkish Revolution of 1908, born in Macedonia, was the forerunner of important events for Greece. Crete thought the moment propitious, while the High Commissioner was absent, to proclaim union again. A provisional Government, of which Mr. Venizelos was a member, took the oath to King George; the Cretan postage-stamps were surcharged *Hellas*. Theotokes, then Premier, did not, however, respond to this appeal; the Turks, unable to annul the Austro-Hungarian annexation of Bosnia and the Herzegovina, showed a determination to fight for Crete. Rhalles, as in 1897, was summoned to office, and to his embarrassment the Powers withdrew their last troops from the island, whereupon the Cretans hoisted the Greek flag. The Greek Government, menaced with another Greco-Turkish war, appealed to the Powers, who sent their sailors to cut down the offending flagstaff, a portion of which, together with the zinc flag which had been the sole emblem of Turkish sovereignty, is now in the Ethnological Museum of Athens. They also invited Turkey to discuss the Cretan question with them, not with Greece. Thus war was averted. But the impotence of the Greek Government rankled in the hearts of the officers, who a few months earlier had formed a "Military League" with the object of ending by drastic action the barren squabbles between rival gangs of politicians, which had latterly constituted the public life of their country. They found a leader in Colonel Zorbas, and on 28 August, 1909, the military movement at Goudi, outside Athens, inaugurated the contemporary history of Greece.[1] For on that day the army learnt the fatal secret that Ministries

[1] Mr. Aspreas in the *Hestia*, 22-30 December, 1927.

were made and unmade not in the Chamber but in the barracks. The navy almost immediately tried to imitate its example. All that has since happened in Greece may be traced to the "Military League" of 1909.

Rhalles at once resigned; Mavromichales, a scion of the famous Mainate family, which had ended the career of Capo d'Istria, became Premier, but only by the grace of the all-powerful "League," which enjoyed the support of the business men and the provinces, weary of the professional politicians. The main item in its programme, the reorganisation of the fighting services, as the only sure background for an independent foreign policy, involved the elimination of the Princes from their posts in the army. But the "League" was not anti-monarchical, although the French Minister invited the King to "cross the street" and take refuge at his Legation. George I. had survived 1897; he survived 1909, and, as always, tactfully accepted the inevitable. Constantine was no longer Commander-in-Chief; the Chamber was made to pass such reforms as the "League" dictated, and it held a whip over perspiring legislators, ordered to produce their tale of laws with lightning speed at the bidding of the "stratocracy." But the military chiefs soon found that it is easier to make a revolution than to build up a new order. In the lack of a first-class statesman in Greece, they bethought them of Eleutherios Venizelos, whom some of them had known in Crete, and whose practical ability had struck Joseph Chamberlain, when, as a young man, he had explained the Cretan question to that powerful politician. He now advised the revision of the Constitution of 1864; his advice was adopted; Colonel Zorbas entered a new Cabinet, of which the Macedonian Dragoumes was chief, with a programme of elections for a National Assembly. The "League," having accomplished its work, was dissolved, and Mr. Venizelos, technically a Greek subject, was elected to

the Greek Assembly, abandoned his official position in Crete, and devoted his whole attention to Greek politics. On 18 October, 1910, George I., letting bygones be bygones, accepted him as Prime Minister.

The next decade was dominated by his personality. At the outset his opponents endeavoured to upset him by the traditional device of abstention, which left him asking a vote of confidence from an Assembly which had no quorum. His immediate resignation produced a general reaction in his favour; he asked and obtained a dissolution, and came back from the country with an overwhelming majority. In all but the name he was a dictator. His first task was to carry the revision of the Constitution. The revised charter of 1911 obviated further "Gospel riots" by forbidding unauthorised translations of the Scriptures, sought to break up the large Thessalian estates, established free and compulsory education, struck a blow at parliamentary obstruction by reducing the quorum to one-third, declared military men ineligible as deputies, transferred election petitions to a special tribunal, revived the Council of State, and aimed at the creation of a permanent civil service. The Premier magnanimously, despite opposition, restored the heir-apparent to his military command. The "Second Revisionary National Assembly," having done its appointed work, made way in 1912 for an ordinary Chamber, in which 150 out of 181 deputies were Venizelists. The Premier, anxious to avoid another incident with Turkey before Greece was reorganised for war, used his great influence to prevent the deputies elected by his native island from taking their seats. While the Chamber adjourned for the recess, he quietly laid the foundations of the Balkan League against Turkey, weakened by the Northern Albanian insurrection and the Libyan War of 1911. The Greeks applauded the African successes of their Italian

"brothers" against their own hereditary enemy, but they lived to regret the substitution of a strong Italy for a weak Turkey in the Dodekanese.

The first Balkan War in 1912 was a great step towards the realisation of Greek aspirations. On the east the Greek army took Elassona, and, after the victory of Sarantaporon, occupied much of southern Macedonia; a second victory at Jenitsa by the Vardar led to the capitulation of Salonika on 8 November (26 October, O.S.), the festival of its patron, St. Demetrios. Soon the historic dates "1430-1912" in the Thessalonian churches showed that the long period of Turkish rule was over. In Epeiros the capture of Preveza, Metzovon, Cheimarra, and the historic Parga (ceded by Great Britain to Turkey in 1819) was the prelude to that of Joannina (likewise Turkish since 1430) and Argyrokastron. The fleet meanwhile occupied nine islands, hoisted the Greek flag on the "Holy Mountain" of Athos, and rendered valuable service to the Balkan Allies by defeating the Turkish fleet at the Dardanelles and preventing the Turkish transports from carrying fresh troops from Asia to Europe. Samos, whose Prince, Kopasses, had been assassinated in the same year after the most turbulent reign in the history of that autonomous island, rose under Mr. Sophoules, the future Greek Premier, against the new Prince, Vegleres, and proclaimed union with Greece, as Ikaria had already done; Crete furnished a contingent of fighting men. When the other belligerents signed the armistice at Chatalja, Greece continued the war, but participated in the London Conference. One tragedy marred the uninterrupted course of Greek successes—the assassination of George I. by a Greek named Schinâs at Salonika on 18 March, 1913. The murder was officially ascribed to private motives; but rumour attributed it to foreign ambitions, for in Greece a political motive is usually supposed to exist. The second King of

Greece had nearly attained his jubilee; his past services to his adopted country had been great, his future services to it and to the Entente might have been even greater. His premature death profoundly affected the course of Greek and, indeed, European history, for had he lived and reigned in 1914, Greece would probably have entered speedily on the side of the Allies. As a Dane, who remembered the seizure of Schleswig-Holstein, he would have been opposed to Germany; as a constitutional sovereign, he would have taken the advice of his Minister. His political testament showed a profound knowledge of the Greeks and of his successor, who, born in Greece and with the laurels of Salonika and Joannina on his brow, began his reign with a prestige such as neither Otho nor George had possessed. To this was soon added—so tenacious are the memories of Byzantium—the legendary glory of a new "Basil the Bulgar-slayer," the modern representative of the Byzantine Emperor who, almost 900 years earlier, had smitten the Bulgarians hip and thigh, and had celebrated his victory in the Christianised Parthenon. For the treaty of London, which ended the war of the Balkan Allies against Turkey on 30 May, 1913, had not yet been signed, when Bulgarian forces attacked the Greeks on the poetic Panghaîon. The booty of the Balkan Allies was so gigantic and so unexpected—for by the treaty of London the Sultan ceded to the Allies the whole of European Turkey west of the Aînos-Midia line (except Albania) besides Crete, and entrusted the Great Powers with "the care of deciding on the fate of all the" other "Ottoman islands of the Ægean"—that a quarrel over it was foreseen, and by one Great Power desired. The second Balkan War was as great a surprise as the first. Greece and Serbia, bound by an alliance concluded at Salonika on 1 June, 1913, completely defeated the Bulgarians. Roumania came in unopposed to their assist-

ance, and the Turks (profiting, as ever, by the discord of the Christians) recovered Adrianople. The Greeks won a great victory at Kilkich, their fleet took Kavalla and Dedeagatch, and the atrocities committed at Serres, Nigrita, and Doxaton by the retreating Bulgarians made the Greek soldiers keener to pursue them. After a month's fighting a peace conference met at Bucharest, where on 10 August the treaty was signed. The Greek frontier was fixed at the mouth of the Nestos, thus leaving to Greece Kavalla, with its rich tobacco plantations, which had been hotly contested but obtained by the firmness of King Constantine, unexpectedly supported by the German Emperor—a support of significance later on. On 14 November a formal treaty between Greece and Turkey concluded the arrangements between the combatants, though in 1914 the treatment of the Asiatic Greeks nearly caused a new Greco-Turkish war. There remained, however, the questions of the Albanian frontiers and the Ægean Islands, in both of which Greece was interested, to be settled by the Powers. The Boundary Commission declared much of what the Greeks claimed as "Northern Epeiros" to be "Southern Albania," and in 1914 the Powers demanded the evacuation of this debatable district as the price of their recognition of Greek sovereignty over the islands taken by the fleet. Official Greece evacuated Northern Epeiros and ceded the islet of Saseno to Albania. An "autonomous Government," of which Zographos, a former, and his nephew, Mr. Karapanos, a future, Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs, were the principal members, was, however, formed in Northern Epeiros, which was the scene of an insurrection, ended by the Corfù Conference on 17 May. But this Conference's plan for the organisation of the two provinces of Argyrokastron and Koritsá was rendered abortive by the outbreak of the European War.

That struggle divided Constantine from Mr. Venizelos and Greece into two opposing camps. The two artificers of the recent Greek victories were both popular, and naturally so, with large sections of the nation. The King was a good soldier, beloved by his men, whose hardships he had shared, but (like most soldiers) no politician ; the other was—in the domain of foreign policy—a statesman of the highest order, but, as a Cretan, not thoroughly in touch with Greek internal affairs, and a poor judge of character. The former was the brother-in-law of Great Britain's chief enemy, to whom he had recently owed Kavalla ; the latter was Great Britain's friend. The one believed the German Army, of which he was a Field-Marshal, to be invincible ; the other told the German Minister, who tried to convince him of that belief, that he would listen to him on the day when the German fleet in the Mediterranean was superior to the British. Both were masterful men, both had their too enthusiastic followers, and a hopelessly irreconcilable dualism was thus created, from the effects of which Greece is only now slowly recovering.

The Allies soon realised that Greek assistance would be valuable to them. Their offers began with Northern Epeiros, raised in January, 1915, to "concessions on the coasts of Asia Minor" and the Dodekanese except Rhodes.[1] Mr. Venizelos was, on his part, willing that Greece should actively assist them in the attack upon the Dardanelles. Constantine refused, and Gounares, an able metaphysician, but infirm of purpose, replaced him on 10 March as Premier. Eight days later the defeat of the attack upon the Straits strengthened the hands of the neutralists. The attitude of the Allies, already complicated by the fact that Russia did not want Greece at Constantinople, became still more difficult when Italy

[1] For this last fact I am indebted to Prince Demidoff, then Russian Minister in Athens

joined them. For the treaty of London, which was her price for entering the war, gave her "entire sovereignty over the Dodekanese," a group of Greek islands which the Allies had offered to Greece three months earlier! The writer, who was in Italy at the time, well remembers the intense opposition there to Mr. Venizelos, because a great Greece was considered an obstacle to the aspirations of Italian Nationalism. Italy preferred a neutral to a victorious Greece. This view was emphasised by the Italian Minister in Athens, Count Bosdari, and thus the Allied representatives there were divided. Baron Schenk, the German agent, considered their mistakes to have been his best arguments, and in this they were ably supported by their respective Governments. Thus, while Sonnino let out the fact that, had it not been for the Austrian veto, the Italians would have been in possession of Chios and Lesbos, as well as the Dodekanese, a British agent was resolved to bring Bulgaria into the war by the offer of Kavalla! Greece had, therefore, some reason for praying to be saved from her future allies. Nevertheless, Mr. Venizelos secured an absolute majority at the elections of June, 1915, although, owing to the King's illness, he did not resume the Premiership till August. Again he found the King, whose prestige had been increased by his recovery, ascribed to the miracle-working Virgin of Tenos, opposed to intervention, and convinced that Germany would win. The Allies landed troops at Salonika; to save appearances, Mr. Venizelos entered a formal protest, but on the day of their landing he was obliged to resign, and Mr. Zaïmes, with a Cabinet including four other ex-Premiers, took his place. Thereupon Great Britain, despite Italian and Russian objections, offered Cyprus to Greece, if she would send immediate help to her Serbian ally; Zaïmes refused, for he was resolved not to apply the Greco-Serbian treaty, and the offer was withdrawn. Zaïmes, defeated in the

Chamber, made way for Mr. Skouloudes, a cultured millionaire who had been Minister in Spain, a lieutenant of Trikoupes, Minister of Foreign Affairs, delegate at the London Conference of 1912, and is still hale and hearty at the age of eighty-eight. He dissolved the Chamber: the Venizelists abstained from the elections. The situation became more difficult. The Premier found himself placed between the Allies, who violated the double neutrality of Corfù by landing French troops, installing the Serbian army and occupying the German Emperor's villa there, and who demanded permission to transport the Serbs across Greek territory to the front, and the Germans and Bulgarians, who insisted on entering Greek territory. He refused to allow the Serbs to pass by land, declaring that he would rather blow up the bridge over the canal.[1] But the fortress of Rupel, commanding the Struma Valley, was handed over to the Bulgarians by the soldiers of Constantine "the Bulgar-slayer." Greek patriotism was wounded, for the Bulgarian on Greek soil was a different thing from the French or British. The Allies occupied Thasos, and on 21 June, 1916, the three protecting Powers addressed a peremptory Note to the Greek Government, demanding complete demobilisation, the resignation of the Cabinet, and its replacement by a colourless Ministry, an immediate dissolution, and new elections. The Note was accepted; Mr. Zaïmes returned to the Premiership, but a Bulgarian invasion of Eastern Macedonia prevented the holding of elections. Kavalla was surrendered; 8,000 Greek troops were interned at Goerlitz. This was a second Rupel. A Committee of National Defence was formed at Salonika; but the time was not yet ripe for revolution. In Athens Ministry succeeded Ministry; the banker Kalogeropoulos followed Zaïmes, and the historian Lampros Kalogeropoulos. But meanwhile Mr. Venizelos

[1] For this detail I am indebted to Prince Demidoff.

had resolved to act. Appealing to the Greek people to drive out the invaders by joining the Allies and the Serbs, he formed at Salonika, with Admiral Kountouriotes and General Danglês, a Provisional Government, which declared war on Bulgaria and Germany. Thus in the last quarter of 1916 there were definitely two Greeces—one Royal, the other Venizelist; one neutralist, the other at war; one deriving its chief strength from the "old" provinces, the other from the "new"; a neutral zone, established by the Allies near the old frontier, separated the two; the mission of the French deputy, Benazet, failed to reconcile them. The Allies then proceeded to stringent measures. Admiral Dartige du Fournet demanded the disarmament of the bigger ships and batteries, the control of the arsenal and the recently completed railway to Macedonia, and the expulsion of the enemy diplomatists and Schenk. He next demanded ten batteries of mountain artillery by 1 December. This last demand the Government refused; the Allied detachments which landed on that day were met by a hostile fire, and a body of marines taken prisoners at the Zappeion—a building intended for other and more peaceful exhibitions. The French fleet fired on the palace: the Queen had to "take refuge in the cellars." Next day there were disturbances in Athens, and following the precedent of Shimei cursing and stoning David, and of the Athenians protesting against Zographos, the author of the unpopular Turkish treaty in 1840, an "anathema" of stones, in which fashionable ladies took part, was organised against the absent Venizelos. But the Allies exacted retribution: a blockade was established, so rigorous that for 104 days not a single cargo of wheat arrived; coal was replaced by lignite, and wood from Tatoï used for lighting Athens. The Greek troops were ordered to march into the Peloponnese, the Athenian garrison to salute the Allied flags at the Zappeion. Great

Britain sent Lord Granville to represent her at the Venizelist headquarters.

But this was only the beginning. Venizelism added Zante and Cerigo to its sphere of influence; French opinion urged the deposition of Constantine, whose deportation to Algeria till the end of the war the French military attaché had suggested in January, 1916. At last Jonnart, who had represented France at the funeral of George I., was sent as High Commissioner of the protecting Powers to depose Constantine. He told Mr. Zaïmes, who had succeeded Lampros as Premier, that Constantine must abdicate in favour of one of his younger sons, for the future George II. was considered pro-German. On 12 June, 1917, Mr. Zaïmes informed him that the King "had decided to quit the country with the Prince Royal, and designated as his successor his second son, Alexander." Two days later Constantine embarked. Various leading Royalists, including Gounares and General Metaxâs, were interned in Corsica. On 27 June Mr. Venizelos became Premier, and, treating Mr. Skouloudes' elections as unconstitutional, revived the Chamber elected in June, 1915. Meanwhile Greece's divisions had been Italy's opportunity of extending her influence on the opposite mainland. She had at Argyrokastron in Northern Epeiros proclaimed "the unity and independence of *all* Albania"; she deported leading Cheimarriotes, and even occupied Joannina; but the Paris Conference in July requested her to evacuate Epeiros.

Mr. Venizelos had found the army demobilised and the sinews of war wanting. One of his first acts was to break off relations with the Central Empires, but he could not attack them without money. The Allies made Greece an advance, the Greeks routed the Bulgarians at Skra-di-Legen and at Doïran, thus making a valuable contribution to the Allied victory, recognised by both British and

French. At the peace conferences the diplomatic qualities of Mr. Venizelos were invaluable to his country. He was specially popular with the British for his moderation and brevity of exposition, and at Paris, Spa, and San Remo he was in constant contact with Mr. Lloyd George. Thus Greece, under his direction, gained largely from both her hostile neighbours in the Near East. Bulgaria at Neuilly was forced to surrender to Greece her frontage on the Ægean (save such "economic outlets" as Greece might give her), Xanthe with its valuable tobacco plantations, Gumuljina and the railway to Dedeagatch. Turkey at Sèvres was ordered to hand to her the rest of Thrace up to the Chatalja lines, Imbros, Tenedos, and the practical sovereignty over Smyrna with a sufficient *Hinterland,* provided that the Turkish flag should be hoisted on "an outer fort," as it had been on the islet in Suda Bay till, in five years' time, a plebiscite should decide whether the Smyrniotes wanted complete union with Greece. Much of this was, however, a mere settlement on paper. The Greeks, it was true, had, with British consent, landed at Smyrna in May, 1919, against the Kemalists; and Mr. Stergiades was appointed High Commissioner there; but their progress had been difficult from the outset. Italy was opposed to their occupation, because she claimed Smyrna as having been conceded to her at the Conference of St. Jean de Maurienne in 1917. The Turks had started a Nationalist movement, which spread rapidly and was specially hostile to the Greeks. France was becoming Turkophil, and behind Mr. Venizelos suspected British influence. But that statesman's power was waning. Two days after the signature of the treaty of Sèvres, which had, as it seemed, ended the Ottoman Empire in Europe to the benefit of Greece, he was wounded by two Greeks at the Gare de Lyon in Paris, with the result that Ion Dragoumes, one of the most brilliant of his opponents, was assassinated in Athens on

the spot where his monument now stands. There were Greeks who, apart from party feelings, regarded the Asiatic part of the Venizelist programme as a mistake, because Smyrna and its *Hinterland* would be difficult to defend. Like Beaconsfield after the Berlin treaty, Mr. Venizelos was wrong in assuming that a great and dazzling success abroad would produce a majority at home at the forthcoming elections, which the settlement had rendered possible. Nowhere are ordinary voters swayed by questions of foreign policy : that is the affair of the "intellectuals" ; everywhere domestic questions win votes. Now, internal policy, which was not the Premier's strong point, had been left, during his long but inevitable sojourn abroad at the successive conferences, to lieutenants vastly inferior to him in ability, whose administration made him unpopular. Mr. Venizelos had reason to say that he was "not a Venizelist" : most statesmen have reason to pray that they may be saved from their injudicious friends. There were other causes at work against him—the prolonged mobilisation, the natural weariness of war after some eight years of it, the ingrained dislike of the Greeks to the lengthy domination of any individual, the tendency to decapitate the tallest poppies of the public field, and the memories of the privations endured during the blockade. Royalist propaganda was active, the Venizelist lieutenants in Athens, over-confident of victory at the polls, took no measures to insure it. One of them sent to the writer a forecast, which was signally falsified. The British Minister, Lord Granville, was among the optimists. But there were better informed Venizelists who warned their leader that the omens were against him : no one believed them. To crown all, King Alexander, who was popular and married to a Greek, and with whom the Premier could probably have worked, died on 25 October of a monkey's bite. During the inevitable interregnum, while

the throne was offered to, and declined by, Constantine's third son, Prince Paul, Admiral Kountouriotes acted as Regent. The vacancy on the throne inevitably transformed the electoral contest of 14 November, 1920, into a personal issue—Constantine *versus* Venizelos. The result was an overwhelming defeat for the Minister, who was, like Trikoupes, defeated in his own constituency. This sudden change of fortune smacked of the ancient drama.

He immediately quitted the country which had rejected him, with his chief lieutenants and his future wife. The writer, who saw him as he passed through Rome a few days later, found him a broken man. Abroad the verdict was variously received—with amazement in France and England, in Italy with exultation. The Italian Press regarded the defeat of the Greek statesman as an Italian victory; it did not consider that he had contributed to that of the Allies.

CHAPTER III

THE CONSTANTINIAN RESTORATION AND THE ASIA MINOR CATASTROPHE

(1920—24)

UPON the fall of Mr. Venizelos, Rhalles, the veteran Premier of 1897, became for the fifth time Prime Minister, taking also the Foreign Office, with such well-known Royalists as Gounares and Mr. Tsaldares as his colleagues. The last act of Admiral Kountouriotes as Regent was to receive the oaths of the new Ministers, whereupon he resigned, and the same day, 17 November, Queen Olga was invested with the Regency until her son could arrive. First, however, the country went through the formality of a plebiscite on the question of his return, when, according to the official figures, 999,960 votes were recorded for the King, 10,383 against; there were 1,190 blanks and 1,062 invalidated voting-papers. The result, which by the inartistic exiguity of the minority recalled the Italian plebiscites of 1860, was a foregone conclusion. Constantine returned amidst great popular enthusiasm, and, in a message to his people, promised "the severe maintenance of our Constitution" and "peace in unity." But the international position of Greece was rendered more difficult by his restoration, although that was no affair of the Allies, but of the Greeks alone. Italy, indeed, rejoiced openly and loudly at the change, not, however, from love for Greece or her King, but from satisfaction at the defeat of the dreaded statesman whose policy was considered to be an obstacle to Italian Imperialism. France was specially hostile to Constantine and began to veer

round to that Turkophil policy which for centuries has alternated with her traditional Philhellenism. One day she has been a Crusader with Godefroi de Bouillon, the next a concession-hunter with Franklin-Bouillon. In Great Britain many people had been friends of Greece because they admired the genius of Mr. Venizelos, and when he fell they unfairly vented their disgust upon his whole country; moreover, the British public was weary of war and disinclined, as it usually is, to occupy itself with foreign affairs. On the eve of the plebiscite these three Powers had declared that they would consider Constantine's restoration "as the ratification by Greece" of his "acts of hostility" during the war, and as creating "a new situation unfavourable to the relations between her and her allies." An Allied Conference was summoned to London to discuss the modification of the treaty of Sèvres, at which Greece was represented by Kalogeropoulos, who had, for the second time, become Premier on 7 February, 1921. The Conference decided upon an international commission of inquiry into the statistics of the population in Smyrna and Thrace; the Greek National Assembly replied that it could not accept the revision of the treaty of Sèvres. The Conference thereupon made another suggestion—that the Greeks should keep Thrace and the city of Smyrna without the *Hinterland* (which would become autonomous under a Christian Governor nominated by the League of Nations); the Kemalists refused to entertain it, while during the Conference M. Briand signed an agreement with the Turkish delegate assuring concessions to France—the first step towards the Franklin-Bouillon Convention of Angora, against which Great Britain protested as a separate peace. While the Conference was still sitting, the Kalogeropoulos Government took the offensive against the Turks, which, after the capture of Afion Karahissar and Eskishehr, resulted in a defeat. Still, however,

Greece refused the Allies' mediation ; instead, Gounares, who succeeded Kalogeropoulos as Premier on 7 April, launched another offensive, and Constantine in person took the command at Smyrna, while the fleet bombarded Ineboli on the Black Sea. Successful at first, the Greeks were defeated on the river Sakkaria, after having almost penetrated to Angora. Constantine returned to Athens ; Gounares and his Minister of Foreign Affairs, Baltatzês, set out on a pilgrimage to the Western capitals to obtain the "sinews of war." France would do nothing for them ; indeed, of the credits promised to Greece in 1918 by Great Britain, France, and the United States, France alone had paid nothing, nor has she even now repaid the sums expended by Greece for the French army in Macedonia. In London, Gounares was apparently more fortunate. He felt compelled, indeed, to place the cause of Greece, at Lord Curzon's suggestion, in the hands of the Allies, and to abandon all claim to the balance of the British credits—for nothing more had been paid after Constantine's return—but he made an arrangement with Sir Robert Horne, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, to raise a loan in the open market. This scheme, however, failed, Turkey continued to receive munitions of war, and in February, 1922, a Franco-Greek incident arose out of the seizure of the *Espoir,* a French vessel carrying coals for the Turks, as contraband of war. France was now Turkophil, Italy Grecophobe, Great Britain indifferent. Meanwhile, on 9 November, 1921, the Ambassadors' Conference had assigned Northern Epeiros to Albania. Thus, alike in Asia and Europe, Greece had suffered mutilations of territory. Once again she had reason to remember Byron's warning not to "trust for freedom to the Franks."

On 15 February, 1922, Gounares made a final appeal to Lord Curzon, reminding him that Greece had accepted his suggestion, but had gained nothing thereby, and that

the Turks, reinforced by Bolshevik and even Allied munitions, would soon begin an offensive, which the Greeks could no longer resist, unless they received reinforcements and money. Lord Curzon replied by advising his correspondent to hearken to the advice of the new Conference, which met in Paris in March.[1] It went far beyond the Conference of London, for it proposed to restore both Smyrna and its *Hinterland* to direct Turkish rule, and to extend the frontiers of European Turkey to a line drawn from near Ganos on the Sea of Marmora to the Bulgarian frontier on the west of the Stranja Mountains. But it failed to secure peace, and encouraged, rather than satisfied, the Turks, ever ready to profit by the dissensions of the Powers. Besides, the real authority in Turkey was no longer at Constantinople, but with the military party at Angora. It only remained to continue the war. But as this necessitated extraordinary expenditure, and the projected external loan had failed in London, it became imperative to obtain the sinews of war in Greece and obtain them rapidly. Accordingly, to meet this emergency, Protopapadakes, Minister of Finance, on 3 April, 1922, suddenly announced a forced loan, to be raised by cutting in half the banknotes of 10, 25, and 100 dr.; the half which bore the effigy of George Stavrou, the founder and first Governor of the National Bank, represented money, while the half which bore a crown represented a bond. In popular language, the two halves were known respectively as "crosses" (*σταυροί*) and "crowns" (*στέμματα*). Meanwhile the drachma continued to fall. In 1914 the pound had been worth only 25·16 dr., and in 1919 only 24·32, but in 1921 it rose to 70·38, in 1922 to 164·83, in 1923 to 293·85, and in August, 1926, reached 435. At present it is 368. Simultaneously the cost of living in Athens went up by leaps and bounds. The index-figure, as com-

[1] The *Morning Post*, 8 December, 1922.

pared with 1914, was 4·21 in 1921, 7·73 in 1922, 12·13 in 1923, 13·41 in 1924, 14·85 in 1925, and 17·84 in 1926.[1] To these military and financial difficulties of the Government was added a Republican movement, of which Mr. Alexander Papanastasiou was the leader. He and several of his friends were arrested and imprisoned on 17 April for signing a Republican manifesto, and tried at Lamia and sentenced to three years' imprisonment on 6 July. Their prosecution gave them popularity and prepared the way for the creation of the Republic, of which the first Prime Minister was the former prisoner of Lamia. Soon afterwards the Gounares Cabinet fell. A letter was read in the Chamber, purporting to have been written by one Moslem deputy to another, to the effect that "the overthrow of the Gounares Government would be against Turkey." On a vote of confidence Gounares was defeated by two votes, and Stratos, who succeeded him with the "Reformist" party on 16 May, fell next day. Five days afterwards there came into office the ill-fated Coalition Cabinet of Protopapadakes, Gounares, and Stratos, with Baltatzês and Nicholas Theotokes as Foreign and War Ministers, all five destined six months later to be shot for their alleged mistakes.

The first act of the new Cabinet was the appointment of General Hadjianestes as Commander-in-Chief of the Army in Asia Minor, in place of General Papoulas, who had resigned. On 29 June it informed the Powers that Greece must take Constantinople, for that thereby alone could peace be obtained. The Powers replied that they forbade such a step and would stop it by force. Thus Greece, like Italy during the Libyan War, was prevented by a foreign veto from striking a blow where her enemy

[1] Eulambio, M. S., *The National Bank of Greece* (Athens, 1924), 152. For 1927 it was 19·38, in January, 1928 it was 20·12.

was most vulnerable. The Powers tied her hands, while France, through M. Franklin-Bouillon, negotiated with her opponent, and Great Britain looked on and gave her that "moral" support which is as useful in a fight against the Turk as is a "moral" victory at an election. A further move, the proclamation, on 30 July, of the self-government of Asia Minor, by M. Stergiades, the High Commissioner at Smyrna, was coldly received by the Powers, who expressed their reservation upon an act not within the sole competence of the Greek Government.[1] Mr. Lloyd George, however, by his encouraging speech of 4 August, led the Greeks to believe that Great Britain would back them, and inspired the Turks to make a determined effort to end the war. A public meeting was held in Athens, and a demonstration took place before the British Legation, to express gratitude. The demonstrators little knew that the enthusiastic British Premier was alone in his Cabinet in his support of Greece. Meanwhile the Turks had begun their attack. The Greeks evacuated Afion Karahissar on 27 July; the retreat became a rout; General Trikoupes, who had been appointed Commander-in-Chief in room of Hadjianestes, was taken prisoner, and on 10 September the Turks entered Smyrna. The burning of the Greek quarter, of which the writer had an account from a British eye-witness, and the American Consul has since published the unvarnished story,[2] the martyrdom of the Metropolitan, Chrysostom, who should go down to history in the glorious company of the Patriarch Gregory V., and the horrors of the Hellenic exodus left the European Press strangely and amicably indifferent, whereas the massacre of Chios a century earlier had aroused the indignation of the civilised world. But in 1922 civilised Europe had become uncivilised by the war, atrocities

[1] Ἐλεύθερον Βῆμα, 18 July, (O.S.)

[2] G. Horton, *The Blight of Asia* (Indianapolis, 1926).

had ceased to make an impression, everyone was weary of fighting, and Philhellene France had embraced the Turk : François I. had found a successor in M. Franklin-Bouillon : France had "sold her" Philhellenic "birthright" for a "mess" of what M. Clemenceau called "Washington pottage."

The Greek Government had resigned before Smyrna fell, and Mr. Triantaphyllakos, a Royalist politician from Arkadia, who had been High Commissioner in Constantinople, accepted on 10 September the unenviable task of forming a Cabinet to face the results of the disaster. As in the case of the Italian stampede at Caporetto, the Greek defeat had been promoted by a defeatist propaganda at home, of which two widely diffused articles, Οἴκαδε ("Homewards!") and "The Pomeranians" (an allusion to Bismarck's saying that the Eastern question was "not worth the bones of a Pomeranian grenadier"), were the most conspicuous examples. The soldiers naturally fought without enthusiasm when they were told that what they were fighting to retain could not be retained, while the war had cost 33,913 lives for nothing.

Many of the troops, retreating from Asia Minor, took refuge in the neighbouring islands of Chios and Mytilene ; among their officers were two distinguished soldiers, Colonels Gonatâs and Plasteras, the "black horseman," as the latter was popularly called. Believing the disaster to have been largely due to the King and the safety of Greece to depend upon his dethronement, the one in Chios and the other in Mytilene formed a conspiracy for his overthrow. This new revolution was hatched in a villa at Chios on the night of 23 September, and next day Colonel Gonatâs issued a proclamation from Mytilene, which was distributed two days later by aeroplane throughout Athens, demanding the King's abdication and the holding of elections. Both leaders embarked on board the *Lemnos* and steamed to Laurion, whence they

sent an ultimatum to Constantine. As in 1917, no one raised a finger in his defence, in accordance with the usually bloodless character of Greek revolutions, which leave the people cold.

Thereupon Constantine, on 27 September, 1922, again abdicated. In a letter to the Premier, Mr. Triantaphyllakos, he admitted that "the Asia Minor disaster and the danger of losing Thrace" had confirmed the belief that his further occupation of the throne "prevented the powerful friends of Greece from helping her." While "not sharing this idea," he abdicated to avoid civil war. In a simultaneous proclamation to the Greek people, written with his own hand in pencil, he preached the necessity of union and offered himself a sacrifice to obtain it, urging the Greeks to rally round their new King, his eldest son George.[1] He then left Greece for Palermo, where on 11 January, 1923, he died, and his bones still lie in Italy; his brother Nicholas, the cleverest of the family, was exiled, but Prince Andrew was allowed to remain in his villa at Corfù. The ex-Ministers, Gounares, Protopapadakes, Stratos, and Theotokes, were at once arrested as the responsible authors of the Asiatic disaster, and the ex-Minister of Foreign Affairs, Baltatzês, and General Hadjianestes subsequently imprisoned. Mr. Triantaphyllakos resigned, and after the one-day Premiership of Mr. Charalampes, on 30 September the Corinthian politician Krokidas became temporarily Premier (with Messrs. Polites and Diomedes as Foreign and Finance Ministers), pending the return from abroad of the ever-useful Mr. Zaïmes. But as the latter declined the post, the "provisional" Premiership lasted till, on 27 November, Colonel Gonatâs became in name, as in fact, Prime Minister, with General Pangalos as Minister of War, and Mr. Rendes as Minister of Justice and Acting-Minister of Foreign Affairs, while Colonel

[1] Ἐφημερὶς τῆς Κυβερνήσεως, 22 September (O.S.), 1922.

Plasteras remained outside and above the Cabinet, with the title of "Leader of the Revolution." Thus in 1922, as in 1909, the army had again taken upon itself the task of "saving" the country after a national humiliation. A terrible retribution fell upon those who were held, rightly or wrongly, responsible for the Asiatic disaster. General Pangalos, the new Minister of War, a man without mercy, as he afterwards showed when dictator, was appointed president of the Military Committee for inquiring into the responsibility for the disaster. To the arrests already mentioned was now added that of Prince Andrew, arrested in his Corfiote villa of Mon Repos, the former residence of the British Lord High Commissioner, on a warrant signed by General Pangalos. A military tribunal, presided over by General Othonaios, tried the accused and sentenced to death the five ex-Ministers and General Hadjianestes. A proposal to ask the British Government to take the accused and guarantee their absence from Greece failed.[1] There was no delay in carrying out the sentence: at Goudi, whence in 1909 the Military League had marched into Athens, they were shot on 28 November, 1922. The Lausanne Conference was sitting at the time, and Lord Curzon endeavoured to prevent their execution. Sir Gerald Talbot, the faithful friend of Mr. Venizelos, then in Lausanne, was sent in hot haste with a message to the Greek Government. But he arrived some two hours too late, an incautious telegram—so it is said—having warned the Government of his mission of mercy. The execution was a double blunder: it alienated foreign opinion and sowed the seeds of hatred and revenge at home—for in Athens family relationships are far-reaching. Baltatzês, merely the mouthpiece of others and a linguist and man of the world rather than a statesman, was obviously innocent, and General Hadjianestes had long been considered

[1] Mr. Zaïmes in the Πρωΐα, 16 May, 1927.

irresponsible for his acts, while Gounares, ill of typhoid at the time, was dragged from a sick-bed to execution. Documents have recently been published to throw the blame upon the excessive zeal of the British Legation in intervening upon the prisoners' behalf and thus exciting their enemies. The British Government showed its displeasure by withdrawing its Minister, Mr. Lindley, the same day, leaving the representation in the hands of Mr. Bentinck as chargé d'affaires. Not till 26 February, 1924, did another British Minister arrive, in the person of Sir Milne Cheetham. The supporters of the death penalty argued that public opinion, especially that of the refugees, demanded scapegoats, and that, if the accused had not been executed, the mob would have torn them in pieces. The critics retorted that even lynching is better than a judicial murder. Even now the question is hotly discussed, and the rehabilitation of the dead men's memories from time to time demanded. Friends of Greece can only hope that "reconciliation" may at last lead one party to forgive, and the other to admit, this fatal mistake. Prince Andrew, separately tried and found guilty of disobeying orders, was banished for life, and transported from Greece on a British ship, at considerable cost to the British taxpayer. The ownership of his Corfiote villa, claimed by the state as a national property, is a question still undecided. Meanwhile it is the abode of his British caretaker. On 21 January, 1923, an amnesty for all other political offenders was granted and various political prisoners released.

Meanwhile, the Powers had set to work to decide the future frontiers of Greece. On 11 October, 1922, the Convention of Moudania compelled the Greek troops to retire to the west of the Maritza within fifteen days. General Pangalos, appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Greek army in Thrace, declared that "Greece is ready to continue the struggle. . . . We will never sign a

peace of defeated men. . . . We can sweep the enemy out of Europe."[1] But on 24 July, 1923, the treaty of Lausanne made this the frontier between Greece and Turkey. However, the ownership of the island, Giaour Ada, at the mouth of the river was decided in favour of Greece only in November, 1926. Greece lost at Lausanne all that she had obtained in Asia Minor, and in Europe Eastern Thrace, including Karagatch, the suburb of Adrianople, although situated on the western bank of the Maritza. Immediately after the Greek disaster the Italian Government had informed the Greek Minister in Rome that it "considered as null and void the special agreements with Greece relating to the Dodekanese"; by the treaty of Lausanne "Turkey renounced in favour of Italy all her rights" to the Thirteen Southern Sporades, and also to Kastellorizon, despite a formal reservation by the Greek delegation. Imbros and Tenedos were demilitarised and promised a native administration and police; Lemnos, Samothrace, and a zone of thirty kilometres along the Greco-Turkish frontier were also demilitarised. By the convention of 30 January the exchange of the Greek population in Turkey with the Moslem population in Greece was rendered obligatory from 1 May, 1923, exceptions being made for the Greek inhabitants of Constantinople, "established" there before 30 October, 1918, and the Moslem inhabitants of Western Thrace. In consequence of a statement by the Greek delegate, the Moslems of Albanian race (mostly in Epeiros) were also exempted. Thus Greece has emerged from the Asiatic disaster with far less territory but with a far more consolidated population. What she has lost in extent in Asia she has gained in intensity in Europe.

Scarcely had Greece received the news of the Lausanne treaty when she had suddenly to face an

[1] Ἐλεύθερον Βῆμα, 16 May, 1923.

attack from Italy. On 27 August, General Tellini, the Italian delegate on the Albanian Boundary Commission, and his suite were found murdered at Kakavia on the road between Joannina and Santi Quaranta. There was not a tittle of evidence that the murder had been the work of Greeks, but it was on Greek territory, and Signor Mussolini, not unwilling to exhibit his "vigorous" foreign policy, assumed the Greeks to be guilty and demanded an indemnity of 50,000,000 lire, payable in five days. Considering the temperate Greek reply inadequate, he forthwith sent a fleet (which was lying ready at Taranto for use against Fiume) to Corfù. Regardless of the fact that Corfù was declared neutral in 1864 and that the dilapidated Venetian forts were unarmed, that one contained 6,000 refugees and several hundred Armenian orphans and the other the British Police School, the Italians bombarded them both, killing sixteen persons (all but one Greek or Armenian refugees) and wounding thirty-five persons. Only seven minutes' notice was given to the acting British Consul. Fortunately for the ascertainment of the truth, Dr. Kennedy, a Canadian and Commissioner of the "Save the Children Fund," was an eyewitness of these proceedings, which he described in his report as "inhuman and revolting, unjustifiable and unnecessary." A lady engaged in relief work, in a letter, published in *The Manchester Guardian Weekly*,[1] described how at the time she "was in the fort where the Lord Mayor's fund had an orphanage for refugee children," and how, "when the Italians marched in with their bayonets fixed," the terrified refugees thought that these "were the same Turkish soldiers, from whose swords only a few months ago they had escaped. It was difficult to make them understand that the Italians were really more civilised than the Turks." The question at once came before both the

[1] 28 September, 1923.

League of Nations and the Ambassadors' Conference, which had appointed the Albanian Boundary Commission. The small nations at Geneva were alarmed, and the speech of the Greek delegate, Mr. Polites, ex-Minister of Foreign Affairs, now Minister in Paris, and a great jurist, was a masterpiece. But if Greece had the better of the arguments, she had to pay, for Europe did not want war, and France wanted Italian support in another question. Fear and log-rolling prevailed over reason and justice. Still, Italy had to evacuate Corfù on 27 September, and the sole result to her was the further tension of her relations with Greece. The League of Nations saved its face, but to plain men it seemed that Geneva had two weights and measures—one for small and another for big states. The comic element rarely lacking to Balkan tragedies was supplied by the remark of one Corfiote to another—cricket still survives in Corfù, a relic of our protectorate—that if the British had wished to annex Corfù they would have landed eleven men with a leathern ball and offered to play a Corfiote eleven for the island. When, in 1925, the Italian Government sent a vessel to transport the bones of the Venetian Admiral Graziani from Corfù to Italy, the entire population remained behind closed doors, and only the officials accompanied the Italian officers through the deserted streets. Since then relations have become friendly.

The "Revolutionary" Government, while principally preoccupied with the negotiations at Lausanne, where Mr. Venizelos represented Greece, and whither Colonel Plasteras went to confer with him, simultaneously introduced reforms at home. Chief of these was the introduction of the Gregorian Calendar, which came into force on 16 February (O.S.), 1923, that day being reckoned as 1 March. A new head of the Greek Church in Greece was elected in the person of Mgr. Chrysostom Papadopoulos, a scholar who had studied in Russia and

had been Director of the Theological Schools in Jerusalem and Athens, and Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the Athens University. An agreement was signed, creating a "Serbian free zone" in the port of Salonika. In the interests of economy it was decided to abolish the foreign missions, including the British Naval Mission under Admiral Aubrey Smith. The British Police Mission, appointed by Mr. Venizelos in 1918 and left undisturbed by the Royalists, was excepted from this decision, and on 27 May its jurisdiction was extended from Corfù and Patras to the Piræus. After the signature of the treaty of Lausanne and the consequent demobilisation, it was thought by some that the mission of the "Revolutionary" Government had also expired, and Mr. Zaïmes, the *vir pietate gravis* of Greek politics, made an unsuccessful attempt to bring the warring factions together and to found a "party of reconciliation." But when the Government declined to accept his conditions that none of its members nor any officers should stand as candidates at the approaching elections, he withdrew from active politics, to which he returned in 1926 as Premier of a Coalition Cabinet.

The death of Constantine on 11 January removed one great obstacle to "reconciliation" and any idea that the reigning Sovereign was merely the *locum tenens* of his exiled father. But George II. and his Queen, a daughter of the Queen of Roumania, were now isolated; when he was allowed to go on a journey to Patras, he was overshadowed by the "Revolutionary" leaders; he complained to English visitors that he was not a free agent; he was a mere figure-head, while the real power was in the hands of the "Chief of the Revolution," a man singularly disinterested, who sought neither wealth nor rank in the army, content to remain a simple colonel. But the officers had learned the fatal secret that a handful of armed men could change the Government. Accord-

ingly, a counter-revolution against the "Revolutionary" Government broke out on 21 October, 1923, under the leadership of Generals Leonardopoulos, Gargalides, and Metaxâs, former Chief of the Staff and then leader of the political party of "Free Opinion," or moderate Royalists. In a proclamation to the people in the name of the army, the leaders demanded the resignation of the Government and the holding of elections. But this movement was speedily suppressed. General Othonaios and Colonel Kondyles dispersed Colonel Zeras' followers at Kilkich, the scene of the great battle of 1913; they were encircled at the historic Doïran; other mutineers, assembled at Schematari, the junction for Chalkis, were scattered, and on 27 October Generals Leonardopoulos and Gargalides, who had crossed the Corinth Canal, expecting to join forces with their Macedonian confederates, found themselves surrounded at Kaza, near the ancient Eleutherai, by General Pangalos and Colonels Kondyles and Dertilês, and surrendered unconditionally. There had been little bloodshed; Generals Leonardopoulos and Gargalides were tried by court-martial at Eleusis and sentenced to death—a sentence soon commuted to five years' imprisonment; General Metaxâs escaped to Italy.

This counter-revolution, though unsuccessful, had a disastrous effect upon the Monarchy. There were Republicans in Greece who had regretted the omission of the "Revolutionary" Government to make a clean sweep of the dynasty in 1922—an omission due to the desire not to provoke fresh divisions. The King was now accused, without any legal evidence, of favouring the conspiracy, because two of his aides-de-camp had been mixed up in it and aeroplanes abstracted from the aerodrome at Tatoï. Now for the first time the question of a Republic was publicly discussed by the Government, meetings in favour of the change were held and addressed

by Mr. Papanastasiou, the Republican leader; and General Pangalos, Admiral Hadjikyriakos, the late head of the fleet, and Colonel Kondyles openly charged the King with "praying for the success of the insurgents." On 9 November a leading newspaper, the *Eleutheron Bêma,* asked the question: "Is, or is not, the King guilty?" In vain Mr. Venizelos urged his countrymen not to expose Greece at this crisis to the dangers involved in a change of régime; the Republican leaders accused him of trying to save the Monarchy. Feeling ran high, and after the Royalist demonstration of 9 December there was firing outside the Political Bureau, Colonel Plasteras' office; eight persons were killed and twenty-six wounded. Nevertheless, the elections of 16 December passed off quietly. The Royalists generally abstained, and the Liberals and Republicans had the field to themselves, but the former obtained a considerable majority of the 401 seats. Mr. Venizelos, who had been elected in his absence in eighteen constituencies, and the Moderate Republicans advised that no step should be taken till the National Assembly met. But the advanced Republicans were in a hurry, and General Othonaios, the Commander of the 3rd Division, telegraphed to the Government that almost all the officers in the army had signed a document demanding the deposition of the Glücksburg Dynasty. The Cabinet decided not to accept the demand for the deposition of the dynasty, but that the King's departure was desirable, so as to have a quiet and free discussion of the régime. On 19 December, the third anniversary of Constantine's return, George II. and his Queen quietly left "on leave of absence" for Roumania. In a farewell letter he described his withdrawal as "provisional," but he has never again set foot upon Greek soil. His departure aroused neither friendly nor hostile demonstrations, but business went on as usual throughout the day, as if nothing extraordinary were

happening. George II. had, indeed, neither enthusiastic friends nor violent enemies. As a King he never had a fair chance, for he suffered from the outset of his reign for his father's faults. Not a single drop of blood—and scarcely a tear—was shed at his departure. The Royalists showed no disposition to fight for him; the Liberals, while disapproving of his expulsion, acquiesced in it lest worse things should happen—for the Republican elements in the army and navy controlled the situation. Admiral Paul Kountouriotes, who had acted as Regent after Alexander's death in 1920, was invited by the Government again to assume the Regency till the Assembly had decided on the future form of régime, and on 20 December took the oath. No better selection could have been made. Grandson of the President of 1824, and a member of a very distinguished Hydriote family, famous for its patriotism during the War of Independence, he inspired confidence alike at home and abroad by his disinterested character and public services, while his wife possessed those social qualities so valuable to heads of states, but so rarely found in those not to the manner born.

The Liberal party, whose temporary leader was General Danglês, a member of the former triumvirate with Mr. Venizelos at Salonika, now summoned its former chief back to Greece. Mr. Venizelos, after mature deliberation, agreed to return, but only as a "provisional adviser." On 4 January, 1924, the distinguished exile landed at New Phaleron and began the difficult task of regulating the complicated affairs of the country, whence he had been more than three years absent. The great hopes based upon his return were not destined to be realised. Sequels are seldom successful, and in this case there were special reasons militating against success. Whoever lives for even a brief time out of Greece loses touch with a constantly changing situa-

tion, reminiscent of the saying of Herakleitos: "We step into the same rivers, and yet they are not the same." While the Royalists had not forgotten their feud with their great enemy, there had grown up a new and vigorous Republican party, which wished for his return only after the question of the Republic had been settled. Even among the Liberals new men had arisen, who were not inclined to become the puppet Prime Ministers of an unofficial manager behind the scenes, or to be overshadowed by his gigantic shade. It was soon obvious that, if Mr. Venizelos came back to direct affairs, he must direct them with the full responsibility of a Prime Minister. But for that position, involving acrimonious Parliamentary battles, his health was inadequate. For he had changed as well as Greece. Although still only in his sixtieth year, he looked much older, as was natural after all that he had undergone, and was suffering from an affection of the heart, which made controversy undesirable and contradiction unbearable. He was able to conduct diplomatic negotiations at a green table, but not to answer personal attacks in a crowded and excited Chamber. Hence his return added nothing to his great reputation.

He found his own party divided into two sections—the Monarchist Liberals under General Danglês, and the Republican Liberals under Mr. Roussos, a lawyer from Egypt and ex-Minister in Washington, who, as a native of Leros, had taken a prominent part in the Dodekanesian question. His own views on the Republic were variously interpreted, and on his first appearance in the Assembly, Admiral Hadjikyriakos, an ebullient Republican, asked to what party he belonged. Elected President of the Chamber, which illness had forced him to quit, Mr. Venizelos was compelled to accept the Premiership, as none of his lieutenants would serve under anyone else. The first result was the resumption of

official relations with Greece by the British Government —a prelude to the appointment of Sir Milne Cheetham as Minister in place of Mr. Bentinck, who had acted as chargé d'affaires for over a year. The Premier now declared that while "personally a Republican," who would vote as such, he would "in no way urge the people to vote for or against a Republic." He added: "I did not come to impose a Republic, but to ascertain the people's will"; he received Royalist leaders, and asked for their aid in restoring normal conditions. The "Revolutionary" Government was over, for Colonel Plasteras, with rare disinterestedness, which did not disarm Royalist antipathy to the Greek Cincinnatus, had laid down the supreme power and retired to his Thessalian home, after asking nothing for himself. In a farewell message to the Greek people he requested all to listen to Mr. Venizelos, and soon left for Switzerland. There was no probability that this advice would be accepted, even by the non-Royalist Assembly. Mr. Papanastasiou introduced motions for the immediate deposition of the Glücksburg Dynasty and the adoption of a Republic, subject to ratification by a plebiscite; General Kondyles declared that the Republic would already have been proclaimed, if it had not been for Mr. Venizelos, whose return had upset the Republicans' plans. The renewed illness of the Premier, which again compelled him to leave the Assembly, led him to abandon the Premiership, after examination by a French specialist, to Mr. Kaphandares, who represented the Centre of the Liberal party, and was his Minister of Justice. The Venizelos Cabinet, from which so much had been expected, had lasted less than a month. Mr. Kaphandares soon found that it was difficult to act as responsible Premier, while Mr. Venizelos from his villa at Kephisia acted as his unofficial adviser. Mr. Papanastasiou declared the Cabinet to be "under tutelage" and described "his return to politics

as the greatest obstacle to reconciliation"; Mr. Venizelos replied by offering to leave and never return, if "reconciliation" could thereby be obtained. Despite a large majority on a direct vote of confidence and the adoption of his proposal for submitting the dynastic and republican questions to a plebiscite, Mr. Kaphandares yielded to Republican and military pressure, and resigned on 9 March. Mr. Venizelos thereupon, in a letter to him, expressed his disillusionment in supposing that he could be useful, for his old opponents continued attacking him, while his former collaborators opposed his policy and insisted on imposing the views of the minority on the majority. On 10 March he left Greece, after sixty-six days' stay, and for over three years did not revisit the country, in which his name is still a symbol of glory to some, of hatred to others, and a source of discord to all. He gave up to the interpretation of Thucydides what was meant for the government of his country, and his friends admitted reluctantly that exile was now the best service that he could render to a nation which, not without reason, invented ostracism. Royalist and Republican newspapers joined in pæans of delight at his departure. The same day died General Danglês, who had acted as his chief lieutenant.

Mr. Papanastasiou now became Premier, and his Cabinet significantly took the oath to the country, not to the King. The military character of this first avowedly Republican Cabinet was marked, for General Kondyles and Admiral Hadjikyriakos were respectively Ministers of War and Marine, and General Pangalos subsequently accepted the new Ministry of "Law and Order"—a humorous position for the future dictator. In judicial documents and royal decrees the words "Hellenic Polity"—a formula, suggestive of Plato's *Republic,* but borrowed from the presidency of Capo d'Istria[1] in 1827

[1] Karolides, Σύγχρονος Ἱστορία τῶν Ἑλλήνων, i, 469, *n.*

—were substituted for "Kingdom of Greece," the First Magistrate was, like Capo d'Istria, to take the title of "Provisional Governor (Κυβερνήτης)[1] of the Greek Polity"—subsequently altered to "President of the Greek Republic"—and his official residence, the former palace of the heir-apparent, but latterly used by both Kings Constantine and George II. as the royal palace, was styled "Government House" (Κυβερνεῖον). Nevertheless, the Republicans proposed to treat the royal family generously: George II. was to keep his title for life, receive four-fifths of his appanage, and be permitted to sell the royal estates, except Tatoï. The acceptance of these terms would be followed by a general amnesty and the restoration to their posts of Royalist officials and officers. Negotiations were begun at Brindisi with General Metaxâs, as representing the Moderate Royalists, and he was allowed to return to Greece, despite his participation in the counter-revolution, for which an amnesty was granted. These offers were, however, refused by the intransigent Royalists, and consequently withdrawn. On 25 March, the one hundred and third anniversary of Greek independence, Greece was proclaimed a Republic. After a solemn service in the Cathedral, the Ministers and deputies proceeded to Parliament, where Mr. Raktivan, who had succeeded to the chair on the resignation of Mr. Venizelos, read a motion deposing the Glücksburg Dynasty, depriving all its members of all rights of succession and forbidding their residence in Greece, constituting Greece a parliamentary Republic conditionally on ratification by plebiscite, permitting compulsory alienation of the deposed dynasty's property, and confirming Admiral Kountouriotes' mandate as Regent till after the plebiscite to avoid interrupting the relations with the

[1] It was also the title of Boulgares, as chief of the Provisional Government of 1862. *Ib.*, vi, 112.

diplomatists, such as the British Minister, accredited to him in that capacity. By one of those curious fictions, dear to diplomacy, Sir Milne Cheetham, throughout his whole tenure of office, was accredited to Admiral Kountouriotes as Regent; it was not till the arrival of Sir Percy Loraine as his successor in December, 1926, that the British Minister was accredited to him as President of the Republic, although General Pangalos as President had exchanged letters with George V.! After an amendment, that royal property presented by the state be returned without compensation, had been adopted, white pigeons bearing inscriptions on their necks were let fly from the gallery, and one was presented by the Premier to Mr. Morgenthau, a warm sympathiser with the Republic. A vote was then taken by roll-call, and the motion passed by 284 votes against none, Mr. Kaphandares and his followers being absent. Places of honour in the Chamber were reserved for Mr. Philaretos, the father of Greek Republicanism, who had sat as such in the Parliament of 1882, and for Mr. Morgenthau. The Speaker then addressed the crowd from the steps of Parliament House, the crown was removed from officers' and soldiers' caps, and replaced by a fire-bearing pomegranate—symbol of good fortune. The writer, a spectator of these scenes, could see no more enthusiasm and no more hostility than had been displayed on the expulsion of the King. The people was indifferent; it was weary of changes and accepted the accomplished fact.

Mr. Papanastasiou and his band of ardent Republicans had anticipated the appeal to the people by proclaiming the Republic first. It now remained to hold the plebiscite confirmatory of the Assembly's vote. It took place on 13 April, when 758,742 votes were cast for and 325,322 against the Republic, "new" Greece being overwhelmingly, and "old" Greece predominantly, Republican.

There was no bloodshed and but little feeling. The friendship of both parties for Great Britain was displayed both on the occasions of the bomb explosion at the British Legation on 12 March (an outrage to which no political significance attached) and of the Byron Centenary in April, at which both the Republican Premier and two Royalist leaders were present. Various causes combined to bring about the Republican victory. The Greek people was weary and prepared, without enthusiasm, to give the new polity a fair chance. The refugees, admitted to vote, attributed their exile to the late régime, and had as yet nothing against the new. The Royalists had no leader of the first rank, and General Metaxâs, in his speeches since his return from exile, practically never alluded to the King, who inspired little personal devotion in his followers. Their ideal lay in his coffin in Italy. An appeal to the superstitious prejudices of the ignorant in connection with the change of the ecclesiastical calendar failed to influence many votes, and reminded British observers of the cry, "Give us back our eleven days," heard in England when the style was changed. On the other side, Mr. Papanastasiou showed moderation and tact. He had no personal enemies, whereas Mr. Venizelos had thousands. He had no compromising past, because he had never imprisoned Royalists, whereas they had put him in prison, and had, therefore, no old scores to settle with him. He was not vindictive, and sincerely wanted "reconciliation." Praise, too, was due to the Royalist leaders for patriotically recognising the result of the popular vote as the will of the people.

Historical reasons may be found for the different sentiments of the various parts of Greece. "New" Greece had had a practical experience of only the later years of the Monarchy, whereas "old" Greece still remembered the constitutional reign of George I., when

the Sovereign was a man of great tact, who left the politicians to their own business and was not a party leader. An exception was the Jewish element at Salonika, which mostly voted Royalist. Otherwise, Macedonia, Thrace, Epeiros, Crete, Lesbos, and Chios voted overwhelmingly Republican, while the two great Royalist strongholds in "old" Greece, the Ionian Islands and the Peloponnese, were respectively only 58 and 55 per cent. Royalist. Thessaly, on the border-line between "old" and "new" Greece, was 58 per cent. Republican; Athens and the Piræus—the latter democratic even in the time of Aristotle, and the stronghold of Mr. Venizelos in his prime—both showed large Republican majorities. Thus Greece had become a Republic after ninety-one years of the Monarchy. But the Greek Republic of 1924 arose not so much from Platonic theories as from opposition to a dynasty associated with certain untowárd events in the person of Constantine. The Glücksburgs were then identified in the eyes of a large part of the people with a recent past which they abhorred, while the Republic was as yet untried. It would obviously be judged, not by the beauty of its theoretical principles, but by how it worked in practice—the only test of political institutions.

CHAPTER IV

THE GREEK REPUBLIC (1924—27)

THE National Assembly met on 19 May to consider the proposed new constitution, rendered necessary by the alteration in the form of Government. It was obvious that the true policy was to have passed the constitution as quickly as possible, and then to have amended it when practical experience of its working had shown its defects. Instead of that, there were long discussions upon almost every article, in which the outside public took little interest. The absence of any effective Royalist minority from the Assembly had the inevitable result of enabling the Republicans to indulge in the luxury of internal dissensions, and Republican Cabinets succeeded each other with almost the same rapidity as Royalist Cabinets had come and gone in the early years of the Second Dynasty. To Mr. Papanastasiou, whose Cabinet had already been modified by the resignation of General Kondyles and others, in July succeeded Mr. Sophoules, the former arbiter of the autonomous principality of Samos, only in his turn to be replaced in October by Mr. Michalakopoulos, who, after remaining for over eight months in office—the longest term till then reached by a Republican Premier—was turned out by the *coup d'état* of General Pangalos. The Assembly was, however, unanimous in conferring the rank of Lieutenant-General upon Colonels Plasteras and Gonatâs for their services in the Revolution of 1922, accompanied by a declaration that they had deserved well of their country. A Bill was passed, founding a new university at Salonika, which was opened in November, 1926, the first Vice-Rector and second

Rector being Professor Soteriades, the well-known archæologist, an enthusiastic Macedonian, and one of the best lecturers in Greece. The successful strike of numerous naval officers for the resignation of Mr. Papanastasiou's Minister of Marine, Admiral Hadjikyriakos, followed by the protest of the non-strikers at the restoration of the strikers to their posts, showed that the armed forces had not abandoned their pernicious practice of intervening in politics. It happened that the successive visits of the British and French fleets perhaps fortunately coincided with these naval movements. Only one question of foreign politics occupied the Assembly during the Papanastasiou administration—that of "the fourteen villages" ceded to Albania by the Ambassadors' Conference, with a population of 6,125 souls, and thus separated from their natural mart at Florina. The "Summer Ministry" of Mr. Sophoules witnessed the first visit to Republican Greece of a royal personage, Ras Tafari Makonen, Regent of Abyssinia—a country containing a number of Greeks—but his present of oxen cost the Greek taxpayer dear. During the comparatively long Premiership of Mr. Michalakopoulos, the Jugoslav Government suddenly, on 19 November, denounced the alliance with Greece made in 1913, the principal reason being its objection to the protocol for the protection of Bulgarian minorities in Greece, signed at Geneva on 29 September in the last days of the Sophoules Government. This protocol was believed to have been the work of Professor Gilbert Murray, one of those fine Greek scholars like Grote and Thirwall, who have no first-hand knowledge of the Near East. It was asserted that Mr. Polites, the Greek delegate, had exceeded his instructions in signing, but it was hard to see how, under the terms of the treaty of Sèvres, Greece could have refused. Great opposition to the protocol was displayed, for neither Greeks nor Serbians

wished to be used as a precedent for the interference of other states in their internal affairs. Moreover, whereas Bulgaria contained few Serbs, she had numerous Greeks whom she could harass. Meanwhile, in home politics, the Government conferred two boons upon the capital. On 15 January, 1925, the jurisdiction of the British-trained police was extended from the Piræus to Central Athens, which a month before had celebrated the ninetieth anniversary of its establishment as the capital.[1] But the most important internal event of this administration was the signature of a contract for the water-supply of Athens with the American firm of Ulen by means of an artificial reservoir to be constructed near Marathon. For Athens water is far more important than politics. He who lays the dust and allays the thirst of the Athenians is a greater benefactor than he who devises a new constitution.

Besides the Bulgarian Minorities' protocol and the denunciation of the Jugoslav treaty, Mr. Michalakopoulos suddenly found himself faced by an awkward question with Turkey. On the evening of 30 January, 1925, Athens was electrified by the news that the Turks had expelled the Œcumenical Patriarch, Constantine VI., from Constantinople. He had been elected only six weeks before, upon the death of Gregory VII., and was summarily expelled on the ground that, although born in Turkey, he was not "established" in Constantinople, and was, therefore, liable to the exchange of populations. Great was the indignation of all parties and classes at what was described to me by the Archbishop as "much more serious than the hanging of the Patriarch Gregory V. in 1821, because its object is not only to terrify the Greeks, but to accomplish a plan for the uprooting of the Patriarchate." The President's reception,

[1] *Cf.* the author's pamphlet, *The Early Years of Modern Athens.*

fixed for that night, was cancelled, on the next day the Assembly held no sitting in sign of grief, the Speaker sent a telegram of protest to foreign Parliaments, the University suspended its lectures, and a mass meeting without distinction of parties was held. The Government protested at Angora, and proposed, under Article 44 of the treaty of Lausanne, an appeal to the Permanent Court of International Justice at the Hague and to the League of Nations. It was pointed out that the Turkish action violated the pledge given by Ismet at the Lausanne Conference to allow the Patriarchate to remain at Constantinople, and the Convention of 30 January, 1923, forbidding the departure of exchangeables without passports given by the Mixed Commission. Meanwhile, the Patriarch had an enthusiastic reception when he reached Greek territory, and temporarily fixed his abode at Salonika, where the Armenian Archbishop and the Chief Rabbi joined in the immense demonstration awaiting him. There was a general desire for a pacific solution, although here and there warlike voices were heard. Greece was not prepared for another Turkish campaign; the Kurdish insurrection tended to abate the bellicose dispositions of the Turks, and the future of the Phanar seemed to depend upon those extraordinary but practical professors of canon law, the Kurdish insurgents. Finally, the Patriarch himself facilitated a solution by resigning, and is now living quietly at Podoniphti outside Athens, while the Turks promised not to expel the Metropolitans, as they had threatened, so that a new election could be held. A fresh Patriarch, Basil III., was elected, and the incident terminated. While it was still proceeding, the National Assembly supported the Premier by unanimously rejecting the Minorities' protocol, but the conclusion of the Jugoslav negotiations was reserved for a future Government. Their failure, attributed to the inadequacy of the Greek armaments, was the ostensible

excuse for the military movement which overthrew the Cabinet.

While I was dressing at seven o'clock on the morning of 25 June, I heard five or six shots fired. The servant who brought my breakfast remarked without emotion that General Pangalos had occupied the post and telegraph offices and half the National Bank. I subsequently learnt that he had made this *coup d'état* with only twenty-eight men! In the early hours of the same morning the Premier had been walking about Constitution Square to inspire confidence, and his intention of arresting General Pangalos is said to have been communicated to the latter, who accordingly hastened his action. The citizens displayed neither enthusiasm nor excitement. The shops were closed, the streets were almost deserted, but the trams continued running. Not a single drop of blood was shed, for no one on either side wanted civil war. General Pangalos ordered Admiral Hadjikyriakos, commanding the fleet, to bombard the Ministry of War, the presidential residency, and the infantry barracks in the event of resistance, and sent an ultimatum to the President of the Republic, inviting him to summon the Government to resign before 4 p.m. At 11 a.m. it resigned, and after Mr. Papanastasiou had made a vain attempt to give the new régime a parliamentary colour by forming a cabinet, of which the military chiefs should have been subordinate members, General Pangalos became Prime Minister, with his confederate, Admiral Hadjikyriakos as Minister of Marine and provisionally Minister of Foreign Affairs. The Italian Minister, unlike the British, hastened to congratulate him. General Pangalos at once met the Assembly, which, by 185 against 14, with 9 abstentions, gave him a vote of confidence, and then adjourned till 15 October. Messrs. Kaphandares and Michalakopoulos were absent, but published protests against the Government. Most

of the speeches showed that the speakers voted for it as the lesser of two evils in order to prevent further violence. Mr. Papanastasiou, while deprecating military interference in politics, threw what was called a "parliamentary mantle" over General Pangalos' uniform, and a member of the "Republican Union," Mr. Rendes, became his Foreign Minister. The new Premier obtained from the Assembly power to issue decrees during the recess on certain matters, subject to the approval of a parliamentary committee, and on others, by way of exception, without parliamentary control, subject to subsequent ratification. This general rule was soon eaten up by the exceptions, and the Fourth National Assembly was destined to meet no more. Meanwhile, a committee of thirty was to finish the discussion of the new Constitution, of which only thirty-four articles had been passed. But the committee in practice was limited to the left wing of the Republicans, for the parties of Messrs. Kaphandares and Michalakopoules both refused to serve upon a body which implied the recognition of General Pangalos. Had the discussion of the Constitution been speeded up, perhaps the *coup d'état* of 25 June would not have occurred. But like the German professors in the Paulskirche at Frankfurt in 1849, the delegates to the National Assembly wasted time in long deliberations about the details of the Constitution, instead of passing it rapidly and then amending it when they had seen how it worked—the only test of paper constitutions. This Byzantine hair-splitting wearied the public and gave General Pangalos his chance. Still, history records few such gigantic bluffs as the *pronunciamiento* of 1925.

General Pangalos was now master of the situation, except in so far as his powers were limited by fear of the officers. He began to suppress newspapers for the smallest criticism, and issued a decree making hanging

a punishment for the embezzlement or malversation of public funds, and ordering such cases to be tried by military tribunals. In accordance with this Draconian decree, which was made retrospective, two officials were publicly hanged in the presence of a large crowd, although their offence had been committed before the decree was enacted, and despite appeals for mercy by the members of the military tribunal, the Archbishop of Athens, the Cabinet, and the President of the Republic. The Pangalos Government quarrelled with the Refugees' Settlement Commission owing to the imprisonment of one of their principal Greek officials, Mr. Karamanos, against whom there was no charge of malversation, and, although he was ultimately released and reinstalled, the arrest paralysed the work in Macedonia owing to the fear of the officials to incur responsibility which might expose them to arbitrary arrest. As the time for the re-assembling of the Assembly drew near, General Pangalos, in the phrase of Mr. Papanastasiou, "completely threw off the mask." He suddenly dissolved the National Assembly, and published an amended version of the Constitution before it had been ratified by that body. Outside the circle of "the politicians," however, this fresh arbitrary act of the military Premier left "the people" cold and indifferent. In the light of subsequent events, it is noticeable that General Kondyles declared it to be "anti-constitutional," and urged immediate elections. The Royalists were delighted, and General Metaxâs described the dissolution of the Assembly as "the chief object" of his own policy. General Pangalos, indeed, conciliated the Royalists, who preferred him to General Plasteras and Mr. Venizelos, despite his prominent part in the execution of the Six. Two Royalists, Messrs. Rouphos and Sechiotes, entered his Cabinet, and the former ere long became his Foreign Minister.

At this moment the hastiness of the Premier nearly plunged Greece into war. A serious Greco-Bulgarian incident occurred on the frontier near Demir Kapu, where the Bulgarians violated Greek territory and killed an officer and two men. The Foreign Office happened to have no permanent Minister, for Mr. Rendes had resigned a few hours before, and General Pangalos' first impulse was to order the General Secretary to send a forty-eight hours' ultimatum to Bulgaria. The Secretary, who knew that *souvent Pangalos varie,* deliberately disobeyed his orders, and next day the Premier altered his mind. The Greek troops entered Bulgarian territory in the direction of Petritch, but stopped their advance pending further instructions. The question was submitted to the League of Nations, and a Commission under Sir Horace Rumbold, the British Ambassador in Madrid, proceeded to examine the incident on the spot. Its report suggested the payment by Greece of a total indemnity of 30,000,000 leva to Bulgaria, subsequently ratified by Sir A. Chamberlain and his two Belgian and Japanese colleagues on the Committee of the League. By a manifest injustice, Greece was not allowed to deduct this sum from the Bulgarian reparations due to Greece, although the British Government had just deducted the assessed amount of the damages done by our troops in Macedonia during the war from the total amount of the Greek war debt to Great Britain. It was not unreasonably felt in Athens, that Greece had been sacrificed a second time to save the prestige of the League, which turned the left cheek to great Powers and demanded the uttermost farthing from small states. One aspect of the decision, however, gave unqualified satisfaction—the revision of Articles 3 and 4 of the Minorities' treaty so as to deprive those Bulgarians who had quitted Greek Macedonia or Thrace prior to the Convention on voluntary emigra-

tion of the right of returning. For these returning emigrants would have so many propagandists.

General Pangalos now became more autocratic. He prohibited the publication of any opinion, article, or statement of the three Republican ex-Premiers, Messrs. Kaphandares, Papanastasiou, and Michalakopoulos, and threatened to suspend any newspaper publishing their reply or any commentary. On 3 January, 1926, he openly proclaimed himself dictator in a speech to his prætorians, the Republican Guard, with which, like the old Greek "tyrants," he had surrounded himself. He told them that he had determined to change his method, as it was impossible to trust parliamentarism. He would in future rely on the army's confidence. Encouraged by cries from officers of "Long live the dictatorship!" he next day issued a "message to the people, the army, and the navy," signed by himself alone. After extolling his own efforts at reconciliation and reorganisation, he accused the three Republican chiefs of intransigence and insults, declared their conduct during the Greco-Bulgarian incident to have been "unspeakable," and asserted that one of them had "calumniated him before the Council of the League of Nations for having deliberately attacked Bulgaria." He was, therefore, obliged "to take full liberty of action." While respecting the first article of the Constitution (which proclaimed Greece to be a Republic), he intended to "concentrate in his hands the rest of the executive and legislative power," seeking "the Consolidation of the Republic and the return through free elections to a healthy and normal parliamentary life." This pronouncement, made without the Cabinet's previous knowledge, led to the immediate resignation of one Republican and one Royalist Minister (Admiral Hadjikyriakos and Mr. Sechiotes); the other Royalist Minister, Mr. Rouphos, remained on. Politicians were surprised at the dictator's

attack on the three highly respectable Republican leaders; the public maintained its usual indifference. A comic element was supplied by the autocrat's concession of five centimetres to ladies in the length of their skirts, which he had endeavoured to regulate! As an American lady told him, he might be able to do what he liked with the men, but not with the women. Indeed, his regulation of female dress failed completely. His next effort was with the children. He issued a decree prohibiting young people under the age of sixteen from going about the city unaccompanied by their parents or guardians, or from entering places of entertainment, the exotic names of which he penalised, after 10 p.m.; he forbade those under eighteen from frequenting dancing establishments and music halls. He ordered that from 1 March the metre should take the place of the pêchys as the standard measure, and that a year later the oka should be similarly abolished. He made his peace with the Refugees' Settlement Commission, and, despite pressure from the *gendarmerie,* which had helped to put him into power and naturally demanded its reward, refrained from incurring the unpopularity which would have followed his dismissal of the British Police Mission. Admiral Townsend's Naval Mission, which had succeeded that of Admiral Webb, was, however, discharged, on the ostensible and plausible ground of expense (although the French Military Mission was maintained); but many Greeks saw in this the finger of Italy, anxious to oust Great Britain from her traditional place in the Eastern Mediterranean. Modifying the precedent set by Protopapadakes in 1922, the dictator suddenly cut off, as a forced loan, one-quarter of all the bank-notes above twenty-five dr. not deposited in the banks, thus hitting the bankers and the peasants, who had hoarded considerable sums in their cottages, but scarcely affecting the ordinary individual with a banking account,

who kept in the house only sufficient for his current expenses. Simultaneously, the Government decided to pay the last year's interest in full on old gold loans, on which full payment had not been made since 1920.

The dictator now proceeded to strike at his political enemies. He arrested and exiled to the volcanic island of Santorin, then in eruption, the ex-Premiers, Messrs. Kaphandares and Papanastasiou (the latter his own former chief), and General Kondyles. The arrest of Mr. Papanastasiou was effected in a way worthy of Gilbert and Sullivan. The officer arrived to arrest him at the moment when he was engaged in a tea-party at his house, at which the wives of the President of the Republic and of the British and Italian Ministers, the head of the French Military Mission, and numerous other persons—strange associates of a man denounced by the dictator as a dangerous Communist!—were present. Mr. Papanastasiou informed me on my arrival there that in these circumstances he had asked the officer to defer his arrest until the next day. The officer was willing to oblige, so the tea-party went on undisurbed, and next day Mr. Papanastasiou gave himself up to injustice,

interque maerentes amicos
Egregius properabat exul.

Shortly afterwards, an American millionaire, ignorant of the volcanic character of Greek politics, arrived on his yacht at Santorin to inspect the eruption. To his surprise he found highly cultivated gentlemen walking about the streets of that remote place and conversing in various languages. When he learnt who they were, he was tempted to carry them off on his yacht—a feat which would have rivalled the boldest films of Hollywood. But in the Near East things happen in real life which would be rejected as fantastic in novels or on the cinema.

General Pangalos was now not only Prime Minister, but also dictator; yet he sought to combine the highest office in the state with the exercise of dictatorial power. The late American Minister chanced to inform him—for he had never read a line of De Tocqueville or Bryce—that in the United States the President was his own Prime Minister. Forthwith the cry went up from the Pangalist organs for the Americanisation of Greek institutions, regardless of the difference between the two countries, and heedless of the fact that the American Senate was a check upon the President, whereas Greece had no second chamber. The chief obstacle to the dictator's ambition was removed by the resignation of Admiral Kountouriotes on 19 March, whereupon the Premier issued a manifesto, signed by himself, proclaiming the presidential election for 4 April. It was actually held on two successive Sundays, 4 and 11 April—on the former in twelve provinces, on the latter in the remaining twenty-three—nominally because in remoter districts the arrangements could not be made in time, really to influence the later by the earlier results and to move troops from one constituency to another. This illegal practice, last adopted by the autocratic Premier, Boulgares, in 1874, was in keeping with the whole conduct of the election, for the suspended Constitution provided that the election for the presidency should be by the Chamber and Senate, as in France. General Pangalos adopted neither that nor the American system of indirect election, but appealed directly to the people, as in the France of 1848.

The dictator, who had not yet announced his definite intention to stand, first cleared the ground of awkwardly embarrassing competitors. He prohibited the candidature of any member of the royal family and of Mr. Venizelos, on the very plausible ground that such a candidature would revive that spirit of civic strife, which it had been

his consistent policy to stifle, and which had happily diminished since the death of one protagonist and the patriotic exile of the other. His next step was to limit the choice to men between the ages of forty-five and sixty-five—Mr. Venizelos, being then sixty-two, required a special decree of disability. The object of this age-limit was to eliminate the candidature of the man who, if he had consented to stand, would have been elected by the free vote of nearly all the Greek people—Mr. Alexander Zaïmes, who, from his great experience, family traditions, and moderate opinions, would have been the ideal President of a Conservative Republic. But he was seventy, and so, by the dictator's age-limits, he was excluded from the contest, although eight months later he was not too old to become Prime Minister! Thus, General Pangalos, who, being forty-eight, was not disqualified by age, had carefully laid down the rules for the competition in which he intended to be a competitor. But, in fixing the age-limits, he had forgotten Mr. Constantine Demertzês, aged forty-nine, upon whom all parties, Republican and Royalist, with a unanimity "unique in Greek history" (as one of the leaders said to me), cast their lot. Mr. Demertzês was an excellent candidate. He was a moderate Royalist, who had been twice Minister of Marine; he was well-off, a lawyer in good practice, and the husband of a lady of social gifts, who belonged to the very ancient Athenian family of the Chalkokondylai, of which the last Athenian historian before the Turkish conquest was a member. This unexpected choice seemed to have placed the dictator in a noose from which there was no escape. But he at once offered to repeal the sixty-five years' limit, so as to permit the candidature of Mr. Zaïmes, which would have split the vote for Mr. Demertzês. Mr. Zaïmes, however, categorically refused to accept the presidency, even if elected, and left for abroad. The

dictator then sent two emissaries, an ex-Premier, Mr. Sophoules, and another ex-Minister, Mr. Tsirimokos, to Hydra to induce Admiral Kountouriotes to withdraw his decision. This the retiring President was willing to do, on condition that a general election was held in two or three months at the latest. But, almost before his answer had reached Athens, General Pangalos had announced his intention of standing himself. He issued a manifesto to the Greek people, in the second person singular, couched in such "vulgar" language, that I was told that in some parts of Corinthia the peasants could not understand it. He compared his opponents with well-known brigands, and roundly accused them of "robbing the Treasury," while he described his own policy as "leading to the hanging" of the pilferers. The coalition accepted the challenge, but demanded guarantees for the freedom of the election—that it should be held on the same day throughout the country, and that their representatives should be present, together with Government officials, not only at the counting of the votes, but throughout the polling. These demands were refused, whereupon the Opposition proclaimed its abstention from the unequal contest, and Mr. Demertzês withdrew his candidature. General Pangalos thus went to the polls as the sole candidate, and his election was a foregone conclusion. He was elected by an overwhelming majority of the votes recorded—rather more than forty per cent. of the registered electors—for, in spite of Mr. Demertzês' withdrawal, a few votes were still given to him. Undoubtedly, in some constituencies, many of the poorer electors voted eagerly and spontaneously for General Pangalos. In Macedonia, for example, the peasants considered him as "a good brigand"—the friend of the poor and the enemy of the rich and the officials. So Robin Hood would have been a popular candidate for the Sherwood Forest division. The intel-

lectuals were against him—as some are against his model, Mussolini. But it was obvious that he held power only nominally by a vote of the people, really by the will of the army, or rather of the officers. Even during the presidential election there was an abortive military movement at Salonika, and on the former of the two polling days the dictator twice changed his mind under the successive influence of two rival gangs of officers in Athens. At the inauguration of the Gennadios library he might ostentatiously describe himself as "the first *elected* President of the Hellenic Republic"; but his "election" did not strengthen his tenure.

Imitating "the kindness of kings upon their coronation day," the usually merciless President inaugurated his new office by remitting the death sentences on the Salonika mutineers and releasing the three political exiles from Santorin. But he subsequently exiled Messrs. Kaphandares, Michalakopoulos, and one of the editors of the *Hestia* to Naxos. Mr. Papanastasiou escaped by lying hidden in his house. Meanwhile, after attending the centenary of the heroic Sortie from Mesolonghi, where he was coldly received, he set to work to look for a Premier. He wanted, of course, a man of straw, who would be the titular chief of a Cabinet of Affairs, formed for the purpose of holding a general election, while the President would retain all real power in his own hands. He first summoned General Paraskevopoulos, former Commander-in-Chief in Asia Minor, under whom he had served. The General, a sexagenarian, absent nearly six years from Greece, came, saw, and went back to Paris to write his memoirs. Messrs. Zavitsianos, ex-President of the Chamber, and Zelemon, President of the Areiopagos, the next candidates for the phantom Premiership, fared no better, even though Mr. Venizelos sent his son, Kyriakos, to assist; and the situation became so comic that an actor, dressed as a Greek soldier,

appeared on the stage of an Athenian theatre with a wreath bearing the inscription: "The Unknown Warrior to the Unknown Prime Minister!" Finally, Mr. Eutaxias, an old ex-Minister, prominent in the days of Deligiannes and Theotokes, and actually head of the aviation, was persuaded to accept the Premiership. But his tenure was brief. It was, however, marked by a new Press decree, forbidding recriminations about "members of the late dynasty or politicians living or disappeared since the Revolution of 1909, or" about "the National disaster in Asia Minor or the trials arising therefrom." A Royalist editor was arrested, a Republican editor fined for omitting to describe General Pangalos as "President of the Republic"; but the exiles were allowed to return from Naxos. Mr. Rouphos, who had remained at the Foreign Office, concluded on 17 August the long-drawn negotiations with Jugoslavia, which had been going on intermittently ever since January, 1925. On that day four conventions were signed, placing the Ghevghelê-Salonika railway under Greek management (with the collaboration of one Serbian representative), and extending the "Serbian free zone" in the port of Salonika by some 10,000 square metres, thus completing the previous convention of 10 May, 1923. This zone, formed on the analogy of the Bolivian free zone in the Chilean port of Antofagasta, was made available for not only Jugoslav products, but also for those of other countries with which Jugoslavia had conventions. Such merchandise could be carried to any Greek port in Jugoslav bottoms. These two concessions were much criticised in Greece as damaging to the trade of Salonika and to the Greek mercantile marine. It was pointed out, also, that, in return for a treaty of friendship for three years, the Greek Government had granted a concession for fifty. Before, however, these arrangements could be ratified, the dictatorship was over.

During the months of August there were ominous rumblings of the coming storm. Two attempts at insurrection were made in Crete and at Chalkis, martial law extended to the "heroic island," and Mr. Kaphandares arrested as an accomplice. Other arrests followed: those of the Mayor of the Piræus, of Mr. Papanastasiou, and Generals Metaxâs and Papoulas (a former Commander-in-Chief in Asia Minor). An attempt to assassinate the dictator was made in the Poseidonion hotel at Spetsai. During his absence in that fashionable summer resort, General Kondyles, aided by the dictator's own Republican Guard, under Colonel Zervas, made a *coup d'état* in Athens at three in the morning of 22 August, occupying the post office and the Ministry of War. As usual, there was no bloodshed, and General Kondyles, master of the situation, invited Admiral Kountouriotes to return from Hydra to resume the Presidency of the Republic, and, like the army and navy, issued a manifesto to the people. The political chiefs were immediately released from the arsenal, and the arrest of the dictator ordered. He escaped, however, on board the torpedo-boat *Pergamos,* then anchored at Spetsai, but was captured by the destroyer *Leon* off Cape Matapan the same evening and conveyed to the military hospital in Athens. He was speedily deprived of his military rank and transferred to the Cretan fortress of Izzeddin. He was reported to have consoled himself for his sudden fall by the remark that the Athenians had treated Sokrates similarly. But his only resemblance to the ancient philosopher was that they both possessed powerful consorts.

Admiral Kountouriotes, meanwhile, returned to Athens and, on 24 August, announced "to the Hellenic people" his resumption of "the presidential duties, conferred upon him by the vote of the Fourth National Assembly." A mass meeting demanded a Coalition

Cabinet and free elections; but such a government was not easily formed. General Kondyles having deposed the dictator, became Premier of a Cabinet of Affairs, but pledged himself to retire from politics and to resign to whomsoever the elections should designate as the people's choice. He soon found it necessary to dissolve the Republican Guard, whose commanders had helped him to make his *coup d'état*. Accordingly, he issued an order placing their officers on the retired list, and offering their men the alternative of service in the *gendarmerie* or dismissal with two months' pay. Colonels Zervas and Dertilês resolved to resist; General Kondyles was not the man to give way. A collision between the Government forces and the Republican Guard took place on 9 September in the streets of Athens, the elegant Kephisia road became a battle-field, and armoured cars dealt destruction as they passed. One of them, abandoned by the Guards, was seized at the post office by a band of Communists, who had availed themselves of the disturbance to cause trouble, and thus, after the surrender of the Republican Guard, the Government troops had to face a second rising in their rear. The official declaration accused intransigent Royalists of participating in this latter attack, and three Royalist politicians and two Royalist editors were arrested, as the two Colonels of the Guard had been. The fighting lasted several hours, and the casualties were given officially as 85 killed and 238 wounded, besides those who had received scratches. Athens had witnessed nothing so nearly approaching civil war since "the June days" of 1863. Colonels Zervas and Dertilês were sentenced to hard labour for life. General Kondyles, pursuing his self-denying ordinance, dissolved the "National Republican" party, of which he had been the leader, promulgated the Constitution, and proclaimed the elections for 7 November. He took immense precautions to prevent a

recurrence of the scenes of 9 September: cannon were posted on Philopappos, machine-guns on Lykabettos, and eighteen armoured "tanks" paraded the capital on polling day. Never had Athens been quieter; never were freer and fairer elections held. Thanks to the initiative of General Metaxâs, the chief of the party of "Free Opinion," or Moderate Royalists, Mr. Tsaldares, a lieutenant of Gounares, who led the "Popular," or Advanced Royalist party, found himself obliged to participate in the elections. On the other side was ranged a Republican Coalition under Messrs. Kaphandares and Michalakopoulos, respectively leaders of the "Progressive" and "Conservative" Republicans, while Mr. Papanastasiou and his "Republican Union" represented Advanced Republicanism, and a small Communist group made its first appearance. The election was held under the system of proportional representation, with the result that the three Republican parties obtained 126 seats, the Advanced Royalists 63, the Moderate Royalists 54, the Communists 9. With the addition of certain Independents to either side, the Republicans emerged with a majority of 30 seats in a chamber of 286. In these circumstances no party could form a party cabinet, and, under pressure from the commercial classes, the five leaders met, and on 4 December composed an "Œcumenical" Government, such as had last been formed in 1877, at the crisis of the Russo-Turkish war —for the so-called "Œcumenical" Governments of Messrs. Zaïmes and Skouloudes in 1915 had been one-sided. Mr. Zaïmes, who had been already five times Premier, High Commissioner in Crete, and Governor of the National Bank, became Prime Minister, the three Republican ex-Premiers, Messrs. Kaphandares, Michalakopoulos, and Papanastasiou, Ministers of Finance, Foreign Affairs, and Agriculture, and the two Royalist leaders, Mr. Tsaldares and General Metaxâs,

Ministers of the Interior and Communications. General Mazarakes assumed the difficult post of Minister of War. The hope was expressed that "reconciliation" had at last been achieved, and that "the decade of civil strife" was over.

The Coalition began well. The ex-Premier, Mr. Sophoules, an independent Republican, was pacified by his election as Speaker. On a vote of confidence, the Cabinet had a majority of 235 against 11, and the opposition was confined to the small Communist group and one or two intransigent Royalists, like Mr. Bozikes, ex-Governor-General of Thrace and a distinguished lawyer, who had been imprisoned by the "Revolutionary" Government, and Mr. Demertzês, the late presidential candidate. A crisis arising out of political information, collected by two officers of the first army corps, which led Mr. Tsaldares to demand the removal of its commander, General Manettas, was ended by the removal of that officer for one month. The unpopular convention with the "Power and Traction" Company—an inheritance from the dictatorship—was passed. The appointment of a new chief of the *gendarmerie* by the Minister of the Interior without the previous approval of his colleagues was not allowed to break up the Coalition. The Foreign Minister withdrew his resignation, provoked by the leakage of Cabinet secrets, on the understanding that delicate foreign negotiations should be confined to the party leaders. On 9 March the settlement of the Greek war debt of £21,441,450 to Great Britain was signed, providing for its repayment in sixty-two annuities, rising from £200,000 in 1927-28 to £250,000 in 1929, to £300,000 in 1930, to 350,000 for the following five years, and to £400,000 from 1936 onwards. The British Government promised to give its "fullest support" to "any considered plan" for the "financial reconstruction" of Greece, as Greece had renounced her claim

to the rest of the war credits promised on 10 February, 1918. Greece was no longer obliged to obtain British approval before concluding a foreign loan, and, in the event of the condonement of debts to the United States, the rest of the Greek debt will be automatically cancelled. Nevertheless, Italy, which can afford to spend large sums on armaments, and is a larger and richer country, has obtained better terms than Greece. Still, the Greeks made the best of the arrangement. On 18 April, the President announced his resignation on the grounds of the delay, to which he had twice drawn the Premier's attention, in passing the Constitution—much as George I. had threatened to do in similar circumstances in 1864—but he was persuaded to remain temporarily. His resignation happened to coincide with the return of Mr. Venizelos to Greece, but there was no connection between them, for the former protagonist of Greek politics came merely to revisit the Cretan scenes of his youth, and was moved by homesickness, not ambition. As he said at Canea, he meant to keep out of politics, for, if he re-entered them, he would immediately redivide the country into two camps, whereas he urged the people to support the "Œcumenical" Government, and not to expect miracles in a few months. Parliament at last speeded up the passing of the Constitution; in one sitting twenty-five articles were adopted. Another crisis arose out of the insistence of Mr. Michalakopoulos upon the appointment of Mr. Polites as Minister in Paris and the absolute refusal of Mr. Tsaldares to permit such a nomination, because of the alleged complicity of Mr. Polites, as Foreign Minister in 1922, in the events leading to the execution of "the Six." Thus, that sinister blunder again threw its shadow over public life. Once again a compromise saved the situation. The existing Minister in Paris, Mr. Karapanos, was recalled, but Mr. Polites was not definitely appointed until after the return

of Mr. Michalakopoulos from Geneva, whither he went to ask for a Supplementary Refugees' Loan. On the eve of his departure an unfortunate remark by Mr. Papanastasiou that the opposition of the "Popular" party to the Republic was due not to conviction, but to "narrow party interests," nearly imperilled the Coalition. 2 June was a red-letter day in the Ministry's career; it witnessed the passing of the new Constitution after three years' discussion, the presentation of the budget and the solution of the military question, which had again become threatening, by the publication of the lists containing the names of the Royalist officers restored to the army. An unfortunate suggestion from Mr. Venizelos that a plebiscite should be held on the Constitution was unanimously rejected, and the Greek delegates at Geneva succeeded in obtaining the Council's provisional consent to three loans of £9,000,000 altogether—one for the refugees, one for the stabilisation of the drachma, and one for the liquidation of past deficits. It was, however, stipulated that a new Bank of Issue should be created, distinct from the National Bank, and on the question of the latter's gold reserves a question arose in the Cabinet between Mr. Tsaldares and the other party leaders, which led, on 11 August, to his resignation and that of the other Ministers who owned his leadership. The Government was immediately reformed without the "Popular" party, Mr. Nikoloudes, a lieutenant of General Metaxâs and proprietor of the *Politeia* becoming Minister of Education. A Pangalist plot was discovered in September, and several arrests made. Meanwhile, at the September meeting of the League of Nations, the French astonished the delegates by refusing to sign the document authorising the Greek loans, on the ground that the Greeks had not settled their war debts to France, although the French had not paid the Greek claims for damages done by the French troops to Greek

property in Macedonia. This strange act was strongly criticised, and not by Greeks alone. Some described it as "blackmail," others, remembering how the French had asked Great Britain to let them off their much larger debt, recalled the parable of the servant, whose lord forgave him his debt of 10,000 talents, and who then took by the throat his fellow-servant, who owed him 100 pence. This did not, however, disturb the harmony with which Great Britain, France, and Greece celebrated in October the centenary of the battle of Navarino. Bolshevik Russia was not invited, and thus an awkward situation avoided. The grandson of Admiral Codrington (accompanied by the Admiral's great-grandson) represented Great Britain, and a tablet, the gift of "grateful Greece," was unveiled on the islet of Chelonaki, in the middle of the bay, to commemorate the British dead, who, unlike the French and Russians, had no monument. The Turks, who had protested a few months earlier at a Spanish commemoration of Lepanto, remained quiet; Sir Austen Chamberlain's fear of injuring their feelings and those of the Egyptians by the despatch of a British battleship proved groundless.

On 30 October, while he was leaving the Athenian Town Hall in his motor-car after the inauguration of the first Congress of Greek Mayors, the President was fired at by a Communist, named Gousios, a native of Larissa. The bullet grazed the President's right temple, but happily he escaped with only a slight wound. There was universal indignation at this outrage, for the President had no enemies. Public opinion demanded strong measures against Communism, and it was pointedly asked how books in favour of it could possibly be published far below cost price, and films glorifying it be furnished gratis without the pecuniary support of the highly-staffed Russian Legation. The fear of Communist teaching through the "vulgar" language was largely

at the bottom of the controversy, which nearly wrecked the Ministry, over the textbooks used in the schools.

The year ended, after a strike of University students in consequence of the increase of fees, with a double success for the Greek Government—the debt settlement with the United States, including the grant of a loan on most favourable terms, and the consequent settlement of the debt to France, involving the withdrawal of the French refusal to sign the document relating to the new Greek loans. Thus 1927 closed amidst hopes of financial reconstruction, undisturbed by political anomalies, although the Chamber thought it worth while to prosecute nine Communist deputies for having advocated the autonomy of Macedonia. But the resignation of the Coalition Cabinet on 3 February, 1928, on a question of road-making showed that it was difficult for politicians of widely divergent views on social problems to collaborate in the same Government. A Coalition Ministry of three moderate parties, Republican and Royalist, has, however, succeeded it under the same Premier.

CHAPTER V

GREECE AND HER NEIGHBOURS

GREAT BRITAIN is the most popular of foreign countries in Greece, despite the indifference and lack of imagination at times shown by our Governments towards her. Historical tradition, geography, sentiment, and ties of interest are stronger than the mistakes of diplomacy, which sometimes convert friendly into enemy nations. Byron and Gladstone are still names with which to conjure in Greece, and those present at the Byron Centenary will not have forgotten the popular enthusiasm. On that occasion Mr. Ramsay MacDonald sent out to represent the British Government the man above all others qualified for such a task—the author of *The Violet Crown,* Sir Rennell Rodd, whose verses are an epitome of Greek scenery. Despite the offer of Kavalla to Bulgaria and the abandonment of Greece in Asia Minor after having encouraged her to go there, the past services of Great Britain are remembered, and the British character is appreciated and understood better than by most foreigners. On this point Republicans and Royalists agree. This is all the more remarkable because no British propaganda is done in Greece. No British theatrical company, no British lecturer, ever visits Athens—a city where well-to-do families have English governesses and nurses, and numbers of people understand English and would flock to hear it spoken. No English paper is published there—an attempt was made a few years ago—while there is one, and till lately were two, French. Our language is being further diffused by the recently founded "Athens College," a Greco-American institution, richly

endowed, the first headmaster of which was an Englishman and the present president an eminent American scholar, the translator of Prokopios, and by the Public School on English lines, opened at Spetsai on 1 October, 1927, at the expense of Mr. Anargyros, a philanthropic Spetsiote, with an English headmaster. The best advertisements of British administration in Greece are the British Police Mission and the work accomplished for the refugees by two former Indian civilians, Sir John Campbell and Sir John Hope Simpson, and by Sir Robert Graves, our former Consul-General in Crete and Salonika, assisted by Englishmen of such wide experience of the Near East as Colonels Cunliffe-Owen and Pears. So popular are the British-trained police that, when the rumour reached Corfù that the dictator Pangalos intended to remove that force from the island, the boatmen sent an ultimatum to Athens, refusing to land passengers—the only means of disembarkation there—if the police were removed! The third British naval mission, under Admiral Townsend, was less fortunate, although his house was a centre where Greeks and British frequently met. Happily the absence of British naval instructors was brief, for after the fall of Pangalos the Kondyles Government asked for a fourth, smaller, and less expensive naval mission, to which the British Government consented, but on conditions excluding its dismissal in a similar manner to that of its predecessor's sudden removal. Accordingly, Captain Turle and four other officers came in March, 1927, to organise aviation, the Naval Academy, and the submarine service. Its chief takes a keen interest in the modern history of Greece and is learning the language, while he has studied in the Finlay library the diaries of that gallant British officer, Frank Abney Hastings, who brought the first steamship, the famous *Karteria,* to Greece during the War of Independence, who fought the Turks in the Bay of Salona,

and died at Zante on 1 June, 1828, of wounds received at the siege of Aitolikó. On the centenary of his death this year the Mayor of Mesolonghi proposes to inaugurate a memorial to him. The arsenal of Poros has long contained his monument; his heart, found in his friend Finlay's house, reposes in the English Church of Athens with an inscription giving the wrong day of his death. A sixth officer has lately joined the mission.

The British fleet is, indeed, the most effective instrument of British propaganda in Greece. Its visits are welcome in a country with indented coasts and countless islands; it has artillery practice annually at Astakós on the Akarnanian coast; in 1926 it anchored in the Gulf of Volo and sent the *Resolution* to Salonika for the inauguration of the monument at Doïran to the British soldiers fallen in Macedonia and Serbia during the Great War. In January, 1927, it spent a week at Phaleron, and in October the *Ramillies* went there and to Navarino for the centenary of the battle. Our fleet's importance is well understood by the Greeks, who have nothing to fear from the Power which ceded to them the Ionian Islands, but did not cede them in order that another Power might seize Corfù from Greece. During the war our soldiers made themselves popular in Macedonia by their services in the fire at Salonika and their gentlemanly behaviour generally. A permanent memorial of their activity is the road from Brallo to Salona, which is traversed by tourists to Delphi and passes one of the most beautiful British graveyards with Parnassos as a background. As regards aviation, the Master of Sempill spent some time in Greece. The Anglo-Hellenic League, alike in London and Athens, by its lectures and pamphlets, promotes the mutual interests of the two peoples in one another. Important commercial relations have long existed between them. Greek currants, despite Australian competition, furnish an indispensable element to our plum

puddings; the Greek colonies in England, dating from the time of Charles II., are the oldest and wealthiest of the foreign communities there, and, when not divided by internal questions of Greek politics, can wield an influence in forming English opinion such as no other foreign body possesses. To the Greek colony in London was due the foundation of the Koraes Chair at King's College. In India the firm of Ralli Brothers is a generally respected institution, numerous members of which, and other Greeks in business there, retiring to settle in Athens, have brought home a perfect knowledge of English and lasting Anglophil sentiments—for example, that well-known Athenian liaison officer between England and Greece, Mr. Petrokokkinos. Another useful factor of Anglo-Greek friendship was the visit of the British athletic team, "Achilles," captained by Mr. Lowe, in April, 1927. The sportsmanlike behaviour of the Greek spectators, who warmly applauded the British victories, and the hospitality of all classes, won the admiration of the visitors, the spontaneous gesture of a British athlete in embracing his Greek competitor that of the hosts. Sir Percy Loraine, with a touch of imagination not always found in British Ministers, but so much appreciated by Southern peoples, marched at the head of the British team down the Stadion when the games were over, and laid a wreath on the statue of Averoff, its second founder. Equally happy was his warm interest, notwithstanding the initial hesitations of the Foreign Office, in the Navarino Centenary. With this may be compared the Philhellenic sentiments of the new Governor of Cyprus, Sir Ronald Storrs, a scholar who takes a keen part in promoting libraries and in the new edition of the island's rich bibliography, of which Cobham was the founder.

There are no longer awkward questions remaining unsettled between the two countries. An agreement

compensating British owners for their property expropriated for public purposes, such as refugees' settlements, was concluded in 1927. An Anglo-Greek-American trust has been formed by the National Bank and Messrs. Hambro for promoting Greek industries and public works. There have been, however, concessions to British companies, such as that made by Pangalos to the "Power and Traction" Company, which have been unpopular. Indeed, that concession at one moment threatened the life of the "Œcumenical" Cabinet. Greek opinion, too, at first resented what it considered the harsh terms for the settlement of the war debt, which the permanent officials of the Treasury, taking a merely technical view, desired to impose, and the comparison of Greece with much larger Italy was considered unfair. It was said that, according to this argument, it was better to owe much, like Italy, than little, like Greece! Mr. Churchill's promise to support Greek "financial reconstruction" helped to gild the pill, and set an example to France.

The British Government has recently realised the importance to us of Greece, one of the not too numerous countries in which we are popular. But we cannot repose for ever on the laurels of Byron and Gladstone, still less on those of Rupert Brooke, buried at Skyros, whose death Greek intellectuals, headed by his translator, Mr. Kaklamanos, the Greek Minister in London, and Mr. Drosines, the novelist and poet, commemorated, and to whom they are erecting a monument, with marble provided by the Greek Government. We have an energetic Minister in Athens, who possesses initiative; we have the unique advantage of the services at the Legation of Mr. S. C. Atchley, whose knowledge of Greece, derived from nearly forty years' residence, surpasses that of any other foreigner. No political question exists which is likely to bring us into collision with Greece. British

policy is no longer Turkophil, and the Turkish Empire in Europe has almost disappeared. Cyprus is a Greek aspiration which Goschen wished to gratify in 1881, which might have been fulfilled during the war, and which will doubtless be fulfilled in the fulness of time. Meanwhile, Greeks, while naturally preferring union to foreign rule, hold up the British administration as an example to the Italians in the Dodekanese, and have no desire to see Great Britain go unless Greece safely may take her place. Few now remember that Victor Emmanuel has inherited the empty title of "King of Cyprus" or that Caterina Cornaro disposed of her rights to Venice.

France conducts an active propaganda in Athens. Her late Minister, Comte de Chambrun, a descendant of Lafayette, as he reminded the Greeks, was popular, energetic, and ubiquitous; during the season several French dramatic companies visit the capital; the French Archæological School is well to the fore, and even gives lessons in French; French literature is widely read (although Greeks are now more anxious to learn English), and prosperous Athenians like a stay in Paris. But France has much to live down. The Greeks have not forgotten the Turkish pact of M. Franklin-Bouillon, the Turkophil policy of the French Government, the conduct of the French soldiers at the time of the fire at Salonika, and the long omission of the French to pay for goods supplied to their troops by Greece during the war. The centenary of Fabvier's relief of the Akropolis was cordially celebrated in December, 1926, and is still commemorated by special postage stamps, but soon afterwards the tactless omission to invite the Greek Minister in Paris to the banquet given by French veterans to their Balkan allies who had participated in the Great War was much resented. There was an interpellation in the Chamber, and the French excuse that Greece was "not a Balkan, but a Mediterranean State" merely furnished an example of the proverb *Qui s'excuse,*

s'accuse. France has had no share, pecuniary or otherwise, in the greatest work of contemporary Greece—the settlement of the refugees. On the contrary, her sudden refusal to sign the annex to the Geneva protocol, entrusting the direction of the new Greek loans to the International Financial Commission, until the Greeks paid their war debt, held up the loans and threatened to terminate, before it was finished, the work of the Refugees' Settlement Commission. This proceeding, characterised roundly as "blackmail" by an outspoken deputy in the Greek Chamber, was criticised with diplomatic moderation in the Greek Press, but was none the less reprobated. Then, like a bolt from the blue, came the announcement of the American loan to Greece; on the following day, 7 December, 1927, France withdrew her objection to signing, it being also known that this time both Great Britain and Italy would sign anyhow. The debt to France has been reduced to 180,000,000 gold francs, including the value of the war material supplied to Greece, the amount of which has been submitted to arbitration. Thus France has been practically compelled to do in December what she might have done voluntarily as a graceful act in September. Here, as was said of him on a former occasion, M. Poincaré, who was the principal obstacle, *pourrait être moins carré*. The French Military Mission under General Girard has rendered services, like its predecessors, to the Greek army, and was maintained when Admiral Townsend's mission was discharged.[1] France appeals successfully to the intellectuals and the smart set; but, as one of her agents confessed to me, she has no hold upon the people. She has a warm friend and Greece an able international lawyer and diplomatist in Mr. Polites, the former and present Greek Minister in Paris, who at one time took French

[1] Its contract was renewed on 7 January, 1928, till 1 October, 1929, but its numbers reduced from 16 to 10, and it will have a new chief.

nationality and has held a professorship in France, where he was educated and has spent most of his life. He is endeavouring to increase the commercial relations between the two countries, which latterly diminished, and a French exhibition in Athens is projected for March.

Russia, since the abolition of the monarchy in both countries, no longer exercises influence upon Greek Cabinets. Always the rival of Greece for the reversion of Constantinople, she showed no enthusiasm for the Greek entry into the war. Her Soviet Legation, however, finds it necessary to maintain a staff of sixty-three persons, men and women (one of the secretaries, who has been *chargée d'affaires,* is a woman). The object of this extensive and expensive diplomatic front is supposed to be Bolshevik propaganda. It has, indeed, been suggested that Russian money enables the publication of Communist literature at ridiculously low prices, and provides subversive films gratis. The late Tsarist Minister, Prince Demidoff, an old Etonian, who continues to live in Athens, is widely popular. Complaints of oppressive measures against the Greek schools in Russia are current.

There never was any large pro-German party in Greece; such as existed during the war was mainly created by the blunders of the Allies, the best assistants of Schenk and Karo. Numerous professors and some politicians and soldiers have been educated in Germany, and German scholarship is justly respected. Thus, in 1927 Professor Heisenberg, the learned editor of the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift,* had a cordial reception and delivered an excellent speech in Greek. But Germany, politically speaking, is far off, although the present German Minister, Herr Renner, who has an English wife, is deservedly popular. The German fleet is for Greece a negligible quantity, while the experiment of Bavarian rule proved that even the most *gemüthlich* of Germans are not suited to collaborate politically with the

clever and independent Greeks. One great advantage the Germans possess—the admirably edited news service which their wireless diffuses in Greece. In the case of the *Salamis,* Germany opposed the Greek view; but that was rather a private than a state dispute. German trade is on the increase, especially since the war, and a Greco-German commercial treaty is about to be signed, and there is a Greek Chamber of Commerce in Berlin. Beginning on a small scale in 1891, the commercial relations between the two countries reached their zenith in 1925, and were considerable in 1927, the fall in 1926 being largely due to the great diminution in the importation of Greek tobacco. The German "Achaia" Company's vineyards near Patras popularised Greek wines in Germany. Before the war a large amount of German money was invested in Greek securities, and this was a cause of the Greco-Turkish War of 1897 and the anti-Greek policy pursued by Germany during it. Not till 1913 did the Kaiser support the country of his brother-in-law. But nowadays German investments in Greek bonds are said to be small.

The little Austria of to-day is no longer a menace to Greece. She has abandoned the great Austrian dream of descending to Salonika, and is no longer, through Bosnia and the Herzegovina, a Balkan state. Italy, with her aspirations for Balkan influence, and Jugoslavia, with her extended frontiers, have taken the place of Austria, while the Italian treatment of the Austro-Germans in the South Tyrol and of the Greeks in the Dodekanese may tend to create a similar bond of sympathy between the two oppressed nationalities such as in 1859 existed between the newly emancipated Greeks and the Italian patriots struggling for independence. The Austrian scholastic policy towards the Slovenes of Carinthia is an example of liberality which other nations might follow. Hungary is remote; but there is a Hungarian Legation

in Athens, and a Hungarian Philhellene was a sympathetic figure at the Delphic festival of 1927. Various Swiss publicists have continued the Philhellenic traditions of Eynard, whose bust adorns the National Garden, and of Meyer, who fell at Mesolonghi. A chair of modern Greek has been founded at Geneva, and there has been an interchange of Swiss and Greek parties of tourists. Two leading Swiss, M. Malche and Professor Zeller, are ardent Philhellenes, but the campaign against the importation of Greek wines into Switzerland has provoked an official Greek protest. The Tchecho-Slovak President has paid a private visit to Greece. The jubilee of Alfonso XIII. was officially celebrated in Athens, and Spanish services to Greece during the war, when Spain looked after Greek interests in Turkey, recalled. A Spanish flotilla came to Greece in 1927 to commemorate the Battle of Lepanto, and a Spanish School of Archæology is to be founded in Athens, over which the Catalans ruled in the fourteenth century. A Greco-Swiss League has just been formed.

Although Rome opposed Greek expansion in Epeiros in 1880, the relations between Greece and Italy were friendly before the occupation of the Dodekanese in 1912, when the Italian Minister, Carlotti, was very popular in Athens. Italian Philhellenes, notably Santarosa, fought in the Greek War of Independence, Greek opinion was strongly on the side of the Italians in their struggle against Austria ; Ricciotti Garibaldi was in Greece during the Cretan insurrection in 1867, he led a band of red-shirts to the aid of the Greeks, for whom Fratti died, in the war of 1897, and fought at Driskos in the first Balkan War ; and Greek sympathies were with the Italians in the Libyan War of 1911. Kings George I. and Victor Emmanuel III. exchanged visits in their respective capitals. But when the exigencies of the Libyan War compelled the Italians to occupy the thirteen Sporades, commonly known as the Dodekanese, the situation

changed. At first, indeed, the inhabitants welcomed the Italians as liberators from the Turkish yoke, believing the declarations of General Ameglio at Rhodes, that the islands "would have a state of autonomy like Samos," and of Admiral Presbitero at Kalymnos that that island, "under the supervision of the Italian Government, should rule itself." The Greeks of Rhodes assisted the Italians to win the Battle of Psynthos, and a Congress, held at Patmos, voted union with Greece and proclaimed an "Autonomous State of the Ægean." The first treaty of Lausanne in 1912 pledged Italy to evacuate the Dodekanese "immediately after" the evacuation of Tripolitania and the Cyrenaica by the Turkish troops and officials. But this "provisional" character of the Italian occupation is, like the British occupation of Egypt, an example of the proverb *Ce n'est que le provisoire qui reste*. Greece immediately felt the damage caused to Hellenism by the Italian occupation. For, had the Dodekanese been Turkish during the first Balkan War, the Greek fleet would have been able to capture it, as it captured Chios and Mytilene. Giolitti was probably sincere in his intention of giving up the Dodekanese, which Sir E. Grey and M. Poincaré both objected to see in the hands of a Great Power; but Sonnino, in the secret treaty of London of 26 April, 1915, obtained from the Allies, as part of Italy's price for entering into the war, "the entire sovereignty" over the occupied islands. When Signor Tittoni succeeded Sonnino as Foreign Minister, by a convention with Mr. Venizelos of 29 July, 1919, he agreed to "cede to Greece the sovereignty" over them, with the exception of Rhodes, which should remain Italian, receiving, however, within two months after the decision of the Paris Conference, "a large local autonomy." If, however, Italy did "not obtain satisfaction for her aspirations in Asia Minor, she" resumed her "full liberty of action." Accordingly,

Count Sforza, as Foreign Minister, on 22 July, 1920, denounced this convention in consequence of "the decision of the Allies on the subject of Asia Minor and the affirmations of the Albanian Nationalists." On 10 August, however, the Greco-Italian treaty, signed at Sèvres by Mr. Venizelos and Count Bonin Longare, the Italian Ambassador in Paris, "renounced in favour of Greece" all Italy's "rights and titles" to all the islands, except Rhodes and its dependent islets. To Rhodes Italy again promised "a large local autonomy" in two months' time, and after at least fifteen years a plebiscite under the direction of the League of Nations, in the event of the cession of Cyprus to Greece. On the same day article 122 of the treaty of Sèvres between the Allies and Turkey pledged Turkey to "renounce in favour of Italy all her rights and titles" to all the occupied islands and "also to Kastellorizon." A few hours later Count Bonin wrote a letter to Mr. Venizelos, promising, in the name of his Government, "a large local autonomy" to Kastellorizon within two months after the Italian occupation. None of these pledges was executed, and in 1922 the Italian Foreign Minister informed the Greek Minister in Rome that Italy "considered as null and void the special agreements with Greece relative to the Dodekanese." Finally, by article 15 of the second treaty of Lausanne in 1923, Turkey again "renounced in favour of Italy all her rights and titles to" the occupied islands, including Kastellorizon, but the Greek delegation, in a letter to the President of the Conference, reminded him of the existence of an unratified treaty—that of 1920—definitely attributing the Dodekanese to Greece. Such is the juridical position upon which Italy bases her claims. The Greeks appeal to the principles of nationality, to which Italy owes her existence, and ask her to put them into practice in the Dodekanese. But Signor Mussolini has no sympathy with Mazzini; Italian nationalism has no

respect for other nationalities. Italian imperialism regards the Dodekanese as a base for expansion in Asia Minor; large sums have been expended on the fortification of Leros, and an aerial base has been established there. Meanwhile the Italian administration of these overwhelmingly Greek islands—for the Moslems and Jews are an infinitesimal minority—has scarcely reconciled the islanders to alien rule. The best officials, it is said, are not sent thither. The prohibition of the ceremony—universal in Greek seas—of the "blessing of the waters" was followed by the banishment, in 1921, of the Metropolitan of Rhodes. This Prelate returned, in 1924, after signing a document, submitted to him by the Italian authorities, who were desirous of forming an autonomous Dodekanesian church, on the analogy of Cyprus. The restored Metropolitan invited to a conference the other ecclesiastical dignitaries of the islands—viz., the Metropolitan of Kalymnos, Leros, and Astypalaia, the Metropolitan of Kasos and Karpathos, the locum tenens of the vacant See of Kos, and the representative of the Abbot of the Monastery of Patmos. It was decided that two of them should proceed to Constantinople to treat with the Patriarch, but so far no decision has been taken. In 1927 an attempt was made on the life of the Rhodian Metropolitan. The compulsory teaching of Italian in the elementary schools and the enforcement of Italian nationality—a policy against which the Italians have protested in the case of their own compatriots in Tunisia—have aroused considerable opposition, notably in Karpathos and Kalymnos. But the islanders are neither numerous nor Cretans. They have no support from the Powers, for Mr. Ramsay MacDonald abandoned Lord Curzon's policy, contained in his stiff Note of 15 October, 1922, of making the cession of Jubaland to Italy contingent upon the regulation of the Dodekanesian question. Wealthy Dodekanesians in Egypt, however,

maintain a newspaper and a propaganda there, in Greece, and the United States against the Italian occupation, and money is being collected for a statue of Xanthos of Patmos, one of the founders of the "Friendly Society," in the square of that name in Athens. Greco-Italian relations will hardly become really cordial as long as the islands remain Italian. Moreover, comparisons with Cyprus are drawn in the Greek Press to the disadvantage of Italy, unaccustomed to govern subject races. This feeling found vent on the occasion of the return visit, paid by Signor Lago, the Governor-General of the Dodekanese, to the Governor of Cyprus in the autumn of 1927, when no Cypriotes would attend the reception given to him by the British Governor, and he was unable to traverse the streets because of demonstrations for union. This incident was singularly unfortunate.

A more temporary obstacle to Greco-Italian friendship is the bombardment of Corfù in 1923, the memory of which the Italians are justly anxious to obliterate. A year later Colonel Botsares, whom they had recklessly accused of having instigated the murder of General Tellini, was entertained at luncheon by the Italian Minister in Athens! But when I was last in Corfù the marks on the Police School, housed in the "new" fortress, made by the shells fired against it, one of which entered the bedroom of the fortunately absent English headmaster, were still visible, and the Corfiotes had not forgotten the bombardment of their unfortified town. They were suspicious of its significance, because they thought that Italy had long cast wistful glances at Corfù. Mr. Gennadios in 1879 had drawn his Government's attention to this danger, and Signor Mussolini furbished up the traditions of Venice, mistress of the island from 1206 to 1214 and from 1386 to 1797. Italian propaganda was started in the form of free education for Corfiote children—there are numerous Maltese in Corfù

—who accepted the education, but remained Greeks. From 1925 onwards, however, the Italian Government has shown its desire to be on good terms with Greece. Following the precedent of the Byron Centenary, the Italian Legation suggested a celebration of that of the death of Santarosa. The request for a special Santarosa stamp, on the analogy of the two Byron issues, was declined, but in 1925 an official commemoration on a smaller scale took place at Navarino, where he died. A further step towards better relations was taken during the dictatorship of Pangalos in 1926 (for whom Italian blackshirts formed a guard of honour in the Stadion), when his Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Communications, Messrs. Rouphos and Tavoulares, the latter well acquainted with Italy, where he had been Military Attaché, went to Rome and entered into arrangements satisfactory to the Italians. The Duke of Spoleto visited Athens, but the effect of his visit was marred by a simultaneous intransigent declaration about the Dodekanese by the head of the Italian Government. Meanwhile, Italy showed that she did not wish to be excluded from participation in the work of Greek reconstruction, and that she, like Great Britain and France, was a Great Power, although, owing to her later appearance in the field, she had not been, like them, a "protecting" Power, and first became prominent in Greek affairs during the Cretan question, when Italian *carabinieri* organised the Cretan *gendarmerie,* and the Cretan Committee sat in Rome under the presidency of Admiral Canevaro. Italian athletes followed the British team to Athens; the British and French celebration of the centenary of Navarino was scarcely over when a special Italian delegation proceeded to Zante to commemorate that of Ugo Foscolo, who combined the love of Greece with that of Italy. The important utterance of the Italian Under-Secretary of Education on that occasion, that

"never perhaps in the history of Europe and the Mediterranean were Greece and Italy at such a suitable moment for agreement," was interpreted as a holding out of the olive-branch, especially as it immediately followed the publication of the Franco-Jugoslav and Italo-Albanian treaties. A few days later, at Geneva, Italy supported Greece in the question of the loans, to which she expressed a desire to subscribe, and Signor Mussolini received a visit and the thanks of the Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs. An Italian air service between Brindisi and Constantinople viâ Phaleron has been inaugurated; an Italian magazine has opened a branch in Athens for Greek contributors; and an Italo-Greek commercial treaty has been negotiated. All these are signs of better relations, which Great Britain should welcome, provided that she has not to pay the expenses of the Italo-Greek honeymoon, and that it does not upset the Balkan *status quo,* on which the peace of Europe depends. The present situation somewhat resembles that between Italy and Austria before the war. If they had not been officially friends, they were bound to be enemies. Greeks who support a *rapprochement* with their great western neighbour do so because they think that otherwise Italy would create difficulties for them, and a small cannot afford to offend a big country, even if the former have in Goumenitsa on the Epeirote coast a future valuable submarine base and first-class naval material in the Greek sailors. From the Italian standpoint, peaceful penetration in the Levant is difficult in the face of Greek opposition, but easy with Greek collaboration, even though the Hellenic factor in Asia Minor has been practically effaced. Nor is it probable that the greatest naval Power would permit Greece to be dismembered in order to make a new Roman Empire.

With her "northern neighbours" Greece is on varying terms. Of all the Balkan races, the Albanians have most

racial affinity with the Greeks. There have been for centuries many and distinguished Albanians in Greece, and their descendants have become completely Hellenised, while several Albanian politicians are of Greek origin, and Albania contains many Greeks. But related races are not always friends, and the creation of an Albanian state led to disputes over what the Greeks called Northern Epeiros, but the Albanians claimed to be Southern Albania. Hence the insurrection of 1914 and the formation of the "Autonomous Government of Northern Epeiros" under the leadership of Zographos and Mr. Alexander Karapanos, late Minister in Paris. Italy throughout the differences between Greece and Albania supported the Albanians, who have considerable colonies in Sicily. The Sicilian, San Giuliano, her Foreign Minister, who had travelled in Albania, raised the question of the channel of Corfù, and endeavoured to push the Greek frontier in Epeiros as far south as possible. Sonnino, his successor, ordered the proclamation of Albanian independence at Argyrokastron, and Italian troops temporarily occupied Cheimarra and even Joannina. After the cession to Albania of "the fourteen villages" on the eastern frontier by the Conference of Ambassadors on 19 April, 1924, had caused the fall of Mr. Roussos, then Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs, General Pangalos, himself of Albanian origin, improved relations with Albania. He gave more places than were asked to Albanian cadets at the Greek Military College, and added the Albanian language to the curriculum of some Corfiote schools, besides other concessions. The Archbishop of Trebizond subsequently went to Tirana on a mission to arrange for the recognition of an Albanian Orthodox Autocephalous Church. The Albanian Government has recently abolished the restrictions on the teaching of Greek. Of all her neighbours, Greece likes Albania best. The only

question between them is that of the Chams—originally Greeks, who late in the seventeenth century embraced Islâm, speak Albanian, but always sided with the Turks. The Chams were exempted from the exchange of populations, and the Albanian Government wishes them to remain where they are—at Goumenitsa.

The Italo-Albanian pact of 27 November, 1926, was received with caution in Greece, where the attitude of Great Britain and France was watched and the Press was calm. Similar caution was observed when the signature of the Italo-Albanian treaty of alliance on 22 November, 1927, was announced, although it was recognised to be the Italian answer to the Franco-Jugoslav treaty. Next to Italy, Greece exports the largest amount of goods into Albania, which can supply her with wood and minerals.

Her much bigger neighbour, Jugoslavia, is a source of anxiety to Greece. Many attempts were made in former days to promote an alliance between little Serbia and Greece, and they at last culminated in the brotherhood-in-arms which led to victory in the two Balkan Wars of 1912-13. The alliance, practically shipwrecked during the European war, when Greece declined to come to the help of Serbia on the ground that there was no *casus fœderis,* was formally denounced on 18 November, 1924, on the occasion of the Bulgarian Minorities' protocol. The negotiations for a new treaty, after long delays, resulted in the conclusion of an arrangement by Mr. Rouphos in 1926. This agreement, very favourable to Jugoslavia, was strongly criticised in Greece, was one of the causes of Pangalos' fall, and has never been ratified by Parliament. Greeks objected to the lease of an enlarged "Serbian free zone" in the harbour of Salonika for a term of fifty years in return for an alliance of three, and argued that the trade of Salonika would be handicapped by the transit through the "Serbian free

zone" of goods, not only of Jugoslav, but of other external origin. There is also the danger for a neutral Greece, in the event of an Italo-Jugoslav war, of a bombardment which might not be confined to the "Serbian zone," especially as Jugoslavia would wish to import munitions through it. When I visited the existing "free zone" in September, 1926, I found it more than adequate for the merchandise there. This observation has since been confirmed by the Greek official figures, which show that the Jugoslav merchandise imported into Greece is only 9 per cent. of the total Jugoslav exports. Moreover, the Ægean is no longer the most accessible outlet of Serbian trade. For since August, 1925, Belgrade and Zagreb have, for the first time, direct railway communication with the Adriatic port of Split. But great Jugoslavia requires careful consideration. The Jugoslav frontier near Ghevghelê is only forty-eight miles from Salonika, upon which the Belgrade Chauvinists cast longing glances. In 1925 specially low tariffs were introduced on this line to facilitate Serbian trade, followed in 1927 by a further reduction on the transport of livestock from Jugoslavia to Athens.

The danger is that Jugoslavia and Bulgaria might temporarily combine, and the former descend to the Ægean at Salonika and the latter at Dedeagatch, thus cutting off the land communications between Athens and Constantinople. But after the outrages committed in both Greece and Jugoslavia by Bulgarian *komitadjis* in September, 1927—the blowing up of the Simplon-Orient express at Hutovo, the further attempt on it north of Skoplje, and the plot to blow up the Jugoslav Consulate and other Jugoslav institutions at Salonika—the Greeks and the Serbs were drawn closer together in mutual defence against a common foe. The Franco-Jugoslav treaty of 11 November, 1927, was regarded in Greece with equanimity as not directed against the Greeks, but

as an answer to the pact of Tirana. If Jugoslavia be the favourite of France in the Balkans, that does not exclude, but may increase, the probabilities of French good offices towards a renewal of the Greco-Serbian alliance, of which the commercial treaty of November, 1927, may be the harbinger. Unfortunately, Greece is little studied at Belgrade and Jugoslavia at Athens. Two Greek scholars, Professor Amantos of Athens, by his book *The Northern Neighbours of Greece* and his lectures on the Southern Slavs, and Professor Michael Laskaris of Salonika, who studied in Belgrade and has written in Serb, have done their best to make Jugoslavia better understood in Greece. An organisation has been started in Belgrade for developing intellectual and economic relations with the Greeks. But at the Byzantine Congress in Belgrade in 1927 some coolness was noticed. Yet it is more important for the Greeks to know their neighbours than more distant countries. Before the recent division of the Balkans into two opposing camps, that of France with Jugoslavia and that of Italy with Albania, a Greco-Jugoslav alliance would have been the best guarantee of peace in that volcanic peninsula. To-day, however, probably the safest policy for Greece is to hold aloof from either combination. Her hand is likely to be sought in alliance by both Rome and Belgrade, but in Mr. Michalakopoulos she has a cautious guardian, who will not enter rashly into any embarrassing engagement.

Bulgaria and Greece are historically enemies. The title of "the Bulgar-slayer," transmitted from Basil II. to King Constantine across nine centuries, is a token of this regrettable tradition. In modern times the erection of the Bulgarian Exarchate in 1870 revived the ancient feud between the two races in Macedonia, a political feud carried on in the name of religion; and in 1878 the creation of a Bulgarian state raised up a formidable rival to "the Great Idea" of Hellenism. The visits of the

Bulgarian students to Athens in 1912, of the Bulgarian journalists to Salonika and Athens in 1926, and of the Bulgarian athletes to Athens, and of the Greek journalists to Bulgaria in 1927, and the war of the Balkan allies against Turkey, were brief pauses in this strife. Since her defeats in the second Balkan and European wars Bulgaria has been crippled, while the immigration of Greek refugees from Asia Minor into Greek Macedonia, and the exchange of Greeks and Bulgarians, have reduced the Bulgarian population there to 5·1 per cent. against 88·8 per cent. Greek. A Greco-Bulgarian convention for their mutual compensation has been signed. Still the threat of *komitadjis,* as the outrages of last autumn showed, is not extinct, although they were directed rather against the Serbs than the Greeks. A serious frontier incident between Greeks and Bulgarians occurred, however, at Demir Kapu in 1925, for which Greece was ordered by the League of Nations to pay compensation. Bulgaria still covets the outlet to the Ægean which she obtained by the treaty of Bucharest and kept from 1913 to 1919, nor is she satisfied with the commercial facilities which Greece has agreed to give her at Dedeagatch, rechristened Alexandroupolis in token of its Hellenic character. But the two Governments are negotiating for a narrow gauge line from Petritch, which shall unite Bulgaria more directly with Greece, to their mutual benefit. In the event of an Italo-Jugoslav war, the importance of the Bulgarian factor is obvious. If Bulgaria were on the side of Italy, the Macedonian railway might be cut, and a pro-Italian Bulgaria with a pro-Italian Albania would hold Southern Serbia in a vice and shut off Greece from all railway communication with Western Europe. These contingencies are considered in Athens.

Turkish diplomacy, with its methods of procrastination, takes long to settle disputes. The exchange of

populations, from which the Turks of Western Thrace and the Greeks *établis* in Constantinople before 1918 were alone excepted, has removed one cause of friction, but has also created others, and the expulsion of the Œcumenical Patriarch, Constantine VI. from Turkey in January, 1925, aroused indignation in Greece. The Turkish quibble over the meaning of the word *établis* in the treaty of Lausanne has caused great trouble, but the frontier question regarding the islet of Giaour Ada at the mouth of the Maritza has at last been settled by the cession of the islet to Greece, and the tracing of the frontier was signed on 5 November, 1926; the agreement regarding Greek property in Turkey and Turkish in Greece was ratified on 25 February, 1927. Still the Turks disregard their obligations with respect to the demilitarised islands of Imbros and Tenedos, which Greece retroceded in September, 1923, but which are entitled to special administrations and native police under article 14 of the treaty of Lausanne. A recent incident arising out of a beflagged Turkish train crossing Greek territory to Adrianople caused some excitement in Turkey. On the whole, however, Turkey has no longer the importance for Greece which she had when the Turks held Macedonia and the Greeks peopled Asia Minor. Some alarm has been expressed in Athens at the strengthening of the Turkish fleet, but the Turkish Navy has never been dangerous, except to itself, since the time of Haireddin Barbarossa. That Turkey should seek to recover her lost European provinces is improbable; her true policy, as Moltke foresaw, is to consolidate in Asia, that of Greece to consolidate in Europe. Hence there should be no cause of conflict between these two ancient foes.

Roumania, which in the past had serious diplomatic difficulties with Greece, enters little into the scheme of Greece's international relations, although there are many

Greeks there. The Koutso-Wallach propaganda has died down since the expansion of Roumania at the expense of Austria, Hungary, Russia, and Bulgaria, and the deposition of George II., one of the sons-in-law of *la belle-mère des Balkans,* while displeasing to that ambitious personage, has not appreciably affected the situation, although the ex-King lives in Roumania. Indeed, Roumanian diplomacy has worked for a Greco-Jugoslav alliance. As non-Slav states, having profited at the cost of Bulgaria, Greece and Roumania have something in common, and the Roumanian Jubilee was cordially celebrated in Athens last year. The dynastic quarrels of Roumanian parties have only a spectacular interest for Greek readers.

The United States are far off, but there are many ties between them and Greece, owing to the large number of Greek emigrants to America from 1891 down to recent times,[1] to the important American commercial interests in Greece, such as the Ulen Water Company in Athens and the American Tobacco Company at Kavalla, and to the services rendered to Greece by Americans like Dr. Howe, Miller, and that strange adventurer, Jarvis, during the War of Independence. There was no resident Minister of the United States till 1868, the first being Tuckerman, the author of *The Greeks of To-day,* a book still useful, although "to-day" was 1868-71. Before him, when occasion arose, some diplomatist came on a special mission, and the story goes that a representative of the great Republic, arriving in 1855, was surprised to be told by the acting Minister of Foreign Affairs, Silebergos, who had moments of mental derangement, that if he had not brought a diplomatic uniform with him the Minister would lend him his own.

[1] The American Emigration regulations of 1924 limit the annual number of Greek emigrants to 100. Chicago alone contains over 50,000 Greeks.

Since Tuckerman there have been nineteen United States Ministers to Greece, whose photographs adorn the chancery of the Legation. Besides the American colony, many Greeks who have been in the United States have taken American citizenship, and, when they come back to Greece, claim its privileges. In 1914, to "preserve peace" by preventing the threatened attack from Turkey, the United States sold to Greece the battleships *Idaho* (now *Kilkis*) and *Mississippi* (now *Lemnos*). The "American Legion" contains numerous members; the four (now three) "American women's hospitals" at Kokkinia (near the Piræus), Xanthe, Djouma, and New Moudania (near Chalkidike), with the seventeen dispensaries, have rendered conspicuous services to the Greek refugees, of whom they sheltered 3,599 in 1926, while the fact that the Refugees' Settlement Commission must have an American as its president has latterly brought the United States into constant relation with Greece. The "Near East Relief" under another American, Mr. Jaquith, has accomplished valuable philanthropic work. The question of the American credits, originally amounting to $50,000,000, about which Pangalos talked so glibly, arising out of the convention of 1918, whereby Great Britain, France, and the United States agreed to pay to Greece 850,000,000 frs. together—a payment stopped in 1920—was settled on 7 December, 1927, together with that of the Greek debt to America, in a manner most satisfactory to Greece, and reflecting great praise on Mr. Kaphandares and Mr. Simopoulos, the Greek Minister at Washington. The Greek war debt, amounting to $19,658,836, was to be paid in sixty-two years, the early instalments up to 1931 being very small. Greece renounced all claims to the rest of the American credits, of which the United States had paid $15,000,000, and in return the United States granted her a loan of $12,167,073 (about £2,500,000), without expenses of any kind, at 4 per

cent., to be issued at par and repayable within twenty-one years. This sum was "to be used for the refugees." A corresponding sum was consequently deducted from the £9,000,000 loans which Greece was asking the League of Nations to approve. This American loan was to be administered by the International Financial Commission. The benefit thus conferred upon Greece was threefold: the American settlement on such extraordinarily favourable terms gave her a large sum at a low interest and without the large deductions for commissions characteristic of Greek loans from 1824 onwards; it morally forced the French to sign, otherwise there would have been a public exposure of the whole situation at Geneva, which would not have redounded to the generosity of France; and it insured the issue of the other two Greek loans at a lower figure than that of the former refugees' loan. Three birds, one very obstinate, were thus felled by one stone.

American activities in Greece will soon be increased by the excavation of part of ancient Athens; the "Athens College" has an American president; there is an American school for girls at Phaleron; the Gennadios library was housed with American money, its librarian is an American, and it is held in trust by the American School of Classical Studies, which plays a large part, thanks to its energy and large resources, alike in the cultural and social life of Greece. Generally speaking, the United States Minister in Athens can look at Greek politics with greater detachment than his more nearly interested colleagues, and there have been recent cases where his influence has worked for the benefit of Greece. Here, as in other capitals, much depends upon the fact whether the Minister be a professional or an amateur diplomatist. Both the present and the late Minister are warm friends of Great Britain.

In view of the large and important Greek colony in Egypt, there is an Egyptian Legation in Athens, and

the Greek representative at Cairo occupies a responsible position. The Egyptian royal family has large interests in the island of Thasos, which was bestowed by the Sultan as an appanage on Mehemet Ali as part of the *vakuf* of Kavalla, whence he came. In the question of the election to the Patriarchate of Alexandria the Egyptian Government was friendly, and formally recognised Meletios, the ex-Œcumenical Patriarch, although canonically he did not belong to the jurisdiction of the Egyptian Church. An Egyptian football team has visited Athens; Athenians continually go over to Alexandria. The Greeks in Egypt have always been warm supporters of British rule, unlike some other Europeans there, and at the time of the bombardment of Alexandria in 1882, Trikoupes, then Prime Minister, sent thither three warships to co-operate with the British, and offered to send 7,000 men, thus increasing Greek prestige and securing considerable commercial advantages for Hellenism in Egypt. Hence the idea of a British evacuation of that country was received with alarm by the Greek community, especially if—as has been suggested—an Italian occupation were the alternative. In neither Cyprus nor Egypt would the Greeks desire to get rid of the British in order to make room for another nation.[1]

In another African country, Abyssinia, there are considerable Greek interests. Hence marked attentions were paid to Tafari when he visited Athens, and he was elected an honorary member of the Society of Byzantine Studies. With Palestine Greece has time-honoured ecclesiastical connection. The Mayor of Athens recently headed a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, of which Athenians have been Patriarchs, and the Athenian church of the Hagioi Anargyroi, which became a dependency of the Holy Sepulchre in the eighteenth century, has served as a link between Jerusalem and Athens.

[1] The nationality—Greek or Egyptian—of Greeks from Turkey established in Egypt is now under discussion.

Greece might be expected to regard the League of Nations with mixed feelings and without illusions as to its capacity to provide a panacea for the eternal Balkan question. A witty Greek defined it to me as a limited company which pays dividends only to its largest shareholders. If it bestowed upon Greece the Refugees' Settlement Commission and sent Sir Eric Drummond and MM. Albert Thomas, Avenol, and Colban to visit the Delphic oracle and receive official receptions in Athens, it was against Greece in the Corfù affair and in the Demir Kapu dispute. The responsibility for the former decision was, indeed, shared by that other international body, the Ambassadors' Conference, of which it has been said that it is like the appendix in the human frame—useless if inactive, dangerous if active. Since then the Conference has committed what the Greeks denounced as an act of injustice by ordering them to pay for the obsolete cruiser *Salamis,* which had been ordered at Stettin in 1914, but had never been delivered owing to the war. Thus, while on the one hand the League urged Greece to make economies, the Conference insisted that she should spend money on obsolete war material! Greece appealed to The Hague Tribunal.

The conclusion is that Greece will owe her future prosperity to her own efforts rather than to the support of this or that Great Power. Foreign diplomacy—such seems to be the lesson of the last century of Greek history—has, on the whole, done more harm than good to Greece. This is all the more likely to be the case in these days of telegraphic instructions, when diplomatic questions are decided, not by Ministers on the spot, but by armchair officials in distant Foreign Offices with no personal knowledge of the mentality of other nationalities. As a distinguished diplomatist who had that knowledge once said to me of a certain British Foreign Minister: "He thought niggers began at Calais!"

So much for Greece's attitude towards the Great

Powers. As regards her relations with her Balkan neighbours, the ideal would be a Balkan Confederation, in which all the states of South-Eastern Europe would be on friendly terms and the Balkan peninsula would be managed by the Balkan nations, without the intervention of any outside Government. Unfortunately, that ideal is unlikely to be realised, given the conflicting historical claims and traditions and the rivalries of race which co-exist there. Moreover, although the result of the late war has eliminated Austria and Russia from the Balkan peninsula, Italy and France have stepped in, and Albania may become a second Sarajevo. Besides, Greece is both a Balkan and a Mediterranean state, so that, while in the former capacity she must consider Jugoslavia, in the latter she cannot ignore Italy, and alike in the Balkans and the Levant her interest is the preservation of peace. In these new circumstances her policy would seem to be tó hold aloof from both combinations, to be the friend of all, but the ally of none. And that would seem to be the policy of the Greek Foreign Office under Mr. Michalakopoulos. It would be facilitated if the two "Latin sisters" made up their domestic differences and if the Adriatic were not the *mare nostrum* of two riverain races. Meanwhile it has led to better relations with Italy on the one hand, and to a frank declaration to Jugoslavia on the other, that "Salonika is a port of international interest," and that, while preserving the "Serbian free zone," Greece is willing to grant facilities in the "Greek free zone" there to Roumania, Tchecho-Slovakia, Bulgaria, and Hungary, as well as to Jugoslavia.[1] Greece, while recognising the formula of "The Balkan Peninsula to the Balkan Peoples," opposes the hegemony of anyone of them over the others.

[1] Mr. Michalakopoulos at Salonika, 9 January, 1928.

CHAPTER VI

GREEK POLITICS

"MAN," said Aristotle, "is a political animal," and his saying is specially true of the Greeks. Just as Englishmen open a conversation by a remark about the weather, so in Greece the question, "What is your view of the situation?" is a quite usual beginning. In towns and villages, in clubs and monasteries, politics form the most natural theme of conversation. To people with acute minds and a love of dialectics public affairs have always been a favourite subject for discussion. Ancient Athens was intensely political; in Roman Athens, when there were no politics, University questions took their place, and parties rallied round this or that celebrated professor; just as in medieval Byzantium they discussed theology, and to-day in the Dodekanese the ordinary people, cut off from politics, are keenly interested in the question whether or no the Church shall be autocephalous. Even in the Turkish days, as travellers have recorded, there were parties in the then small world of Christian Athens, and with the dawn of freedom, and still more after the abolition of Bavarian autocracy by the September revolution of 1843, politics became an all-engrossing topic. Three parties, the "English," the "French," and the "Russian," were formed under leaders, approved, and sometimes inspired, by the Ministers of the three protecting Powers, and Athens became the battle-ground for British, French, and Russian intrigues, the favourite British leader being Mavrokordatos, the French Kolettes, and the Russian Metaxâs. The French diplomatist Thouvenel is recorded to have sometimes actually composed the declaration of Ministerial policy, when the French prôtégé was in

office, and Sir Edmund Lyons and his Russian colleague, Catacazy, openly took part in internal politics. This unfortunate practice finds parallels in the cases of the rival Austrian and Russian parties in Serbia under Milan, the Russian intervention in Bulgaria under Alexander, and the Austro-Italian squabbles at Durazzo during the reign of William of Wied. Greece, like Jugoslavia and Bulgaria, has long outgrown this system of foreign parties. The *Barlaîoi,* as the "English" partisans were called, from a Herculean Anglophil delegate to the Assembly of Hermione ; the *Moschomángai,* as Kolettes' adherents were named, from the "hooligans" who frequented the "bastion of Moschos" near the harbour of Nauplia ; and the *Napaîoi,* as the "Russians" were nicknamed after the Moreote Napas, although there were German and Entente parties in the late war, have long passed away without leaving descendants. Contemporary Greek political parties and leaders, including the Communists, are neither "English," "French," nor "Russian," but Greek.

Those who knew Greece some years ago notice, however, a decline in political interest among young people. The rising generation has seen so many and such drastic political changes that it has become surfeited of politics. Besides, the capital, now a big cosmopolitan city, offers diversions from politics which Othonian and even Georgian Athens could not present. Social functions are numerous ; sport, especially football, tennis, and golf, has become acclimatised ; horse-racing is an institution ; the cinematograph occupies a large place in the public eye. As for the people, they are weary of politics, and only want peace to go on with their work. This was the explanation of the indifference with which they looked on at the departure of George II., the proclamation of the Republic, the *coups d'état* which made and unmade Pangalos. This was the reason why

at a recent municipal election in some places there were no candidates for the mayoralty, whereas at Pylos years ago the late Dr. Burrows found 123 candidates standing for 15 seats on the Municipal Council. Moreover, the growing industrialisation of Greece offers more remunerative and attractive careers than place-hunting.

A generation ago Greek Governments were fairly stable, for Trikoupes remained three and again four and a half years in power, and Theotokes also three, just as Kolettes and Miaoules had done half a century earlier, while Kriezes was nearly five years Premier. Mr. Venizelos beat all records by remaining once five years and then three continuously in office; but since 1920 Cabinets have come and gone with rapidity. The young Republic has known already seven Prime Ministers, but this is not a special characteristic of the Republican régime, for in the early times of the second Monarchy there were nine Cabinets in thirteen months. At present thirteen politicians have filled the Premiership—Messrs. Zaïmes, Skouloudes, Venizelos, Triantaphyllakos, Charalampes, Gonatâs, Kaphandares, Papanastasiou, Sophoules, Michalakopoulos, Pangalos, Eutaxias, and Kondyles—the first six times and the third thrice. There seemed, therefore, no need for the article embodied in the draft Constitution forbidding the tenure of the Premiership for more than a year, just as the first Greek Constitution, that of Epidauros in 1822, limited that of the Executive. However short be the Premier's term of office, he is styled *Kýrie Próedre* ("Mr. President") for the rest of his life—a form of address highly prized in the absence of all titles (except the old Venetian titles of nobility still used locally in the Ionian Islands), and after the recent abolition of decorations (except war medals) for Greek subjects. Since the introduction of constitutional government in 1843 there have been forty-seven different Prime Ministers (many of whom held the

office repeatedly) and eighty-seven Ministers of Foreign Affairs, likewise recurrent, since 1829. The causes of these frequent changes are the personal character of Greek political parties, mostly based upon men rather than measures, and consequently liable to crumble away according to the feelings of the followers towards their leaders, and still more the individualism (*atomismós*) deeply engrained in the Hellenic character. When Kleon, as reported by Thucydides, said that "he, and not the other fellow, ought to be general," he expressed an eternal truth of Greek politics. George I., when an unknown Greek was presented to him, used to ask where he was "president." The very laudable ambition to be first makes team-work difficult; but there are notable exceptions, such as the loyal outside support given by Mr. Kaphandares to the Michalakopoulos Premiership, and the heroic self-sacrifice of General Kondyles in 1926. It is not matérial gain, but rather the love of power that makes Greek politicians desire the Premiership. Deligiannes, after his repeated tenure of that office, left little more than his top-hat and frock-coat behind him when he died. One of his rivals spent a considerable part of a considerable fortune on politics. A recent Premier remarked to me that Greek history contained no example of a Prime Minister who had enriched himself. Many of the heroes of the War of Independence lived in poverty, and one of the few commemorative tablets in Athens informs the passer-by that in a certain insignificant house in the then suburb of Kypsele "lived and died" Constantine Kanares, the most famous of them all.

Another cause of the fluidity of parties and the consequent changes of Cabinet is the lack of a party caucus, which in our Parliament makes the private member toe the party line or lose his seat, and the absence of party "whips." Hence the reader of the Athenian Press becomes accustomed to such announcements as that

"Mr. So-and-So has made declaration of his political friendship to such-and-such a leader," or that several deputies belonging to a particular party have "skipped off." The individualism above mentioned makes parties fissiparous; proportional representation, introduced at the elections of 1926, further favours this tendency, and 65 parties entered the lists then for 286 seats! These parties consisted, however, in two notorious cases of one candidate each, and a party leader once said to me that at a meeting of chiefs one "leader" present "had no need to leave the room in order to consult his party"; it was himself! In practice, however, parties have simplified themselves into two main groups—Republicans and Royalists—each containing several subdivisions. The Republicans consist of a "Conservative," a "Progressive," and an advanced group (the "Republican Union"), under Messrs. Michalakopoulos, Kaphandares, and Papanastasiou respectively. There are also a few independent Republicans, like Mr. Sophoules, the Speaker of the Chamber. The Royalists include a moderate and an advanced wing—viz., the party of "Free Thought" under General Metaxâs, and the "Popular" party under Mr. Tsaldares. The latter, however, contains certain intransigent Royalists, who must at times try the patience and require all the diplomacy of its leader. They are the "die-hards" of Greek politics, the men who still look to the "King over the water," as our Jacobite ancestors said, and who will have no compromise with the Republic. There are also independent Republicans from Mytilene and independent moderate Royalists, like Mr. Demertzês. Outside the Chamber, General Kondyles has recently reentered politics and made a political tour of the Peloponnese. At the extreme back of the Chamber sit the nine Communists—now for the first time appearing in Parliament as a party, mostly young men with a lârge dose of

theoretical principles, whose leader is Mr. Maximos, but whose god is Marx. Owing to the individualism of the Greek character, the cutting-up of the large estates in Thessaly, and the wide diffusion of small properties, Greece would seem to be an unfavourable soil for the growth of Communism. The Communist party is chiefly recruited from the "new" provinces, where there are many refugees, and notably from the tobacco workers at Kavalla; but there was a big Communist poll at Larissa (of which the President's would-be assassin was a native), due, it is said, to the personal influence of one apostle. Greek Communism has its journal and its historian, Mr. Kordatos; it fishes in troubled waters, as on 9 September, 1926, and in the strike of 10 March, 1927; a few University students have made demonstrations against "capitalist" professors, and the University Senate proposes to exact a written statement from every undergraduate that he will join no Communist organisation, under pain of expulsion. Other more stringent measures have been invoked in consequence of the attempt on the President; but Bolshevik propaganda, despite the exaggerated staff of the Soviet Legation, seems likely to fail in "atomistic" Hellas, where at the last election only 40,988 Communist votes were polled out of 961,437.

The vehement feud between Republicans and Royalists has died down. Royalist and Republican ladies—the ladies were usually more intransigent than their husbands—play cards together, and Royalist damsels find Republican partners at dances. Athens—thank heaven!—is no longer divided up into an Elysée and a Faubourg-St.-Germain. The "Œcumenical" Government was at once a sign, and a cause, of this much-desired and most desirable "reconciliation." Royalists are now seen at the parties of Government House, just as the Jacobites went to the Court of

George III. Besides, the feud was not so much between Republicans and Royalists as between Venizelists and anti-Venizelists. The Greeks in politics are usually rather "anti" than "pro"; the Republicans are not so much enamoured of the ideal beauties of a Republic as opposed to the House of Glücksburg; the Royalists are less enthusiastic about George II. than resentful of Mr. Venizelos and General Plasteras. At the elections of 1926 in some constituencies the contest was over a dead issue—Constantine *versus* Venizelos—and the electoral literature was what English politicians would call "ancient history." Now that Constantine is physically and Mr. Venizelos politically dead, all the life has gone out of this historic controversy. One past event, the execution of "the Six," still casts a malign shadow over the political situation and causes Ministerial crises. Nor is this remarkable; for that terrible affair is barely five years old, and in Athens, where relationships have wide ramifications, the number of persons connected with the executed men is legion, and the brother of one of them is an influential deputy. The practice of the newspapers to publish frequent articles on the history of yesterday tends to revive smouldering disputes, and the return of Mr. Venizelos in 1927 to reside in Greece, even as a private individual, immediately made the Royalists suspicious. They would never believe that he had come back merely to bask in the Cretan sun or to translate Thucydides, but would scent some political intrigue in his presence among them, just as they saw another military plot in the sojourn of General Plasteras at Kephissia. Nor were the Royalists alone offended at the return of the Cretan, even to his native Crete. New political vested interests have grown up within his own party; new men have arisen with new claims to the leadership, and not at all disposed to be kept in leading strings; and there are stalwart Republicans who

regard him as a tepid adherent who would have preferred a really constitutional monarchy which reigned, but let an all-powerful Premier govern. Mr. Venizelos belongs to history; as far as politics are concerned, he is *magni nominis umbra.*

The brief life of recent Governments has been detrimental to administration. Almost before a Minister has become familiar with the work of his department a fresh crisis has ejected him from office. This would not matter so much if Greece possessed a permanent, irremovable Civil Service. But such is only partially the case. Even at the Foreign Office the General Secretary is frequently changed (there have been five in the last four years); consequently continuity of policy is difficult. Foreign companies, conducting negotiations for concessions with the Greek Government, after having arrived at a certain point, have to start afresh because a new Minister has come into power. Thus a protracted negotiation resembles the web of Penelope. Since its inception in 1923, the Refugees' Settlement Commission has had to transact business with eleven successive Cabinets. Moreover, even during his brief enjoyment of office a Minister can devote only part of his time to the work of his department. Besides attendance in the Chamber, he is expected to see personally and almost daily and nightly swarms of individuals, who want something done and desire to speak with the man at the head of the Ministry and not with a subordinate. Greek Ministers are far more accessible than British or even French, and persons penetrate to their presence who would elsewhere have to content themselves with a private secretary. If an overworked Minister declines to receive the crowd of visitors who throng his antechamber, they express their discontent in no uncertain fashion. I was once in that of General Pangalos, when his secretary informed the numerous applicants for an audience that the dictator was too busy

to receive them. At once loud voices were raised in indignant protest, and the secretary was plainly told that other Prime Ministers had received all and sundry. The Greek is democratic, and likes to talk with the man who is governing him. George I., most democratic of sovereigns, recognised and gratified this trait in his subjects' character. Meeting one day in the street a truculent Republican deputy whose programme consisted in the erection of three gallows in Constitution Square—one for the King, one for Trikoupes, and one for Deligiannes—he asked him affably whether he still persisted in wishing to hang him. "Certainly, Your Majesty," replied the ardent tribune, "as long as you remain on the throne. If you abdicate and become a Republican, I shall become your closest friend!" Constantine, autocratic with his Ministers, was democratic with his soldiers, looked after their food, and conversed with them in popular Greek as a comrade. But this custom lays a heavy burden upon Ministers. Two Greek Premiers have told me that during their Premierships they had only four hours' sleep daily—and that in a hot country, where most people need an afternoon siesta. There has lately been a movement for a "close time" for Ministers, so that they may be freed from the continual intrusion of all sorts and conditions of visitors. At the Foreign Office the Minister receives on certain days, but even there one sometimes meets on the staircase individuals whose costume would not, at a cursory glance, seem to be that of either diplomatists or others connected with foreign policy.

Ministers are not always free in the evenings; they sometimes hold council in the small hours of the morning; the Chamber usually meets about five and sits till late, sometimes—as on the "Power and Traction" debate—all night. Moreover, almost nightly some Minister makes a statement to the Press. There is a

regular phrase, "nocturnal communications," for this form of interview. Most Greek Ministers, too, are handy with their pens, and the dictator in all his glory found time to write a long article for the *Morning Post,* thus imitating Trikoupes, who, when *The Times* correspondent, Ogle, was killed at Makrinitza in 1878, acted as his substitute till his successor could reach Greece. When in Opposition, Greek statesmen habitually use the columns of the Press as their tribune, especially during the parliamentary recess. Under the dictatorship it was their sole platform, and then only if they managed to conceal their identity. Another hard task, which the British party leader is spared, is the technical preparation for elections—with us left to the paid organisers of the party, who are non-existent in Greece. There the leader has himself to arrange the election meetings, and since the expansion of the state electoral journeys are long. But election contests have become milder than of old; the last two elections, which I witnessed, passed off without disturbance; the electors voted quietly and then went home. Family influence is still strong in some provinces, and elections are comparatively costly. A new and influential element is the refugee vote, no longer, however, solid, while the Moslems of Western Thrace and the Jews of Salonika—these latter, however, dwindling—elect deputies of their own races, who take the oath on the Koran and the Talmud respectively. When the Communists objected to a religious oath, it was suggested that they should be sworn on Marx's *Kapital.*

The resignation, subsequently withdrawn, of Admiral Kountouriotes in April, 1927, indicated one of the weak spots of the Republican system—the difficulty of obtaining suitable candidates for the Presidency. When one asks who would be the successor of Admiral Kountouriotes, aged seventy-two, one is told—Mr. Zaïmes,

also aged seventy-two. When one further asks who would be the successor of Mr. Zaïmes, no reply is usually given. The fact is that there is little choice in a country where there is no aristocracy, where the political leaders, as long as they are in their prime, wish to become Prime Ministers rather than Presidents, and where, even were they willing to accept the Chief Magistracy, their party feelings and connections would unfit them for what is really the post of umpire (*ρυθμιστής*, as the Greeks call it). Great wealth has never in Greece been a substitute for political distinction; Mr. Skouloudes did not owe his Premiership to his millions, but to his other qualities; Syngros never held office, and was once tumultuously interrupted in the Chamber; Mr. Bodosakes has no political ambitions. Diplomatists, who would possess the requisite tact and social graces, are generally too little familiar with the personal equations of their own country, owing to their long residence abroad. Men of letters and professors are either too theoretical or too dictatorial for such a position; eminent lawyers are apt to regard public questions too much from the standpoint of jurisprudence; and no one, after the experience of Pangalos, wishes for a soldier. Doubtless the hour will suggest the man, who may be found in the person of the President of the Areiopagos or some similar institution, or in that rare individual a back-bench deputy of independent views. Moreover, just as an ambassador is often made or marred by his wife—and the best ambassadresses are those to the manner born—so the President's consort is an important element in his position; for a good hostess is essential to a good President. One suggestion is absolutely excluded—that Mr. Venizelos should become President. Such a solution would solve nothing, but bring, "not peace, but a sword," and there is no reason to suppose that he would desire it, or his health permit it.

CHAPTER VII

"WHO'S WHO" IN ATHENS

FEW things are so difficult to ascertain in Greece as accurate biographical information about living public men. They are not, as in London, pigeon-holed in the newspaper offices; there is no Athenian *Who's Who* which can be consulted at any moment; in some cases vague ideas prevail as to the date of birth. There is only one way in which these facts can be obtained—orally, from the persons themselves or their relatives except in so far as they form part of the history of Greece.

To begin with the first President of the Hellenic Republic. Admiral Paul Kountouriotes occupies in Greece somewhat the same position as a Cavendish or a Russell in England. For although Greece has no aristocracy, except perhaps a few Phanariote families, whose ancestors were *Hospodars* of the Danubian principalities, the descendants of those national heroes who took a leading part in the War of Independence hold much the same place as the Whig families who were responsible for the Revolution of 1688. Among the protagonists of the "Struggle," as the Greeks call their long-drawn fight for freedom, the Kountouriotai clan was conspicuous. "Your family," said Germanos, the famous Metropolitan of Patras, "is called the first of the nation." Originally of Albanian extraction, it had been settled in Hydra since about 1718; at the time of the War of Independence, one of them, George, was sufficiently eminent to become, in 1824, President of Greece. Exactly a century later his grandson became President of the Hellenic Republic. George and his

brother, Lazaros, made great pecuniary sacrifices for the cause of their country. One evening, during the Presidency of his grandson, when it had been publicly announced at a concert that "the President of the Republic" had bestowed a decoration upon a Spanish virtuoso, and a Royalist lady in the audience had asked aloud, "Pray, who is this 'President of the Republic?'" a Republican lady replied: "He is a man whose grandfather was filling the vaults of his house with coin for the service of the War of Independence at a time when your grandfather was minding someone else's goats in his village." George, styled from his Presidency "King of Greece" by the Moslems of the Morea, became, under Otho, President of the Senate and Prime Minister in 1848, and died in 1858. His grandson, born at Hydra on 14 April, 1855, entered the navy in 1872; he took part in the Thessalian insurrection against Turkey in 1878, commanded a torpedo-boat in the Ambrakian Gulf when war with Turkey threatened in 1885, did his best to assist the revolted Cretans in 1896, and proposed during the Greco-Turkish War of 1897 the capture of Salonika and the forcing of the Dardanelles, while he shut the Turkish fleet within the Thermaic Gulf, thus preventing it from revictualling the Ottoman army in Thessaly. After serving for two years in the Ministry of Marine, he went on a long cruise in 1901, which included a visit to America, where he was received by President McKinley. He also accompanied George I. to the meeting with King Carol of Roumania at Abbazia in 1905, and was appointed one of his aides-de-camp. When the first Balkan War broke out in 1912, he was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Fleet, occupied Lesbos as a naval base, prevented the transport of Turkish troops and supplies from Asia to Europe, and twice forced the Turkish fleet to retreat inside the Dardanelles. He was several times Minister of Marine,

and collaborated successfully with the British naval missions. During the Great War he showed his sympathy with the Allies by offering to serve in the Russian Navy. He was one of the Venizelist triumvirate at Salonika in 1916; and when he resigned the Ministry of Marine in 1919, Parliament—for the first time in Greek history—bestowed upon him the title of "Admiral" for life. In 1920 he acted as Regent for a few days after the death of King Alexander. In that capacity, after the defeat of Mr. Venizelos, he summoned Rhalles to form a Ministry, and, when it was formed, resigned and left Greece. Upon his return, in 1921, he was nearly assassinated while distributing the relief sent by the American Greeks for the wounded soldiers. He was living in retirement at Hydra, occupied with the publication of his family archives (of which four volumes, going down to 1826, have been issued), when he was again appointed Regent on the departure of George II. in December, 1923. On 25 March, 1924, the National Assembly confirmed his mandate as Regent till after the plebiscite, when he was first styled "Provisional Governor" (*Kybernétes*) and then "President" (*Próedros*) of the Hellenic Republic, till the election of a definite Chief Magistrate, in accordance with the requirements of the new Constitution. But as the passing of the new charter proved to be a lengthy business, he was still President when General Pangalos made his *coup d'état,* and remained so till, on 19 March, 1926, his resignation was announced. It had been expected for some time, for the two men were not likely to get on together, and the final straw was the omission of the dictator to inform the Head of the State (the *Anótatos Archon,* as the Greeks call him) of the negotiations with Italy. He once again withdrew to his beloved native island, whence emissaries of General Pangalos endeavoured to make him return to resume the Presidency,

when it seemed that Mr. Demertzês might be elected. There he remained till, upon the fall of the dictator, he was recalled by General Kondyles, and in a message "to the Greek people," dated 24 August, 1926, "resumed the exercise of the Presidential functions conferred upon him by the vote of the fourth National Assembly." On 18 April, 1927, he again resigned, as a protest against the delay in passing the Constitution, but was induced to withdraw his resignation. On 30 October of that year his life was attempted, as he was leaving the Town Hall after having inaugurated the Congress of Mayors, by a Communist named Gousios from Larissa. The attempt aroused universal indignation and proved the general popularity of the President. Admiral Kountouriotes is a true patriot, who has never sacrificed his convictions to his convenience, and, although he would be much happier at Hydra among the portraits and papers of his family, he has consented to accept the difficult post of Chief Magistrate. But, realising the insecurity of all earthly (and not least Grecian) dignities, he lives, not at Government House, the official residence, where he transacts business, but in the flat in the Hodos Nikodemou, which he occupied before becoming President, until his new house near the Zappeion is ready. Although he speaks only Greek and Albanian, he has discharged his duties as Regent and President with marked success, and has been greatly aided on the social side by his wife, a *Présidente* to the manner born, whom even Royalist dames have been known to approve.

His successor in 1926 was a very different man. General Theodore Pangalos was born in Salamis in 1878, the son of an Albanian father and a Cretan mother. He was educated at the Military Academy in Athens, and his future wife is said to have married him because he passed first out of that institution—a peculiar example of the value of examina-

tions in after-life, for Madame Pangalos, a very ambitious woman, spurred on her husband in his career. He advocated an advance on Constantinople at the time of the campaign in Asia Minor. Our soldiers nicknamed him "passionate Pangy." When Colonels Plasteras and Gonatas formed the "Revolutionary" Government of 1922, he became Minister of War and President of the Military Committee for inquiring into the responsibility for the disaster. He was, therefore, one of those chiefly responsible for the execution of "the Six" (whom, despite British official arguments, he was resolved to have put to death)—a fact ignored by some of his subsequent Royalist supporters. On 14 December, 1922, he resigned the Ministry of War to become Commander-in-Chief of the army in Thrace, and to his reorganisation of that force was partly due the strong attitude which the Greek delegates were able to take at Lausanne. Retiring from that post in June, 1923, he assisted, by taking Corinth and the Isthmus and by his action at Kaza, in suppressing the counter-revolution of that October. He thereupon joined the Republican chiefs in charging the King with complicity with the insurgents. Entering the Assembly as delegate for Salonika in 1923, he was one of the leading advocates of a Republic. He became head of the newly created Ministry of Law and Order in the Papanastasiou Cabinet, and signalised his advent to office by his vigorous suppression of brigandage, which had developed since the late war.

On the morning of 25 June, 1925, General Pangalos, with twenty-eight men, occupied the Rouph Barracks at Athens, seized the post office and half the National Bank, and threatened to bombard other public buildings unless the Michalakopoulos Cabinet resigned before 4 p.m. An attempt to form a Papanastasiou Cabinet failed, and General Pangalos became Premier and Minister of War. The Assembly meekly acquiesced.

The new Premier soon cast off the "parliamentary mantle" which Mr. Papanastasiou had thrown over him, and governed like a dictator. He issued a decree declaring embezzlement of public funds to be a capital offence, and made the punishment retrospective, so that—despite appeals to his mercy—two officials were publicly hanged for what had not been a capital offence when they had committed it. He suppressed newspapers, Republican and Royalist alike, amended and published the new Constitution without awaiting the reassembling of the National Assembly, and dissolved that body in October. He menaced the existence and curtailed the functions of the British-trained police, and had a serious quarrel with the Refugees' Settlement Commission. He arrested General Plasteras on a charge of conspiracy, and deported him to Italy. But he made economies and held the long-delayed municipal elections.

He added to the gaiety of nations by forbidding women to wear short skirts, and imposed restrictions on dancing saloons. He paid court to the Royalists, took two of them, Messrs. Rouphos and Sechiotes, into his Cabinet, and made the former, on 6 November, his Foreign Minister. He offered to permit the burial of ex-King Constantine's body in Greece, and held a successful meeting of all the party leaders—a great step towards "reconciliation." His foreign policy was friendly to Italy, where he ordered arms. His first impulse was to send an ultimatum to Bulgaria after the frontier incident at Demir Kapu, but he wisely submitted that question to the League of Nations.

He had from the first been dictator in fact, except in so far as he had always been the prisoner of a group of officers. But on 3 January, 1926, he declared himself dictator in name also, suspended the Constitution, except the first article, arrested and exiled the leaders of the Opposition, and imitated on a smaller scale his Italian

model. Indeed, in one respect he went further. He resolved, following American precedent, to be President as well as Premier. Elected President as the sole candidate, he used to describe himself as "the first *elected* President of Greece." But he found it expedient to have a Premier who would execute his policy, and, after three unsuccessful negotiations, found one in Mr. Eutaxias. But his dictatorship was drawing to a close. His own prætorians, the Republican Guard, turned against him in his absence at Spetsai. On 22 August, 1926, General Kondyles, his late prisoner, successfully imitated his own *coup d'état;* he was arrested, without resistance, brought to Athens, then interned in the Cretan fortress of Izzeddin, then again brought to Athens for his examination, and then retransported (for fear of an attempt to release him) to Izzeddin, whence, however, he managed to communicate with the outside world, and where he was strangely allowed to give interviews to newspaper correspondents. The manner of his trial caused lengthy discussions, and it was far too long delayed, so that his Cretan cell became a "Cave of Adullam" for those discontented with his successors, and rumours of Pangalist plots disquieted Athens. He remains untried.

General George Kondyles, the "Cromwell" of Greece, as he has been called, was born in 1880 at Proussos, in Eurytania, and educated in Greece. He entered the army as a common soldier, but left it in 1905 to fight with the Greek irregulars against the Bulgarians in Macedonia. He was a non-commissioned officer at the outbreak of the first Balkan War in 1912, and fought in both Balkan wars and in Macedonia during the European conflict. He subsequently fought in Asia Minor also, and characteristically remarked early in 1924 that "up to date he had taken part in fifty-two engagements"! Upon the return of the late King Constantine in December, 1920, he resigned his com-

mand as colonel, and retired to Constantinople, where he became an officer of the "National Defence." In that capacity, at the time of the disaster in Asia Minor, he patriotically offered to fight on the Asiatic front, but came back after the King's dethronement, and was given the command of a division in Thrace. After the treaty of Lausanne in 1923, he again resigned his commission to enter politics. On the eve of the reactionary insurrection against the "Revolutionary" Government in October, 1923, he was in Salonika, and, although only technically a civilian, took command of a division at about twenty-four hours' notice and seized the artillery, acting with such promptitude that he nipped the insurrection in the bud. By his dashing march southward and his encirclement of the insurgent army at Kaza he justified the nickname (also given to Sultan Bayezid I.) of *Keraunós* ("Thunderbolt") bestowed upon him by his soldiers. He joined General Pangalos in accusing the King of hoping for the success of the insurrection. At the general election of December, 1923, he was elected by Rhodope in Thrace to the National Assembly, and gave vent to strongly Republican sentiments in his speeches and writings—for he speaks and writes well for a soldier, and has read history widely, especially the history of revolutions, although his scholastic learning is small. Accordingly, when Mr. Papanastasiou formed the first Republican Ministry of Greece, he made General Kondyles his Minister of War. But his "vaulting ambition" led him to seek the first place, and he clamorously resigned in the hope of becoming Premier on an anti-Communistic programme. His premature attempt was unsuccessful; but he became the leader of the "National Republican party," which was fifty strong in the Assembly. The British delegates to the Byron celebrations at Mesolonghi, to which he also went, were struck by his extraordinarily strong face.

He is a typical soldier-politician, but without much political experience, and a man of iron will. When Minister of War he used to take his whip into the Assembly and lay it on the desk in front of him.

General Kondyles became Minister of the Interior in the Michalakopoulos Cabinet on 7 October, 1924, but resigned in consequence of a dispute with the Refugees' Settlement Commission on 10 June, 1925. He was arrested and sent to Santorin by General Pangalos in 1926. On 22 August, 1926, he had his revenge. He had lulled the dictator into a sense of false security, and had actually dined with him, when he suddenly made a *coup d'état,* ordered the arrest of the President, summoned Admiral Kountouriotes to resume the Presidency, and became Prime Minister. Pledging himself to retire from politics after the formation of a new Cabinet as the result of the elections, he held them with absolute fairness, but with a great display of force. He resigned upon the formation of an "Œcumenical" Government on 4 December, 1926, but returned to political journalism as a critic of that Cabinet in a few months.

Another soldier who has played a prominent part in recent Greek history is General Nicholas Plasteras. Born of peasant stock at Karditsa in Thessaly in 1884, he was educated in the Non-Commissioned Officers' School, and first distinguished himself in the Balkan wars. As he had been one of the first to follow Mr. Venizelos when the latter seceded to Salonika in 1916, he would probably have been deprived of his command by the later Royalist Government had it not been for the attachment of his soldiers. Popularly known as *Karapipéri* ("Black Pepper"), and portrayed in popular lithographs as "the unconquered black horseman," he showed himself a capable regimental officer and a brave soldier in the disastrous campaign of Asia Minor. Together with Colonel Gonatâs, he made the "Revo-

lution" which deposed King Constantine in 1922, and thereupon became "Chief" of the "Revolutionary" Government. In that capacity he is held, with his colleagues, responsible for the execution of "the Six," for which the Royalists have never forgiven him. Otherwise his administration won general approval. With the aid of his Premier, he kept order; and, despite his poor health, came into Athens daily and worked at the "political bureau." Not a politician, not a linguist—for he spoke only Greek—he strikes one as a vivacious man of strong character, and quite disinterested, as his tenure and abandonment of the supreme power showed. He put down the counter-revolution of 1923 with remarkable energy and rapidity, but was compelled, against his own better judgment, to advise King George II. to leave the country. He kept his promise, like General Kondyles later on, to lay down power as soon as a new Government could be formed after the election of 1923, and, after the return of Mr. Venizelos, left Athens on 7 January, 1924, for his home at Karditsa, still a simple colonel. Thence he proceeded, for his health, to Davos Platz. In October, 1925, he returned to Athens, and was suspected of a plot to upset the Pangalos Cabinet. His arrest was ordered; he lay for some days *perdu,* but was at last discovered in a house in Athens, chased over the roof in cinematographic fashion, and compelled to surrender at three in the morning. He was at once put on board a destroyer and landed at Brindisi. Despite his popularity, no one dared to protest. In 1926 he was at Skoplje and in Albania, and General Pangalos put a sum of 500,000 dr. on his head. No one took it. After the fall of the dictator he re-entered Greece and lived quietly at Kephissia. He was not related to the Euthymios Plasteras, deputy for Naupaktos, who obtained celebrity in 1864 by writing an outspoken letter to George I., complaining that the

Court was "engaged in the political contest for electing a new President of the National Assembly," and that the King's name was used to influence votes.[1] But the incident was recalled when he was prominent.

Mr. Alexander Papanastasiou, the first Republican Premier, was born at Levidion, near Tripolis, in 1876, and is therefore an Arkadian. After studying law at the University of Athens, and economics and philosophy at those of Heidelberg and Berlin, he spent six months in England in 1905-1906, where he witnessed the General Election of the former year. Several months in Paris completed his Western experiences.

On his return to Greece he became one of the founders of the Sociological Society, a body, like the Fabian Society, with both theoretical and practical objects, which published a *Review of the Social Sciences*. At the General Election of 1910 he entered politics as a member of the then so-called "Popular" party, and was elected as deputy for his native Arkadia. That was the hey-day of Venizelism; but the "Popular" party was then distinct from the Venizelist, with which, however, it was allied. Defeated at the elections of 1912, he was re-elected for Arkadia in 1915, and, having by that time joined the Venizelist party, strongly opposed King Constantine's policy. He also founded a new, but this time purely economic, review.

In 1916, when Mr. Venizelos established his separate Government at Salonika, Mr. Papanastasiou and his friends urged the King to go to war on the side of the Allies. Failing in this, he went to join the Venizelists at Salonika, and was sent by the Venizelist Government to the Ionian Islands and Preveza to induce that part of Greece to join the Venizelist cause.

After the return of Mr. Venizelos to Athens, he became Minister of Communications in 1920, but left

[1] [Finlay in] *The Times*, 10 September, 1864.

Greece after the plebiscite of that year recalled King Constantine, whose abdication he strongly advocated in a newspaper article.

Upon his return in 1921 he was imprisoned by the Royalist Government; but on his release founded the present Republican party for the purpose of making propaganda against personal politics. After the disaster in Asia Minor in 1922, he and his friends published a manifesto against the Monarchy, which cost them imprisonment first at Lamia and then at Ægina. There the outbreak of the Revolution in 1922 found Mr. Papanastasiou, who was immediately liberated by the "Revolutionary" Government of Colonel Plasteras and escorted back on a warship to the Piræus.

These persecutions still further incited him against the Glücksburg Dynasty. He redoubled his Republican propaganda, and with his party founded a Republican newspaper, the *Demokratía*—a word which in modern Greek means both "Republic" and "Democracy"—two terms not always synonymous. He now became the recognised chief of the Republican party, which came back from the General Election of 1923 (at which he was elected for Mantineia) in a minority, but still with a considerable number of seats.

In the debates of the ensuing National Assembly he was the chief opponent of Mr. Venizelos and of the latter's successor, Mr. Kaphandares. He is a very slow and deliberate speaker, not at all a "tribune of the people," and personally popular with those who know him alike in Athens and his Arkadian home.

Upon the resignation of Mr. Kaphandares, Mr. Papanastasiou became, on 12 March, 1924, Prime Minister, and it devolved upon him to proclaim, on 25 March, Greek Independence Day, the deposition of the Glücksburg Dynasty, and the birth of the Greek Republic, of which he was thus the first Premier. Under

him, on 13 April, the confirmatory plebiscite was held, which ratified by a large majority the decision of the National Assembly, and he presided over the Byron Centenary with much tact and good humour, accompanying his British guests to Mesolonghi and back, and making political speeches out of the railway carriage windows in the fashion of Gladstone. He also went to the Byron celebration at the temple of Sunium.

Aided by good luck, he overcame several formidable obstacles—the refugee debate, the clamorous exodus of General Kondyles from his Cabinet, and the resignation of numerous naval officers, who successfully demanded the resignation of his Minister of Marine, Admiral Hadjikyriakos. He was responsible for the article of the draft Constitution making the Premiership annual. Gradually, however, an Opposition crystallised, and on the eve of the summer recess, towards the end of July, 1924, he fell, defeated by forty-seven votes.

A slight illness did not long keep him out of active politics. He presided over a congress of the Republican party at Salonika, and his refusal to take part in Mr. Kaphandares' scheme for a Coalition Ministry of all parties in the Assembly in October effectually prevented its realisation, for he then led the largest party.

Upon the *coup d'état* of General Pangalos on 25 June, 1925, he tried to throw a "parliamentary mantle" over the General's uniform, and at one moment was even spoken of as Premier again. But when the new Cabinet became openly militarist, he was prosecuted—the proceedings were, however, dropped—by General Pangalos, who, however, arrested him in 1926, and banished him to Santorin for some weeks.

At the election of November, held under his own favourite system of proportional representation, his party obtained only seventeen seats, but he was himself re-elected and became Minister of Agriculture in the

"Œcumenical" Government, a post which he continued to hold in the succeeding Cabinet.[1] He has avoided matrimony, if not prison, and the honours of his house are performed by his amiable sister, Mme. Lopresti, wife of a distinguished naval officer.

Alexander Zaïmes belongs to a type of statesman commoner in Great Britain than in democratic Greece. Like Admiral Kountouriotes, he is a member of what used to be called in England a "Revolution family," only that the Greek Revolution was in 1821 and ours in 1688. Under the Turkish domination his ancestors had held one of the larger feudal fiefs, or *zaïmets,* into which Greece was then divided, and from which the family name was derived. When the War of Independence broke out, Andreas Zaïmes was one of the Primates, or "headmen," of the Morea. A generation later the father of Alexander, Thrasyboulos Zaïmes, was one of the deputation of three which offered the Greek Crown to King George, and was, like his son, Prime Minister.

The son, with these antecedents, went into public life not so much from motives of ambition as from a sense of duty. Becoming the leader of a small party, he was appointed Prime Minister on 2 October, 1897, with the task of concluding the peace between Greece and Turkey which restored Thessaly to the Hellenic kingdom. Resigning in April, 1899, after the immediate results of the war had been liquidated and the General Election had given a large majority to his friend, Mr. Theotokes, he resumed the Premiership when the "Gospel riots" provoked Mr. Theotokes' fall on 23 November, 1901, but succumbed to the Deligiannist majority which issued from the dissolution of 1902. But though out of office, he continued to be influential, for

[1] His opposition to its road-making policy caused its resignation on 3 February, 1928.

his little party, like the Liberal Unionists during the Salisbury Administration of 1886-92, was the power behind the throne, supporting Theotokist Administrations so as to keep out Deligiannes, who, although Mr. Zaïmes's uncle, was his political opponent. The General Elections of 1905 and 1906, however, decimated the Zaïmist ranks; indeed, from the latter he emerged with only six followers. Accordingly, it made little difference to the balance of parties when in September of that year he was appointed by the King to succeed Prince George as High Commissioner of the Powers in Crete.

In that "distressful island" he continued to display the same Conservative qualities which had won him a unique position at home. He was possessed of sterling common sense; his greatest happiness was to fish at Ægina, or rusticate at Rhion on the Gulf of Corinth, while his scholarly tastes were proved by his being the first Greek to purchase Sir F. Kenyon's edition of Bacchylides. While in Crete he prophesied the future triumph of Mr. Venizelos as "the maker of Greece" at a time when that eminent man was scarcely known outside that island, and was in Opposition even there. Some time before his time as High Commissioner expired, in September, 1911, Mr. Zaïmes retired quietly to Athens; in 1913 he went on a special mission to London, and in 1914 he was appointed Governor of the National Bank. On the fall of Mr. Venizelos, in March, 1915, he was offered, but refused, the Premiership, an offer which he, however, accepted when that statesman again resigned in October of that year. But this third Zaïmes Cabinet lasted only one month, whereupon its chief retired to the quiet parlour of the National Bank, from which he emerged to take the Premiership for the fourth time on 22 June, 1916, only once again to resign in September, but becoming Premier for the fifth time in May, 1917. In that capacity he had to announce to King Constantine

the decision of the three protecting Powers that he must abdicate. By general consent Mr. Zaïmes acquitted himself in that trying moment like a gentleman and a patriot. He resigned after the King's abdication to make way for Mr. Venizelos.

After ceasing to be Premier, Mr. Zaïmes was re-appointed Governor of the National Bank, a post which he held till the restoration of King Constantine, when he was removed from that post, as an act of revenge for his action in 1917. In October, 1922, after the King's second abdication, he was again offered the Premiership, but declined owing to the state of his eyes.

In 1923 he tried to reconcile the warring factions; but it was too early; not till 1926 did he become Premier (for the sixth time) of an "Œcumenical" Ministry—a name applied by his father to the former "Œcumenical" Ministry of 1877, in which the elder Zaïmes had sat. In 1924 and 1926 the son had been mentioned as a possible President of the Republic. As Premier he used his great prestige and well-known moderation to keep the Cabinet, composed of such different elements, together. When it nevertheless fell, in August, 1927, he remained Premier of the Cabinet of Concentration, which followed.

Mr. Zaïmes, although born in Athens on 28 October, 1855, came from Kalavryta ("the fair waters"), that picturesque little town of the Peloponnese, which bulked large in the Frankish romance of the Morea and gained immortal honour in 1821 as the spot near which Archbishop Germanos, of Patras, unfurled the banner of Independence. He married, when over 70, an Austrian lady. His special characteristic—rare in Southern statesmen and "strong" men—is silence.

George Constantine Kaphandares was born in 1873 at Phrankista in Eurytania, and is, therefore, an Aitolian. After practising for ten years as a lawyer at Karpenisi, Mesolonghi, and Athens, he entered the Chamber as a

follower of the late Mr. Rhalles, and as member for his native province in 1905. He became General Secretary of the Ministry of Finance, Minister of the Interior in 1915, under Mr. Venizelos, whom he accompanied to Salonika, and Minister of Agriculture, also under Mr. Venizelos, from 1918 to 1920, when he introduced drastic agrarian reforms for creating small holdings. After his chief's fall he visited America and spent a long time in Rome. When, in January, 1924, Mr. Venizelos returned to Greece and formed his last Cabinet, Mr. Kaphandares became his Minister of Justice, and, on his resignation, succeeded him, on 6 February, as Prime Minister. The position was difficult, for all the time the new Premier was regarded as the agent of his great predecessor, the "adviser" of the Cabinet. His Premiership did not last long. Immediately after obtaining a majority of 127 in the Assembly, he suddenly resigned on 8 March, two days before Mr. Venizelos left Greece. He told the writer that his resignation was due to the hostile attitude of the Republicans, and that it was not caused—as is generally believed—by the pressure of the officers. He then led the largest section of the Opposition—"the Progressive Liberals" (ex-Venizelists)—and collaborated in the defeat of his successor, Mr. Papanastasiou. He supported the Coalition Cabinet of Mr. Sophoules; but on his return from a long visit to Paris he sounded the death-knell of that Government in October, 1924, by raising a discussion on the need of a still wider Coalition. He then loyally supported from outside the Government of Mr. Michalakopoulos. He was arrested and sent to Santorin by General Pangalos in 1926, and was there at the time of the Presidential election, in which he supported Mr. Demertzês. He was again arrested on the eve of the dictator's fall. His party gained the largest number of votes and seats of any group at the General Election of November, 1926; but, as he had not an

absolute majority, he could not become Premier of a solidly Republican Cabinet. Instead, he accepted the Ministry of Finance in the "Œcumenical" Government under Mr. Zaïmes, and had the difficult task of making rigid economies in order to reduce the deficit of the Budget. He represented Greece at the League of Nations in September, 1927, and subsequently proceeded to Paris to negotiate with M. Poincaré about the Greek debt to France. He is one of the most powerful parliamentary speakers, but has poor health.

Another of the ex-Premiers is Mr. Andreas Michalakopoulos, leader of the "Conservative Republicans." Born at Patras in 1875, he first joined the Military School, but subsequently, remembering the Ciceronian verse, *cedant arma togæ,* became a lawyer. He soon obtained a good practice at the local Bar of his native town, where he often had Gounares, another eminent son of Patras, as his adversary. Entering politics in 1910 as an Independent deputy for Patras, he joined the Liberals, and in 1912, and again in 1915, was Minister of National Economy under Mr. Venizelos. Following that statesman to Salonika in 1916, he became Minister of Agriculture in the Government formed there; but, after the restoration of Mr. Venizelos to power in Athens, he abandoned that post to Mr. Kaphandares, in order to accompany his leader to Western Europe for the peace negotiations. When the Royalist reaction came at the elections of 1920, he was defeated at Patras, but re-elected there in 1923, in which year he negotiated the refugees' loan, thus rendering a great service to Greece. Upon the return of Mr. Venizelos in 1924, he served under him as Minister of Finance, and on the proclamation of the Republic became Chairman of the Commission for the revision of the Constitution. In October, 1924, he became Prime Minister and Minister of War, and in January, 1925, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

His Premiership lasted for the unusually long period of over eight months. He was loyally supported outside his Cabinet by Mr. Kaphandares, and outside the Assembly obtained, by his moderation, his conciliatory policy, and his firm handling of a strike, the approval of the moderate Royalists. But he had to face awkward foreign questions—the Bulgarian Minorities' Protocol, for which he was not responsible; the expulsion of the Œcumenical Patriarch; the Turco-Greek negotiations; and the denunciation of the Greco-Serbian alliance. But his Cabinet seemed safe, till suddenly, on 25 June, 1925, the *coup d'état* of General Pangalos offered him the alternative of resignation or civil war. Mr. Michalakopoulos at once resigned; he did not appear in the Assembly, but issued a protest to the nation and temporarily retired into private life. Any utterance of his opinions was prohibited; but he occasionally managed to express them in anonymous articles. He was the leading spirit in the coalition of Opposition leaders who put forward Mr. Demertzês as candidate for the Presidency in 1926. After General Pangalos' election he was exiled to Naxos, but after the fall of the dictatorship returned to active politics. He collaborated with Mr. Kaphandares at the elections of November, and in the "Œcumenical" Government which was subsequently formed became again Minister of Foreign Affairs—a post for which his experience abroad, his moderation, and his knowledge of foreign questions and languages—he speaks French and English well—fitted him. A good speaker and an imposing figure, he is a man of wide culture and sound common sense. The qualities stood him in good stead when, in June, 1927, he went to Geneva to negotiate the supplementary refugees' loan, and when he represented the Government at the Navarino Centenary.

Another ex-Premier, Themistoklês Sophoules, the former dictator of Samos, was born in that island in

1869, and, after studying several years in Germany, became a lecturer in archæology at the University of Athens. But he soon abandoned archæology for the more exciting pursuit of politics, and in 1900 made his first appearance in Samian public life. The island, which had "enjoyed" autonomy since 1832, became violently excited when, in contravention of the Samian statute, the Moslem Cretan, Kopasses, who had been appointed Prince of Samos by the Porte in 1907, brought Turkish troops into the autonomous principality on 12 May, 1908. Mr. Sophoules, who was one of the four "Councillors," headed the opposition to this unconstitutional step, but had to flee to Athens. After the assassination of Kopasses on 9 March, 1912, Mr. Sophoules urged the Italians, then engaged in the Libyan War against Turkey, to free Samos, and they did actually bombard the Turks at the capital, Vathy. Had they gone further and "freed" the island, it might have shared the fate of the Dodekanese. In May of that year Mr. Sophoules returned from exile, but was exempted from the general amnesty by the new Prince, Vegleres. Mr. Sophoules, nothing daunted, landed on 20 September, and, in the presence of both British and French cruisers, representing the protecting Powers, started a revolution, which, on 24 November, led to the proclamation of union with Greece by the Assembly, of which he was President, subsequently becoming President of the Provisional Government.

After the union he transferred his political activities to Greece, where he became a valued lieutenant of Mr. Venizelos. He was successively Governor-General of Salonika, Minister of the Interior at Salonika, President of the Chamber, and Minister of the Interior at Athens. Upon the defeat of Mr. Alexander Papanastasiou at the end of July, 1924, Mr. Sophoules became Prime Minister of a Coalition Government, composed of the secondary representatives of all the Opposition parties, except the

Royalists. During his two months' tenure of office he dealt successfully with the second naval crisis, the threatened general strike, the *pronunciamiento* of two generals, and other minor difficulties. Never defeated in the Assembly (which had adjourned for the summer), he resigned on the very day when it reassembled, 1 October, because he felt his prestige impaired by Mr. Kaphandares' proposal for a Coalition Government of all parties in the Chamber, including Mr. Papanastasiou's "Republican Union." There seemed to be no adequate motive for thus creating another crisis; but Mr. Sophoules refused to exist on sufferance, and did not even wait to meet the Assembly before resigning.

He was one of the few Republican politicians who did not join in supporting the candidature of Mr. Demertzês against General Pangalos for the Presidency of the Republic in 1926; and, when the "Œcumenical" Government was formed later in that year, was not included in it, but again elected President of the Chamber. He has scarcely played so big a part in Greece as was expected.

Panagiotes E. Tsaldares, the leader of the larger Royalist party, was born at Kamarion in the district of Corinth in 1868. After his schooldays at Corinth, he studied law at the University of Athens, where he gained the Rhalles prize, and proceeded to those of Leipzig, Berlin, Göttingen, and Paris. He then settled down in Athens as a lawyer, and was a member of the committee for compiling the new Civil Code. He was first elected as a deputy for his native province, where he is very popular, to the Parliament of 1910, and became a lieutenant of Gounares, who made him Minister of Justice in his Cabinet in 1915. After the fall of Mr. Venizelos, he was appointed Minister of the Interior and Communications—a position which he held till 1922, when he represented Greece at the Hague Conference on Russian

affairs, and became a member of the Hague Court of Arbitration. Imprisoned for a short time by the "Revolutionary" Government, after the execution of his chief, he succeeded him as leader of the Royalist "Popular" party. He abstained from participating in the election of 1923, but, after some hesitation, took an active part in that of 1926, when his party obtained fifty-nine seats. He returned to the Ministry of the Interior in the "Œcumenical" Government, and his opposition on the question of the gold reserves of the National Bank caused its fall. Mr. Tsaldares is more moderate than some of his intransigent followers, with whom he must have had considerable difficulties. He deserves great credit for the patriotism and tact with which he overcame them. His wife is a daughter of the late Sp. P. Lampros, the eminent historian of medieval Greece, Rector of the University, and Prime Minister in 1916-17.

General John Metaxâs, the leader of the party of "Free Opinion" (*Eleutheróphrones*), or Moderate Royalists, was born in Cephalonia in 1871, and is connected with the famous Cephalonian family of that name, which in Venetian times received the title of Count and is often mentioned in Ionian history. After five years at the Military College of Athens and further study at the Kriegsakademie in Germany, where he was nicknamed "the little Moltke," he entered the army and took part in the war of 1897 as an officer of engineers. He was sub-Chief of the General Staff during the two Balkan wars and Chief of the Staff in 1915. At the time of the attack upon the Dardanelles the Greek Government ordered him to draw up a plan for their capture, based upon excellent information, which the British were not in a position to acquire for themselves. This plan was sent to the British military authorities, who with deplorable stupidity and tactlessness, which cost us dear, returned the envelope, containing the plan, unopened!

Naturally, its author, praised by the Germans as a heaven-born military genius and—*spretæque injuria formæ*—scorned by the British, went over to the German side, and became one of Queen Sophia's closest advisers. "Only Jannaki ("Jack") can save us," she is reported to have said. Even his Greek opponents admitted his great military gifts; only the British, who might have had him for an ally, ignored them. At the official reception to Kitchener at the British Legation in 1915, he appeared wearing a German decoration; he was one of the organisers of the Reservist Leagues, and was accused by the French of forming irregular bands against them in Macedonia. Exiled to Corsica, he escaped with Gounares to Italy, leaving his military colleague, General Victor Dousmanes, behind. He opposed the occupation of Smyrna on military grounds, and, although offered by the Royalists the post of Chief of the General Staff, refused it. Turning to politics, he became, in 1921, leader of the party of "Free Opinion." He was one of the chiefs of the counter-revolution of 1922, but escaped again to Italy when it collapsed. Allowed by Mr. Papanastasiou to return in 1924, he greatly moderated his Royalism, and in the last days of the dictatorship he was arrested; at the election of 1926 his own views, if Royalist in the abstract, were favourable to the Republic in practice. He had set the example to the other Royalist party of participating in the contest, and had no difficulty in joining the Republican leaders in the "Œcumenical" Government as Minister of Communications. He took an early opportunity of stating in the Chamber that his party had "fought for the monarchical principle till after the plebiscite of 1924. When, however, after the plebiscite it recognised that a further continuance of the struggle on the régime would bring Greece to complete destruction, it had the courage to tell Greece that it could not

continue the struggle, in order not to destroy Greece."[1] It looks as if he may prove an exception to the rule that great soldiers—witness Wellington and Grant—are rarely great statesmen. As M. Clemenceau told Mr. Michalakopoulos: "Two classes of men are unfitted to be Prime Ministers, soldiers and professors." In the "Œcumenical" Government he exercised a moderating influence, and was ready to suggest compromises. He remained on in the next Cabinet, where his position was strengthened by the appointment of his followers to office. He obviously has a political future.

Not a politician, but a prominent figure in the Anglo-Hellenic world is Professor Andreas M. Andreades, long President of the Athens branch of the Anglo-Hellenic League and Professor of Economics in the University. In Greece professors do not live in secluded cloisters, but mix in affairs, and Professor Andreades has done, as well as written, much in his time. The son of a Cretan father and a Chiote mother, he was born in Corfù in 1876, thus uniting in his person the traits of three famous islands of very different history and traditions. He first intended to enter diplomacy, but abandoned that idea, as he says, without regret, and in 1897 began to study economics, which he continued to pursue in France, London, and Oxford. In 1902 he became Lecturer, and in 1906 Professor, at Athens University, and edited the now defunct *Bulletin d'Orient*. During the Balkan wars he acted as Chief Censor, was one of the Greek experts at the Paris Conference, a plenipotentiary at the Danube Conference of 1920-21, a Councillor of the National Bank, and a delegate to the League of Nations in 1923-24. He was also Dean of the Law Faculty. Unlike most Greeks, he has always kept out of party politics, even in the stormy days when almost everyone was either a Royalist or a Venizelist. Indeed, one of his

[1] Ἐλεύθερον Βῆμα, 8 December, 1926.

friends told him that, had he lived in the time of Solon, he would have been liable to the penalty inflicted by that legislator upon those citizens who took neither side in a crisis. He has refused Cabinet office, including the Foreign Office, more than once, notably when the late Professor Lampros offered it to him in 1916, and he wisely resisted the blandishments of General Pangalos in 1926. His literary and scientific work has been very extensive, and he is well-known in London, which he often visits, in Belgium, where he has lectured, and in Paris. Besides his *magnum opus,* which has become a standard work, on the "History of the Bank of England," originally published in French in 1904, and then translated into English, he has written, among other subjects, with characteristic impartiality, on Gladstone, Salisbury, and Dilke, on "The Ionian Islands under the British Protectorate," on "British Policy in the East before and after the Treaty of Berlin," and on the Greek loans. His historical treatise on the economic condition of the Ionian Islands under the Venetians is a mine of information. He has also written a "History of Greek Political Economy from the Heroic Times to the formation of the Greek Kingdom." As a Corfiote, he speaks Italian, and delivered at Navarino in 1925 the speech commemorative of the centenary of the Piedmontese Philhellene, Santarosa. His annual lecturing tours abroad are excellent propaganda for Greece, for he can make "the dismal science" entertaining and combine figures of rhetoric with figures of arithmetic. A confirmed bachelor, he has found heirs of his intellectual qualities in his two nephews, the Messrs. Laskaris, one a diplomatist, the other a professor—and both historical writers.

Mr. Venizelos returned to Athens in November, 1927, and has announced his intention of residing permanently there, but as a private citizen. There has, indeed, been

talk of proposing him as candidate for the Presidency of the Republic, whenever the present President retires. Such a candidature would have the effect of reviving the smouldering fires of controversies which all friends of Greece desire to see extinguished. The Presidency should be filled by what the Americans call an "available" candidate, a man who has few enemies and as far as possible unites all parties. Mr. Venizelos himself would scarcely desire such an office, and is devoting his time to completing the notes to his translation into modern Greek of Thucydides. He, like the historian, now belongs to history, a history no less interesting than that of the Peloponnesian War. His wife, a daughter of the late Mr. Skylitzes, devotes herself to charitable works, and has given large sums to educational and philanthropic institutions in Greece, besides presenting to the Greek state the building which contains the Greek Legation in London. Long a resident in England, and now about to settle in Athens, she takes an interest in both countries.

CHAPTER VIII

ATHENS OF TO-DAY

FEW cities have changed more than modern Athens. I do not mean, as compared with the Turkish Athens of 1810, round whose then standing wall a traveller walked in forty-seven minutes, nor yet with the early Othonian Athens, when it became the capital on 13 December, 1834, but with the Athens which I first saw in 1894, or even with the Athens of 1914. Alike in population and extent, Athens has grown enormously, and since the war by a sudden bound. From 12,000 inhabitants in 1813, it rose to 15,000 in 1836, to 26,237 in 1840, to 128,735 in 1896, and to 292,991 at the last census of 1921. Then came the great influx of the refugees, which, together with the natural increase of the original inhabitants and the modern tendency of the rural dwellers to gravitate towards the capital, has brought the population of Athens, now estimated at 642,000, and the Piræus together almost to a million, for the two now practically join, and greater Athens extends from the sea at the Piræus and Phaleron almost to Kephissia and Patisia. Even more striking is the increase in the population of the Piræus, where, in 1834, the only building was the remains of the shanty which the Greek Customs' Official had inherited from his Turkish predecessor, but which had developed into a big sea-port town of 131,170 inhabitants in 1921, far eclipsing its old rival Syra, in 1835 the chief port of Greece,[1] and not far behind the 170,321 inhabitants of Salonika at that date. Now, with

[1] Letter in the *Liverpool Mail*, 21 July, 1849, describing a visit made in 1835. Athens had 60 British residents in 1840.

the adjacent refugees' settlements, it must be well over 200,000. Moreover, Athens covers a much larger area than many more populous cities, owing to the rarity of the "sky-scrapers" (*ouranoxýstes*, as it is called in the plastic Greek language by a phrase worthy of Aristophanes) or even of three-storied houses, and to the width of the modern streets. Athens is said to occupy a larger area than Paris, because the surface of the Athenian streets bears a much larger proportion to the Athenian houses than does that of the Parisian streets to the Parisian buildings. Thus, in Athens, there is only one inhabitant to every sixty-five square metres; in Paris to every four. Hence, according to Mr. Kalligas, the head of the town-planning department, the difficulty and cost of keeping the miles and miles of Athenian streets in repair. If anyone will ascend Lykabettos and spread out the plan of Athens published in the last edition of Baedeker, he will see that whole new quarters have sprung up in all directions since the modern Pausanias published his book in 1909. Old Athenians tell one that, not so many years ago, they could walk down Stadion Street, the leading thoroughfare of Athens, and recognise by sight almost everyone whom they met; now most of the crowd of foot-passengers will be unknown to them. Within a decade or so, Athens was a town, whose principal inhabitants were nearly all related to each other; now it is a huge city, whither the Greeks from every quarter of the Hellenic world—and not the Greeks alone—have congregated. It must be remembered that for many years there was the idea—the "Great Idea"—that Athens was only the temporary capital of Hellenism, and that in due course of time Constantinople would once more be the capital of a Greater Greece. Hence there was a disinclination on the part of some wealthy Greeks to fix their permanent abode in a city which, had the "Great Idea" been realised, might

have suffered the same fate as Rome underwent when the first Constantine removed the capital to Byzantium.

Nothing has so greatly revolutionised the streets of Athens as the introduction of motors.[1] In August, 1832, Athens possessed neither carriages nor carts, and camels were still used to carry heavier weights, as they are even to-day on the road from Itea to Salona. Sir Pulteney Malcolm, who then commanded the British fleet at Malta, in the following winter introduced the first two-wheeled carts to transport the building materials for the country house—now the Asylum for Incurables—which he was constructing at Patisia. Two more years passed before the first four-wheeled conveyance was seen in Athens, where, in 1926, 5,147 motors were said to have circulated, including 942 motor-omnibuses, carrying nearly half a million passengers daily, but only 487 carriages. I can remember when Athens was a quiet town, when the horse-trams ambled along Constitution Square, and when quaint little *vis-à-vis,* in which one could hire a single seat, plied between that Square and *Homónoia* (as the other great Athenian square has been called since the celebration of "Concord" in February, 1863, in what had formerly been "Otho's Square"). In those days the *soûsta,* or "country-cart," with a hand painted upon it, was a common feature of the streets, and donkeys, laden with fruit, were seen in the fashionable thoroughfares. Now Athens is bustling and noisy; the hooting of motor-horns, combined with the grinding of the electric trams round the street corners, levy a severe toll upon northern nerves—for in southern countries people's nerves are impervious to noise—and there are places in central Athens where the tramway service ceases for only five hours out of the twenty-four. Nowhere, except perhaps in Paris, have I seen such motor traffic—in one hour the police have counted 1,420

[1] The first motor-car was introduced in 1901; in 1914 there were only 226 in Greece.

vehicles at one crossing—for here all the urban traffic is above ground. As many streets are very wide and have no "islands" of refuge, it was dangerous to cross them before the Towns' Police took over the regulation of the traffic, and a caricature represented a citizen taking the Last Sacrament and making his will before crossing University Avenue! Even now there are a considerable number of motor accidents, for the Greek chauffeur drives like Jehu, and I have heard one of them express fervent admiration for the late King Alexander, whose speed as a motor driver was the terror of his subjects, including those whom he had with him in his lightning-like car. Here and there, however, quiet spots may be found, and there still linger in the Plaka—in Turkish and early Othonian days the aristocratic quarter of Athens—picturesque old houses in courtyards of a beauty unsuspected by the passer-by, from whose gaze they are excluded. To visit one of these houses with Mr. Kampouroglous, the historian of "old" as distinguished from "ancient" Athens, is to step back into a past which now seems almost as remote as the Frankish period—so fast has been the pace during the last ninety years. Thus, Shelley's prophecy has been realised, that "Another Athens shall arise." It has arisen, and is now, since the decline of Constantinople, the foremost city of the Near East.

As in London, so in Athens, the residential centre has shifted. Hadrian Street, which in 1836 was "considered the Chausée d'Antin of Athens," "the healthiest and best part of the town," is no longer the fashionable quarter. The Kephissia Road and Amalia Avenue contain the finest houses. Constitution Square has replaced the Plain of Mars and the Patisia Road as the fashionable resort. In Otho's time, Hermes Street[1] was known as the "great street," a sight which caused

[1] *Cf.* Th. Vellianitis in *Le Messager d'Athènes*, 11, 18 December, 1926. Kampouroglous in Ἑστία, 20-22 April, 1925.

amazement to country cousins, who had ridden for several days over mule-tracks to the capital. There was the seat of the Council of State at the time of the Revolution of 1843, afterwards converted into a big shop; there the first dealer in bric-à-brac, Mme. Lizier, the first Western dressmaker, and the barbers, who then acted as dentists—for the numerous and excellent dentists, whose golden handiwork may be seen in so many mouths, are said by a social authority[1] to have been unknown before 1882. There, too, at the corner of Aiolos Street was the famous café, *Horaía Hellás,* the scene of the Navarino celebration in 1842 and the centre of many political agitations, where citizens met daily, as they now meet in the "Senate" of the Café Zacharatos in Constitution Square, to discuss "the situation," and later—at the time of the Laurion mines' question—to gamble in stocks and shares. Now, Hermes Street, although lined by excellent shops for ladies, is quiet compared with Stadion Street, originally a ravine, crossed by a wooden bridge, but intended to extend as far as the Stadion, till the choice of the new site for the palace imposed an obstacle to its prolongation. Fifty years ago, according to Mr. Vellianitis, it did not contain "a single shop." Now its shops are the best in Athens, while crowds of onlookers throng it when Parliament is sitting. In those peaceful days it was the favourite abode of professors and doctors, whose houses have been transformed past recognition into banks, hotels, and commercial establishments. The change will be still greater when the vast area between Stadion Street and University Avenue, till lately occupied by the unsightly Royal stables, but now cleared, is covered with the biggest building in Athens. Masons have come from Macedonia, Andros, and Karpathos; marble workers from Tenos. During the last four years building has gone on apace

[1] The author of Ἀθῆναι (Κοινωνικὴ Ἐξέλιξις) in the Μεγάλη Ἑλληνικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια, ii., 174.

in the centre, as well as the suburbs, and rents will doubtless fall. In 1924 permits to build 1,620 houses, and in 1925 to build 1,621, were given.[1] Since 1916 rents have been regulated by a moratorium, which allowed a pre-war rent of 100 dr. to be augmented to 384 in 1923, to 576 in 1925, and to 672 in 1926. But in that year the moratorium was abolished from 1 June, except in Athens, the Piræus, and Salonika, where the maximum figure was fixed at ten times the pre-war rent. From 1 April, 1927, this maximum was increased to twelve for dwellings and to sixteen for shops, excepting those shops which in 1914 paid a rent of 150 dr. monthly; for these the maximum is thirteen fold. The moratorium will be abolished for shops on 31 August, 1929, and for houses one year later. Several big blocks of flats have been erected, with a common entrance—another innovation, for in the older Athenian house, even when occupied by different families, each had its separate entrance, in accordance with Greek individualism, and a winding staircase conducted to the first floor. Numerous daily breadwinners, with the improved means of communication, now come into the city daily from the suburbs, not only from the aristocratic Kephissia and the brand-new villas of Old Phaleron, but from more distant Glyphada, where there is a colony of lawyers, and the accessible "garden-city" of Psychikó. What is lacking is a systematic plan for laying-out the city, for from 1834 downwards these plans have never been executed, including the Kalligâs plan of 1925, revoked by the dictatorship next year. Thus, Athens presents the appearance of a city where everyone has built as seemed right in his own eyes. Meanwhile, the cost of living in Athens has risen enormously since the war. According to the statistics published by the National Bank of Greece, the

[1] The number of apartments in 1926 was 59,270, or 30 per cent. more than in 1914, while the population had increased 265 per cent.

index-figure, as compared with 1914, was 7·737 in 1922, 12·136 in 1923, 13·418 in 1924, 14·85 in 1925, and 17·841 in 1926; indeed, in November, 1926, it rose to 18·954. Salaries have risen, too, but not to the same extent, and it seems like a dream to remember how in 1903 one paid only ten gold drachmai daily for board and lodging, including a sitting-room, at one of the best hotels. Already, during the period which followed the annexation of Thessaly, the old simplicity of Athenian life had been disappearing. George I., like Edward VII. in England, threw open his doors to other classes besides the Phanariotes and the "revolutionary families" of the War of Independence, who had enjoyed a monopoly of Court favour under the more aristocratic Otho. Rich men were welcome at the palace, and one of the King's chief intimates was the financier, Thon. To the childless Otho there succeeded a sovereign who, in due course, had a large family, mostly sons, who, when they grew up, were eagerly invited to social functions in private houses. Since the creation of the Republic, the capital has not ceased to amuse itself. Dances, the latest dances, have become the order of the night, and charity frequently takes the form of tickets for balls, given for benevolent purposes, thus combining egoism with altruism in a manner which philosophers might approve. Athens swarms with "dancings," as dancing-saloons are called in Greek slang, and jazz-bands make conversation difficult in most of the fashionable restaurants. The pastry-cooks have multiplied fast, and "the Dardanelles" (as that part of University Avenue is called which runs between two well-known cafés before debouching into Constitution Square) are no longer the only place whence a cross-fire against passing reputations is sustained. The custom of taking tea about six o'clock has put the fashionable Athenian dinner-hour off till nine, but the early breakfast of the average Greek

is as frugal as ever—a cup of coffee, a glass of water, and perhaps a little bread and honey. Since my first experience of Greece, the general use of resinated wine has greatly diminished; in some Athenian restaurants that wholesome drink, which was known alike in ancient, medieval, and Turkish times—for Pliny, Akominatos, and the Marquis de Nointel all mention it—is not on sale. Beer has become a popular drink—a heritage of the Bavarians, who used to swill it at the *Grüne Baum* on the Sacred Way—and *Fix* and *Naoussa* are familiar Greek brands. A peculiar social custom is an *oûzo* party, where the guests meet in some well-known *salon* an hour before luncheon and consume that spirit and pieces of potatoes. The hospitable practice of offering Turkish coffee, a spoonful of jam, and a glass of water to a visitor survives, but the use of the *kombológion,* or string of beads, is less frequent with the rising generation, nor do all men nowadays smoke. Many women do. The emancipation of women, no longer confined in Oriental seclusion, has lent a zest to social life, which it lacked when men herded together in one corner of a room and their women-folk in another. Greek ladies are far better equipped for society than their sedater mothers. They take an active, and even directing, part in philanthropic, no less than social, work, they have shown marked capacity in organising the spectacles arranged by the "Lyceum" Club, and have shown an even keener zest in at least the personal aspects of politics than their husbands or brothers. It is perhaps to be regretted that the Greek national costumes, especially those of the women (which we now see only when national dances are given as in 1926 and 1927, in the Stadion and at the Navarino centenary in the National Theatre) have almost entirely disappeared. The old controversy in the early years of Otho between the party "of the fustanella" and that "of the frock-coat," and "high-hat" as worn by their

respective chiefs, Kolettes and Mavrokordatos, has long been decided in favour of "European" dress. Otho wore the national dress, and a picture in the Gennadeion represents the former Minister of King George I. in London wearing it, as Kolettes did when he was Otho's Minister in Paris. I remember seeing one fustanella among the deputies in the *Boulé* of 1904, and the Mayor of Akrata was then famous for his magnificent costume. But now it has practically disappeared from the Athenian streets, surviving only in the "well-girt" guards of the President's official residence. Lambikes, the Poole of Georgian Athens, whose ideas that democratic monarch used to quote to Deligiannes, has left a numerous fraternity of "European" tailors, and even in the country there prevails the dull level of Western garb. "Shoe-lane," as the old bazaar is called, still, however, preserves an Oriental aspect, and the embroideries of Skyros, where Rupert Brooke sleeps his last sleep, are famous, and form part of those exhibited in the old Turkish mosque near Monasteraki. Rural Sparta, always more Conservative than Athens, still has a number of peasants in costume in its quiet streets.

The two great requirements of Athens, now that it has become a big city, are parks and water. The most durable monument of the first dynasty is the "Royal" —now "National"—Garden, which Amalia, at the suggestion of King Ludwig I. of Bavaria, planted with such care, and which, now open daily to the public, is the shadiest and pleasantest resort of Athens. It is becoming also a sort of National "Herôon," for there the busts of the poets Solomos and Valaorites, of Capo d'Istria and the Swiss Philhellene, Eynard, have been erected amidst a background of greenery, especially refreshing to the eye as a relief from the glaring white of the city. To keep up a garden in an Attic summer, especially in those of 1926 and 1927, owing to the lack

of water, is difficult, but the National Garden has survived. Besides this, the only other green places inside Athens are the grounds of the Zappeion—planted at the suggestion of Trikoupes—whence the view of the sunset is one of the most magnificent spectacles in Europe, the Garden of the Muses in Constitution Square, also due to Amalia, that in front of the National Museum, and the "Garden of Tears," so-called from the tears shed by the officials, who were dismissed (ἐπαύθησαν), and hence punningly named "Pausaniai," from the neighbouring Ministries at each change of Government, in front of the British Legation. That in Canning Square was destroyed in 1926. Outside the city there is the Botanical Garden, founded by Dr. Fraas in 1835, formerly that of Hadji Ali, the Hasekês, tyrant of Athens, from 1775 to 1795, who built the wall round the city in 1778. Largely, thanks to ex-Queen Sophia, in this a disciple of Amalia, and to the "Philodasic Society," the hills round Athens have been planted and the cult of "the green" diffused. Every February, on the "festival of the green," the pupils of all the Athenian schools plant each a tree. Much of Lykabettos and Philopappos, the approach to the Akropolis (which Trikoupes wished to surround with a leafy avenue), and both sides of the Stadion are now covered with trees, while Ardettos, which adjoins the latter, might now be fairly described as the present representative of the Shakespearian "wood near Athens." Mr. Papanastasiou has a plan for creating a new park out of the barren "Plain of Ares." It was to the planting of Lykabettos that the Anglo-Greek incident between Mr. Nicolson (afterwards Lord Carnock) and a gendarme in charge of the newly-planted trees was due in the winter of 1884-85. Another scheme for the "embellishment" of Lykabettos lately aroused widespread alarm. This consisted in the construction of a cogwheel railway from the site of the former Royal

stables through a tunnel under the "Frog's Mouth" to the top of Lykabettos, and the erection of a large hotel on the summit, where the chapel of St. George now stands. A new church was to be erected inside the hotel. Such an act of vandalism would have altered the landscape of Athens and vulgarised a poetic mountain, which has always been an Athenian landmark.

The Stadion, restored by Averoff, and capable of seating 70,000 people, makes Athens an ideal place for great outdoor representations in suitable weather. I witnessed there the Olympic Games of 1906—the first were in 1896, when a Greek, still living, won the Marathon race—and remember the brilliant scene when, in the presence of the late King Edward, Queen Alexandra, and the whole Greek Royal Family, Prince George of Crete ran from the entrance to the finishing point with the Canadian winner of that great trial of endurance. Since then the Stadion has been used for Panhellenic athletics, for the *Achilleia,* or Anglo-Hellenic games of 1927, and for dances of women, organised by the Lyceum Club, in the picturesque costumes of the different provinces and of "unredeemed" Greece, like Kastellorizon.

Since the construction of the Syngros Avenue down to Phaleron at the cost of the late millionaire of that name, and the introduction of motor-omnibuses, Athens possesses the enormous advantage for a southern capital of being in rapid communication with the sea. Only those who have bathed in Greek seas, with their clear and buoyant water, know what swimming and bathing really are. But in the matter of baths, except at New Phaleron, where the water leaves something to desire, much remains to be done. The bathing accommodation elsewhere is either non-existent—for the aviation works have encroached on the foreshore—or else primitive in the extreme, and far inferior to that in most Austrian lakes,

or at Volo, whereas a magnificent bathing station might be constructed at Old Phaleron—"The Three Towers," as it was formerly called from the watch-towers erected against pirates. At present those not pressed for time prefer to undress on the beach of Vouliagméne or in the bathing cabins provided in the green lake, whence that lovely place has derived its name of "the sunken." Phaleron now has another social attraction—the big race-course inaugurated on the Greek Easter Monday, 1925, at the point where the Syngros Avenue reaches the sea-front. Horse-racing, save for an attempt to introduce it in 1847, was unknown to Athens till 1883, when the "Philhippic Society" started that sport and the Phaleron "Delta" was the first regular race-course in modern Greece. It was noticeable, as a sign of the times, that two of the horses entered belonged to lady owners. Beyond Old Phaleron, too, is the golf links, laid out in 1923, near the church of St. Kosmas (the ancient Cape Kolias, whither the wrecked Persian ships were carried after the battle of Salamis). Greeks, as well as foreigners, have taken up golf, as they have successfully adopted football, and the Golf Club is one of the best in Athens, where the "Athenian Club," to which foreigners are eligible, rivals our similar West End establishments. It is unfortunate that the absence of a regular plan has allowed the construction of all sorts and conditions of houses, workshops, and shanties along the magnificent bay of Phaleron, perhaps the finest in Europe. Else a splendid marine parade might have stretched from the baths at New Phaleron to the Eden Hotel at Pikrodaphne, whither the tramway is now being extended, whereas now it only extends along a part of the shore, which has suffered much in late years from the erosion of the cliffs. If Aulus Gellius were writing to-day, he would place the scene of his "Attic Nights" at Old Phaleron, whither the parched Athenians descend in the

summer evenings to inhale the life-giving sea breeze and dine at the numerous restaurants along the coast. Old and New Phaleron had scarcely a house before 1872, and the poet Paraschos denounced as profanation the development of Athens-on-Sea near the grave of Karaïskakes, whose centenary was celebrated in 1927.

Athens must always have been a waterless city. Solon's legislation included strict regulations for the use of public wells, and compelled citizens to search for springs. In the time of Pausanias the *Enneákrounos* was the only spring in the city—in that of Akominatos, on the eve of the Frankish conquest, it had ceased to flow —while there were two on the Akropolis, one the *Klépsydra,* which rendered such service to the besieged garrison in 1826, and still supplies the neighbouring quarters. The aqueduct of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, still used for the water supply of the city, is the most lasting memorial of the Roman domination. The smallness of Athens in Frankish and Turkish times rendered additional water-works unnecessary, although the name of the tyrant Hadji Ali, the Hasekês, is associated with an aqueduct which watered his garden. But immediately after the evacuation of the Akropolis in 1833, the local authorities repaired part of Hadrian's aqueduct, yet an Athenian newspaper of 1835 denounced both the quantity and quality of the drinking water. Successive mayors in 1855 and 1871-72 cleansed and repaired this aqueduct, iron pipes were substituted for clay, and in 1890 Trikoupes seriously took up the question of providing a new water supply. Five schemes were suggested, the favourite being the transport of water from either the Stymphalian lake or the Melas river. None of these plans were realised. The present scheme, finally adopted in 1925, is quite different. According to it, the American Ulen Company undertakes to construct an artificial lake by means of a barrage across the mouth of

a valley near Marathon, whence the water will be brought into Athens through a tunnel nearly eight and a half miles long and an aqueduct for the remaining fourteen and three-quarters. Meanwhile, the company has cleansed Hadrian's aqueduct, thereby increasing its previous yield, and executed other works for a provisional supply until the main scheme has been executed—*i.e.*, within five years from the date of the commencement, when the municipality has a right to purchase. A pumping station has also been erected at Old Phaleron, for the purpose of bringing sea water up to Athens for watering the streets. It was thought that this would be a great boon. The streets were torn up for the pipes, stand-pipes erected at intervals, and, in the summer of 1926, for the first time, the Athenian dust, the modern "plague of Athens," was laid by sea water. But no one had considered that there was no means by which the water could run away; consequently, until a drain was constructed, the sea water was no longer used, and the disturbance of the already dislocated pavement was long in vain. The cleansing of Hadrian's aqueduct, however, increased the supply of drinking-water, although in the summer of 1926, the driest for many years (for no rain fell for nine months, and the rainfall for the whole of Greece during that period was scarcely equal to that of the storm of 23 November, 1925), there was still a great shortage. Whether the main scheme will provide sufficient water for the growing needs of Athens and the Piræus will depend upon whether the population continues to increase at the recent rate. In that case, it may, after all, be necessary to have recourse to the Stymphalian lake or the Melas river, or to extend the Marathon aqueduct to the waters of the Bœotian Kephisos and the Asopos. The financial arrangements —a loan of $10,000,000, issued at 85, with interest first at 8 and later 10 per cent.—have been criticised. Pro-

fessor Aiginetes, the eminent meteorologist, has pointed out that water could also be obtained by digging trenches at the foot of the Attic Mountains and in the dry beds of the Attic torrents—an idea as old as Plato, who advocated similar works in the *Laws*. Much water is now lost after a big storm, when torrents descend from the steep sides of Lykabettos, converting the streets into rivers, stopping the trams, and filling the tramlines with stones. To prevent this, a trench around the base of Lykabettos has been suggested. Mr. Kampourglous believes that underground waters can be found in Athens, and on rare occasions, as in 1805, during Dodwell's second visit, and after the storm of 1925, the trickling Ilissos overflowed its banks. Meanwhile, parched Athens re-echoes the first line of Pindar: "Water is best." Only its drinking water is not best: that is brought in sealed jars from Marousi or Kaisariané. Meanwhile, baths are a luxury; and to let a tap run in Athens is a sin of waste and a sin against society. Let us hope that ere long Marathon, having long provided the Athenians with glory, will provide them with baths.

The home of the Attic drama, after a long eclipse in Byzantine, Frankish, and Turkish times, is once more associated with the theatre, indoor and outdoor. Greece possesses two actresses of the first class, who would have obtained fame in any country, Mesdames Marika Kotopoule and Kybele, the one a great tragedian, the other a great comedian. When, as frequently happens, French companies visit Athens, the verdict of experts is that the two Greek actresses are superior to the distinguished visitors. There are occasional revivals in the Stadion, the Odeîon of Herodes Atticus, or some modern theatre, of the ancient dramas, of which there are good versions in modern Greek, and Kotopoule has recently appeared as both Antigone and Lady Macbeth. This is all the more remarkable because

it was long difficult to get a woman to appear on the stage, and the first theatre of modern Athens—a wooden edifice suggestive of the beginnings of ancient Attic drama—was erected on the present site of the National Bank by a company of Zantiotes as late as 1836; an Italian opera house, long called the "Boukoura" theatre from the name of its subsequent lessee, followed in 1840, and parties were immediately formed in favour of one or other of the two leading ladies, just as in later times Royalists favoured one theatre and Venizelists patronised another. On its boards, in 1840, appeared the first Greek actress. In 1857 the foundation-stone of a "National" theatre was actually laid, but the building got no farther until, in 1886, with the assistance of Syngros, a "Municipal" theatre was erected on the same site. After the Asia Minor disaster, the boxes of this theatre were converted into habitations for families of refugees.[1] The present "National" theatre, on quite a different site, has been the designation (since the foundation of the Republic) of the former "Royal" theatre, opened in 1901, in which the royal family, and especially its literary member, Prince Nicholas, took interest. There I saw Isadora Duncan make her first appearance in the winter of 1903-04. Athens now possesses numerous winter and summer theatres. The cinematograph, unknown before 1907, has invaded Athens, like other big cities, and the names of American cinematographic "stars" in strange Greek transliterations daily confront the Athenian in the main thoroughfares, while their biographies distract his attention in the newspapers. An effort is being made, however, to produce a Greek cinematograph actress. This should be easy, for beautiful girls abound in Greece, one of whom, Dina Sarrê, was recently summoned to Vienna, and the pellucid Greek

[1] The refugees have now evacuated it, and it is being restored.

atmosphere and fine climate should be suitable for the manufacture of Hellenic films. Certainly, in the land of Æschylus and Sophokles the crude exaggeration and staring unreality of the American film seem incongruous. When, however, Jackie Coogan visited Athens, he was received with marked attentions, but the much-advertised presents which he brought for the refugees proved to be what the ancients called "gifts that are none." Athens has had one experience of a fatal fire in a cinema. The Athenian kiosks display numerous illustrated publications containing pictures of the leading cinema "stars," and cabarets and other night resorts abound. For Athens amuses itself in these post-war days. Happily, the home of European culture has been spared the negro dances of Josephine Baker; for Athens could not raise the large sum which the black dancer demanded as the price of her proposed visit. But one or two European *danseuses* have advertised themselves by dancing—in the presence of a photographer—under the columns of the Parthenon. Greek opinion considered this a desecration. Subsequently, Mr. Winston Churchill conferred immortality on the Parthenon by painting it.

The foreign Legations play a considerable part in Athenian society, and it is, therefore, a good sign that the British Foreign Office has latterly laid more stress upon the social, as well as the political, side of its representatives' work in Greece. The British Legation, built by the architect Kleanthes about 1838—it does not appear in Altenhoven's plan of 1837, and is said by Kavtantzoglou[1] to have been "already built in 1839"—was originally designed for the banker, Theodore Ambrosios Rhalles, and at that time "was considered as the finest house in Athens." The British Government leased it about 1845, for Sir Horace Rumbold[2] wrote that when he came as Minister in 1885 "during forty

[1] Γνῶμαι, 6. [2] *Final Recollections of a Diplomatist*, 19.

years or so it had been the home of British representatives from Sir Edmund Lyons onwards." Previous to that the British Legation was in Hadrian Street, nearly opposite the house of Finlay, the historian, and, in 1837, Sir E. Lyons had a "villa about half an hour outside Athens,"[1] shown in Stademann's *Panorama* between the houses of the Regent Armansperg and Prince Cantacuzene on the way to Phylé. The lease was renewed in 1885 for sixteen years at £500 a year, the owner then being Rhalles' daughter and sole heiress, Sophia, widow of Ferdinand von Brücker, and resident in Trieste. But in 1899 the British Government bought the house for 550,000 drachmai. Its "very pretty marble staircase" merits this mention of it by the Earl of Carlisle, who stayed there in 1853, and by Rumbold. It has been the home of fifteen out of the sixteen British Ministers to Greece, for the first of them, E. J. Dawkins, whose portrait adorns the Chancery, left in 1835, "without the regret or affection of any public or private individual who has had anything to do with him as British Minister," as Finlay, whose tenant he had been in Ægina, wrote in his *Journal*.[2] Another British writer in the *Liverpool Mail*,[3] and D'Eichthal,[4] in 1834, gave him a similarly unenviable character of a born intriguer "under the mask of an affected openness of character." His successors have found that in Greece, as in all Southern and Eastern countries, frankness is for Englishmen the best policy. Many will regret the decision to remove the official residence, owing to the cost of the necessary repairs, from a house which has been so long associated with stirring events of Greek history, including the dynamite explosion of 1924, a trace of which still lingers

[1] Cochrane, *Wanderings in Greece*, ii., 26; Klados, Ἐφετηρίς 89; Von Nordenflycht, *Briefe einer Hofdame*, 40.

[2] *English Historical Review* (1924), xxxix., 388, xli., 514.

[3] 4 August, 1849.

[4] *Annuaire . . . des études grecques*, xxi., 27.

in the shape of a new piece of stone let into the doorstep at the place where the cartridge was inserted.

The present official residence of the President of the Republic is the former Palace of Constantine when Heir-Apparent, now officially styled the *Kyberneîon*. When Athens became the capital, Otho first resided in the house of Kontostavlos in the garden of the present Parliament, till, in 1837, after his marriage, he connected together the two houses of Apthonides and Bouros, on the other side of the square in which the British Legation stands, which afterwards served as the seat of the National Assembly of 1843 and of that of 1863, till it was destroyed by fire in 1865, after which was built the present Chamber. What is now called "the Old Palace,"[1] of which the foundation-stone was laid by the King of Bavaria in 1836, but which was not inhabited till 1842, was also injured by fire on 6 January, 1910. The fire was accidental, but the British Legation, hearing a report of an anti-dynastic movement, summoned the crew of a British warship, then lying off Athens, to defend the King's person. The Greek people, naturally offended at foreign intervention, was only appeased by the appearance of the King from Tatoï, who, with his usual tact, thanked the British commanding officer for his services and requested him to return to his ship. The damage done by the fire has never been repaired. Constantine, when he succeeded his father, continued to live in the palace of the Heir-Apparent, as did his two sons, when they succeeded him, and Presidents Kountouriotes and Pangalos took up their official quarters there. It is much more modern and more comfortable than the draughty "old" palace, but it lacks the spacious garden and the historic associations of the latter—the trees laboriously planted by Amalia and the window from which Otho looked out upon the night

[1] Vellianitis in *Messager d'Athènes*, 23 May, 1927.

of the revolution 3-15 September. The tragedy of the first dynasty was played within those charred walls; the souvenirs of the second dynasty are still preserved in what were once the rooms of George I., recently handed over to the Historical and Ethnological Society, catalogued and kept in the state in which they were at the time of his assassination, down to the unopened English newspapers still lying in their wrappers. It has been proposed to convert the "old" palace, once occupied by refugees, into Houses of Parliament for the Senate and Chamber, or into a museum; that of Prince Nicholas has become Le Petit Palais Hotel, from which the exiled Prince receives a rent of £4,000 a year; that of Prince George serves as a hostel for the American School. The Royal estate at Tatoï—the name which since the sixteenth century, when it belonged to the Albanian Artikes Tatoe, has replaced the classical Dekeleia—was purchased from General Soutsos in 1872. During the excavations there, the name was found on a stone. Finlay, himself an Attic landowner, welcomed it in *The Times* as "a step in the right direction," adding that the King "may now connect . . . the injuries inflicted on Athens by the Spartan encampment on his property with an example of the benefits which modern scientific husbandry can confer on Greece."[1] Otho had contented himself with a simple villa at Kephissia, which still stands near the "Sporting Club."[2] His successor built a smaller and, in 1886, a larger villa, whence he farmed his country estate, and the wine of "Dekeleia" and the "Danish" butter produced there were welcome additions to the Athenian market. Tatoï, which suffered severely from the fire of 1916, is now in a somewhat abandoned condition, but parties motor out from Athens to take tea at the hotel and visit the modest graves of George I. and of his little

[1] 12 July, 1872.
[2] *Messager d'Athènes*, 27 September, 1926.

daughter, and the more pretentious tomb of King Alexander on a commanding hill within the grounds. Meanwhile, the residence is empty.

Recently, beside Tatoï and Kephissiá, Athens has had another suburban attraction at Dionysos beyond the latter place. Greek law allows no gaming-table to be established within twenty kilometres of a town ; Dionysos, being just beyond the twentieth stone, can permit its visitors to indulge in those "flutters," which some wish to introduce into the ex-Kaiser's villa, the "Achilleion," outside Corfù, and which were introduced last year at Hagios Andreas.

One of the greatest improvements in Athens has been the introduction of the British-trained police. In September, 1918, during the rule of Mr. Venizelos, a British Police Mission arrived in Greece for the purpose of introducing London police methods, and the contract, made between the two Governments, was renewed by the Royalist Government in 1921 and the Republican Government in 1924 for another three years, expiring on September 22, 1927. Urban police work had been entrusted by Capo d'Istria to officers, selected from the irregular army, and called *politárchai*. In 1836 the *eirenophýlakes,* as they were denominated, were placed under the control of the municipalities till, in 1892, Trikoupes instituted a military police, and in Athens the director, Baïraktares, was a terror to the criminals of the capital and became the hero of many famous stories.[1] In 1906, the policing of Athens was transferred to the *gendarmerie,* a quasi-military force, and, after the union of Crete, this police force was largely recruited from the Cretans. The *personnel* of the *gendarmerie* was, however, frequently changed; there

[1] Μεγάλη Ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια ii., 204-209. I am much indebted to Inspector Boobyer's memorandum to the Greek Government of February, 1927.

was no system of street-patrol, vehicular circulation, especially after the popularisation of motor traffic, was reckless and dangerous, and the chairs and tables of cafés were allowed to encroach upon the pavement. As Greece was still at war when the British Police Mission arrived, it was at first asked to improve the existing *gendarmerie* before taking over the task of policing the five towns of Corfù, Patras, the Piræus, Athens, and Salonika. It also organised a Central Criminal Record Office, introduced a speed limit for motor-cars, compelled drivers to keep on the right side of the road, and cleared the pavements of obstructions. A law (No. 1038), supplemented by a royal decree of 7 March, 1919, authorised the police to prevent cruelty to animals. The public applauded, but the Italian *Carabinieri* Mission, then in Greece, opposed the British police, and in 1921 two new decrees revoked the order to reorganise the *gendarmerie*. Simultaneously, however, the British Mission had drawn up a scheme for creating a new force of Towns' Police. For this purpose it was first necessary to have a training school, and in 1921 the existing Police School (of which Mr. Eric Sloman, an ex-master at Rugby, was the headmaster till 1927) was founded in the "New Fortress" at Corfù. As soon as sufficient cadets had been trained at this school, the Towns' Police took over Corfù (in October, 1921), Patras (April, 1922), and the Piræus (May, 1923). The Italian bombardment of Corfù specially injured the Police School—a completely undefended building—but the presence of the Towns' Police contributed largely to prevent incidents between the invaders and the indignant islanders. The school grew so rapidly that it became necessary to form an annex in the "Old Fortress," and the number of cadets rose from 300 to 700. Up to the end of 1926, 2,998 cadets had joined the force after being trained in the school.

On 15 January, 1925, the Towns' Police was extended to Central Athens. An immediate improvement in the regulation of the traffic was noticed: private cars were parked at fixed places, the stations of the motor-service reorganised, lists of fares and of the maximum number of passengers put up in the motor-omnibuses, and those vehicles regularly cleaned and disinfected, and smoking and spitting prohibited in a classical notice which contained two obsolete infinitives. In the early days citizens used to form groups to admire the manner in which one policeman held up the traffic. Smartness, fairness, politeness, punctuality, the use of force only as a last resort, and—greatest of all virtues in a Greek official—abstention from politics were inculcated, and the public obeyed the police because it was realised that there was one rule for everyone and that Sir Frederick Halliday's policemen were no respecters of persons. This was conspicuously shown during the General Election of 1926, when the police kept order. The fact that their chief had been appointed by Mr. Venizelos, confirmed by the Royalists and reconfirmed by the Republicans was a striking proof that he stood outside all parties. So general was the satisfaction of the Athenian public that the area of the police's jurisdiction was four times extended, so that in July, 1925, it covered all Athens, and in August, 1925, included the suburbs of Kephissia, Marousi, Chalandri, Kallithea, Old and New Phaleron, Glyphada, and even Vouliagméne.

The *coup d'état* of General Pangalos threatened the Towns' Police, for the *gendarmerie,* which it had displaced, had helped to put him in power, and naturally demanded its reward. In January, 1926, the dictator transferred all the duties relating to the maintenance of order, the detection and prevention of crime, criminal investigation and prosecution—all summed up in the word *asphálεia* ("security")—to the *gendarmerie.*

Thus Athens had a dual control, both expensive and impractical. He also tried to abolish the school at Corfù, and actually abolished its annex. To the *gendarmerie* was transferred, in January, 1927, the control of passports and the movements of aliens in Macedonia. When, in the same month, Mr. Sloman's contract expired, a Greek was appointed as headmaster of the school at Corfù.

On 25, January, 1927, the Towns' Police consisted of 2,164 men of all grades, the British Mission being composed of Sir Frederick Halliday, Inspector Boobyer, and Sergeant Bower, one place being vacant. The contracts of the first two were renewed for two years, from 23 September, and the Mission was invited to draw up a scheme for the reorganisation of the Athenian Fire Brigade. But the dual system of police and *gendarmerie* continues.

Besides water, Athens wants better paved and better lighted streets. These last requirements are only questions of money, for the municipality of Athens has a revenue of only 127,000,000 dr., or about one-fifth of that of Marseilles, and less than that of the much smaller Sofia. But with greater prosperity and a stable government, money will be forthcoming. There are streets, which demand constant attention owing to the excrescences in the pavement ; after rain the foot-passenger may receive a sudden bath by treading unawares upon a moveable paving-stone, and the perusal of the newspapers as one walks may lead to disaster. *Solvitur ambulando* is not applicable to Athens, where peripatetic philosophers may fall into a ditch. However, one is spared the terrible cobble stones of Belgrade. But the moon is still the safest guide of the belated wanderer who crosses some thoroughfares by night. But a great modern capital cannot be provided with all modern conveniences in a day, when a century ago it was a tiny Turkish town.

CHAPTER IX

THE GREEK CHURCH

AFTER the formation of the Greek kingdom, it was thought desirable that the Orthodox Church within its borders should be autocephalous, owing to the natural inconvenience arising from the residence of the Œcumenical Patriarch, upon whom the Greek dioceses had formerly depended, in the capital of a foreign and hostile state, especially as during the War of Independence the connection had been practically severed. Accordingly, in 1833, the Church in Greece was declared autocephalous and governed by a Holy Synod, consisting of five ecclesiastics, the senior in time of ordination being President, and a Royal Commissioner. The Constitution of 1844 confirmed this arrangement, while recognising the "inseparable dogmatic union" of the Church of Greece "with the Great Church in Constantinople." The new Constitution renews this confirmation. Till 1850 no official relations existed between them; but in that year the Patriarchate issued a "Synodal Tome," recognising the Holy Synod of the Greek kingdom with the Metropolitan of Athens (as he had been styled from the early ninth century till 1823) as its president, on condition that the sacred oil for anointing should be provided by the Great Church in Constantinople. But owing to the opposition of the Archimandrite Pharmakides, who published an *Antitomos,* the final settlement was deferred till 1852, when the ecclesiastical charter of the Greek kingdom was voted, and the hierarchy consisted of one Metropolitan see, ten archbishoprics, and thirteen bishoprics. After the Union of the Ionian Islands (whose dioceses during the British

Protectorate had depended upon the Patriarchate), the Ionian sees were united with the Church of Greece in 1866, and similarly the Thessalian sees after the annexation of Thessaly. The Holy Synod has also increased to seven ecclesiastical members (including the Archbishop of Athens as President) and a Government Commissioner. But when the third great extension of Greece came after the Balkan wars of 1912-13, the dioceses of the "new" territories were not, and have not yet been, united with the Church of Greece. The rapid succession of the European War and the preoccupation due to political questions postponed the settlement of the question, and what was intended as provisional, as often happens, has remained permanent. In 1926, however, there was a movement for the creation of a second Holy Synod for Macedonia and Western Thrace under the presidency of the Metropolitan of Salonika. For this a precedent might be found in the so-called "arch-hieratic council," provisionally established there, with the consent of the Patriarch Meletios, when Mr. Venizelos had established his separate Government at Salonika. Three opinions are held by Greeks on this subject: (1) The complete union, on the analogy of the Ionian and Thessalian dioceses, with the Church of Athens; (2) the above-mentioned plan of a separate Holy Synod; and (3) the scheme of Mr. Bousios, the well-known deputy from "new" Greece, who would unite the Macedonian dioceses with the Holy Synod of Athens, but leave the Thracian under the Œcumenical Patriarch for political reasons.[1] Meanwhile, all the forty-nine dioceses of "new" Greece, continental and insular, remain under the Patriarchate, but in the case of Crete this dependence is—and was even in Turkish times—only theoretical.

[1] The latest scheme is to preserve the formal tie with the Patriarch, but to allow the prelates of "new" Greece to participate in the Holy Synod of Athens.

The "formal Synod," which sat under the Turks, became independent when Crete became autonomous under Prince George, and remained independent, alike of Athens and Constantinople, after the Union, with the sole limitation that the Patriarch continues to nominate the Metropolitan of Crete, who, with seven bishops, constitutes the insular hierarchy. The new Constitution provisionally maintains this state of things. Thus, the tendency of the last century has been for the jurisdiction of the Œcumenical Patriarchate to wane. While there has been since 1870 a Bulgarian Exarch, there are now also Serbian and Roumanian Patriarchs (since 1922 and 1925), the Orthodox Albanian Church has become autocephalous, and even among the Greeks the Archbishop of Athens has practically become a more important personage than the Œcumenical Patriarch. The expulsion of the Patriarch Constantine VI. in 1925 raised the qûestion, whether it was worth while even to maintain the Patriarchate at Constantinople, where it was more than ever at the mercy of the Turks (who had even put up the notorious Papa Ephthym as the possible head of an Orthodox Church of Turkey), and where, since the destruction of the Greek Churches of Asia Minor, the Patriarch no longer occupied a central position with half his flock in Asia and half in Europe. But upon the policy of such a break with time-honoured historical traditions the Greeks are divided. One eminent Greek authority considers that, if Kemalist Turkey were likely to be permanent, it would be well to remove the Patriarchal residence to Mount Athos, which is now a theocratic republic under Greek sovereignty, and the monasteries of which depend upon the Patriarchate. But, if Kemalist Turkey be destined to disappear, then he would prefer to keep the Patriarchate in the Phanar, as the nucleus of political influence in what remains of "outside Hellenism." Meanwhile, the Patriarchate is a shadow—*magni nominis umbra*—of its former self, when

all the Balkan Christians were beneath its sway, and the Patriarch was really the *Ethnarch* of the Hellenic race. It is now no more "Œcumenical," except in name, than the Papacy is "Universal." But its services in maintaining the Greek national sentiment when there was no Greek kingdom form part of the history of Hellenism, and, if all the Œcumenical Patriarchs were not angels, some of them were national martyrs. For in unredeemed Greece religion and politics were combined, and in free Greece there have been statesmen like Trikoupes, who, if little attached to the Church's doctrines, were firm supporters of it as a great political institution among the Greeks of "the dispersion."

The Orthodox hierarchy in "old" Greece now consists of one Archbishop, "of Athens and all Greece," as he has been officially styled since 1923, and of thirty-three Metropolitans. The Charter of 1852 had conferred the title of Metropolitan upon the Archbishop of Athens alone. But the law of 1899, passed during the Theotokes Ministry, abolished all the archiepiscopal sees (including such historic archbishoprics as Corinth and Patras), reducing them all, except Athens, to the rank of bishoprics. But the Gounares Government in 1922 gave to every bishop of "old" Greece the title of Metropolitan; consequently the occupant of the See of Athens, as the Primate, is now styled Archbishop. The present archbishop, Chrysostom, was elected on 8 March, 1923, and is a scholar, deeply read in ecclesiastical history, a member of the Academy, in sympathy with the Church of England, and a correspondent of the Archbishop of Canterbury, about whose Greek predecessor, Theodore of Tarsos, formerly a teacher in Athens, he has delivered a lecture.

Before 1909, the bishops were paid by the state, and the clergy out of the offerings of their congregations. But in that year the accounts of the monasteries were inspected, their property constituted into a fund, and the

surplus revenues of each assigned to the maintenance of the bishops, who are consequently no longer paid out of the public funds. The clergy are now paid out of the funds of their respective districts, in addition to such sums as they may receive from their flocks at weddings. But the economic condition of the clergy still leaves much to desire, especially as the Greek priest is frequently a husband and father, who cannot "live by the altar" alone. He has, therefore, to supplement his scanty stipend by some other occupation. In 1926 the Holy Synod decided that the monastic system was to be discouraged. While it did not accept the Pangalos Government's proposal for the dismissal of all monks under fifty years of age, it resolved that no further additions to their ranks be permitted, and that existing novices be discharged. Orders were also given to prepare a list of all monks with their ages. In "old" Greece there are 140 monasteries and 20 nunneries (*e.g.*, in Attica, Zante, and Tenos), in the "new" provinces, 137 (including 15 nunneries), besides the 20 of Mount Athos. These regulations do not affect Mount Athos, nor will they lead to the neglect of such historic monasteries as Meteora, Megaspelaion, and St. Luke's. But it is largely felt that to-day monasticism, however picturesque it may be, is an excuse for idleness, that the state needs the hands of all its able-bodied citizens, and that the monastic funds might be better employed in improving the education and material position of the clergy. Nowadays the young Greek shows less desire for the monastic life than in the Middle Ages, and my experience of Greek monasteries is that the holy men take a keener interest in the last political crisis in Athens than in the history of their own institutions. Few Greek monks in modern times have been learned, and the work of cataloguing and exploring their manuscripts has been done by laymen from outside, like Lampros, Bees, or the

Frenchman, Miller. Probably, even without legislation, the number of monks will dwindle, while that of the Greek nuns has never been large, and is likely to decline with the opening of further avenues for female activities. The day may come when the Greek monasteries will be chiefly regarded, like the St. Bernard, as curiosities to be visited by tourists, as is already in some degree the case with Meteora, Megaspelaion, and even Mount Athos. The approach to Meteora has been facilitated by cutting steps, Megaspelaion has, since 1909, possessed an hotel, the offering of a wealthy Greek, and a Lunn's tour has included Mount Athos in its programme !

The twenty monasteries of that "Holy Mountain" have been since 1920 a theocratic republic under Greek sovereignty. A decree of 10 September, 1926, subsequently ratified by the constitution in 1927, drew up a charter for Mount Athos. The whole peninsula forms a portion of the Hellenic state, but enjoys administrative autonomy, while ecclesiastically it depends directly upon the Œcumenical Patriarchate. All the monks of whatever race automatically become Greek subjects when they retire to Mount Athos, but no schismatics or heterodox are admitted. Women, as always, remain excluded. The Greek Republic is represented by a governor, having the rank of prefect, but dependent upon the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and by a force of *gendarmerie*. The landed property of the monasteries is declared inalienable and exempt from taxation, as are the wages of labourers. This arrangement will prevent the "Holy Mountain" from becoming a strategic base, where arms and ammunition may be dumped, as they are said to have been in critical moments by the Russians. Greece will, doubtless, respect the national idiosyncrasies of the ancient Serbian monastery of Chilindar, so closely connected with the dynasty of Nemanja, and other non-Hellenic foundations on the peninsula.

A decision of the present year has ended the schism between the American Greeks by placing the Orthodox Greek Church in America under the jurisdiction of the Œcumenical Patriarchate, not of the Autocephalous Church of Greece.

The higher education of the clergy is mainly conducted by the Rhizareios School, so called from its founders, the brothers Manthos and George Rhizares, natives of Epeiros, who, like so many Epeirotes, left their fortune to endow an Athenian institution. Manthos, who was a member of the "Friendly Society," dying first, left his property to George, who in 1841 died, leaving for the foundation of an ecclesiastical school both the money inherited from his brother and most of his own fortune, including his house in Hermes Street, now the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs, and the land between the Kephissia Road and the Ilissos, on which the present school stands. The first ecclesiastical seminary had been that founded by Capo d'Istria in 1830 in the monastery on Poros, inhabited by refugees from Kastamouni when I visited it, and interesting to Englishmen as the burial-place of "Brudenell J. Bruce, who, having accompanied His Majesty's Ambassador [Stratford Canning] from England, unhappily died of a fever at Poros on the eighth day of October, 1828." The Rhizareios School was founded in 1843 and began to function in 1844, since when, except for a slight interruption in 1881, it has continued its work. Among its directors was the present Archbishop of Athens, who has written its history.[1] In 1927 it had ninety pupils, of whom there were some from Northern Epeiros, two from the Dodekanese, and a few refugees from Asia Minor. There are no Cypriotes, as that island possesses a seminary. The course lasts five years, and the pupils may enter at thirteen, but usually at fifteen, after re-

[1] Ἱστορία τῆς Ριζαρείου Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς Σχολῆς (Athens, 1919).

ceiving the certificate of the Hellenic Schools. The curriculum includes general education, theology, and the science of education, for the students either go to the University or become elementary school teachers. As nowadays a priest may be also a village schoolmaster, pedagogics are a necessary part of the training. French is the only modern language taught. But the students, whose uniform makes them a feature of Athenian life, may sometimes be seen attending the services of the English Church. They have a long vacation from 15 June to 15 September, besides holidays on the usual festivals, which are rather numerous in Greece. The Rhizareios School receives no pecuniary support from the state, but lives upon its endowment. A special law of 1918 regulates its management and the programme of its lessons.[1]

When the late director of the Rhizareios School became Archbishop of Athens, he continued in that influential position his labours for the better education of the clergy. The result has been the foundation, some two years ago, of twelve other theological seminaries on the same lines and with the same programme and uniform as the older institution, at Arta, Joannina, Salonika, Serres, Mesolonghi, Corinth, Lamia, Corfù, Canea, Samos, Tripolis, and Skaphidia, near Olympia. These provincial seminaries are, however, state-supported, and governed by a committee of the local bishop and others. That at Lamia is the largest; the average number of pupils is about 100. In November, 1926, a hostel for theological students was founded in the Monastery of Petrake, near the Rhizareios School. This famous monastery, originally a church of the Angels dependent upon the Monastery of St. John Baptist at Karea, was founded as an independent institution by Parthenios Petrakes, a "medical philosopher" from the Pelo-

[1] Information supplied by the director of the School.

ponnese, before Morosini's invasion. The post of abbot was long hereditary in the Petrakes family, descending from uncle to nephew, like the old Prince-bishopric of Montenegro. The Argive painter, George Markos, who adorned the Monastery of Phaneroméne in Salamis, likewise decorated that of Petrake, which became possessed of considerable lands and revenues. From its position on the Kephissia road, near what is the entrance into Athens from Pentelikon, it has been more than once an important strategic point. Thus, the Turks took it in 1826, when they recovered Athens, it was occupied by Kyriakos during "the June days" of 1863, and was a very "hot corner" on 9 September, 1926.

This spread of schools for the future clergy and the combination of schoolmastering with parochial work should improve the intellectual and economic status of the parish priests. For, hitherto, despite the patriotism displayed by the clergy during the War of Independence, the Greek priests have exercised little political or social influence, and their lives have often been a struggle for existence. Although, like their lay brethren, they are usually much interested in politics, the Assembly of Troizen in 1827 deprived them of the right, hitherto enjoyed, of sitting in Parliament, nor has any subsequent constitution restored it to them, and they are seldom seen in society. A few of the more backward among them, and several nuns, like the Bulgarian Synod, have shown opposition to the new calendar, but these *palaioemerologitai,* as they are called, find a parallel in English history with those reactionaries who shouted, "Give us back our eleven days," and believed, like the author's great-grandfather, that "there had been no good apples in Scotland since the style was changed." This reactionary movement came to a climax on the feast of St. Constantine, 21 May, 1927, when the Archbishop, officiating in the church of that name at the Piræus, was

attacked by a barber, who cut off part of his beard with a pair of scissors and wounded him in the cheek and hand. This outrage upon the head of the Church provoked a demand for measures against the advocates of the old calendar. But his assailant was acquitted.

The Greek Constitution, while allowing "freedom of the religious conscience" and "the free exercise of the service of every known religion, provided it be not opposed to public order and good morals," forbids proselytism. In the reign of Otho, the proceedings of a notorious American missionary, Dr. Jonas King, aroused considerable attention.[1] King, who had been a missionary in Palestine, came to Greece in 1828, married a Smyrniote, and combined his apostolic functions with those of Consular Agent of the United States. In 1852 he was accused of having "reviled the Greek religion," found guilty, and sentenced to "fifteen days' imprisonment," to be followed by "exile from Greek territory." He was imprisoned in the *Medresé* till he fell ill and was released, after having twice provoked the intervention of Marsh, the United States' Minister in Constantinople—there then was none in Athens—who came on a warship. Some consolation was the payment made to him in 1855 for land taken from him for a public square in 1835. A later American Minister, Tuckerman,[2] wrote of his "mistaken zeal," but he remained and died in Athens in 1869. The tolerance shown by the Greeks towards Islam is proved by the proposal made in 1926 to build a mosque for the use of Moslem, especially Egyptian, visitors—for the old mosques of the Turkish times have

[1] J. P. Miller, *The Condition of Greece in* 1827 *and* 1828, p. 194; H. M. Baird, *Modern Greece*, 21-23, 126, 355-67 (who stayed with him); *Journal d'un voyage au Levant*, i., 274; Driault et Lhéritier, *Histoire diplomatique de la Grèce*, ii., 377-79.

[2] *The Greeks of To-day*, 214-17.

been put to other uses—that in the bazaar to house a collection of Skyros embroidery. When the Greeks retook Salonika, they reconverted into churches only those mosques which had been such at the time of the Turkish conquest in 1430. Athens, whose populace down to 1886 used to burn a figure of Judas—the origin of the Don Pacifico affair—every Easter Monday in the square of Psyrré, now has a synagogue, and at Salonika, where the Jews are still an important element of the population, there are several. Anti-Semitism, a relic of Venetian times at Corfù (when the Jews had to wear a special dress), has disappeared for over thirty years, and the present Parliament has expressed its opinion that the Thessalonian Jews are good Hellenic patriots.

There has been an English Church in Athens since the early days of its existence as the capital. It is now what the Theseion used to be when it was the Church of St. George—an English mausoleum.[1] For it contains, besides the oldest English memorial in Athens—the monument recording the deaths of two English ships-captains at "Porto Leone" (the Piræus) and of Consul Lancelot Hobson's apprentice in 1685—windows and tablets to such famous Philhellenes as Hastings (with the wrong date of his death—25 May for 1 June, 1828), Church, and Clement Harris (killed in the Greco-Turkish war of 1897), of Vyner (murdered by the brigands in 1870), and of Leeves, the first chaplain, and his family, while on the wall outside are the monuments of Elgin's architect, Lusieri, and a fragment of the Latin inscription on that of Tweddell. The foundation-stone was laid in 1838, and it was consecrated in 1843; before that English service was read every Sunday at Hill's house, and Bracebridge wrote in 1836 that "The

[1] Miller, *The English in Athens before* 1821, pp. 5, 16. The inscription on one of the windows to Sir R. Church was composed by Gladstone.

Protestant cemetery on the Ilissos has lately been completed and planned." It was closed in 1888, and the bodies (including that of Finlay) transferred to the general cemetery. There is a Russian church, converted in 1847 out of the Byzantine Church of St. Nikodemos—a corruption (as Mr. Kampouroglous[1] has shown) of Lykodemos, the name of a medieval Athenian family. The late Mr. Kalopothakes founded an "Evangelical Church," which still exists opposite the Gate of Hadrian, and has increased its congregation by Protestant refugees from Asia Minor.

The Roman Catholic Church, which was the dominant form of religion in the Frankish times, although it was only the creed of the minority in power, disappeared from the Duchy of Athens with the Turkish conquest (although we find a Scotsman titular Roman Catholic Archbishop of Athens in 1551), but lingered on in the Venetian colonies. Hence, to-day there are numerous Roman Catholics in the Ionian Islands and the Cyclades. When the War of Independence broke out, there were one archbishopric and three bishoprics in the Cyclades, and one archbishopric and one bishopric in the Ionian Islands. The London protocol of 3 February, 1830, decided that "the Catholic religion shall enjoy the free and public exercise of its cult, that its bishops should be maintained in the integrity of the functions, rights, and privileges which they have enjoyed under the patronage of the kings of France," who, in the Turkish times, had the protectorate of the Catholics in the Ottoman Empire. Accordingly, in 1834, the Pope named the Bishop of Syra Apostolic Delegate in Greece. This protocol was applied also to the Ionian Catholics, at the time of the Union of the Ionian Islands, by the treaty of 1864. By that of Sèvres Great Britain and France have renounced their right of guaranteeing religious liberty. At present

[1] Αἱ Παλαιαὶ Ἀθῆναι, 206.

there are in Greece three Catholic archbishoprics, Athens, Corfù, and Naxos-cum-Tenos, and four bishoprics, Santorin, Syra, Chios, and Crete. The Athenian diocese covers all Greece, except the islands, that of Corfù all the Ionian Islands, that of Chios also Samos, that of Naxos-Tenos also Mykonos. There has recently been talk of appointing a Roman Catholic Archbishop of Salonika. The Vatican nominates its bishops without demanding the *exequatur* of the Greek Government, and in 1858 named the head of the Athenian diocese "Archbishop of Athens," like his predecessors in the Frankish times. This aroused some opposition from the "Philorthodox" party, on the ground that a Catholic See of Athens was non-existent at the time of the London protocol. Again, in 1875, the Pope appointed an "Archbishop of Athens," and his successors kept the title. The Greek Government's official designation for him is "Superior" (*proïstámenos*) of the Catholic Church of Athens; he styles himself "Latin Archbishop of Athens." The Vatican usually appoints Greeks from the islands to these Catholic sees; thus, Mgr. Delenda, for long Latin Archbishop of Athens, came from Santorin. But the last Latin Archbishop of Athens, Mgr. Petit, was a Frenchman, whose profound learning in medieval matters did not restrain his sharp tongue from displaying his scanty sympathy with the race, amidst which his lot was cast, and about the internal politics of which he held decided views. His successor, Mgr. Philippouses, nominated in 1927, is a Greek.

There are four Catholic churches in Athens and numerous Catholic schools in the country towns. Mr. Laskaris in his essay, *L'Église Catholique en Grèce,* published in 1922, enumerates two schools in Athens, two at the Piræus, one at Volo, three at Patras, three at Salonika, one at Kavalla, nine in the Ionian Islands (besides three founded by the Italian Government in

Corfù and Zante), four in the Diocese of Naxos, two at Santorin, fourteen in Syra (where the old town is largely Catholic), three in the Diocese of Chios, and four in Crete. The law of 1919 obliges all private schools to comply with the official curriculum. Latterly there has been talk of Italian propaganda by means of schools in Corfù. But, even if the material advantages attract children to those establishments, they will not convert Greeks into Italians. The whole history of the Venetian and Genoese domination in the Levant is there to prove the contrary. The late Minister of Education, Mr. Argyros, however, decided, in view of the spread of foreign ecclesiastical propaganda by means of schools, to take defensive measures. A commission was appointed to draw up a schedule for the regulation of foreign schools, based upon the legislation in other countries regarding similar institutions. This was specially directed against the Uniates, whose propaganda is regarded by the Orthodox as specially insidious.[1]

Some years ago Greece had a diplomatic representative accredited to the Holy See in the person of Mr. Skases, a Roman Catholic. But no successor has been appointed to him, although Jugoslavia has a Minister to the Vatican. There has also been talk of a *concordat*. Financial considerations would militate against the creation of a second Legation in Rome, now that drastic economies are necessary. On the analogy of the Bishop of Gibraltar in the Anglican Church, the Metropolitan of Thyateira, Mgr. Germanos, a Thracian resident in London, is Exarch of Western and Northern Europe, having under his jurisdiction the Greek Churches in London, Manchester, Liverpool, and Cardiff, and those in France, Germany, Belgium, and Switzerland. The Church of Cyprus, which has been autocephalous since 435, is under an Archbishop, who has three Metropolitans

[1] Ἐγκόλπιον ἐκκλησιαστικὸν ἡμερολόγιον τοῦ ἔτους, 1928.

in the island, and enjoys the privilege—also used by the present Governor—of signing his letters in red ink. The false precedent of Cyprus has been quoted by the Italians in support of their scheme for creating an autocephalous Church of the Dodekanese, which hitherto has depended on the Œcumenical Patriarch. But the British, when they went to Cyprus, found the autocephalous Church already long existent there; otherwise, true, as in the Ionian Islands, to the British practice of leaving their subjects' religion alone, they would not have severed it from the Patriarchate. The Italians, having first expelled the Metropolitan of Rhodes in 1921, allowed him to return in 1924 on condition that he endeavoured to obtain the separation of the Church in the Dodekanese, which comprises four sees: Rhodes, Kos, Leros-cum-Kalymnos, and Karpathos-cum-Kasos, and the specially favoured Monastery of Patmos, which is a direct dependency (*stavropégion*) of the Œcumenical Patriarchate, its abbot having the position, but not the title, of a Metropolitan. Kastellorizon is under the Metropolitan of Patara on the mainland. So far the consent of the Patriarchate has not been obtained, and there has arisen a question, whether the Monastery of Patmos, being a *stavropégion,* can canonically form part of an autocephalous Church. The Greek Press has compared the treatment of the Orthodox Church in Cyprus favourably with that accorded to it in the Dodekanese, and old men still remember how the High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands and the garrison of Corfù used to salute the procession of its patron saint, Spyridon, whose relics —a considerable source of revenue—have recently passed from the possession of the Boulgares family into that of the Church.

The last religious census was in 1907, but the Roman Catholics are estimated at about 69,000. A Protestant church is being built at Berrhœa in Macedonia.

CHAPTER X

THE GREEK PRESS AND GREEK LITERATURE

IN no country is the Press so eagerly read as in Greece. Nothing can appear in any newspaper without becoming speedily matter of public notoriety, for the Greek does not limit himself to the perusal of one favourite journal, but, even though the price of each newspaper has now risen to one drachma, indulges in several every day. Moreover, owing to the practice of sitting in cafés over a glass of water and reading the newspapers, the readers of a journal are far more numerous than its purchasers. Thus, while the circulation of Greek newspapers is small compared with that of great London dailies, or that of the *Corriere della Sera* in the days of Albertini, their influence is considerable, and, in many cases, deservedly so. For, if a foreign student who has read the Greek Press regularly for thirty years may express an opinion, there are Greek journalists of great capacity and experience, whose knowledge of politics and whose ability to express that knowledge in a concise and readable form compares very favourably with the similar attainments of their foreign colleagues. Rhetoric is, happily, less conspicuous than in much new journalism, where a grain of fact sometimes lies buried in a column of adjectives. Signed articles are common; and, besides professional journalists, Greek political leaders write "leaders," for they are usually as ready with their pens as with their tongues. By arrangement with London syndicates, Messrs. Churchill, Lloyd George, MacDonald, and Snowden sometimes address Athenian audiences in im-

peccable translations. These are often remarkable: a long lecture by the author was translated by the *Proïa* without a single mistake.

The history of the Greek Press is of great interest, and ample materials for the historian exist in the two great Athenian libraries besides the Finlay and the Gennadeion. The earliest Greek newspapers, however, were not published in Greece, at that time under the Turks. The Roumanian Academy possesses a copy of the prospectus of the first Greek journal, called simply *Ephemeris*,[1] dated Vienna, 16 October (O.S.), 1790, in a volume containing the first 105 numbers, going from 31 December (O.S.), 1790, down to the end of 1791. The prospectus mentions that the journal will be published twice weekly, that there will be a Slavonic edition besides two Greek editions, one for Turkey (bowdlerised to avoid "scandals"), another for other countries. Two copies of this newspaper, but of smaller size, for 1793, exist in the library of Parliament in Athens, of which the less complete contains 52 numbers, the other of 1026 pages contains 105 numbers, down to 30 December (O.S.). No copy is known to exist after 1793.

The patriot Rhegas produced the second newspaper, also at Vienna, in 1796; the third, the *Astyké*, was issued at Corfù, then part of the Septinsular Republic, in 1802; but these three had a brief existence. The *Lógios Hermês*, however, a literary monthly, published at Vienna by Anthimos Gazês in 1811, lived for ten years and the same year saw the birth there of the *News for the Eastern Parts*, replaced in the next year by the *Hellenikòs Telégraphos*, political and financial, as well as literary. In 1812 a fortnightly literary and financial

[1] Facsimile in Paparrhegopoulos, Ἱστορία τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἔθνους (ed. 5), V. ii., 108. The date "1791" is wrong in the note. I am indebted to Professor Russo of Bucharest for a sight of the volume of that year.

newspaper in Greek and Italian was announced at Corfù; three journals, the *Athenâ,* the *Mélissa* ("Bee"), and the *Museum,* enlightened the Greeks of Paris in 1819, and in 1820 another literary publication, the *Kalliópe,* appeared in Vienna, the birthplace of Hellenic journalism.[1]

With the War of Independence the Greek Press arose in Greece also. The first Greek newspaper published there was the *Salpinx Helleniké* of Kalamata, of which the library of Parliament preserves the only three numbers.[2] The year 1824 was very important for Greek journalism: it witnessed the births of the famous *Hellenikà Chroniká,* edited by Meyer, the Swiss Philhellene, and of the polyglot *Telegrafo Greco,* both at Mesolonghi, of the *Philos toû Nómou* at Hydra and of the *Ephemeris Athenôn* at Athens. This, the forerunner of the innumerable Athenian newspapers, was first printed at Salamis from a press, presented by Byron's "typographical colonel," Leicester Stanhope, from the "Greek Committee," and edited by George Psyllas, an Athenian who had studied at Göttingen, and whose grandson was attached to our naval mission. Thus, Great Britain may claim a share in founding Athenian journalism. With the Turkish recapture of Athens in 1826 this first Athenian journal died; but Hydra and Nauplia were the homes of several newspapers; in 1825 an official Government *Gazette* was issued at Nauplia, and six years later the *Apóllon,* after being suppressed there, migrated to Hydra, and thence conducted a vigorous campaign against Capo d'Istria. Under the Bavarian Regency, besides the official *Gazette,* Nauplia had six political journals. With the transference of the capital to Athens, Athenian journalism was reborn. The still surviving

[1] Bretos, Νεοελληνική Φιλολογία, II.; Πανδώρα, xvii., 347; Εστία xxi., *passim.*

[2] Facsimile in Paparrhegopoulos (ed. 5), vi., 88.

official *Gazette,* then rechristened *Ephemeris tês Kybernéseos,* and published in Greek and German, was first to appear on 13 December (N.S.), 1834; other journals soon followed; in 1836, Finlay wrote that Greece could "boast four political newspapers superior to very many continental journals"; in 1837 the advertisement of an Athenian reading-room gave a list of ten, while the *Almanach* of that year showed nineteen newspapers and periodicals for the whole country. Already the Press had obtained such influence that Rizos Neroulos wrote anonymously a comedy entitled *The Man afraid of Newspapers.* In the Ionian Islands, under the British Protectorate, the introduction of the liberal Constitution of 1849 led to the foundation of numerous journals, which championed the union with Greece. At the time of writing Athens alone can boast nineteen regular newspapers: twelve morning, viz., *Eleútheron Bêma, Eleútheros Lógos, Helleniké, Emprós, Ethniké, Kathemeriné, Messager d'Athènes, Néa Heméra, Politeía, Proía, Rizospástes, Skríp;* and seven evening, viz., *Athenaïké, Bradyné, Chroniká, Ethnos, Hellenikòs Tachydrómos, Hesperiné, Hestía;* besides two appearing spasmodically, *Bronté* and *Pamprosphygiké.* When this book appears, the number may have changed, for some Greek journals are very ephemeral. Others, however, besides the Government *Gazette,* have a fairly long career behind them. Thus, the Royalist *Néa Heméra* was founded at Trieste in 1853, and thence moved to Athens in 1912, while the *Amáltheia* of Smyrna, subsequently transferred to the Greek capital, lived from 1838 to 1923. The *Messager d'Athènes* is in its forty-ninth year; three other newspapers have nearly reached thirty-three—the *Hestía, Skríp,* and *Emprós.* Probably the widest read morning newspaper is the *Eleútheron Bêma,* a Republican organ, founded in February, 1922, which speedily achieved a considerable popularity. Its pro-

prietor, Mr. Lamprakes, a Cretan, was one of the few Venizelists who foretold the defeat of his chief at the elections of 1920. His newspaper can afford an ample telegraphic service, and contains serious articles on economics as well as politics, literary articles by Mr. Palamâs, the leading poet, all the social gossip of Athens brightly related by a well-known lady contributor, descriptions of the provinces, and an amusing light article, put into the mouth of a dog about town. In Mr. George Syriotes, it possesses a first-class London correspondent of great experience. A feature of this journal is its excellent caricatures by Mr. Demetriades, the contemporary representatives of those with which Anninos used to delight the last generation in the *Asty*. Since 12 December, 1925, it has published a literary Sunday edition, the *Kyriaké*. The best evening paper, read by persons of all parties, is the *Hestía*, originally a literary review, converted into a daily in 1894, edited from 1898 till his death by the late Adonis Kyrou, a Cypriote, and since then by two of his sons. Always studiously moderate, its criticism is therefore all the more damaging, and, because of its moderation in opposition, it aroused the special ire of the dictator, who several times arrested one of the editors, and once summoned the newspaper because it had mentioned him without describing him as "President of the Republic!" The writers in the *Hestía* have discovered the difficult art of saying much in a brief paragraph, and the note of the day, commenting on the masterly inactivity of the British after the dynamite explosion at their Legation and contrasting it with the noisy measures which certain other Powers would have taken, was a masterpiece of satire. The *Hestía* is consistently Anglophil, and always accurately informed about British affairs. A special feature is the "middle," contributed daily by Mr. Nirvanas, on some social subject. Those who have

attempted similar work will realise the ingenuity necessary to find a fresh subject every day. Once, when there was absolutely nothing about which to write, this talented contributor wrote about it, and his article that day was one of his most brilliant. Among other topics, he has warmly advocated kindness to animals, thus helping the work of the excellent society for their protection founded in 1916, of which Mr. Alexiou is the energetic hon. secretary. The *Hestía* was Venizelist, and is moderate Republican, and Mr. Michalakopoulos, whose private secretary is brother of its editors, has been among its valued contributors, and is still in close touch with it.

Mr. D. Gr. Kampouroglous, the greatest living authority on Turkish Athens, has contributed delightful articles on that period—some collected in book form—under the pseudonym of "Anadromares," and Mr. Kairophylas, long its Roman correspondent, and a Zantiote with the traditional historical culture of his native island, has written for it on Solomos and other historical subjects. Its special Navarino number was an achievement, to which leading British, French, and a Russian Grand Duke contributed. Other evening journals are the *Ethnos,* which has latterly much increased its circulation, and appeals to the popular taste, and the Royalist *Bradyné*. Of the leading Royalist journals, the most moderate is the *Politeía,* now in its tenth year, founded and—till he became Minister of Education in 1927—edited by Mr. Nikoloudes, a Dodekanesian, married to an accomplished lady lawyer, Mlle. Manos, daughter of a distinguished Cretan family, who took her degree at Oxford. As the chief organ of General Metaxâs, the *Politeía* was closely scanned after the elections of 1926 for indications of his attitude. Intransigent Royalism finds an able exponent in Mr. Eustratiades of the *Skrip*. Founded in 1895 as a satirical paper, it became a daily in 1896. Its name dates from

the time when there was much talk of "scrip" in Greece's great financial crisis. The *Proïa,* another Royalist daily, only in its third year, edited by Mr. Pesmazoglou, is a serious journal of moderate views, with excellent literary articles and cartoons. That of Mr. Churchill painting the Parthenon was a masterpiece. A still younger newspaper, the *Ethnikè,* founded in February, 1927, is the organ of General Kondyles, whose political articles against the Government are its chief feature. And in March appeared a much-advertised new evening paper, the *Hellenikòs Tachydrómos,* followed in April by the revival of another, the *Chroniká.* For the resurrection of newspapers, unknown in England, is frequent in Greece. This has been especially so during the troubled years of this decade, when newspapers were suppressed by one party and rose again when another came into power. Some have died again. Thus the Royalist *Athênai,* founded in 1902, and restarted, after an interruption, in November, 1924, has since then twice stopped publication. Its former editor, Mr. Pop, is the wittiest man in Athens—which is saying a good deal, for "Attic salt" still gives a zest to Athenian life. One of General Pangalos' grimmest jokes was to suppress the *Athênai* for its attitude towards him, and then to appoint its editor to a seat in the Eutaxias Cabinet with the special duty of drawing up a decree for the regulation of the Press! The *Kathemeriné,* now in its eighth year, interprets, more or less, the views of Mr. Tsaldares, the leader of the larger Royalist party. The *Eleútheros Týpos,* recently dead, aged ten years, whose founder, Kavaphakes, was murdered by political opponents, was formerly a supporter of the dictator; it was specially well informed about Italian matters owing to the long residence in Rome and great experience of the chief of its staff, Mr. Vekiarelles, author of a Roman historical novel. The *Eleútheros Lógos,* aged four, is

the organ of Mr. Kaphandares, and suffered severely under the dictatorship. The *Demokratia,* lately deceased after four years' life, was the mouthpiece of Mr. Papanastasiou and the "Republican Union," and during his premiership an official journal. The *Rizospástes* ("Radical") has for nearly ten years represented Communism; the *Helleniké* for nearly two "die-hard" Royalism. The would-be assassin of the President was Larissa correspondent of the *Rizospástes.* A curiosity of Athenian journalism is the *Bronté,* which men read spasmodically, when it chooses to appear, on the walls instead of buying it in the kiosques. Many of these newspapers publish illustrations, neither worse nor better than those of London dailies. Some of them have a number of advertisements. Indeed, advertising has become quite a feature of Greek scenery—even on the rocks of Philopappos! Foreigners, ignorant of Greek, find an excellent solace in the daily *Messager d'Athènes,* published in French, and that not merely "diplomatic French." Founded in 1875, by the father of the present editress, Mlle. Jeanne Stéphanopoli, the *Messager* is the official organ of successive Greek Governments, and, therefore, speaks with weight. But the talented editress, a journalist *de race,* has strong opinions of her own, especially upon the Dodekanesian question, about which she writes with recognised authority, as the author of the admirable handbook on that subject. A small newspaper of four pages, the *Messager* is very well done, containing a fair and well-selected epitome of the Greek Press as well as brief telegrams from abroad. A special feature is the anecdotal articles about modern Greek history, especially the reign of Otho, contributed regularly under the title of *La petite histoire,* by Mr. Th. Vellianitis, an Ionian Islander, who has been Minister of Education. Readers look forward eagerly to these articles, which contain matter not to be found in books,

and his admirers, including the present writer, have urged Mr. Vellianitis to collect and publish them in book form. No other living person possesses his knowledge of the life of Otho's reign, and it is a pity that it should be buried in the files of a daily newspaper. That the Greek public also appreciates them is proved by the similar articles which he has published in Greek, and by the political surveys of modern Greek history written for various newspapers, notably the *Politeía* and *Eleútheron Bêma* by the historian, Mr. Aspreas. For the Greeks like to read about their modern political history, as well as contemporary politics, and anecdotes about Trikoupes and Deligiannes, or even Boulgares and Koumoundouros find a ready public. Dramatic criticism is a regular item and fairly outspoken. Sport, on the other hand, takes a subordinate place in the Greek Press; a contents' bill with "all the winners" never sells an Athenian evening newspaper, nor is a successful football player elevated to the pedestal of a national hero. Kranes, the famous long-distance runner, continued to sell newspapers in the streets after his triumphs on the running-track; indeed, I am indebted to his speed for the early arrival of my morning journals. I have met many Greeks who could tell me off-hand the names of recent British Premiers, but have never seen that of Hobbs transliterated into Greek—for except in Corfù cricketers are unknown. A certain amount of space is, however, devoted to football, and the newly popularised sport of horse racing attracts considerable attention, while the now annual tennis tournament in Athens is largely photographed, especially since Mlle. Vlasto by her marriage with Mr. Serpieri became an Athenian resident. Of late years the custom of issuing *parartémata,* or "extra-specials," consisting of a single scrap of paper containing one piece of news, has become rarer. Experience has shown that the *parártema* is apt to be an intelligent anticipation of what has

never happened. An interesting example of journalistic harmony was the one paper published during the strike of March, 1925, the *Athenaïkòs Týpos,* in which a tiny space was left for each of the collaborating journals to express its own opinions in a miniature leaderette. The Athenian morning newspapers are also widely read in the provinces, although in Royalist provinces it is not always easy to obtain Republican journals ; but the comparative slowness of communications handicaps the provincial circulation of the evening newspapers and gives scope to provincial dailies. Patras and Volo produce excellent daily newspapers, and Salonika has, of course, from its distance and importance, a Press of its own, numbering fifteen daily journals, including two in French, three in Spanish-Hebrew, and two in Armenian. Sparta has recently started a new journal. Epeiros and Chios possess admirable historical reviews for the publication of all that relates to their past. Corfù, Crete, and Mytilene, being somewhat isolated, have each a local Press. The Greek newspapers published in the United States, notably the *Ethnikòs Kêryx* and the *Atlantís,* are seen in Athenian bookstalls, and in 1925 the former issued a special album of Greek activities in America.

A serious weekly journal on the lines of our *Economist* is the *Oikonomikòs Tachydrómos,* published by the *Eleútheron Bêma,* and dealing with financial questions with authority. It is claimed that this is the only newspaper of the kind in the Near East. Economics play such a large part in Greek life that there is room for such a journal. A special spasmodically morning newspaper, *Pamprosphygiké,* caters for the interests of the refugees. Greek, like foreign, journalists have a Press Association, and it is claimed that journalism, like other liberal professions, should be represented in the Senate.

The Greek Press lacks two important elements which

could be easily supplied—a good comic-paper and a high-class monthly review. Nothing has arisen to take the place of the inimitable *Romeós,* probably the best comic-paper of its time, the work of one man, the poet Sourês, the Aristophanes of modern Greece, who from 1883 to 1918 wrote the whole paper himself in verse, including the advertisements. But his creation died with him, and he left no successor, for small comic-papers like the *Gátos* ("Cat") have little literary merit but depend rather upon their coloured caricatures. A weekly review, the *Néa Epoché,* contains readable political articles by good writers, but there is no Greek *Nineteenth Century*. Yet it should be easy to find the staff of such a periodical, and the capital to finance it. Here, however, the demon of party politics steps in, for the capitalist might require the review to have a party colour, whereas what is wanted is an impartial survey of the situation, political and literary. The latter aspect should no longer be so difficult, because the "Byzantine" battle which raged twenty-five years ago between the "purists" and the "popularists" (whose extreme left was composed of the "hairy men") has almost died away, in the presence of other and more serious conflicts. Most Greek newspapers are written in the "purist" language, which contains a political terminology lacking to the "popular" speech. Such useful words as *coup d'état* and *pronunciamiento* have "purist" equivalents, which the plastic Greek language supplies in *praxikópema* and *kinema*. This last is also characteristically the word for a cinematograph. But the Society paragraphs abound in French words strangely transliterated—*e.g., krep nte sin* for *crêpe de chine*—which would puzzle undergraduates in an Oxford "unseen." There is a good illustrated monthly, the *Eikonographeméne Hellás,* and a swarm of cheap illustrated weeklies, largely devoted to the portrayal of the fleshy charms of

foreign actresses, film-stars, and dancers for the edification of callow youth and prurient age.

The foreign service of the Greek Press has suffered much of late years, since the great depreciation of the drachma. Telegrams from London are now very expensive, and the fashion has arisen of obtaining much of the English news viâ Paris, Berlin, or Rome, all three places with an unfavourable atmosphere. The *Eleútheron Bêma,* however, has a direct and copious telegraphic service from London. Greek editors justly complain that the British wireless news is badly selected and arrives late : it contains hundreds of words about cricket matches and is only available, in the case of evening newspapers, just as they are going to press. This is the usual story of the unadaptability of British methods to different lands and different nationalities. The Berlin wireless news, on the other hand, is varied, brief, and—"tendencious," as is that of Rome in all Mediterranean matters. Thus, it frequently happens that the first news about some important British event reaches the Athenian Press through an unfriendly medium. This is not the fault of the Greek Press, always willing to put the most favourable interpretation on the actions of Great Britain, but of those who direct the wireless arrangements at home. Meanwhile, the British authorities complacently allow their acts to be reflected through the partial medium of their late enemies and their late allies, and that in a country notoriously Anglophil. Fortunately, the aerial post from London to Paris enables Greek articles from England, and English newspapers, to arrive more rapidly, and the linguistic attainments of Greek journalists are so considerable that they can speedily translate the foreign Press. It may be, indeed, asserted that no article about Greece in the English Press escapes notice there. This satisfactory phenomenon has, however, the disadvantage of fostering the current idea that British

public men are constantly occupied with Greek affairs. This delusion is inevitable, because all that is said and written about Greece in England is reproduced there. But it is, unhappily, untrue, and has occasionally led to sad disillusionment. The articles written by Greek correspondents in London, who, of course, know the real facts, show great knowledge of the country in which they live. This is natural, for no foreign colony in London has such excellent means of obtaining information as the Greek. At the other end, in Athens, great facilities are afforded to English correspondents; information is willingly accorded; those who are making Greek history are accessible to those who are writing it day by day, and the Eastern Telegraph Company is a great boon. Those, like the writer, who have acted as foreign correspondents in Greece and some other foreign countries know from experience how much lighter and more agreeable is the task in Greece. During a part of the Pangalos dictatorship, of course, there was a censorship alike of the Greek Press and of foreign correspondents' messages, which, in one notorious case, were even rewritten by the military censor, despite the correspondent's signature at the end of the message! But that was only for a brief period. In Mr. Kalopothakes, a Greek of partly American blood, who has been for many years head of the Press Bureau at the Foreign Office, foreign correspondents find a friend and ex-colleague, who knows their difficulties and requirements from his own previous long experience as a correspondent of great English newspapers, while his assistant, Mr. Moschopoulos, possesses a remarkable knowledge—very valuable to the Greek Government—of Turkey and its Press.

In Greece, journalism, more than in England, sometimes leads to politics and high posts in the public service. Mr. Kaklamanos, the Greek Minister in London, was

one of the most brilliant writers of the Athenian Press, when he wrote for the *Asty* and subsequently conducted the *Néon Asty*. A few other diplomatists won their spurs as journalists, and there have been Ministers of Foreign Affairs, like Mr. Rendes, who wrote on them before directing them. Mr. Venizelos, himself, for a time brought out a newspaper, the *Kêryx,* and a few journalists, like Mr. Nikoloudes, now Minister of Education, were elected to the Parliament of 1926. This is natural, for the Greek Press is intensely political. But in Greece, as elsewhere, political journalism and politics are not identical, and a writer of admirable leading articles will not necessarily become a statesman. Besides, there are journalists who prefer the security of an editorial chair, accompanied by the influence which it bestows, to the uncertain tenure of a Ministerial portfolio on a foreign Legation. Still, in Greece, more than elsewhere, to have been a Minister, even for a few months, is, as Bismarck said of two Balkan thrones, "an agreeable reminiscence."

The Press has not in Greece, as in some countries, "killed the book." Serious works, especially historical, are widely read. Thus, a fine illustrated fifth edition of Paparrhegopoulos' standard *History of the Greek People* (with an introduction and sequel by Professor Karolides) in six volumes, and a new edition of Trikoupes' *History of the Greek Insurrection* have been recently published. Professor Karolides has written, on a scale never before attempted, the *Contemporary History of the Greek People,* devoting five volumes to the period from the War of Independence to the expulsion of Otho,[1] while Mr. Aspreas, an agreeable historical writer, has traced the *Political History of Modern Greece* from 1821 to 1900. A Communist, Mr. Kordatos, has written two "tendencious" volumes to prove that the struggle for

[1] The sixth, just published, goes as far as 1864.

independence was mainly due to economic causes. Besides these general works, numerous specialists have treated various aspects of modern and medieval Greek history. Mr. S. Th. Laskaris has dealt with *The Foreign Policy of Greece before and after the Congress of Berlin,* and *Philhellenism in America during the Greek Insurrection.* Mr. D. L. Zographos is publishing in several volumes a *History of Greek Agriculture,* and has written a *History of the Foundation of the National Bank,* to which institution Mr. Eulambio, one of its managing directors, has consecrated a volume in English. Professor Andreades, the well-known historian of the Bank of England, has published a whole series of monographs upon Greek economic questions, and has familiarised his countrymen with the lives of the great British Philhellenic statesmen of the last generation. Mr. D. Gr. Kampouroglous has devoted half a century to the study of the Turkish period of Greek history, which in six volumes of documents and narrative he has rescued from oblivion, and has published studies of the Athenian archontic families, such as the Chalkokondylai and the Benizeloi (not to be confounded with the family of Mr. Venizelos). He has also composed the biography of that strange lady, the Duchesse de Plaisance, and discoursed pleasantly about *The Women of the Great World* (including Caroline, Princess of Wales, and Ladies Craven, Hester Stanhope, and Ellenborough), connected with Athens in the later Turkish and Othonian periods, besides producing an admirable book about *Old* (as distinct from Ancient) *Athens*—that is, the Athens which the Bavarian Monarchy took over from the Turks, and which has, even now, not entirely succumbed to the mania for wide motor-roads. He is now engaged on a new edition of his *History of the Athenians under the Turkish Domination.* Local history has latterly been assiduously cultivated. A committee of Chiotes has

brought out the posthumous *History of Chios* of Zolotas, in five volumes, edited by his daughter, Madame Sarou; Mr. Paschales has written that of Andros with great local knowledge; and General Victor Dousmanes, the former Chief of the Staff, that of Thessaly; Mr. Thomopoulos, of the National Library, that of Patras. The late Mr. Zerlentes, of Syra, devoted years to producing monographs on the vicissitudes of the Cyclades in Frankish and later times, and the recent death of Mr. De Biazes, of Zante, has deprived the "flower of the Levant" of an assiduous cultivator of her history. In Mr. Rados, Greece possesses a naval historian, author of a monograph on Captain Hastings; and in Mr. George Typaldos a leading authority on heraldry. Living Byzantine scholars include Messrs. Soteriou, Amantos, Adamantiou, Bees, Bogiatzides, and Koukoules, while Mr. Orlandos has published learned architectural studies. Mr. Blachogiannes, the erudite archivist, has compiled from his lifelong studies an entertaining *Historical Anthology* of the good things said by the soldiers, sailors, and politicians of the War of Independence and of the Othonian age. Five historical periodicals cater for historical students: the *Néos Hellenomnémon,* founded by that eminent historical scholar the late Sp. P. Lampros, and continued since his death by Mr. Duobouniotes; the *Journal of the Historical and Ethnological Society;* that of the *Christian Archæological Society*; the *Annual of the Society of Byzantine Studies,* of which Mr. Kalogeropoulos, the perpetual librarian of Parliament, and one of the best-known men in Athens, is the chairman; and the *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher,* now published in Athens by Professor Bees. Lectures on history, especially Byzantine history, are popular, excursions are made to medieval sites, and the hall of the "Parnassos" literary club is often crammed in the winter by people of all ages and professions, anxious "to hear

some new thing" about that old, but inexhaustible subject to which Greeks are making valuable contributions.

Greek, like Italian, novelists are somewhat handicapped by the competition of French writers—for in Athens everyone reads French, and, moreover, there are numerous translations of French authors. There is also the language question. But Mr. George Drosines has produced some delightful novels, of which the best known is *The Herb of Love,* and the latest and most charming is *Erse,* the delightful idyll placed in a Greek island. Like so many distinguished Greeks—Delegeorges, Trikoupes, and Palamâs—Mr. Drosines traces his origin from Mesolonghi, where his grandfather was killed during the Sortie, of which the centenary was celebrated in 1926. But the novelist was born in Athens in 1859, and, after studying there and at Leipzig, won his literary spurs with verses published in the *Rabagas,* a satirical journal of 1880. In 1882 he became a regular contributor to the literary periodical, the *Hestia,* the precursor of the newspaper of the same name, till, in 1894, it became a daily. From 1898 to 1903 he edited the *Ethnikè Agogé* ("National Education")—a periodical aiming at the creation of a new generation after the disastrous war of 1897. He has for many years been associated with the Society for the Dissemination of Useful Books, and from 1908 to 1923 was a leading official of the Ministry of Education. He informs me that his literary output consists of nine volumes of poems and eleven of stories and studies of Greek life and character, of which several have been translated into other languages, including English. His own language is the "popular."

The leading living poet of Greece is Mr. Kostes Palamâs, member of an old Mesolonghiote family of schoolmasters. His grandfather was the Palamâs men-

tioned by Hughes the traveller, who visited Athens in 1813 and found him headmaster of a school, and lecturing on Homer to an eager audience of old and young. Born at Patras, in 1859, he was early left an orphan, but educated by an uncle at Mesolonghi till he removed to Athens in 1875 to study law. But he soon abandoned law for poetry, and became the foremost champion in verse of the "popular" language. He also published his early verses in *Rabagas,* and after contributing to the review *Hestia* and other periodicals, brought out his first volume of poetry, *The Songs of My Country,* in 1886. This was followed by his *Hymn to Athena* in 1889, *The Eyes of My Soul* in 1892, and *Iambs and Anapæsts* in 1897, when he was appointed secretary of the University. The death of his son inspired his next poetic work, *The Grave,* and in 1901 he made his first attempt at prose literature with the tale, *A Man's Death,* followed by a drama called *Trisevyeni* (both pictures of Greek country life), two volumes of *Studies in Literature* and *Short Stories.* His further poetry included *Life Immutable, The Twelve Lays of the Gipsy, The King's Flute, The Lagoon's Regrets,* and *Altars.* He was selected to compose the Greek poem, recited by himself, at the Byron centenary of 1924. He has been called obscure, but one British auditor found it easier to understand than the corresponding English poem by Mr. Drinkwater. He has described himself as "the poet of my age and race," and declared: "I want Man, not men." A selection of his *Poems* have been recently made and translated into English by Messrs. Stephanides and Katsimbalis, to which M. Clément has contributed a study of his work. Mesdames Penelope Delta and Julia Dragoumes have written short stories in the "popular" language, and the latter has published in English *Tales of a Greek Island*—Poros, where she lives—besides a novel, *A Man of Athens.* The apostle of

that form of speech, Mr. Psychares, lives in Paris. A considerable literature, mostly of a partisan character, has grown out of the late war. Memoirs are the weak point of contemporary Greek letters: a former generation produced those of Dragoumes, Pelikas, Palaskas, Makrygiannes, and Ranghabês, whose son intends to publish a further instalment. Of living public men only Prince Nicholas has enlightened the (British) public on his life; Mr. Venizelos has preferred to translate Thucydides; Mr. Skouloudes, the Nestor of Greek politicians, who is a mine of information about the Greece of two generations ago, has published only a few historical documents from his archives. Those of Hydra, of the Kountouriotai, and of Count Roma of Zante have been, or are being, published.

A remarkable and very successful attempt was made in May, 1927, at the "Delphic Festival," munificently organised by Mrs. Sikelianou, the American wife of a Greek poet, who has a villa there, to revive the ancient Greek drama in a modern version. The idea of her husband was to make Delphi, which, according to Strabo, was considered the centre of the ancient world, the centre where "the spiritual aristocracy" of the modern world might meet, as the eagles, starting from East and West, met there in the legend. The *Prometheus Bound* was chosen for this experiment, and two years devoted by Mrs. Sikelianou to the preparations for the festival, which included also the Pyrrhic and other dances, and an exhibition of arts and crafts. Athletic sports (a feature of which was the absence of all "records," as a protest against professionalism) were also held in honour of the late George Cram Cook, the American man of letters, who lived as a shepherd on Parnassos and there wrote, in English and modern Greek, an ancient tragedy with modern application, *The Athenian Women*. Cook died at Delphi in 1923; visitors are taken by the natives to

see his tomb there, and some centuries hence some erudite German will doubtless regard him as the founder of the Pythian Games, especially as his daughter was one of the Oceanides in the *Prometheus*. It is proposed to hold this festival biennially.

So far the modern Greek drama has not, in either tragedy or comedy, reached the high level of the ancient. Quite early, however, in the history of modern Greece, while the capital was still at Nauplia, Byzantios produced his comedy of manners, *Babylonia,* reproduced in Athens in the winter of 1926, in the style rather of Menander than of Aristophanes, for the characters are not taken from politics. But there are several living dramatists whose works have received high commendation, notably the quartette of Messrs. Spiro Melas, Gregorios Xenopoulos, Panteles Horn, and Theodoros Synadinos. The first of the four has divided his time between political journalism and the theatre. Upon the stage he made his debut with *The Son of the Shadow* —a plot based on one of the strange legends of the Cyclades—and his last piece, *A Night, a Life,* depicts middle-class Athenian society. Mr. Xenopoulos, who is just sixty, had made a reputation as a novelist before he essayed the drama, but he now has more than thirty pieces to his credit, and several volumes of his plays have been published. A Zantiote, like Solomos, he has made the aristocracy—a survival of Venice—and the Jewry of his native island the subject of two comedies, *The Secret of Countess Valéri* and *Rachel,* while in two others, *Photini Sandri* and *Stella Violanti,* he has depicted the "young girl" in a local setting, and in another, the *Students,* he has shown the undergraduate life of Athens at the time of the "Gospel Riots" of 1901. Mr. Horn, originally a naval officer, as befitted a relative of the Kountouriotes family—for he is a cousin of the President—has represented the downfall of

a Klephtic family in his first piece, and has latterly sought his plots in the manners and customs of the Athenian people, as in *Fintanaki,* or of the small islands, as in *Flandro* and in his latest drama, *Meltemaki* ("North Wind"). Mr. Synadinos in one comedy has satirised the *Mæcenas,* who "exploits artists," in another, *The Good Housewife,* who sacrifices her own and her family's lives to the passion for tidiness. Professor Andreades,[1] an excellent judge, considers that the contemporary Greek theatre shows progress, because it no longer imitates antiquity or the foreigner: it is original. But Greek dramatists, like Greek novelists, have to compete with adaptations from the French, and both theatres and cinematographs are handicapped by a heavy tax on public spectacles, which in November, 1927, caused the latter to close as a protest. Hence some dramatists turn to other fields of literature. Neither the Government nor the municipality subsidises the theatres, which do not seem to appeal to those rich private "benefactors," to whom Athens owes so much. But still there are sufficient living dramatists to warrant the existence of a "Society of Dramatic Authors," of which Mr. Nicholas Laskaris is the president.

[1] *Le théatre grec contemporain,* in the *Revue de Genève* (October, 1927).

CHAPTER XI

EDUCATION

THERE is probably no people so keen about learning as the Greek. "Letters" are to them a sign of distinction, and an "unlettered" man is a term of contempt. Long after the loss of her political independence, Athens remained in Roman times, and down to Justinian, a University town. Hence one of the earliest plans of the Bavarian Regency was the foundation of a University as soon as the capital should have been transferred to Athens. Indeed, von Maurer had actually selected the professors, among them two well-known German historians of Greece, Fallmerayer and Zinkeisen. But his premature fall prevented the accomplishment of his scheme under his own auspices, and it was not till 1837 that the "Othonian" University, organised on German lines laid down by Brandis, was actually inaugurated in the house of the architect Kleanthes, which still stands on the northern slope of the Akropolis.[1] Otho attended the ceremony, and was moved to tears. The first Rector (*Prýtanis,* as he is called) was Constantine Schinâs, and even in those early days the teaching staff included quite a galaxy of talent, with a large German element—the learned Archimandrite, Neophytos Bambas, who had taught in the excellent school at Chios before the massacre, the erudite jurist, G. Rhalles (father of the future Premier), George Gennadios (father of the former Minister in London), Ulrichs, and Ludwig Ross, the German archæologist, whose excursions with the royal couple and *Recollections* of his stay in Greece have kept

[1] There is a picture of it in Paparrhegopoulos, Ἱστορία τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἔθνους (ed. 5), vi., 238.

his memory green. A little later, thanks to the influence of Stratford Canning, the chair of history was given to that versatile Scottish Philhellene, Edward Masson, who had already been a theological student, secretary to Lord Dundonald, "Attorney-General for the Morea," and a Judge of the Areiopagos, and subsequently became Professor of New Testament Greek at Belfast, and still later a copious publicist in Athens, where he died in 1873. The first lecture was given by Ross on *The Acharnians* of Aristophanes. But the house of Kleanthes was too modest for the Athenian University, for even in the first year there were fifty-two students and seventy-five "auditors." The second Rector, Rhalles, accordingly issued an appeal to the Greek race and to friends of Greece, and not in vain, and a committee was formed, which included the chief survivors of the War of Independence, men handier with the yataghan than the pen, but who wished the new generation to have an education denied to themselves. One of its members was the grandfather of the first President of the Republic. Among the subscribers were Prince Milosh Obrenovich of Serbia—one of the numerous instances of good relations between the two countries—an old Cretan warrior, who, having no money, sent his treasured yataghan and pistols to be sold, and a poor knife-grinder, who bequeathed his all—20 drachmai—to the University. The Danish architect, Hansen, was asked to furnish the design, and in 1839 the foundation-stone of the present University was laid by Otho. By 1841 the first wing of the new building was available for students; two years later the September Revolution, with the concurrent feeling against the Bavarians, led to the elimination of German professors. On the expulsion of Otho the name of the University was changed from "Othonian" to "National," but his bust still occupies a niche in the building, one of the finest in Athens. The University celebrated its jubilee in

1887, up to which time it had instructed 14,029 students, and in 1912 the writer was present at its seventy-fifth anniversary. Meanwhile it had been twice extended, once after the annexation of the Ionian Islands in 1864, when the "Ionian Academy," founded by the eccentric English Philhellene, Lord Guilford, in 1824, was merged with it—an amalgamation regretted by the historian, Professor Karolides[1]—and again, when, in 1911, the money left by Domboles, a Greek merchant in Russia, to accumulate for fifty-seven years for the foundation of a University in the then capital of Greece (presumably Constantinople) in memory of Capo d'Istria, became available. Two separate Universities seemed too much for the Greece of that time; so, acting on the *cy près* doctrine of our Chancery lawyers, the Government combined the new foundation with the old in one "National and Capodistrian University," administered by the same authority. When the Balkan and subsequent wars enlarged the state, it was felt that "new" Greece must have a University at Salonika, and accordingly it was created by a law of 22 June, 1925. The dictatorship of General Pangalos, however, annulled this law before it had been applied, only permitting the philosophic faculty to function, and giving to the Minister of Education the exclusive appointment of the professors. The Kondyles Government restored the law of 1925, entrusting the appointments to a committee of five professors of the Athens University. On 15 November, 1926, the Salonika University began its lectures in the Villa Allatini, famous in Balkan history as the place of exile of Abdul Hamid II.

The government of Athens University is conducted by the Rector, elected annually, but re-eligible, the Pro-Rector (*Proprýtanis*), and Vice-Rector (*Antiprýtanis*),

[1] Paparrhegopoulos, Ἱστορία τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἔθνους (ed. 5), vi., 316, *n.*

the Deans (*Kosmétores*) of the five faculties, and four Senators, chosen from among the professors. When chairs are vacant, the professors of each faculty propose candidates to the Minister of Education, who, since 1882, may only veto the proposed names. The professorial staff has grown from thirty-two to ninety-eight (of whom twelve are honorary professors who have reached the age limit). Besides these, there are twelve lecturers (*hyphegetai*), who correspond to the German *Privatdozenten,* receiving no salaries, but expecting one day to become professors. The total number of the students in August, 1926, was 11,677, divided into five faculties: Theology, Law, Medicine, Philosophy, Physico-Mathematics, which includes Chemistry, just as Medicine comprises Pharmacy and Dentistry. By far the largest number of the students (39 per cent. of the whole) take Law; thus in August, 1926, there were 4,632 law students as compared with 2,256 medical students (besides 690 students of pharmacy and 548 of dentistry), 1,654 students of philosophy, 1,303 of physics and mathematics (besides 196 of chemistry), and only 398 of theology. The result is that Greece is flooded with lawyers, for whom there is little prospect of practice, and who must devote their activities to other subjects, including politics. Recent statistics, indeed, show that Greece has one student to every 334 inhabitants, a proportion far higher than that of Germany, France, or Italy. The University course is four years, except in the Medical School, which is six, and students usually enter at eighteen or nineteen years of age. The academic year, which nominally ends in August, practically extends from 1 October to 31 May, with recesses from 24 December to 9 January, and from Palm Sunday to the first Sunday after Easter. The examinations have become stiffer and the students better since the war—so an examiner informs me.

Before the great extension of the Greek state by the Balkan wars of 1912-13 and the treaty of Sèvres, a large number of students came from "outside Greece." Indeed, it was difficult to overestimate the influence of the University upon the Greeks of Asia Minor, whose chosen youth, after studying at the centre of Hellenism, returned to their homes and became so many apostles of "the Great Idea." But, especially since the Asia Minor disaster and the exchange of populations, "outside Greece" has shrunk so much that it is no longer a nursery for Athenian undergraduates and a missionary field for Athenian graduates. Few now come from Constantinople, practically none from Asia Minor. But there are many Northern Epeirotes, for in modern Greek history Epeiros has been famous for its love of learning and devotion to Athens, where many of the most notable buildings have been the creation of Epeirotes. The large Greek colony in Egypt supplies another big contingent, and from the unredeemed islands, Cyprus and the Dodekanese, there hail many. Nearly all the Cypriotes who embrace liberal professions study in Athens—a fact which naturally tends to promote the desire for union. The students from the Dodekanese will, however, soon find an obstacle in the University which the Italians propose to found in Rhodes, and through which the future lawyers and doctors of the islands will be compelled to pass. Besides the Greek students, there are also a few Serbian and Roumanian students of theology at the Athens University, just as Mr. M. Laskaris studied at Zagreb and Belgrade. But the number of Balkan students has naturally diminished since the development of University education in the various Balkan capitals, whereas Lidorikes tells us in his *Memoirs* that in early days "the University was full of Roumanians and Bulgarians."

An interesting feature of Athens University is the

comparatively large number of female students, the first of whom were admitted in 1890. As early as 1897 two sisters from Cephalonia took their degrees in medicine, and among the distinguished lady graduates is Mlle. Jeanne Stéphanopoli, the able editress of the *Messager d'Athènes*. In 1927 the female students numbered 849, of whom 247 belonged to the Philosophic School, 163 were studying dentistry, 148 pharmacy, and 125 medicine. Law, with only 119 female votaries, does not appeal so much to the young Greek lady, but there are notable exceptions. Mme. Nikoloude, wife of the Minister, and Mlle. Soteriade, daughter of the Rector of Salonika University, have both studied law, and in March, 1926, the first Greek lady barrister, Mlle. Flambouriari, made her first professional appearance in Court. Mesolonghi possesses another Greek Portia, Mlle. Chrysogelo. Only 16 lady students were taking mathematics, 12 chemistry and physics respectively, and only 7 theology.

The increased desire for higher education among women is justified, for the Greek woman is no less advanced than the Italian—to take another Southern nation. Feminism has made considerable progress in recent years. Messrs. Kaphandares and Papanastasiou, the ex-Premiers, have publicly supported women's rights. In 1925 an amendment proposing that all women of twenty-five years old and upward holding a certificate of at least primary education should be entitled to vote at municipal and communal elections was introduced into the National Assembly by seventy delegates of all parties. Unfortunately for the promoters, the very day when it was down for discussion, General Pangalos made his *coup d'état,* and the discussion was postponed. Six weeks later, however, in the Committee for the Constitution, Mr. Sechiotes, a Royalist, proposed the same amendment, which was adopted in a modified form,

conferring in two years' time the municipal and communal franchise upon women of thirty and over, able to read and write. Mr. Koundouros during the dictatorship made an enactment about the *recherche de la paternité*, but his successor repealed it. Meanwhile the "League of Greek women for women's rights" continues to agitate. This body, of which Madame Theodoropoulou, wife of the well-known Republican politician, is president, and Mesdames Michalakopoulou, wife of the ex-Premier, and Papademetriou are vice-presidents, has for four years published a monthly bulletin, *The Struggle of Woman*. Many women are employed in the Ministries, but not yet in the higher posts, owing partly to the lack of legal qualifications, and partly to prejudice. A similar situation prevails in the banks. In journalism women have found an opening, but—excepting Mlle. Stéphanopoli—not on the political side. In philanthropy some of the leading personages are women. At recent Women's International Congresses Greece has been well represented, and the members of the Lyceum Club have shown marked capacity for organisation.

The University of Salonika is governed by a Rector—the first was Professor Tsountas, his successor, a Macedonian, Professor Soteriades—and three other professors, who form the Council. During the first year only the Philosophical Faculty with fourteen professors existed, for the Villa Allatini was inadequate for the accommodation of the other faculties, contemplated by the law, and is nearly three miles outside the city. The students who entered for the first term were only 60, for the opening was after the academic year had begun in Athens, so that most of the Macedonian and Thracian students preferred the older University, especially as there was only one faculty at Salonika. The third term showed 138 students, of whom 34 were women. It is too early to judge this second University. The intention of

its founders is that more attention should be paid than in Athens to the practical and applied sciences, especially to agricultural and industrial studies. Macedonia and Thrace need modern farmers and trained captains of industry more than lawyers and scholars, nor was there any special object in creating a mere replica of the Athens University in the northern capital, essentially a place of business. Indeed, the School of Forestry has been transferred to Salonika from Athens, and has become a second faculty. But the existence of this second centre of culture will have a refining effect upon Salonika, where libraries and bookshops had previously been much scarcer than in literary Athens, and the students' textbooks have to be imported from the latter. But the Macedonian capital had considerable literary traditions before the Turkish conquest, which may revive under restored Greek rule. One excellent provision at Salonika is the Chair of Balkan History, for there is no subject more important to the peoples of South-Eastern Europe.

At present the Macedonian University has no other funds than the product of a 3 per cent. tax levied on the port and railway dues of Salonika ; the Rector hopes, however, to receive a similar grant from Kavalla and perhaps other Macedonian towns. The nucleus of the University library exists in the collection formed in 1919 for the proposed University of Smyrna. Special attention will be paid to the study of the Macedonian folk-lore and language and provincial patriotism fostered. Hitherto the Jews have held aloof from the University, although they all know Greek, while speaking Spanish among themselves. The Government has consented to allow the military hospital to be used as the seat of the University, which will thus occupy a central and accessible position, and it enjoys the support of Republicans and Royalists alike.

Athletics have of late years aroused much interest in Greece, and Greek football teams give a good account of themselves. Hence the attraction of the students has fortunately been diverted from those political questions which used to cause undergraduate demonstrations, sometimes involving the fall of a Cabinet or even threatening that of a dynasty. When the University was being founded, shrewd old Kolokotrones, pointing to the University building and then to the palace, said to Otho : "I fear that this house will eat up that "[1]—a prophecy fulfilled at the revolution of 1862, when the generation trained at the "Othonian" University had come to desire political power. The disturbances known as the *Skiadiká* (from the Siphniote straw hats worn by the demonstrators) in 1859 were largely due to the students, and "constituted the first public anti-Royalist demonstration in Athens." Epaminondas Delegeorges, who, played so prominent a part in the dethronement of Otho, was the chief of the "golden youth" of Athens, and formed a National Guard of University students in the early days of the Interregnum. At the time of the "Gospel Riots" of 1901 the students made their influence felt, demanding the prohibition of the translation, and forming a "central committee" and a military staff for garrisoning the University building under a commander of their own, with the result that both the Premier and the Metropolitan resigned! The stricter regulations and the elimination of older students who had remained at the University without taking their degrees are said to have further contributed to the maintenance of University discipline.

Immediately below the two Universities come the gymnasia with four classes. Capo d'Istria founded a "Central School" at Ægina, "the first educational establishment of free Greece," in which George

[1] Blachogiannes, *Ἱστορικὴ Ἀνθολογία*, Nr. 474.

Gennadios, "the Teacher of the Nation," who had taught at Odessa and Bucharest, was one of the professors. A building at Nauplia near Otho's old palace still bears an inscription, describing it as "the first Greek gymnasium, founded by decree of Otho, 1833." In 1836 the Ægina School, rechristened "gymnasium," was transplanted to Athens. On 31 December (O.S.), 1836, the decree regulating gymnasia and "Hellenic" schools was issued. There were in 1927 in all Greece 136 gymnasia, of which 6 were for girls, besides 13 "practical" gymnasia, or *lýkeia*. The curriculum, as fixed in 1914, when Mr. Tsirimokos was Minister of Education, is four years, and comprises religion (New Testament for the two lowest classes, Christian ethics for the third form, and ecclesiastical history for the highest), Greek (which occupies about one-third of the time-table and includes modern and ancient, going in the top form as far as Homer, Sophoklês, Euripides, Plato, Thucydides, Theokritos, and the local allusions to the district in Strabo and Pausanias), mathematics and cosmography, physics and hygienics, philosophy (only in the two highest classes), Latin (going as far as Cicero, Vergil, and Horace in the top form), and history. The lowest form learns only Greek history as far as the Battle of Ipsos (301 B.C.), the next Greek and Roman history from that date to the death of Theodosios the Great (395), the third Greek history thenceforward down to the capture of Constantinople "with the other most important events of medieval history," and the fourth Greek and European history from 1453 to our times. The only modern language prescribed is French. But the extensive knowledge of foreign languages possessed by Greeks is rather due to English and German governesses (of whom there are many in Athens) in the case of the children of affluent parents, and to residence abroad (especially in America) in that of the others. I found in

a remote village in Lakonia a whole group of men talking English with an American accent, and, since emigration thither has become common, that language has been widely diffused. It cannot, however, be said that American English as spoken by Greeks, is an elegant idiom. Greeks are excellent linguists, but they rarely deign to learn the languages of their Balkan neighbours. Indeed, the late Mr. Koromelâs told me that he was criticised for having learned Bulgarian when Greek Consul-General at Salonika, just as some English people object to their children learning German, forgetful of the maxim *fas est et ab hoste doceri.* The Serb *ich* and English *j* present difficulties to Greek transliterators, but in compensation the Greeks alone can pronounce our *th.* A lecturer in English or French is sure of a large audience in Athens. Italian is less known, and no longer generally spoken even in Corfù, where it was once universal.

Following the ancient Greek system of education, which combined *mousiké* with *gymnastiké,* the curriculum of the gymnasia further includes three hours of gymnastics a week for each class, while on Thursday afternoons the pupils go on an excursion; some of these excursions are devoted to athletic exercises and national dances, others to visits to archæological sites, industrial workshops, and to the practical application of the scientific knowledge acquired in the class-rooms. One hour a week is set aside in each class for singing.

The certificate of the gymnasium qualifies its holder for admission to the University without further examination, and is essential for some public posts. The gymnasia are maintained at the expense of the state; attendance at them is voluntary, as at the "Hellenic" schools, which form the next lower rung in the educational ladder.

Of these, of which before the decree of 1836 there

were only 3, there are now 444 (including 22 for girls and 16 private schools), besides 74 "semi-gymnasia" (of which 2 are Turkish) equivalent to them. Each has only three classes, of which the time-table, as in the gymnasia, is thirty-five or thirty-six hours weekly. Of this, one-third is devoted to Greek, ancient and modern, in all three classes, of which the highest goes as far as Xenophon and Lucian and composes essays in the modern language. Religious teaching consists of the Old Testament in the lowest class, the New Testament and elementary ecclesiastical history in the others, besides explanations of the chief festivals and the Catechism, according to the pupils' progress. Mathematics, physics and elementary hygiene, history, geography, and French (only in the two highest forms) are also included. Geography comprises that of Europe, with special relation to Greece, and is not merely physical, but political and commercial. History is exclusively Greek, but in the highest class goes from the Latin conquest of Constantinople to our own days. Drawing, calligraphy, and singing are taught; three hours weekly are devoted to gymnastics, and excursions made every Thursday. A feature of these schools is the teaching of handicrafts, such as plaiting, moulding, bookbinding, and carving. There is a training college for teachers, making the total of secondary schools 668, with a teaching staff of 2,484. The scholastic year in both the gymnasia and the "Hellenic" schools is fixed by the decree of 1923 at nine months—from 1 September to 30 June—with holidays at Christmas, Easter, a few other religious feasts, Independence and May Days.

Primary education, which Article 23 of the new Constitution proclaims to be compulsory and free, was cultivated even during the War of Independence. The "Lancastrian" method, introduced into the Ionian Islands in 1821, was advocated by the Assembly of

Astros, and in 1828 there were twenty-two primary or "demotic" schools, so called because supported by the communes. Capo d'Istria considered that Greece wanted primary more than higher education, and the first care of the Bavarian Regency in 1833 was to issue a decree for it. Although these schools continue to be called "demotic," their cost is now borne by the state, while the communes provide the buildings. They number about 3,500, and attendance is obligatory and free for children of both sexes from six to ten years of age; separate schools for boys and girls are started when the numbers exceed 75. The programme includes religion, reading, writing and grammar, arithmetic and geometry, elementary, natural, and Greek history and geography, drawing, singing, and gymnastics. But, although illiteracy has been much reduced, the proportion of illiterates according to the census of 1 January, 1921, was 50·33 of the then population of the present territory —viz., 34·67 of the men and 66·01 of the women. It is among the latter that the work of the elementary schoolmaster is most needed, for it is still common to find female servants who can neither read nor write nor even count, so that housekeeping presents difficulties when a servant can read neither the address on a letter nor the name over a shop, nor even sign a receipt.

The education of the Moslems who still inhabit Western Thrace is not neglected. During the scholastic year 1925-26 there were 267 Moslem schools, with 305 teachers. The state pays the teachers of Greek in these schools, and the Governor-General of Thrace allots to them various subsidies.

One peculiar difficulty of Greek public education is the frequent change of not only the school books, but the language in which they are written, according as the Minister of Education is a "purist" or a "popularist." Thus Mr. Argyros, the Royalist Minister in the "Œcu-

menical" Cabinet, reverted to the "pure" language as the instrument of education. His successor, Mr. Nikoloudes, also raised this question, and the advocates of the "pure" school book urged that Communistic teaching was sometimes imparted in the "vulgar" tongue. Yet its historian wrote in *katharévousa*. In November, 1927, a compromise was reached, and the Cabinet decided that instruction in the elementary schools should be imparted in the "vulgar" tongue, but that in the fifth and sixth classes the "pure" language should also be taught for three or four hours weekly, whereas in the gymnasia the "pure" language should form the basis of instruction. At the same time a Council of Education was composed of nine members nominated for six years and of two members elected for two, with three experts nominated by the Minister for a year.

Another drawback was the removal of schoolmasters, for political reasons, at the request of the local deputy, from more to less desirable places, or *vice versa*. This continued as long as these appointments rested with the transient Minister of Education, usually himself a politician; but they have been entrusted in the case of all three grades of public schools to a supreme Council of Education, the Minister retaining only the right of veto. Three training colleges exist for preparing the teachers of "demotic" schools, the chief being the "Maraslcion," called from its founder, Maraslês of Odessa, who also endowed the valuable publications which bear his name. One of the most touching examples of Greek devotion to learning is the night school for poor children, on the ground floor of the "Parnassos" Literary Society, where the laborious little boot-blacks of the capital, with brains as bright as their clients' boots—for a Greek would rather go unfed than wear dirty shoes—may be seen grappling with Xenophon at the conclusion of their day's work. Those foreigners who have taught

Greeks are struck by their quickness, intelligence, and interest in their lessons. I have seen audiences of all classes listen with rapt attention on their faces to lectures on intellectual subjects by eloquent and enthusiastic scholars, and have witnessed an assembly of Athenian bank clerks entranced by the analysis of Lucian's wit by Professor Soteriades.

Besides public education, much has been done by private educational institutions.

In 1824, during the brief Greek occupation of Athens in the midst of the War of Independence, there was a girls' school there, and while the capital was still at Nauplia a girls' boarding-school was opened by a French lady, Madame Volmérenge, in which the Bavarian Regency maintained at the public expense fourteen poor girls, preferably daughters of heroes of the War of Independence. The Duchesse de Plaisance in 1830 undertook the education of twelve others. When the capital was transferred, the Volmérenge school was likewise moved to Athens, where John Hill, an American doctor of theology, had founded, in 1831, a girls' school, still carried on under the same name. Almost every visitor mentions the Hill School, where a warm reception awaited the traveller, and comforts, such as the first rocking-chair known in Athens, were alone to be found. The Hill School was a nursery of female teachers, one of the earliest of whom, Helene Papadaki, became the first directress of the high school for girls founded by the Regency at Nauplia in 1834, and subsequently headmistress of what had been the Volmérenge School, after the retirement of the foundress. In 1836 the Society of Friends of Education was founded by Kokkones, supported by Andreas Metaxâs, the leader of the "Russian" party, for the education of girls on strictly Orthodox lines. Built and endowed in 1840 by Arsakes, an Epeirote, who had become Prime Minister at

Bucharest, and may claim the prouder title of "the principal factor in female instruction in Greece," the chief edifice of this Society was called after him the Arsakeion, and still preserves his memory. It has produced thousands of scholars and provided school-mistresses alike for Greece and the "outside" Greeks.[1]

In 1926 a Greek-American School, generously endowed by Messrs. Benakes, Delta, and others, the "Athens College," of which the first headmaster was an Englishman, Mr. Read, and the President is the American translator of Prokopios, Professor Dewing, was opened in the capital, but will be transferred to the suburb of Psychikó, where there is more space for games, and where the "ground was broken," on 20 March, 1927. It consists of three preparatory and four ordinary classes for classical and commercial studies, English being the medium of instruction. A feature of this school is the delivery of lectures on non-scholastic subjects by eminent Greeks, with the object of showing the pupils that the world is not bounded by the walls of the school. Still more remarkable is the school upon the lines of the great English Public Schools, founded in his native island by a Spetsiote millionaire, Mr. Soterios Anargyros, known to Americans from the "Anargyros cigarette." Believing, with George I. and Mr. Venizelos, that the English system of education with its attention to the development of character rather than to mere instruction and its encouragement of team-work was specially needed in Greece, the founder sent a young Greek scholar to visit the chief English Public Schools and to collect the latest and best arrangements which they had to show. He then began to build on a plot of land outside the town of Spetsai—an island in which there is no wheeled traffic—with a sea frontage for bathing and ample room

[1] Th. Vellianitis in the *Messager d'Athènes,* 22 February, 1926.

for playing fields behind. His scheme, which I have had frequent occasions of studying with him on the spot, comprised the erection of four boarding-houses with forty-five boys, each between the ages of thirteen and eighteen. The plans include also a school chapel, a sanatorium, a covered gymnasium, and a residence for the headmaster, who is Mr. Eric Sloman, an ex-master at Rugby and late director of the Police School at Corfù, equipped, therefore, with English Public School experience and a knowledge of both modern Greek and Greeks. Mr. Anargyros intends to supplement this senior school by a preparatory for younger boys, beginning with those of twelve, and gradually admitting those of eleven and ten. This first experiment of introducing the English Public School system into Greece merits attention and success. The site has been wisely chosen, for Spetsai possesses an admirable summer climate, and lacks the political and other distractions of the capital. Rich Greeks should welcome such an opportunity of giving their sons a first-class education, and the founder believes that his school will find imitators. Politics, the bane of many Greek institutions, is excluded, for Mr. Anargyros is not a politician, nor does he want pecuniary aid from the state. His masters are chosen by a committee, of which the Director of the National Bank, Mr. Diomedes, is a member, while Mr. Anargyros, who had already endowed his native island with a first-rate hotel, contents himself with providing the money and looking after the building. The first class of the school was opened on 1 October, 1927.

Education is facilitated in Athens by the wealth of libraries. Before the War of Independence the best Greek library was that added in 1817 to the famous school in Chios. The libraries of Kaisariané, Pentele, and the Deka School of Athens were used for cartridges during the siege of the Akropolis. When Ægina became

the capital, the nucleus of a library, including books presented by Koraes, was formed in the orphanage founded by Capo d'Istria for the children of the fallen heroes of the war, and directed by the Corfiote historian, Moustoxides. In 1832 this library, then housed in the central school of Ægina, under the direction of George Gennadios, contained 1,800 volumes, enriched by the collection of Sakellarios, and received a Government subsidy. The Regency founded another library with a reading-room at Nauplia. When the capital was transferred to Athens, both these collections likewise went there and became the National Library, at first housed in the little church of Hagios Eleutherios, with which the subsequent University Library was merged in 1903. The Library of Parliament, of which Mr. Kalogeropoulos has been for half a century the librarian, is accessible to the public, possesses numerous foreign books, is well organised and kept up to date, and its catalogue of Greek newspapers is unique. It was increased in 1925 by the library of Mr. Psychares (which included that of Renan), presented, together with a new room for lectures, by Mr. Benakes, the munificent millionaire. The foreign archæological schools possess good libraries, and since 1899 the British has had that of George Finlay, which is specially rich in books, pamphlets, newspapers, and manuscripts relating to the modern struggles of Greece—*quorum pars magna fuit*—among them the complete set of his articles to *The Times*. Not the least curious part of this collection consists of the caustic *marginalia,* written in many of his volumes, besides his letters and journals.[1]

To these libraries was added in 1926 that of Mr. John Gennadios, formerly Greek Minister in London, who

[1] *Cf.* W. Miller, *The Finlay Library* in *B.S.A.*, xxvi., 46-66; *The Finlay Papers; George Finlay as a Journalist; The Journals of Finlay and Jarvis* in the *English Historical Review,* xxxix., 386-98, 552-67; xli., 514-25.

gave in trust to the American School of Classical Studies at Athens his valuable collection of some 28,000 volumes, mainly about Greece. This library is housed in the "Gennadeion," a marble building constructed at the expense of the Carnegie Foundation, opposite the American School. A special feature of this library is the bindings, many designed by the donor, while several volumes belonged to royal personages. Among the rarities are the first Greek book, Laskaris' *Greek Grammar,* printed at Milan in 1476, and the first Greek books printed in Paris, Vienna, Spain, and Athens. For historians of modern Greece the works relating to the reign of Otho are valuable sources, and there is a huge mass of newspaper cuttings about the Eastern question. Dr. Scoggin, the librarian, is making a catalogue. Outside Athens, the Piræus has had, since 1927, a good public library, thanks to the bequest of Retsinas, a Greek of Marseilles; Andritsaina, though a small place, possesses an interesting collection, presented in 1839 by a native who had become a librarian in Paris,[1] while Corfù preserves the library of the Ionian Academy, founded by Lord Guilford. The manuscripts preserved on Mount Athos and at Meteora have been examined by Lampros and Professor Bees; Zante has the papers of De Biazes. Athens abounds in booksellers, whereas at Nauplia in 1830 there was only one, a German, and for some time Gharvolas was the only one in the new capital.[2] Athens has an observatory, the gift of the Greek banker in Vienna, Baron Sina, and the National Museum is known to every visitor. Rather would I speak of the admirable Byzantine Museum in the Academy, arranged by Professor Soteriou, and soon to be transferred to the villa of the Duchesse de Plaisance, and of the unique collection of the Historical and Ethnological Society in the

[1] Ranghabês, *Ἀπομνημονεύματα*, ii., 91, 387.
[2] *Id.* i., 254, 273; ii., 108.

Polytechnic, both of which have excellent catalogues. There may be seen the costumes and portraits of the heroes of the War of Independence, the pictures of the Bavarian Regency, and of Otho and the chief personages of his reign, a collection of Byron relics, and a whole series of other objects recalling the heroic siege of Mesolonghi and the Battle of Navarino. In these rooms the story of modern Greece becomes a vivid reality, and men who were mere names before assume flesh and blood. This society also possesses a number of manuscripts.

Athens abounds in learned societies, which provide lectures during the winter and excursions to interesting sites during the spring and autumn. The Byzantine Society, the Christian Archæological Society, the Archæological Society, the Geographical Society, the "Parnassos" (whose secretary is grandson of the sister of the "Maid of Athens") all cater for the cultivated public. Athens possesses two excellent lecture-halls, those of the "Parnassos" and the Archæological Society, where the acoustics are good. During the dictatorship of Pangalos, in 1926, there was founded an Academy, on the lines of the famous French institution. There were nominated thirty-nine "Immortals," and these were to elect others. But when Pangalos fell it was proposed to modify the original scheme. Meanwhile two more members have been elected—Messrs. Kampouroglous and Streit. The Academy holds open meetings, offers prizes, and publishes its proceedings.

To sum up: Greek education is widely and profoundly diffused, except among the poorer class of girls; the seed is sown on very receptive ground. On the day when the Greek youth has learned to apply team-work in after-life Greece will have nothing to fear from any of her neighbours. Individual excellence is less important to her than collective co-operation.

Greek higher education and learning are inseparable from archæology, which in Greece plays a more important part than in other countries. No other country enjoys such a glamour from its past; in no other country are the ancient monuments so beautiful, as well as so interesting. Besides, in Italy, including the Italian colonies, no foreigner is allowed to excavate; hence the foreign archæologist has advantages in Greece denied to him in the other classic land. Italy is doubtless richer and can afford to do more excavation than a smaller country, and Sig. Mussolini has shown a laudable interest in the Roman antiquities, whence the *fasces* are derived. Moreover, till the time of Pangalos Greek museums were free, so that the already discovered antiquities did not provide a fund for the excavation of others. Small entrance fees are now charged, two days a week being free, except for tourists travelling in parties. This change has been criticised; but all countries having antiquities raise revenue from them. In any case, it is the law of the country, which is the affair of the Greeks alone. Greece is very liberal: she allows foreign scholars to bear their share in revealing to the world the secrets of the Hellenic past, regarding ancient Greece, not as a national treasure to be kept under lock and key, but as the common heritage of the cultured world. "Those are accounted Greeks who participate in our culture," as the Greek adage inscribed on the Gennadeion says.

The French were the first foreigners to establish an Archæological School in Athens. But their primary aim, as Radet, the historian of the French School, has frankly told us, was not science, but political propaganda, due "to the violent rivalry of the representatives of King Louis-Philippe and of Queen Victoria." Piscatory, the Corsican who then represented France in Athens, had been nourished on the memories of Waterloo, while Sir Edmund Lyons, the British Minister, was a naval officer,

converted into a diplomatist by Palmerston. At the head of the Greek Government in 1846, the date of the foundation of the French School, was Kolettes, the leader of the "French" party, ex-Minister in Paris and the favourite of Guizot. Thus the French School was to be an annex of the Legation. It was lodged first in the house of Gennadios, now 56, Academy Street, then, from 1856 to 1873, in that of Lemnios (now the Hôtel de la Grande Bretagne in Constitution Square), and then, on ground presented by the Greek Government, in the present building, also at the foot of Lykabettos. By a lucky accident the Areiopagos escaped the fate of becoming the site of the French School, just as the Akropolis avoided that of becoming the palace of Otho. But if the French School's foundation was partly due to politics, it also caused, as most questions do in Greece, political opposition. The "Russian" party scented in the French School an instrument for converting the Orthodox Greeks to the Church of Rome, and its organ denounced Kolettes as "the traitor"—the journalistic synonym for a person from whose opinions one disagrees. Happily, the controversies of the "English," "French," and "Russian" parties died away, and the French School has rendered greater and more durable services to international learning than to national policy. The still continuing excavations at Delphi and Delos would alone have justified its existence, not to mention lesser known classical sites. It has lately excavated at Thasos, Philippi, and Mallia in Crete, while in the domain of Byzantine archæology the name of Gabriel Millet will always be associated with Mistrâ, the capital of the Byzantine province of the Morea during a large part of the Frankish period. Unfortunately he has not yet published the text to his portfolio of illustrations. A long line of eminent scholars, including Beulé and Fustel de Coulanges, has emerged from the French School

now directed by M. Roussel, while the sarcastic Edmond About was one of its students, and there conceived that cynical contempt of Greece which produced his *Grèce contemporaine* and that amusing caricature which has done so much harm, *Le Roi des Montagnes*. Athens bored this *boulevardier*, as he himself confessed, and he took a terrible revenge. So tourists condemn a whole nation because an hotel porter has overcharged them. Grenier, author of *La Grèce en* 1863 (really in 1847), a minor About, was another early student. Swiss, Danes, Belgians, and Dutch are also admitted to the French School.

The German Archæological Institute, founded in 1874, has the excavation of Olympia to its credit, and has recently worked at Amyklai, Ægina, and the Heraion of Samos. Its best-known figure in Greece is the evergreen Dr. Dörpfeld, who, although no longer its director, still lectures on the Akropolis, still seeks to demonstrate that Santa Maura was Ithake, and last May delivered at the "Delphic festival," organised by Madame Sikelianou, in the ancient theatre of Delphi, an address upon the Greek drama. In normal times strictly scientific, the German School, during the war, indulged in active propaganda, ably conducted by the versatile linguist, who was then its director, and has now returned to excavate at Tiryns.

The American School was founded in 1881, and the next year its first director, Professor Goodwin, the grammarian, opened its work in Amalia Avenue. Since 1888, when it was moved to its present site, the gift of the Greek Government, it has fraternally shared the same garden with its neighbour, the British. Possessed of considerable means and generously supported by wealthy Americans, it has conducted important excavations at the theatres of Thorikos, Sikyon, and Eretria, at Dionysos, the Argive Heraion, on the summit of

Hymettos, at Kleonai, Phlius, the temple of Nemea, and, above all, at Corinth, where it has been engaged for several years. It proposes to publish a book upon Corinth alone, including that splendid medieval and Venetian fortress, Akrocorinth. Besides the above, Miss Goldman, an American lady, has excavated at Eutresis in Bœotia and at Kolophon. During the long directorship of Dr. Hill, assisted by Mr. Blegen—a combination terminated last year—the American School not only distinguished itself by its excavations, but occupied a unique position in the cosmopolitan social life of Athens as the meeting-ground of all that was intellectual in Athenian society. American millionaires, who, after visiting the Corinthian excavations, gave large sums for their prosecution, have set an example of patriotism which British *nouveaux riches* might imitate. Thus, when the Gennadios library was offered to the British School, no wealthy British institution or body of individuals came forward with the money for housing it; it was then offered to, and accepted by, the Americans. They, again, are finding the money for the gigantic undertaking of excavating the ancient Athenian *Agorá*—a scheme mooted in 1833, when it was strongly opposed by Finlay on practical and economic grounds. Let us hope that, in excavating "ancient," the archæologists will not destroy "old" Athens.

The British School was opened in 1886, but long struggled against financial difficulties; for learning, in the case of Great Britain, *laudatur et alget,* and even now it is not sufficiently recognised that the British School should be supported, not only from scientific, but also from patriotic motives. Greeks find it difficult to understand how a rich country like Great Britain can allow such an institution to languish from want of funds, and stay-at-home scholars hardly realise what a national asset it might be abroad. All the more creditable is the

high standard of scholarship upheld by the students of our school. The excavations which they have undertaken include Paphos, Arsinoe, and Salamis in Cyprus, the theatre at Megalopolis, Aigosthena on the Corinthian Gulf (under the direction of Mr. E. F. Benson, the novelist, whom the writer remembers to have met as a student of the school in 1894, and whose local knowledge of Greece was embodied in *The Vintage*) and Mycenæ, Phylakopi in Melos, Palaiokastro in Crete, besides work in Thessaly and in recent years at Sparta. Messrs. Schultz and Barnsley devoted attention to Byzantine, and Mr. Traquair to Frankish architecture, Professor Dawkins to Greek dialects, while the late F. W. Hasluck, besides his two books on Cyzicus and Mount Athos, worked at the medieval heraldry of Lesbos and the kindred remains of Genoese domination in Chios, besides various odds and ends of unusual periods. During recent seasons Mr. Heurtley, the assistant-director of the school, has successfully excavated prehistoric sites in Macedonia, near Karasouli in the Vardar Valley, and near Kozane, while Mr. Casson has worked at Chauchitza in Macedonia and in the Hippodrome at Constantinople. The *Annual* of the school, of which twenty-six volumes have appeared, contains the results of some of its labours. During the war the linguistic and topographical knowledge of Greek lands, acquired by its members, proved of practical value to our armies in the Near East, and the Intelligence Department profited by the intelligence of the school, in which some more "practical" people were—as we learned to our cost—conspicuously lacking. The name of one British archæologist is a household word alike in Greece and Jugoslavia. Sir Arthur Evans, as a former Greek Foreign Minister remarked to me, has, by his excavation of Knossos, rendered an immense service to Crete and Greece. His revelations of Minoan civilisation attract every year

numbers of visitors to "the great Greek island," and his generous gift of his villa there to the British School was facilitated, and the usual legal formalities accelerated, by the grateful Hellenic Government. It is seldom given to a foreigner to be popular in two countries of South-Eastern Europe, but the author of the *Illyrian Letters* is as much esteemed at Belgrade for his political sympathies as in Athens as the excavator of the palace of Minos for his archæological triumphs.

An Austrian Archæological Institute was founded in 1897 under the direction of Benndorf in Vienna, with two secretaries in Athens, and, despite the amputation of the Dual Monarchy after the war, the Athenian Institute still exists, although its sole secretary, Dr. Otto Walter, combines those functions with those of Consul-General, residing in what has been since 1908 the seat of the institute. Its excavations include the temple of Artemis at Lusoi, the market-place and theatre of Elis, and the city of Aigeira, while Professor Wilhelm, long secretary in Athens, has studied the Attic inscriptions, and Dr. Walter the Attic reliefs.

The youngest of the foreign schools is the Italian, founded in 1909 under the directorship of Dr. Pernier, who was succeeded in 1919 by Professor Della Seta; it occupies a convenient site near the house of the famous Makrygiannes, one of the protagonists of the Revolution of 1843, and between the Akropolis and the temple of Zeus Olympios. Thus of all the schools it is nearest to the chief antiquities. The Italians have excavated at Phaistos and Gortys in Crete, on the southern slopes of the Akropolis behind the portico of Eumenes, at Pharsalos, in Lemnos, Tenos, Kos, Karpathos, and Rhodes. For political as well as historical reasons, the Italians have naturally devoted much attention to the archæology of the Dodekanese, and Dr. Gerola, who had already illustrated "the Venetian Monuments of Crete," has

published, in the handsome *Annuario* of the school, his valuable papers on "the Medieval Monuments of the Thirteen Sporades," as well as on Keos, Kythnos, and Seriphos. A still more eminent Italian, King Vittorio Emanuele III., possesses an extraordinary knowledge of the Frankish history of Greece, especially of Rhodes, from the standpoint of numismatics.

Another Latin nation, Spain, is about to start an archæological school in Athens, about whose domination by the Catalans in the fourteenth century D. Antonio Rubió y Lluch has written with such wealth of documentary evidence.

These contributions of foreigners to the knowledge of Greece in all periods may be regarded as some compensation for the misdeeds of Elgin and other collectors. Besides the regular foreign archæological schools, the Swedes, under the direct patronage of their cultured Crown Prince, have excavated at the beautiful site of Asine on the Gulf of Nauplia, and the Tchecho-Slovaks, with characteristic enterprise, at Kyme in Æolis and Samothrace.

But a very large share in the glory of having revealed the hidden secrets of Greek soil belongs to the Greeks themselves.

As soon as they had assured their independence of Turkey, they began to think of the preservation of their artistic heritage. Even rude chieftains, innocent of letters, realised that their ancestors and their monuments had been a valuable asset to them in securing the sympathies of cultured foreigners, and under Capo d'Istria, by no means an idealist, Ægina, the first Greek capital, witnessed the creation of an Archæological Museum, of which Moustoxides, his Corfiote compatriot, who wrote the history of his native island, was the first director. The first Greek archæologist was the Athenian Pittakes, brother-in-law of the "Maid of Athens," a mostly self-

taught student of the antiquities, who had acquired a certain amount of learning under the British in Corfù, but whose aspirations towards the cult of the ancients were severely snubbed by the "practical" President. Even other archæologists—and they are apt to resemble in their mutual relations the potters of Hesiod—admitted Pittakes' zeal for the preservation of the antiquities in the late Turkish days, and the foreign travellers of that period found him a willing guide. In 1833 Ludwig Ross was appointed Assistant-Conservator of the Antiquities in the Peloponnese, and sent in 1835 to Athens to see that the plan for laying out the new town did not injure the ancient remains. Excavations had begun on the Akropolis in the previous August, and Ross was appointed Chief Conservator with the direction of them. But a dispute with the Ministry led to his replacement by Pittakes. In 1837, the year of the University's foundation, the present Archæological Society was founded in a meeting on the Akropolis—for the next few years the annual gatherings were held in the Parthenon—and Pittakes, who two years earlier had published his *Description of the Antiquities of Athens,* began the publication of the Ἐφημερὶς Ἀρχαιολογική. In 1874 a lottery, long a monopoly of the society, swelled its funds: hopes of future gain contributed to the discovery of past glories. Besides their earlier excavations, too numerous to mention, the Greek archæologists in recent years have conducted successful campaigns at the house of Kadmos in Thebes, Koroneia, Iolkos, the temple of Zeus Thaulios near Velestino, Kalydon, Stymphalos, Messene, Epidauros, Eleusis, Sunium, and the Amphiareion near Oropos. As soon as the Balkan wars rendered Crete, Macedonia, and Epeiros available, excavations were made there, notably at Nikopolis and at Pyrgos near Candia; and the brief occupation of Asia Minor led to similar work at Klazomenai and Mysa on the

Mæander. In Athens the Odeîon of Perikles and the re-erection of the northern colonnade of the Parthenon have been objects of Greek study. Nor has Byzantine archæology been neglected. Professor Soteriou has conducted recent excavations in Thebes, Chios, Ephesos, and New Anchialos in Thessaly, has studied the famous Church of St. Demetrios at Salonika, burned in the fire of 1917, and laid bare the remains of the basilica of the martyred Bishop of Athens, Leonidas, on the banks of the Ilissos—a building dating from the fifth century and a valuable addition to the history of Christian Athens. One of the most romantic discoveries was that of the temple of Apollo Zoster at Vouliagméne by Mr. Tanagras, and excavated by the children of the Orphan Asylum there. Local museums have been built in various places, instead of concentrating all the finds in Athens.

Mr. Woodward, the director of the British School, publishes an annual article in *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* on "Archæology in Greece."

CHAPTER XII

COMMUNICATIONS

THE Greek railway system has not yet attained its Diamond Jubilee. The Finlay library contains a ticket of invitation to the opening of the first Greek railway on 10 March, 1869—that from Athens to the Piræus, at present seven and a half miles, but then somewhat shorter, because until 1895 the terminus was at the Theseion, while until 1883 the line went direct to the Piræus, and there was a branch to Phaleron at the monument of Karaïskakes. Ranghabês in his *Memoirs* tells us that it had been projected by an Italian in 1843; it is interesting to us that this was "the first undertaking of an English company in Greece," as Finlay wrote, adding that, in the same month, the King, touring in the Peloponnese, took ten days to ride 250 miles. Yet even business men doubted whether the traffic would warrant the expenditure, and the banker, Skouzes, had a record made of the foot passengers and carriages travelling between Athens and her port, and came to an unfavourable conclusion. Finlay wrote in 1873 that the goods traffic was still transported by road. After doubling the line in 1893 and electrifying it in 1904, there are now 230 trains daily, and in 1925 the average number of passengers in the two classes—there is no second—was 90,778 *per diem,* or more than nine times what it was before the electrification! The goods traffic, as on our Underground, is still comparatively insignificant, but in the carriages there is often only standing room. By the convention made between the Pangalos Government in 1925 and the British Company, "Power

and Traction," for sixty years, the line is to be prolonged by another tunnel—now being constructed—from the present terminus at Concord Square to the starting-point of the trains for Kephissia, so as to link up the Piræus with Kephissia, the line to which, now colloquially known as "the beast" (τὸ θηρίον), will be electrified and its gauge broadened, while at the other end an electric tramway will connect the Piræus station with the ferry across to Salamis. In 1926 the Kephissia railway carried 2,790,211 passengers; it is estimated that, after the above much-needed improvement, the beautified "beast" will transport hourly 1,500. A concession for a line to Port Raphti to attract the Indian mails was mentioned in 1873, but never materialised.

Such were the small beginnings of the Greek railway system, now covering 1,609¼ miles, of which 453⅛ are in the Peloponnese. Before the Balkan wars of 1912-13, it also included the so-called "Piræus-Larissa" railway, which had been constructed as far as the then Turkish frontier at Papapouli beyond the Vale of Tempe, a distance of 240 miles, with its two branches from Schematari (now rebaptised Oinoe) to Chalkis, and from Lianokladi *via* Lamia to Stylis, amounting together to 27½ more. There were also the Thessalian railways from Volo to the junction of Velestino and thence to Kalabaka, on the one hand, and to Larissa on the other, 131½ miles together; the railways of Attica, from Athens to Laurion and to Kephissia, constructed in 1885 by the Greek Mining Company of Laurion, which both pursue the same track as far as the junction of Herakleion, and have together a mileage of 45½; and the North-Western Railway Company, whose line proceeds from Kryoneri, the landing-place for Mesolonghi to Agrinion, with an extension into the town of Mesolonghi and a branch from Aitolikó to Katoché, near the mouth of the Achelôos (at that time under construction), together 44¾ miles.

Thus the mileage of the "old" Greek railways was $949\frac{7}{8}$.

The acquisition of "new" Greece has increased this mileage by $659\frac{3}{8}$ miles, divided between the following lines: (1) The extension of the "Piræus-Larissa" railway from Papapouli to Platy, on the Monastir-Salonika line, $61\frac{7}{8}$ miles (making the total distance from the Piræus to Salonika $324\frac{3}{8}$, of which $22\frac{1}{2}$ coincide with the line to Monastir); (2) the line from Salonika to the Jugoslav frontier station of Ghevghelê, 50 miles; (3) that from Salonika to Dedeagatch (now rebaptised Alexandroupolis), $277\frac{1}{2}$; (4) that from Dedeagatch to Kuleli-Bourgas, $68\frac{3}{4}$; (5) that from Salonika to Monastir, $136\frac{7}{8}$, of which 10, from Kenali, the Jugoslav frontier, to Monastir, although the property of the Greek state, run over Jugoslav territory; (6) that from Sarakli to Stavros, on the Gulf of Orphano, $41\frac{7}{8}$; and (7) the "Local Macedonian railways" from Vertekop (near Vodená) to Soumboko, $22\frac{1}{2}$ miles—these last both Décauville lines. It will be noticed that all the Greek railways are on the mainland; no Greek island, not even Crete, has a mile of railway, and the writer knows Corfiotes of an advanced age who have never seen a railway train! All the Greek lines, except that from Athens to Salonika and those in "new" Greece, are narrow gauge, one, that from Diakopto to Kalavryta, employs the cog-wheel system of the Swiss mountain-railways. Visitors should note that on this line the payment of a third-class fare entitles them to travel comfortably on the luggage trains.

The greatest achievement of Greek railway policy is the direct line from the Piræus to Salonika. It is curious to read how Finlay, in 1871 and 1874, in his *Times* correspondence, opposed the even then projected line to Lamia and the then Turkish frontier. He argued that only the portion of the line as far as Levadeia would pay

until the Turks made the connection with Macedonia, and derided the subsequently realised "visions of quick trains from Calais . . . running direct to the Piræus." Yet he foresaw in 1870 that "Greece, by her splendid scenery and picturesque island seas, might . . . become a home of tourists . . . the winter Switzerland of Europe," and that "an active and judicious Demarch might contribute greatly towards making Athens a choice winter resort." In 1912 the late King George I., a practical man of business, remarked to me that the greatest need of Greece was the linking-up of her lines with the Macedonian. But until May, 1916, Greece had no railway connection with what the Greeks still call "Europe," and until a few years earlier there was no communication between the Thessalian railways and Athens. Thus Greece was isolated, except by sea, from the rest of the world—indeed, the first regular connection by steamer began only in 1837—and parts of Greece were cut off from each other, the Thessalian railways on the north-east and the North-Western Railway on the other side of the country having no relation to other lines. Only the Peloponnese had a fairly complete network of railways, the work of Trikoupes, but even there Sparta had—and still has—no communication with either its port of Gytheion or the rail from Athens at Tripolis. Both these lines are, however, contemplated, but will cost much. Continental Greece, except in the north-western corner, had no trains till, in 1904, the line was opened to Schematari and Chalkis, and as late as the winter of 1903 I had to travel to Thebes by carriage. There is still no railway communication between the north-west and the north-east, between Epeiros and Macedonia or Thessaly. But there is a scheme for a narrow-gauge railway from Kalabaka, the present Thessalian terminus, via Grevena and Kozane to Joannina and thence down the Kalamas Valley to Goumenitsa, a distance of 178 miles—

a plan less costly than the shorter but more difficult route of 126 viâ Metzovon, and possessing the further advantage of opening up a larger tract of country at present isolated. Two short lines are also projected from the bridge over the Corinth Canal to the baths of Loutraki, now accessible by motor-car, and from the station of Nemea to the village, which will facilitate a visit to the temple. It is also proposed to make Navarino accessible by rail from Kyparissia. Now, thanks to the forging of the last link between the Piræus-Larissa and the Macedonian lines, not only are the two great cities of Greece connected by rail, but the London newspapers reach Athens in the evening of the third day, and the service is capable of acceleration, by the relaying of parts of the permanent way in Northern Greece, which will reduce the journey from Athens to Salonika to ten hours, and the diminution of some of the long stops in Serbia. Even now it is only thirty-five hours from Belgrade to Athens, and the line is traversed thrice a week by the Simplon-Orient express and thrice a week by the Athens-Prague express, besides the daily local service between Salonika and Belgrade. Beneficial as this access by rail has been to the rest of Greece, it has injured Corfù, formerly the gate through which all travellers from "Europe" had to pass, and in which they often lingered for a few days between steamers. Now Corfù has an old-world look of a place which has known better days.

A railway from Drama to Kavalla across the plain of Philippi is a missing link in Macedonia.

Besides the railways, there is a steam tramway from Volo along the coast to Meliai, 17½ miles; and electric trams from Patras to the bathing-station of Itea, 2 miles; from Athens to the junction of Tzitziphiés on the sea and thence to Old and New Phaleron on either side, the former now being extended to Pikrodaphne; and from Salonika along the coast to Kalamaria. There are also

local electric services in Athens, the Piræus and Salonika. The "Power and Traction" Company will take over the Athenian trams from the Belgian company, and has already put on new tramcars.

The Greek railways are all the property of private companies, except that from the Piræus to Salonika, with its two branches; those from Salonika to Dedeagatch, Monastir, and Ghevghelê (this last recently acquired), and that from Sarakli to Stavros, made by the British during the war, which all belong to the state.[1] A new station at Patras, a central station at Salonika, and one for both the big railways, instead of two, at Athens are meditated. Railway fares are low (although they have been raised), and specially cheap tickets were issued for refugees. The difference in cost between first and second class is as 12 to 10. During the years 1923-26, the state railways showed surpluses; but, except inland, they cannot compete with the freights of the steamers; formidable rivals along the indented coast. In 1926—the worst of the last seven years—their earnings were 18 per cent., but their expenses 29 per cent. higher than in 1925, the increased expenditure being due to the rise in the price of coal from 612 to 945 dr. per ton, the fall of the drachma, the increased wages, and the lesser hours' work. For the current year the prospects are better. For the convenience of tourists, a special fast train between Athens and Olympia, covering the distance in eight and a half hours, has recently been put on once a week, and a new wagon-restaurant ordered. On the Greek lines, where there is such a car, the cost of meals is much less than on the Serbian railways: one pays in drachmai in Greece for what costs the same number of dinara in Serbia, or about 30 per cent. less. A want is a time-table, which can be purchased, especially as

[1] I am indebted for the above information to Mr. Karadoukas, of the Ministry of Communications.

Southern ideas about time are apt to be vague, and country-folk consider it sufficient to tell the traveller that the train leaves "about" such an hour. The rolling-stock is being renewed as funds permit, and a number of new locomotives have been bought. A considerable amount of free luggage is allowed, in contrast with Jugoslavia, and dogs take a "soldier's" ticket—half the third-class fare. Sleeping-cars of both second and first class traverse the through line to the north, and it is comfortable to travel from Athens to Belgrade without a change, and to have one's luggage examined in the train at the frontier. Last autumn my luggage was never opened between Salzburg and Athens, despite two frontiers. The traveller can now compare Catullus' description of

Tempe, quæ cingunt silvæ supcrimpendentes,

with the view from his corridor carriage as he steams through the famous pass, and the nymphs of the Eurotas demand a similar violation. Contrast with these facilities the royal tours of Otho and Amalia, so patiently endured amidst real discomforts. Modern tourists have found in the Brothers Ghiolman organisers of Greek travel, whose word is law. A still greater change in Greek travel has been wrought by the introduction of motor-cars, public and private. Thanks to them, Sparta, formerly a two days' journey from Athens by rail and carriage, can now be reached by rail and car in a single day ; while Delphi, formerly accessible by an uncertain steamer to Itea and thence by carriage or mule, is a regular week-end excursion from Athens, and the fashionable Athenians can take their morning coffee beneath Lykabettos and make their five o'clock tea with the Castalian spring. To those, like myself, who toured Greece on mule-back in 1894, no change is so remarkable as this. True, the Greek roads are not perfect motor-tracks, but they have

been much improved during the last few years. The Syngros Avenue down to Phaleron, the road to Kephissia and half that to Eleusis—this last due to the fact that General Pangalos had a house there—are now excellent. Those to Sunium and Hagios Andreas, the still unspoiled *Côte d'Azur* of Greece, are good, but a decent track to Vouliagméne, the other beautiful seaside resort of Athens, and the improvement of the direct road to the Piræus, are sorely needed. The road from Brallo to Delphi, largely the work of our soldiers during the war, is one of the best. Another is that from Tripolis to Sparta. Mytilene received from the Turks an excellent network of roads, the work of "James Bey"—an English engineer in the Ottoman service, which make motoring in that lovely island agreeable. But quantity as well as quality is wanted. In 1923 there were only 1,238½ miles of driving roads in all Greece, the proportion being greater in the "new" provinces. The Committee of Experts, which reported in 1927 upon the economies desirable in the various departments, pointed out that there was no such road between Corinth and Patras (the railway being considered sufficient), between Patras and Pyrgos (one of the most fertile plains in Greece), between Pyrgos and Kyparissia, and between Kyparissia and Kalamata. Sparta is accessible from Kalamata only by the mule-track which traverses the Langada gorge—a lovely but fatiguing ride. Tripolis is similarly isolated from Kalavryta, Lamia from Larissa. The west and the east of Continental Greece are unconnected; mule-paths alone join Southern Epeiros with Thessaly and Northern with Macedonia. Meanwhile, roads of secondary importance have been built, presumably for political reasons, while large arteries of commercial and strategic importance have been neglected. Still the motorist can visit the principal archæological sites, the cost of hiring motor-cars is low, and

the Ford cars—so general in Greece that *phordáki* has become a recognised Greek word—will go over and through obstacles, such as the river that has to be "forded" by the motorist between Olympia and Pyrgos, and the stony hillside leading to Rhamnoûs, which would deter anyone less daring than the Greek chauffeur.

Greek steamers, too, must have made much progress since I first used them thirty-three years ago, and some boats, such as the *Patris II.*, plying to Marseilles, have a great reputation. The food on even the smaller boats is excellent and cheap, and there is a regular tariff for it. The "John" boats, once so familiar to British tourists, have disappeared, but there are numerous other companies. The lesser Greek steamers are still, however, essentially cargo-boats, whose time-table may be modified according to the amount of goods or cattle which they have to discharge. Moreover, the Greek winds and seas change as rapidly as the political situation. On the centenary of the Sortie from Mesolonghi, celebrated in 1926, we arrived by steamer a day late, because the wind made it impossible to land at Kryoneri, the open roadstead which serves as an approach to the heroic city of the siege. A leading inhabitant remarked to me that it was by no means a misfortune, because, as General Pangalos, a notoriously bad sailor, was also delayed by the storm, he would realise the importance of making a new harbour in the lagoon. The Italian and Jugoslav lines have not the right of issuing tickets from one Greek port to another. Both have, however, excellent services from abroad, and the French *Messageries* take passengers from the Piræus. In 1926 an Italian air-service from Brindisi via Phaleron to Constantinople was inaugurated, and carries mails and passengers, among them the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Aviators frequently land at the aerodrome of Tatoï, and Mr. Cobham stopped there on his famous flight in 1926. There

is a British factory, the Blackburn aeroplane works, at Old Phaleron; in 1926, Madame Pangalos christened the first aeroplane constructed there, and the Master of Sempill made the first official flight in it. But, as Finlay wrote, "the strength of the Greek race lies in its maritime population." He also considered the project of cutting the isthmus more important than a trans-Balkan line.[1] Here he was wrong. For the Corinth Canal, opened in 1893, seems scarcely to have fulfilled the expectations formed of it. Many large steamers still prefer the much longer route round Cape Matapan, and a landslip in the winter of 1923 caused the canal to be closed for months. The canal is narrow and its sides steep, except where it is traversed by the ferry from Loutraki to Corinth. The scheme for another canal, connecting the Piræus with the Bay of Phaleron, has not matured, but a French engineer has submitted a plan for more quays. That famous port, which in 1834 had only one house, is now the third harbour in the Mediterranean, and has latterly waxed as Constantinople has waned. Improvements are being made, and the first part of the harbour works was completed in August, 1927. A much-needed reform there, as at other Greek ports, is the landing of passengers and goods direct from the steamers on to the quays. Transport in small boats is always tiresome, often involves bargaining and delays, and is very disagreeable in rough weather. The vested interests of the boatmen must, of course, be respected; but it has been proposed to compensate them, especially the older men, out of a fund provided by a small landing tax included in the ticket, which every passenger would willingly pay. The boatmen are autocrats under the present system. Recently they threatened to hold up a large liner, unless they were allowed the monopoly of landing

[1] *Saturday Review*, 21 July, 1866; *The Times*, 27 March, 1872.

its passengers at the Piræus ; in 1925 they defeated the dictator himself at Corfù. In 1927 a decree made obligatory the landing of passengers direct on to the quays at Salonika, and assigned a lump sum, calculated according to their age, years of service, and family responsibilities, to the boatmen. It is proposed to extend this decree to other ports.

Throughout modern Greek history vested interests have been a great obstacle to the improvement of communications, as was the case in the early days of English railways. Mr. Aspreas,[1] the well-known historian, tells how the chief cause of Trikoupes' historic defeat at the Mesolonghi election of 1895 was the opposition of the carters and carriage-drivers to the railway uniting Mesolonghi with Kryoneri, which was his handiwork. Individual triumphed over national, and even local, interests. Similarly, Trikoupes' railway policy in the Peloponnese was fiercely opposed by the Peloponnesian Deligiannes. The Piræus-Athens line met with the united hostility of hundreds of cabmen, donkey-drivers, and camel-drivers (for camels were long used along the Piræus road). The line from Athens to Nauplia aroused the indignation of the boatmen at Kalamaki, soldiers had to keep order, and one prominent politician denounced railways as means of corrupting women and children ! More recently, the railway to Thebes was opposed by the coachmen, the innkeepers, and the sellers of fodder, who plied their trades along the familiar road over Kithairon. Goudês, "the founder of the steam-driven shipping of Spetsai"—and, indeed, of Greece—as the epitaph on his tomb in his native island calls him, was doubtless regarded as a public danger by the owners of those sailing vessels which had made the fortunes of their owners. But from his small steamer, the *Spetsai,* developed the first "Greek Steamship" Company at

[1] Πολιτεία, 13, 18 February, 1927.

Syra and the "Panhellenic" at the Piræus. Here, as usual, private enterprise—and the Greek is very enterprising—preceded governmental action. Great Britain may recall with pride the fact that the first steamer ever seen in Greek waters was the historic *Karteria*,[1] of Frank Abney Hastings, which appeared off Nauplia on 27 September, 1826. Greece has shown her gratitude to him by a monument in the arsenal at Poros, and the centenary of his death on 1 June, 1928, may witness the inauguration of another at Mesolonghi. His heart, found in the house of his friend Finlay by the late Arthur Hill, reposes in the English Church of Athens; his portrait adorns the Finlay library, which contains his diary and log-book.

At the end of 1926 the Greek mercantile marine consisted of 472 steamers of 929,619 tons, and of 735 sailing vessels of 59,656, the former class showing a tendency to increase and the latter to diminish, besides some fifty steamers belonging to Greek shipowners, but flying the British or other non-Greek flags. Thus, Greece occupies the twelfth place in the world's shipping, as before the war; but a large proportion of the Greek steamers reckons more than thirty years of life. The value of the Greek mercantile fleet was estimated at the above date at some £5,365,000. During 1926 also 31,117 ships of 18,318,393 tons entered, and 31,035 of 18,367,406 left, the twenty-six principal Greek ports. Of these, after the Greek, the Italian were the most numerous, the British being third, and the American eighth. After the Piræus, Patras is the second busiest harbour, Salonika third, Syra, in earlier days the most important Greek port, fourth, and Volo fifth. Drainage works in the Thessalian plain would increase the cultivable *Hinterland* of Volo.

Far more could be done to make Greece known to the tourist. Exclusive stress is laid upon her antiquities,

[1] *Messager d'Athènes*, 1 November, 1926.

little is written about her natural beauties. This method of description limits the number of visitors; for in these days, when the classics are far less studied, and the comparatively few classical students are not always able to travel so far afield, emphasis should be laid upon these natural attractions of Greece which would appeal to every lover of beauty. The wife of a British Cabinet Minister, to whom Marathon meant nothing, was enchanted with the scenery. Where can there be seen such purple light as upon Hymettos, when sunset places "the violet crown" upon the Attic Mountain? Where has the sea such a marvellous blue? Can the hackneyed, hotel-clad Riviera compete in unspoiled loveliness with the shores of the Corinthian Gulf, or with the beach of Hagios Andreas, facing the long island of Eubœa? What prospect over the Lake of Geneva can rival that over the Gulf of Volo from Portariá on Pelion—the scene of the Argo's fateful launch? Yet no picture post cards proclaim to the world the non-archæological attractions of Greece, although there are excellent Greek photographers. Moreover, owing to the antiquity of the guide-books—for the latest editions of Baedeker, Murray, and the *Guide Bleu* are 1909, 1900, and 1911 respectively and, therefore, are limited to "old" Greece and ignorant of the railway connection with "Europe" and internal motor routes—the intending tourist has an exaggerated idea of the difficulties and hardships of Greek travel. His only available scarlet and "blue" mentors know nothing of the revolution effected by motor-cars, of the first-class hotels at Spetsai, Tenos, and Portariá, of the excellent hotel at Therme in Mytilene, and of the good hotels at Candia, Trikkala (for the Meteora monasteries), and Delphi, whither a Londoner, misled by prehistoric guide-books, thought it necessary two years ago to drag a superfluous camp-bed. What is wanted is not luxurious caravanserais with jâzz bands,

but clean and simple hostelries, which will not vulgarise the sites. Much still remains to be done for the improvement of provincial accommodation, for instance, at Sparta; and there is urgent need of hill-stations, which might be made on Parnassos and Parnes as well as on Pelion, as has been done at Phtere high above Aigion, for sojourn during the summer months. And here we are in a vicious circle: hotels are not opened, because they will not pay, and tourists do not visit the lesser-known parts of the country, because there are no hotels. Were it the fashion for well-to-do Athenians, many of whom do not know their own country, to spend their summer holidays therein instead of going long distances to Swiss or French resorts, better accommodation would soon be provided. Still, much has been done. Nowadays, the dragoman with his equipment of beds and cooking utensils is a thing of the past, the tourist-agent has taken his place, and the "practical hints" of Baedeker have only historical value, like Strabo or Pausanias. In one respect alone has Greek travel become more difficult. A quarter of a century ago it was possible to make a rapid tour to the Cyclades in one of the steamers specially chartered by some archæologist for an "island cruise." Nowadays, the high freights have made such an undertaking impossible. Occasionally, however, some Greek society organises a sea-trip to an interesting site, such as Delos, direct communication with which and the erection of an hotel have been lately discussed. British tourists, indeed, have diminished, and most visitors to Greece are now Americans, who live on their trans-atlantic steamers, sometimes "floating Universities," and spend thirty-six hours and very little money in Athens on the way elsewhither. Often, too, these trips are in the bad weather and thus leave a bad impression.

Telegraphic and postal communications are good, and in several towns the public has the choice between the

Greek and the Eastern Telegraph Companies. For Press messages the latter possesses the advantage that no time is lost in calculations and obtaining change, for the payments are made in London. The "Eastern" in 1926 renewed its concession on favourable terms. But the above-mentioned Commission of Experts found that "the three T's," as the Greeks call the Postal (ταχυδρομεῖα). Telegraphic and Telephonic services (all three state-managed), showed a deficit, despite the large reduction of the personnel in 1926. It criticised the inordinate loss due to free official telegrams sent on supposedly public business, which amounted in 1926 to nearly two-fifths of the words telegraphed by the Greek service, exclusive of the official messages sent at ordinary rates by the "Eastern." It discovered that a Governor-General sent a free official telegram to congratulate a prefect on the birth of a daughter, that another was sent at a cost of 1,111 drachma to a Legation about sending a Kodak, and that the signature of an international convention was telegraphed in free messages of 287 words each to all prefectures and military commands. This is not peculiar to Greece. Only newspaper correspondents know the art of condensing telegrams. But they are not officials.

The postal rates have been repeatedly raised to meet the increased depreciation of the currency, and, in the case of foreign letters, are sixteen times what they were in 1915. These inevitable changes involve much sticking on of stamps, for no sooner is a new stamp issued for the enhanced value than a further rise is announced. Consequently Greek envelopes present a philatelist's collection in miniature. Till lately there was a complete lack of post cards; now that they have been issued, they also require the addition of extra stamps. More post offices would seem to be required in a city of the size of Athens, but the greatest politeness prevails at their besieged windows. The Government usually has its

stamps printed by the firm of Aspiotes at Corfù—the Byron issue was made in England—and a new set of artistic stamps was issued in 1927, a peculiarity of which is that one of the designs is a woman in the picturesque dress of one of the islands occupied by the Italians. Special issues commemorated the three centenaries of Mesolonghi and Navarino, but the last named contained the solecism of "Sir Codrington" under the Admiral's portrait. The local delivery in Athens is rapid, and motor-vans collect letters from the boxes, among which are now special receptacles for the aerial post, but more boxes are wanted.

To sum up: the train and the motor-car have made the ordinary sites on the mainland accessible; but for remoter places the *agogiátes* with his mule is still necessary, and an island tour is a lengthy business. These further improvements are questions of money. As for animal life in country hotels that is largely one of climate, as in the days when Aristophanes wrote *The Clouds*. It does not necessarily imply dirt; for in the Near East bugs have been known to penetrate palaces.

CHAPTER XIII

THE GREEK REFUGEES

THE most pressing problem of contemporary Greece has been the settlement of the 1,500,000 refugees, who have flocked into a country populated by only 5,536,375 persons at the census of 1 January, 1921, and deprived since then of Eastern Thrace, the enclave of Karagatch in Western Thrace, and Imbros and Tenedos. These Greek refugees came partly from Asia Minor as the result of the military disaster of 1922, partly from Asia Minor and Eastern Thrace as the consequence of the exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey ordered by the convention of Lausanne in 1923, partly from Bulgaria in virtue of the convention of Neuilly, for mutual voluntary emigration, and partly from the Russian Caucasus. There came, too, refugees who were not Greeks at all, but Armenians and Circassians. After deducting some 60,000 who have moved on to Egypt, America, and Soviet Armenia, and those who needed no assistance, there remained about 1,200,000 to succour, of whom about 40,000 are Armenians. Thus, little Greece, exhausted by three wars, and after having given hospitality in 1867-69 and 1897 to the fugitive Cretans, in 1913 to 40,000 Greeks from Bulgarian Macedonia, and in 1914 to 300,000 Greeks from Eastern Thrace and the Asiatic coasts, found herself faced by the problem of supporting and settling a mass of immigrants equivalent to about one-quarter of the indigenous population. Many great nations would have proved unequal to such a task, especially at such a moment. Nor were the difficulties solely material. Not only were the Armenians, but even some of the Asiatic Greeks ignorant of Greek. I have met

Greek refugees from Prokopi who could speak only Turkish. Moreover, the Greek Government felt a natural disinclination to settle Armenians who had no Greek sentiment along the Greco-Turkish frontier. Dr. Nansen proposes to relieve Greece of all the Armenian refugees.

In these circumstances the League of Nations came to the aid of the Greeks. The Geneva protocol was signed on 29 September, 1923, establishing the Refugees' Settlement Commission, which consists of two foreign members, nominated by the Council of the League, and of two Greeks, appointed by the Greek Government. One of the two foreign members acts as president and must be an American. Since the Commission began its work on 11 November, 1923, there have been three American presidents—Mr. Morgenthau, Mr. Howland, and Mr. Eddy—and two British vice-presidents—Sir John Campbell and Sir John Hope Simpson, both distinguished Indian civilians, whose experience of administration was peculiarly valuable in Greece, and the latter ex-Member for Taunton and a practical agriculturist. A Swiss, the late Dr. Bonzon, the former British Consul-General in Crete and at Salonika, Sir Robert Graves, and Dr. Hill, formerly director of the American School, have also held the presidency *ad interim*. The Commission occupies a fine office in the Kephissia road, and consists of three departments—financial, urban, and agricultural—in Athens, and of a director-general of colonisation (Mr. Karamanos) in Macedonia (with three subordinate directors for the east, centre, and west of that province), a director in Eastern Thrace, and an inspector in Crete. With the exception of the president and vice-president, all the staff of the Commission is now Greek, including many refugees. It formerly included two Englishmen, Colonels Cunliffe-Owen and Pears.

The Commission, originally formed to cope with the

rural settlement, now had the double task of establishing the rural and many of the urban fugitives. Up to 30 December, 1926, it had established 147,211 families, or 551,936 individuals of the former class (of whom 116,403 families, or 430,295 individuals in Macedonia, and 16,596 families, or 68,358 individuals in Thrace). For the urban refugees it had constructed 16,756 habitations (of which 9,347 are round Athens and the Piræus, where an exact census has since shown there to be 89,125 refugees, and 4,409 in Thrace), besides 22,337 erected by the state and a certain number of urban dwellings, evacuated by the "exchangeable" Turks. The cost of maintaining the refugees defrayed by the Greek Government down to November, 1923, was taken in hand by the League of Nations, which authorised the emission of a loan of £10,000,000 for their settlement, on the security of the monopolies of tobacco and stamp duties of "new" Greece, the customs dues levied at Canea, Candia, Samos, Chios, Mytilene, and Syra, and the duty on alcohol. Meanwhile, the Bank of England advanced £2,000,000 and the National Bank of Greece £1,000,000 till the conclusion of this loan. Its emission took place in December, 1924, at 88, the interest being 7 per cent., and was covered over five times in Athens, thrice in America, and nearly twenty times in London. Of this sum there had been expended up to 30 June, 1927, £9,075,854 8s. 6d., of which £7,911,022 10s. 7d. on the installation of the rural refugees, £1,051,174 1s. 9d. on that of the urban refugees, and the balance of £113,657 16s. 2d. on the central administration.[1] These operations are not philanthropic, but business affairs, and the Commission is not a charitable institution. As the refugees become able to pay back the sums advanced to them, they are expected

[1] Up to 31 December, 1927, on the rural refugees £8,229,081, on the urban £1,130,894, and on the central administration £131,974.

to refund them, and so far £59,248 15s. 1d. have been refunded. But, as at the end of last June, all the funds at the disposal of the Commission had been appropriated, with the exception of £500,000 (including £130,000 for unforeseen expenditure, already nearly exhausted), and as there were then still about 8,000 rural and 31,000 urban refugee families to be settled, it became necessary to reduce the staff, cut down salaries, and ask for a supplementary loan of £3,000,000 to complete the work. Unfortunately, France tried to stop this loan until Greece had paid her war debt to France. The Greek refugees are now safe, for on 31 January, 1928, the new loan was covered many times in London.

The refugees seem likely to do for Greece what the Huguenots, expelled from France, did for England. They have brought a large area of Macedonia, hitherto neglected during the five centuries of sterile Turkish rule, under cultivation, and in the towns have created industries which were previously unknown in Greece. In 1925, the cultivation of wheat increased by 70 per cent. in Macedonia and by 30 per cent. in Thrace, in comparison with the previous year; that of maize by 45 per cent. The agricultural year 1925-26 showed a further increase of 20 per cent. over that of 1924-25. In a few years the corn-fields of Macedonia should render Greece largely independent of the foreign market; not only will breadstuffs thus become cheaper, but also the exchange will improve, as less is imported. Besides, the gain is not merely in the increased acreage of cultivated land, but in the intensity and diversity of the cultivation. Market-gardens have arisen on what was marshy or barren soil, thus supplying the previous lack of vegetables in the large towns. To this branch of cultivation many refugees brought great experience. Hemp has been introduced, cotton growing and viticulture revived in Macedonia, where the former had been

replaced by tobacco and the latter destroyed by the phylloxera and the successive wars. Up to October, 1926, there had been planted 7,000,000 vines, and four large nurseries for grafting established near Salonika. In Crete the refugees have nearly tripled the yield of sultana raisins; in Macedonia and in the Argive plain they have increased the production of silk ; others have adapted to the cultivation of roses in Greece the lessons learned in the rose-fields of Bulgaria and Pisidia, and hope to create a new Kazanlik at Karadjova, Kastoria, Berrhœa, and Drama. Even before the arrival of the refugees, much so-called "Turkish" tobacco, since the annexation of Kavalla and Xanthe, had really been Greek, but the Macedonian tobacco-fields were almost entirely limited to the eastern and central districts ; they have now been extended to the western, and the total production from all Greece has risen from 23½ million kilos to 66 in 1925. Another specially "Turkish" manufacture, that of carpets, except for a small attempt at Megara and Hydra in 1916, was unknown in Greece before the advent of the refugees, who included more than 30,000 expert carpet workers among their women. Of these carpet manufactories the chief is at the "Ionia" settlement near Athens. These Greek carpets find a ready sale in London and New York, which buys 70 per cent. of the output. Another Asiatic industry, that of Kioutahia pottery, has been transplanted to Phaleron.

The refugees settled in Macedonia have not only augmented its cultivated area, they have also solved, as far as Greek Macedonia is concerned, the "Macedonian question," which tormented diplomacy for many years and, in the early years of the century, was one of the burning questions of international politics. According to the ethnographical map of the Refugees' Settlement Commission, whereas in 1912 the population of the portion of Macedonia now belonging to Greece

was 42·6 per cent. Greek, 39·4 per cent. Moslem, 9·9 per cent. Bulgarian, and 8·1 miscellaneous (including the Jews of Salonika), in 1926 it was 88·8 per cent. Greek, 0·1 per cent. Moslem, 5·1 per cent. Bulgarian, and 6 per cent. miscellaneous, (including the Jews of Salonika). Similarly in Western Thrace, the Greeks now form 67·2 per cent. of the population (as against 36·7 before 1912), the Moslems 29·8 (as against 46·8), and miscellaneous races (Circassians and Armenians) the remaining 3, while the Bulgarian element has disappeared. Crete now contains only a few Moslem families, so that there, too, the religious feud which caused so many internecine quarrels between people of the same race, has no longer reason for existence. In Southern Epeiros the Greek population has risen to 81 per cent., while the Moslem Albanians (mostly Chamis) have fallen to 14. Thus, if Hellenism has been rooted out of Asia Minor, it has been enormously consolidated in Europe, and there can no longer be any question about the racial character of Greek Macedonia. The refugees will also, by extending the cultivation, diminish the malarious area of Macedonia, which will become much healthier when the drainage works contemplated in the Vardar and Struma valleys and plains, and already begun by an American company at Amatovo, have been executed. At first, the newcomers, weakened by disease and privations and unaccustomed to the climate, fell easy victims to this scourge of Macedonia. In 1923 the proportion of deaths to births was 3 to 1, and 70 per cent. of the deaths were due to malaria; some settlements lost one-fifth of their population. In the first five months of 1926 the proportion of deaths to births was inverted, and the death-rate among the refugees was only twelve per thousand in Macedonia and twenty in Thrace. Dispensaries have been founded, quinine sold on credit, and other medicines given gratis to the poorer patients. Naturally, as the housing has progressed, there have

also been fewer victims of the rigours of a Macedonian or Thracian winter.

Besides the provision of houses, the Commission had also, in the case of the rural refugees, to cope with the question of finding land for them to cultivate. Article 2 of the Geneva protocol pledged the Government to assign to the Commission for this purpose $1\frac{1}{4}$ million acres. The Government has assigned to it 1,175,385 acres of cultivable land, besides 663,763 acres of pasturage and unproductive soil. A decree of 22 May, 1926, transferred to the Commission the entire property over the agricultural lands, with one exception, on which it had settled refugees. These assigned lands consist partly of state domains, partly of lands abandoned by "exchanged" Turks and Bulgarian emigrants, partly of private property, either expropriated or purchased. The above-mentioned exception consists of lands, leased for ten years from the monasteries of Mount Athos, which the state has also assigned to the Commission. By far the largest proportion of the assigned lands is that furnished by the outgoing Turks. But all these available lands are insufficient for the needs of the refugees. More can be provided by the drainage works above-mentioned, and it is calculated that the marshes, which now infect the plains of the Vardar and Struma, would yield another half million acres. Here the lost lands of Eastern Thrace would have been useful.

In the distribution of lands, the Commission was met by an initial difficulty—the absence of an ordnance survey. An attempt to survey Western Macedonia has been made, and a school of surveyors founded at Kozane. Out of the above reserve of £500,000, one-fifth has been earmarked for a survey. But the cost prevents a thorough scientific survey. Another obstacle was the occupation in some cases by the indigenous population of lands, evacuated by the outgoing Moslems and intended for the incoming refugees, before the latter

arrived. Hence conflicts between the "autochthonous" population and the refugees have arisen. Moreover, the immigrants were not always homogeneous: the families composing an Asiatic hamlet were not transported *en bloc* to a new European home, although there are exceptions, where the old village has given its name to the new colony, and the local saint, as at Achmetaga, has been transported to protect his faithful flock, just as the ancients carried their *penates* with them. Each family of agriculturists received a plot of land sufficient to support it, the size varying according to the quality of the soil and the class of cultivation, and the family being reckoned at four individuals. Occasionally it has been necessary to remove the settlers to another district, as from the spacious but malarious battlefield of Philippi and—for political reasons—from Chamouria. When a group of refugees has received the whole land assigned for its settlement from a public functionary, the refugees themselves hold a general meeting for the division of the plots by lot among the families. When the head of the family dies the plot is transferred automatically to his heir or widow; it cannot be alienated without authorisation. Another problem, specially pressing in the Greek climate, was the water-supply. In Athens the quantity was wholly inadequate even before the advent of the refugees; in Macedonia and Thrace there were villages destitute of water, while in others the departure of the water-loving Moslems had led to the neglect of conduits and the filling-up of wells. In some places artesian wells have been bored, in others conduits have been constructed and wells cleared out. The former remedy was all the more necessary because, for hygienic reasons, it was essential to build the settlements on high ground away from the marshes, where alone water was available. These improvements should change the aspect of Thrace. In Macedonia, according to the latest

report of the Commission, 191 artesian wells have been bored, 145 conduits constructed, and 180,710 metres of iron pipes laid.

The rural refugees were now provided with land, but they mostly lacked live stock, seed, and agricultural implements. These wants also have been met. Down to 30 June, 1926, the state and the Commission together had distributed 74,593 beasts of labour, 45,162 sheep and goats, and 224,130 agricultural implements, besides those furnished by the state alone during the early months of the refugees' immigration. The usual proportion was one draught animal or twenty sheep per family according to its occupation. No pigs and comparatively few goats have been added to the already large numbers of those animals. Loans were given to families for the purchase of the former, and the ravages committed by the Greek goat to the already too scanty trees served as a warning against his multiplication. For the two main causes of the deforestation of Greece are goats and forest fires, besides the indifference of the peasant to any tree which beareth not fruit. Nor is this confined to the peasants alone. Despite the protests of the "Philodasic Society," of which the ex-Queen Sophia was the leading spirit, we have seen the city fathers of Athens cut down a whole row of trees, formerly included in the National Garden, which the capital owes to the energy and foresight of another queen, Amalia, in order to widen the road for motors. Indeed, the hasty tourist who has not seen the plane-tree avenue on Mrs. Noel Baker's estate at Achmetaga and the magnificent trees of Portariá, where the pine-tree, mentioned by Euripides and Catullus, is alone absent, carries away the impression that Greece is a treeless land. Yet nowhere, alike for its shade and for its effect upon the climate, should the tree be more welcome. The live stock distributed was marked with an indelible sign so that it

could not be alienated, forage provided for its maintenance till the next harvest, and a veterinary service established to examine animals imported for distribution and prevent the spread of local diseases. Thanks to these precautions the cattle of the refugees, despite the hardships of the early months, have considerably increased. Western Macedonia, in particular, has become a land of flocks and herds—thus compensating for the ravages of three wars. This is affecting that traditional institution of Northern Greece, the nomad life of the Vlach shepherds, who used to spend the summer in the mountains, the winter in the plains. But the refugee settlement has diminished the area of pasturage available for the nomads in the plains, and even on the lower hills. The nomads, with their picturesque customs, reminiscent of the Old Testament, will soon disappear from Thrace and Macedonia, and linger only in Thessaly and Epeiros, the "Great Wallachia" of the Middle Ages.

Besides these contributions in kind, the Commission and the National Bank have made loans to the rural refugees. The Bank advanced to them during 1923-25 nearly 333,000,000 dr., of which only 4 per cent. had not been repaid at the time when repayment was due. It also advanced in less than eighteen months some 138,000,000 dr. to urban refugees, to enable them to earn their living; of this sum nearly 25 per cent. had been repaid at the end of 1925.

The case of the urban refugees has been altogether more difficult than the establishment of their rural fellow immigrants. Macedonia and Thrace offered a wide field for cultivation, while the indigenous Greek is by preference a townsman. Consequently, a refugee in the scarcely peopled lands of "new" Greece would find less competition than in the busy streets of Athens or the Piræus. Moreover, as the Turk was no business man, the Greeks and Armenians had monopolised the trade of Asia Minor. Just these people now came to gain

a living among the small traders of Greece. While the enormous amount of building in Athens and Salonika (where a fine "European" city is rising phœnix-like from the ruins of the fire of 18 August, 1917) has given well-paid work to refugee labour, the richer commercial class of refugees was able to exercise in Greece those qualities which had made the fortune of Constantinople and Smyrna—cities now of small commercial importance. One-seventh of the members of the Athenian Chamber of Commerce are refugees. The introduction of carpet making has been already mentioned; the suburban fishermen of the Bosporos have, thanks to improved methods, obtained draughts of fishes in the Saronic Gulf and off the coasts of Eubœa which would have seemed "miraculous" to their more primitive Attic colleagues. But the use of dynamite destroys many small fish. But urban competition has had its bad effects upon the indigenous tradesmen. The refugees were generously allowed to bring in their goods free of duty; in some cases this permission has been interpreted to apply to merchandise in transit at the time of the catastrophe. Similarly, the sudden influx of abundant labour tended to diminish the wages of the urban workman. As regards the members of the liberal professions, the Asiatic clergy has accompanied its flocks—for "the Seven Churches" are now abandoned to the Turks—and ministers to its spiritual wants in its new home. The Archbishop of Trebizond, for example, resides in Athens. Professors from Turkey are assimilated to those previously living in Greece and their years of service there counted in settling their pensions by the Ministry of Education. Many of the doctors, lawyers, architects, and engineers have had the good sense to settle in the smaller towns instead of flocking to Athens or Salonika. Some have risen to distinction even in those great cities. But in Greece, as elsewhere, the "intellectuals" have the hardest struggle. Long before the influx of the refugees,

Greece had too many brain-workers in proportion to her needs. Nowhere is the belief so widely held that "man liveth not by bread alone, but by every word," and "to know letters" is still considered as the noblest of all occupations, except for women. Moreover, the extension of the suffrage to all male refugees of legal age, without any residential qualification, has inevitably turned the thoughts of the newcomers to politics and given them considerable political influence. Candidates of all parties court their votes at elections ; they have their own parties also, and put pressure upon candidates to remedy their grievances. It has been asserted that the refugee vote largely contributed to the ratification of the Republic in 1924 and 1926; "autochthonous" Greece might have been, if by a small majority, Royalist. As time has passed and the hope of returning to their old homes has grown fainter, the Asiatic Greeks have made up their minds to consider Greece as their abiding residence and to work accordingly. Ere long the children will have become completely assimilated with the indigenous population, speaking Greek with the same facility and thinking on the same lines. Hellenism will become more intensive and less scattered ; having lost Asia Minor, it will save Macedonia, and, after all, in the phrase of Theokritos, "the calf of the leg is farther than the knee." The great intellectual and commercial ability of the Greeks will be concentrated in Greece, instead of being diffused ; Athens has already gained at the expense of Constantinople, Salonika may develop into a new Smyrna. Kavalla, when its new port has been constructed, may become a rival of Salonika. The immense increase of its population by the addition of the refugees has necessitated a new water supply, and an electric tramway is contemplated. Similarly in Athens, the pre-existent water famine has been aggravated by the influx of the refugees. Meanwhile, Greece has reason to be proud of the difficult work accomplished—a work which,

as Sir Arthur Salter said, could not have been achieved by a country of more rigid economic conditions, and of which specimens were shown in the Refugee Pavilion at Geneva. To this work Great Britain, in the person of her distinguished officials on the Refugees' Settlement Commission, has contributed a share.[1] Another institution which has grappled with the problem of the refugees is the American "Near East Relief," of which Mr. Jaquith is the general director. Founded by a decree of Congress in 1919, it transferred its orphanages from Turkey to Greece after the Smyrna disaster, and has since the end of 1922 conducted a beneficent work there. The Greek Government allowed it to make use of the Zappeion, part of the Old Palace, and the ex-Kaiser's Corfiote villa for the use of the orphans brought from Turkey, who at that time numbered 15,664, to whom 2,624 were added in Greece up to the end of 1925, mostly in miserable conditions of health and needing clothing. A large orphanage was erected at Syra, another at Corinth, and a third at the Skala of Oropos. Outdoor exercises were encouraged, schools were started, there were special classes for the blind and the deaf and dumb, the orphans were taught practical trades, and efforts were made to find their relatives. Two other American philanthropic bodies, the "Relief for the Fatherless Children of Greece" and the "American Friends of Greece" were fused with the larger institution, which also took part in effecting the exchange of populations and the draining of the pestilential marshes near Corinth. A training-school for hospital nurses, the first in Greece, was started, and quantities of old clothes distributed to the refugees in Macedonia. During 1926 the orphanages in Corinth and Oropos were suppressed, and there were then only three—two in Athens and one at Syra. That in the Zappeion contained an elementary

[1] *Cf.* Société des Nations, *L'Établissement des Réfugiés en Grèce* (Genève, 1926). Also in an English translation.

school with eight teachers and about 360 pupils, all Greeks; a school for the blind, with thirty-two pupils under a blind master, in which basket-making, chair-making, and straw plaiting were taught, and another for deaf-mutes.[1] In the second Athenian orphanage, that in the Kephissia road, there is another school with eight masters and 211 Greek pupils, who in the higher classes learn English. Printing and bookbinding also form part of its curriculum. The big orphanage at Syra comprises two schools for 1,665 orphans of both sexes, of whom about one-half are Greek and the other Armenian, with forty-three teachers—Greek, American, and Armenian. English is taught in both schools, and the Armenians are made to learn Greek also. Special efforts are made at Syra to teach trades such as tailoring, shoe-making, bookbinding, embroidery, carpet-making, and nursing. A practical agriculturist from America instructs the orphans in farming and horticulture, and after a two years' course his pupils will be sent to Macedonia to put their lessons into practice. The "Near East Relief" also maintains four night-schools in Athens. An excellent feature of its programme is the education of the orphans to be Greeks by race and religion. There is no effort to convert them into Americans or to proselytise, but their religious and national training is conducted by teachers of their own race and creed. They participate in national festivals, and are received into the naval and military schools. Thus, the Americans are making a permanent contribution to the settlement of the refugee problem, continuing the philanthropic work done for Greece during the War of Independence by Howe and other American Philhellenes.

[1] The Zappeion was cleared in September, 1927. The orphans have been distributed between the other Athenian orphanage, Syra and Salonika.

CHAPTER XIV

ECONOMIC CONDITION

THE Greeks have always had the reputation of being good business men. In Turkey most of the trade was in their hands and in those of the Armenians, before the Asia Minor disaster; in London and other Western capitals the Greek colonies, dating in London from the time of the Stuarts, have contained a large proportion of wealthy merchants, and the Chiotes, in particular, have long been famous for their mercantile capacity. The small Greece of the period before 1912 was scarcely, however, a sufficiently large or fruitful field for the making of large fortunes and the development of great industrial enterprises. Most of the Athenian millionaires of that epoch, men like Syngros and Mr. Skouloudes, made their money abroad, and I have heard it said that only one of the Athenian manufacturers of to-day achieved his success exclusively in Greece. But the expansion of the country which followed the Balkan wars and the European conflict gave a stimulus to industry. Macedonia, and especially Salonika and Kavalla, provided valuable possibilities for men of affairs, and the Jews of Salonika began to fear Greek competition. This spirit of enterprise was not, however, confined to the "new" provinces. Athens and the Piræus manufacture macaroni and cement; Zante has a tile manufactory; Corfù and Patras make paper and the former postage stamps; Athens, Patras, and Naoussa in Macedonia boast of breweries sufficiently prosperous to allow the daughter of an Athenian brewer to own race-horses, quite in the British fashion; cognac is

another Attic speciality; Volo, besides a large flour-mill and a factory of cigarettes, has a noted manufactory of jam; Kavalla is world-famed for that of tobacco; silk, cotton and woollen yarns and fabrics, jute and hemp, soap and chemical manures are among the Greek products. During the years 1921-26 there were opened 221 manufactories of foodstuffs, 70 for dealing with wood, 45 for weaving, 38 for making machinery, 30 chemical manufactories, 19 paper-mills and printing establishments, 19 works for providing building materials, 12 tanneries, 8 tobacco, and 1 hat manufactory. But there was a decline in the last of those years, when liquid capital was lacking, and unfortunately the official rate of interest was 11 per cent. and borrowers often paid 20.

But there has long been a great discrepancy between the imports and exports. The abolition of the statistical department by General Pangalos has been repaired, and the figures for 1926 for the export and import trade of the whole of Greece have been published. In that year the imports reached the sum of 10,004,939,000 dr. (or about 205,000,000 less than in 1925), and the exports only that of 5,429,751,000 (which was, however, 888,000,000 more in 1925). But the new tariff put into force at the beginning of 1926 makes comparisons difficult. The previous tariff of 1923 had imposed very high duties on imports, and General Pangalos further prohibited the entry of articles of luxury. One of General Kondyles' first acts was to abolish this decree. The four chief importing countries in 1926 were the United States, Great Britain, Roumania, and France, whereas the principal purchasers of Greek produce were the United States, Germany, Italy, and Great Britain. The imports into the Piræus from abroad reached 1,319,013 tons, the exports from it abroad 88,785. The main imports from Great Britain were minerals (chiefly coal) and fabrics, while wheat comes largely from Canada; the chief

exports to Great Britain were agricultural produce (including currants for the Christmas pudding, despite Australian competition), the new item of carpets (to the value of £2,407,097 during the first nine months of 1927 alone), sponges, oils, wines, emery, marble, magnesite, and lead. A series of commercial treaties was concluded in 1926 with Great Britain, France, Italy, Switzerland, and Albania, and in 1927 with Jugoslavia. Of these the "Anglo-Greek Treaty of Commerce and Navigation," signed on 16 July, but not, however, applying to the Dominions without their separate adhesion to it, fixes the maximum duty on Greek currants at 2s. per hundredweight in return for reduced rates on certain British goods imported into Greece. But British goods would be more sold there if the visits of British commercial travellers were more frequent, if British manufacturers were more adaptable to foreign tastes and purses, especially in the present state of the exchange, and if their office-boys would be more careful in stamping their circulars. Moreover, internal trade has naturally suffered from the political changes of the last few years, and a commercial crisis began in 1925 and reached its climax in 1926, when business was limited to articles of necessity, and even these were purchased in smaller quantities. But after the elections of that year a slight improvement was noticeable, which continued under the "Œcumenical" Government and its more homogeneous successor.

Since 1898 Greece has had an International Financial Commission of Control, now consisting of a British (Mr. Roussin), French, and Italian representative. The revenues derived from the monopolies of salt, petroleum, matches, playing-cards, cigarette papers, tobacco, and the emery of Naxos and from stamps in "old" Greece, and certain Customs dues are earmarked for the loans submitted to the Commission's control; while since 1925

the revenues from the monopolies of salt, matches, playing-cards, cigarette papers, and tobacco, and from the stamps of the "new" provinces, the duty on alcohol for all Greece and the Customs' dues of Canea, Candia, Samos, Chios, Mytilene, and Syra are set aside for the service of the Refugees' Loan. The Commission's last report for 1925 showed a large increase in the yield of most of these revenues. The Commission has undoubtedly benefited Greece, but there is a strong feeling against any further foreign control, such as was tentatively suggested in 1927. There is no possibility of submitting Greece to such a treatment, beneficial though that was, as post-war Austria has undergone. Greece has grown up and would resent tutelage. Her salvation is in her own hands. This is a lesson which we British learnt in the Ionian Islands and are relearning in Cyprus.

The expansion of Greece since the Balkan wars has caused a considerable number of public works to be started. A British firm is constructing a new harbour at Candia in place of the historic Venetian port, in which the British soldiers were trapped by the Moslems in 1898. French companies have obtained concessions for harbour works at the Piræus and Salonika. An American firm is draining the Lake of Amatovo. Long-established British companies, such as the Copaïc Lake Company, the Anglo-Greek Magnesite Company, and Marmor, Ltd., continue to thrive, and the first named has secured the settlement of an ancient dispute by reference to arbitration. But the Greek purchaser of British goods can no longer buy large quantities, owing to the high rate of exchange. This affects intellectual as well as commercial intercourse, for it makes the price of English books in Greece almost prohibitive.

Professor Andreades calculates that 65 per cent. of the population are peasant proprietors. Agriculture, greatly extended by the refugees in the "new"

provinces, has made considerable progress in the "old." Visitors to Mycenæ are surprised to find that during the last few years tobacco has been cultivated right up to the city of Agamemnon, so that a modern Clytemnestra could grow her cigarettes on the home farm. Besides the finer qualities of Kavalla and Xanthe, other brands are produced at Agrinion, in Thessaly, and in Crete, Samos, and Mytilene. The best Greek tobacco all goes to the United States, while the largely increased number of ladies who smoke has benefited the producers of the inferior varieties. But the Greek tobacco industry has proved not equally beneficial to the workers. Owing to the rise in wages, the merchants export their tobacco unmanipulated, thus saving nine-tenths of their wages bill for packing leaf by leaf. Hence the frequent labour troubles at Kavalla and Agrinion, and the considerable Communist vote at the former town, said to contain 15,000 Communists. Currants have been long a speciality of the Peloponnese, cotton is grown in the Copaïc district, olives flourish throughout a large part of the country, and in recent years the consumption of non-resinous wine in Greece has much increased. The Mavrodaphne of Patras is largely exported, and somewhat resembles port. Tegea produces an excellent wine, Tripolis a champagne. But when I first knew the country it was difficult to obtain any but resined wine outside of the capital and the islands; now it is sometimes difficult to obtain resined wine in country hotels. Foreigners who have once become accustomed to it prefer it to the rather fiery unresinated wines of the country, and the taste has been indigenous for centuries. But the practice of cutting large slices out of the trunks of the trees, so that the resin may trickle down into the tin receptacles fastened on to the stems, greatly damages them. Brands specially to be recommended are the white of Spata and the red "Nectar of Pythian Apollo" of Arachova—a

place famous for the beauty of its women (like Joannina) and for its embroideries, which the visitors to the Delphic festival of 1927 had an opportunity of seeing. Potatoes, now common, were imported into Greece proper as late as the time of Capo d'Istria, and into Corfù not earlier than 1800. To the Athenian Capuchins about the same time Greece owed the introduction of the tomato, now so usual a dish. Similarly, the first professional agriculturist of Greece was an Irishman named Stevenson. Forestry still leaves much to desire. An interesting essay might be written on the influence of the goat upon Greek history. The goat has modified the climate by his devastation of the forests which once clothed the bare mountains. According to Finlay, he was also a cause of brigandage, because the waterless and woodless mountains produced goatherds instead of shepherds, "and a goatherd is a ruder man than a shepherd." The destruction of the Greek forests by goats, peasants, and forest fires goes on, in spite of strong protests in the Press; and there are people who cannot see a fruitless tree without desiring to cut it down as a useless encumberment. In this respect the situation is much as it was in 1833. Yet the reafforestation of the bare Greek mountains would increase the rainfall, break the force of the north wind and lend charm to the landscape. The Greeks should inscribe in their schools the lines of Jean Paul, which I once read on the Mönchsberg at Salzburg:

Und wer im Blühen einen Baum verletzt, Der schneidet ein
wie in ein Mutterherz.

Two Queens of Greece, Amalia and Sophia, will be remembered in Greek history for their love of trees.

In Greece, as elsewhere, there is a constant drain from the country into the towns. The Agricultural School, started by Capo d'Istria at Tiryns, is now without pupils, and although another is being started at Marousi, the

average Greek would rather be a tradesman than a farmer. Even in 1869 Finlay wrote to the then British Minister, Erskine, as the result of his own experience as a farmer, that "*no* man ever goes from the town to the country." Still less now.

In 1926 an important institution was started for the development of Greek trade, especially in the Balkans, and the improvement of Greek agriculture—the International Fair at Salonika, which was held again in 1927, and which it is proposed to repeat annually. Bulgaria and Russia had their own pavilions, and there were 580 other organisations represented. The Greek manufacturers of cotton and woollen stuffs, carpets, hats, and articles of food did good business, while of the foreign exhibitors, who included Americans, the makers of agricultural implements found most customers among the Macedonian peasants. A modern system of agriculture may thus be introduced, and the Salonika Fair may become the centre of trade for Southern Serbia and Bulgaria as well as Greek Macedonia. Incidentally, it tended to improve Greco-Bulgarian relations.

As Greece was, a generation ago, almost exclusively an agricultural and maritime country, labour legislation is of comparatively recent date. Before 1909, which marked the beginning of a new era in social as in political history—for the Military League was supported by the workmen and in return championed their claims—it was mainly limited to provision against accidents and to pensions, due largely to the influence of Mr. Negres, ex-director of the Laurion mines. The Venizelos Government in 1911 initiated a policy of workmen's legislation. A Ministry of National Economy, which still exists, was created, and among its officials were young economists imbued with State Socialism and anxious to put their theories into practice. A special section was devoted to labour questions, which had hitherto depended upon

the Ministry of the Interior. Labour inspectors were appointed, and a Consultative Council of nine workmen and employers from Athens and the Piræus instituted. The first social reform adopted was the weekly holiday, Sunday for Christians, another day for Moslems and Jews, obligatory for the large towns, and in others applicable upon the advice of the town council or the head of the police. There were exceptions for restaurants, hotels, and theatres ; at present in Athens one restaurant is allowed to remain open on Sunday in each quarter, and all the shops are closed all day. Besides this weekly holiday, the frequent festivals of the Orthodox Church and occasional national holidays lead to the cessation of work during a considerable number of days, while in summer the siesta, as in all hot countries, produces a complete lull during the afternoon, when, as the saying is, everyone "is sleeping."

The Venizelos Government in 1911 first introduced the eight hours' day for miners. This was followed in the same year by a law for the health and safety of workmen, which was developed by decrees prescribing the number of hours of work in bakeries and tobacco manufactories, fixed at an average of nine and a half, but subsequently reduced to eight before the ratification of the Washington Convention in 1920 by the Greek Government. Meanwhile, by private agreements between masters and men, the eight hours' day had been established in many industries. After the ratification a series of decrees, royal and presidential, applied the eight hours' day and the forty-eight hours' week to the Laurion mines, printing establishments, tanneries, paper works, chocolate manufactories—an important branch of Greek industry—and tobacco manufactories. But these decrees have not always been enforced. Instances have arisen, for example, where the tobacco workers have agreed with their employers in working overtime. In some cases

labour legislation has been in advance of public opinion, for Greece has not a highly complicated industrial system like Great Britain. For that reason she has been able to absorb the refugees.[1]

The number of women and children employed in Greek industries, although less than elsewhere, rendered necessary special legislation in 1912. As a general principle, no minor may be employed before the age of 12—in some cases 15 and even 16—nor in night work before that of 18. It must be remembered that a Greek lad of 12 is much more developed than an English boy of the same age. Women are forbidden to work underground in mines and for six weeks before and after childbirth, but during that period they are entitled to an allowance.

Trades unionism is traditional in Greece. Professor Andreades has traced the right of association back to Byzantine and even classical times: it existed in Zante under the Venetians, at Ambelakia under the Turks; it is confirmed in the Greek constitution. It was reorganised by the law of 1914, according to which the employer is bound not to employ non-union men and is liable to a heavy fine for a breach of contract with his men collectively. As the result of this law, the movement has developed; the chief towns have numerous trades unions, and a general confederation of labour was created. Another law of 1920, which aimed at regulating the declaration of strikes, provided that the decisions of any trades union are binding only if at least one-third of the members have been present at the voting, and that, in important questions, it must be secret. Nevertheless, strikes have since then been fairly frequent, thus forming an exception to the rule that Greeks do not easily combine. But a labour question and

[1] *Cf.* Andreades, *La Législation ouvrière en Grèce* (Genève, 1922). *Le Messager d'Athènes*, 27, 28 May, 1927.

a labour party scarcely exist in a country where industrialism is not yet practised on a great scale, except in a few manufactures, such as that of tobacco. From Kavalla comes news of occasional disturbances among the tobacco-workers, but labour questions do not dominate Greek politics, and the Greek trades unions have not become a prominent factor in public life.

The economic crisis of 1926 has now abated. Prices, it is true, are high, but shopkeepers are doing fair business, capital is circulating, the drachma has been practically stabilised at about 366, and confidence has been restored. In Greece, as everywhere else, sound finance is the basis of sound policy, and political stability is essential to commerce. Greece seemed likely to reap the results of it at the meeting of the League of Nations in September, 1927, when, in addition to the Supplementary Refugees' Loan, two other loans were submitted, one of £3,000,000 for stabilising the drachma, the other of the same amount for wiping out past deficits, amounting to 854,816,000 dr. But Greece had to wait a little. Simultaneously a Swedish group offered a loan of £9,000,000 at 7 per cent., to be issued at 94 and redeemable in thirty-five years, of which one-third was to be advanced immediately on the security of the excess of the revenues earmarked for the use of the International Commission of Control. These simultaneous proposals were interpreted as a sign that the Greek financial situation inspired international confidence. To this doubtless contributed the unexpected fact that Mr. Kaphandares' budget for the financial year 1926-27—the Greek financial year begins on 1 April—had showed a slight surplus of 3,225,000 dr. The yield of the first six months of the current financial year is fairly encouraging. The "Œcumenical" Government increased the receipts by more than 300,000,000 dr. by modifications of the Customs' tariff. By various economies, suggested by the

Commission of Experts appointed to examine the budgets of the different Ministries, it "arrested," as Mr. Kaphandares said, "the mortal hemorrhage of the national wealth." Economy is never popular with the electorate, except in the abstract; but a Cabinet, composed of members of all parties, is peculiarly adapted to impose it, because the inevitable unpopularity is then shared by all parties alike.

A fiscal expert has shown that, besides the great economies realised or realisable in the public service, the income-tax might, with a severer control, be made more productive. This tax, imposed as recently as 1922 on all real and personal property, varies from 2 to 20 per cent. Many wealthy Greeks have money invested abroad, which would not be liable to the Greek income-tax; but even so, a comparison of the published figures of the returns made and of the returns which, according to the inspectors, ought to have been made, shows that a much larger sum should accrue to the Treasury from this one tax. Then military expenditure has latterly eaten up a large proportion of the whole revenues. Under General Pangalos it was said to have amounted to 27·3 per cent.; the "Œcumenical" Government has considerably reduced it, but, as Mr. Kaphandares told the sages of Geneva, "we live in the Balkans," and must, therefore, be prepared to defend ourselves. For, to adapt the Serbian proverb: "The clouds are high, and the" League of Nations "is far off."

The Greek debt has naturally increased during and since the late wars. On 31 October, 1926, it consisted of a funded debt of £51,790,640, $25,993,479, *plus* 168,989,008 French francs and 4,506,175,180 dr.; of a floating debt of £1,100, $5,331, and 3,342,348,495 dr., and of obligations amounting to £525,059 and 14,708,258 French francs. These include the Refugees' and Ulen Water Company's loans. For the financial year

1926-27 the interest on the above amounted to £2,517,792, $1,507,800, *plus* 4,323,802 French francs and 331,760,966 dr. The sums set aside for amortisation were £349,349, $429,391, *plus* 10,102,762 French francs and 125,920,671 dr. These charges in 1926 formed 30 per cent. of the national expenditure, as against 12 per cent. in 1914. It must not be forgotten that down to the end of the Greco-Turkish war of 1897 the Cretan question was responsible for more than one-third of the debt, and that was largely the fault of European diplomacy, which excluded Crete from the Hellenic state.

Since the Ionian Bank's privilege expired in 1920, Greece has had only one Bank of Issue, the National Bank, of which Mr. Diomedes has been the governor since January, 1923. It is a remarkable fact that since 1841, when the law was passed which was "the foundation-stone" of the National Bank, opened the next year, there have been only nine governors, of whom the first two, Stavrou and Renieres, occupied the bank parlour for forty-nine years, and their two successors, Kalligas and Streit, for twenty more, whereas during the same period there were nearly fifty Prime Ministers, some of whom held office repeatedly. These figures prove the stability of the Bank's administration and its long immunity from the contamination of party politics. Since 1910, however, politics have somewhat affected the governorship, and the last fourteen years have seen some rapid changes. One of its two recent historians claims that the National Bank is "the heart wherefrom and whereto every economic artery of Greece is directed. On the occasion of a *pronunciamiento* its seizure is one of the first aims of the revolutionists; the anniversary of its foundation has been celebrated as a national event, and it played a large part in the life of the country. Indeed, during the two first years of the European War,

it "undertook the task of feeding" it. According to the agreement made at Geneva, the Bank has undertaken to appoint for three years a foreign councillor with purely technical attributes. Athens in late years has seen the growth of numerous banks, with branches over the country. But the National Bank still occupies a unique position, and is regarded as a national asset, although by the desire of the League of Nations it has been deprived of its functions as a bank of emission, which are transferred to a new institution, the "Bank of Greece."

The total bank deposits at the end of 1926 amounted to 6,398,000,000 dr., or 969 dr. 39 leptá per head of the population, being about £2 4s. at the then rate of exchange. It must be remembered, however, that in Greece, as in Southern Italy, large sums of money are not deposited in banks at all, but kept in the house, and this was one of the arguments for cutting the bank-notes.

At the present time there is a considerable amount of distress, owing to the rise in the cost of living. This is especially felt by the officials, whose salaries have not increased in proportion with the higher prices. Thus, whereas in 1924 the average of officials' salaries was 10·68 times, and the index figure of the cost of living 13·25 times, what they were respectively before the war, the relative proportions to-day are 13·25 and about 20. In these conditions an agitation for an increase of salaries, unchanged since 1924, is natural. But the position of the Minister of Finance is difficult. He must balance his Budget, and has felt, therefore, bound to refuse an increase of salaries to officials, a decrease of fees to students, and a reduction of the tax upon cinematographs and other public spectacles, which has been farmed out for 1928 to a contractor for 26,100,000 dr.

A law has recently been passed creating a school for officials of the Ministry of Finance, all of whom will be expected to attend it in the evenings. The curriculum

includes public and private international law, fiscal and economic legislation, and the full course will be two years. Ultimately the diploma of this school will be indispensable to all candidates for employment in that Ministry.

In conclusion we may cite the opinion of Professor Andreades on the present economic situation of Greece. He points out that, "even after taking into consideration the depreciation of the currency and the increase of population" since 1912, "fiscal charges have disproportionately increased." He thinks, however, that "all classes in Greece have accepted them with resignation because they have been uniformly applied to all citizens." Thus the urban and the rural classes have been equally affected by different kinds of increased taxes. The European war has retarded the productive power and the development of the "new" provinces, but later on the refugees should increase their fruitfulness. This will especially be the case when their stagnant waters have been drained and a thorough system of irrigation effected. Greece contains 1,568 marshes and 201 lakes, the largest of which are in the "new" provinces, and their total area is calculated at more than 1,000,000 acres. Their drainage would give more cultivable land to a healthier population. But this is for the future; for the moment Greece has "a more numerous but not a richer population."[1]

[1] Quoted in *Le Messager d'Athènes*, 20 December, 1927. *Cf.* the numbers of 18 November, 6 December.

CHAPTER XV

THE NEW GREEK CONSTITUTION OF 1927

NOT to mention the four temporary Constitutions of the War of Independence, during the ninety-one years during which Greece was a Monarchy, she had three Constitutions, one every generation, that of 1844, that of 1864, and that of 1911. The Royalist Assembly, born at the elections of 1920, for nearly two years tried to compile a fourth, with the object of strengthening the prerogatives of the Crown, but had got no farther than the second article when the Revolution of 1922 cut the thread of its labours. When, in 1924, Greece became a Republic, a new Constitution became necessary, and to provide one was to have been the main task of the Fourth National Assembly, elected in December, 1923. But that body delayed so long over this work that General Pangalos had time to make his *coup d'état* before it had got beyond the thirty-fifth article, or about one-third of the whole. A Special Commission of the legislature, appointed to finish the task, concluded the whole draft on 11 September, 1925, consisting of 125 articles. But General Pangalos published an amended version in 117 articles, before the Commission's draft had been ratified by the Assembly. He subsequently suspended all these 117 articles except the first, and for some months governed Greece without a Constitution. After his fall, General Kondyles promulgated the new Constitution in its original form of 125 articles, which the new Chamber of 1926 was to revise or ratify within fifteen days. But that body, taking no warning from the disastrous results of its two predecessors' procrastina-

tion, postponed and prolonged the debate on the articles. Following the example of George I., in 1864, who sent a message to the President of the National Assembly threatening to leave Greece unless the wearisome debate on the Constitution were all terminated in ten days, Admiral Kountouriotes wrote two letters to the Premier protesting against the slowness of the proceedings; and, when his letters produced no effect, handed in his resignation of the Presidency. This gesture, strictly in conformity with public opinion, had the desired effect. The Government introduced a motion making a time limit for speeches and prescribing that the Constitution should be published on 31 May. In one sitting twenty-five clauses were adopted without discussion, and at last, after a debate extending over three years, the new Constitution was passed on 2 June, 1927, and published the next day.

This fourth Constitution consists of 127 articles, divided into fourteen chapters. The first chapter deals with the Church. In view of the "Gospel Riots," article one enacts that "the text of the Holy Scriptures is preserved unchanged. The rendering of it into another linguistic form is absolutely forbidden without the previous approval of the Church." This makes unconstitutional any attempt to publish the Gospels in the "vulgar" language. It may be doubted whether the people would appreciate such a rendering; even with us the Revised Version enjoys a limited popularity: most persons prefer the more obscure but dignified phrases to which they have been accustomed since their infancy, and the possession of the original text of the Gospels is a national asset of Hellenism. An "explanatory statement" at the foot of this article declares "the existing ecclesiastical situation in the new provinces and Crete" not to be contradictory to the relations established between the autocephalous Church of Greece and the Œcumenical Patriarchate.

The second chapter declares the Hellenic state to be a Republic (Δημοκρατία), in which the legislative power is exercised by the Chamber and the Senate, the executive by the President through the responsible Ministers. The President, called *Proédros tês Demokratías,* not (like Capo d'Istria) *Kybernétes,* has the whole fifth chapter to himself. He is elected for five years by the Senate and Chamber meeting together, on the French system. For his valid election "at least three-fifths" of the legislators must be present, and there must be "an absolute majority of the whole of their members." Should such "an absolute majority" not be obtained, the voting is repeated; should even then the result be not as required above, a fresh vote is taken between the two candidates who received the largest number of votes at the second ballot, and he who receives most at this third scrutiny is elected. The same person may not be elected for three consecutive terms. The above provisions show the desire of the framers of the Constitution to have a Conservative Republic on French rather than American lines, whereas Pangalos, like dictators generally, preferred a direct appeal to the people, such as elected Louis Napoleon in 1848. Deputies and senators are more likely to know the real qualities of a presidential candidate than are the masses, liable to be led astray by showy externals and rhetorical clap-trap. No age limit is imposed for the Presidency, such as Pangalos instituted in 1926. In case of his death in office, resignation, or incapacity to exercise his official functions, the President is temporarily replaced by the President of the Senate, who must within forty days summon the two Chambers for a fresh presidential election. If the President be incapacitated for more than two months from the exercise of his functions, the President of the Senate must convene the two legislative bodies in a common sitting to "decide by an absolute

vote of the whole of their members whether a new President be elected." The President's salary is not fixed by the Constitution. His powers—on paper—are considerable. He can appoint and dismiss the Prime Minister; but none of his acts is valid unless countersigned by the departmental Minister in question. He "has no political responsibility for acts performed in the exercise of his functions"; but he is held responsible for high treason, deliberate violation of the Constitution or of the criminal laws; in such cases he is tried by the Senate, constituted as a special tribunal on the proposal "of one-third of the Chamber adopted by a majority of two-thirds of the whole number of deputies." He presides over the Cabinet whenever he considers it necessary to summon it in a special meeting at his residence. Usually it does not meet there. He "may dissolve the Chamber before its term has expired after an affirmative decision of the Senate by an absolute majority of its members." But "two successive Chambers may not be dissolved for the same cause." Once only he may adjourn the sittings of the Chamber for a maximum period of thirty days. He commands the land and sea forces in theory, but never in practice, is the representative of the state in international relations, and has the right of declaring war, but only after the consent of the two Chambers meeting together. He has the right of pardon, except for offences committed by his Ministers, and may bestow decorations only upon subjects of other states. For article six forbids decorations (except war medals) in the case of Greek citizens, and article 122 recalls those previously bestowed. This new departure relieves the Government from the odium of making twenty Greeks envious of the decoration conferred upon one—perhaps ungrateful—compatriot. Experience shows that happy are those Republics—Switzerland and the United States—which have no decorations, and from

which, therefore, nothing is expected. Possibly the framers of the new Constitution would have been better advised to extend the prohibition of decorations to foreigners also. I remember an instance, related to me by a Greek diplomatist, of an application to him to recommend for decorations a number of foreigners who had rendered no service whatsoever to his country. He refused to do so, and the result was probably to convert them into enemies. Even persons otherwise austere will do much to obtain decorations, which thus, as Lord Melbourne said of the Garter, "have no d—d nonsense of merit about them." Moreover, there is something incongruous in conferring the Order of the Redeemer upon Jews and Turks. One Jew, known to me, expressed his sense of this lack of fitness when awarded that distinction. Moreover, "titles and orders" usually go together, and as Greece confers no titles—the Venetian titles borne by some Ionians are not constitutionally recognised, though used conventionally—she should logically give no decorations.

Such being the position of the President of the Republic on paper, let us see what it is in practice, bearing in mind that we have only the experience of less than four years from which to draw conclusions—for the Presidencies of Capo d'Istria and his brother Agostino bear little relation to the altered conditions of to-day. The first practical difficulty which suggests itself is the limited number of suitable candidates for the highest post in the state. At a crisis, as in 1926, a politician not quite in the first flight may be selected as a candidate, and the absence of an age limit makes such a selection easier. But he must possess sufficient authority to be more than a rubber-stamp, and an essential is the possession of a wife capable of performing the social functions of the office to the satisfaction of critical Athenians and foreign diplomatists, usually, but nowadays not always, versed

in "parlour tricks." Every resident abroad knows that an Ambassadress may make or mar her husband's career, and the outspoken tactlessness of Otho's spirited consort made many enemies of the first dynasty. Here the first President of the Republic has been singularly fortunate. We can only hope that the hour will produce the man—and the woman—and that the system of electing the President will justify itself, as it has on the whole in the Third French Republic. The elaborate limitations of the President's authority are not calculated to make his office the battle-ground of violent political ambitions. What is wanted is an "available" man, who has few enemies, no axe to grind, and a respected position, independent of his high office. He must be democratic, yet dignified, above any suspicion of nepotism—the cause of President Grévy's fall—and free from all taint of electioneering. Probably the best President will usually be one who least desires to be elected, but accepts the post of *Anótatos Archon* not as a prize but as a duty. The advantages of a second Chamber for Greece have been much discussed. The National Assembly of Argos created a Senate of twenty-seven in 1829, but this was dissolved by the Assembly of Pronoia in 1832. The Constitution of 1844 established a Senate of at least twenty-seven, whose numbers might be increased to one-half that of the Chamber, and who were nominated for life by the King from certain categories of persons over forty years of age. Professor Karolides, in his criticisms of that Constitution, contends that the bicameral system is alien to Greece and quotes with approval Kolettes as having said: "We Greeks were wrong to copy European Constitutions and governmental systems." But both the British and French Governments, notably the latter (thinking that they knew, as usual, what the Greeks wanted better than the Greeks themselves), recommended the creation of a

second Chamber as a drag on the wheel, although Guizot himself admitted that Greece did not possess in 1844 the social elements out of which such a Chamber could naturally be formed. The historian, Trikoupes, one of its warmest advocates, supported it as a conservative element which would secure mature deliberation; but, as usual in politics, practice belied logical theory, and the Othonian Senate led the opposition to Otho. Finlay, after his long experience, agreed with the omission of a second Chamber from the Constitution of 1864. "No class of society," he wrote in *The Times*,[1] "exists from which an unpaid Senate can be formed, for the ablest and wealthiest men in the country prefer a seat in the Chamber. . . . A Senate can, therefore, be little else than a hospital for worn-out officials. An Upper House could not be formed with a feeling of independence." Nevertheless, some politicians, like Koumoundouros, were opposed to the abolition of the Senate; Boulgares, in the early years of George I., desired its restoration, and that Sovereign in 1872 expressed his preference for a bicameral system with a Senate selected on a plutocratic basis. But the Constitution of 1911 left Greece with a single Chamber, and it was not till 1924 that Mr. Papanastasiou and the Republicans raised the question as one of practical politics. His object was not the representation of privileged classes, nor yet the creation of a check, but the greater care and study of proposed legislation, independently of transient majorities in the Chamber, with which, however, he did not desire the Senate to have equal legislative rights. He believed that a Senate would consolidate the Republic. It may be argued, on the other hand, that the most active politicians have no wish in Greece, any more than in England, to bury themselves prematurely in the Upper House. One ex-Premier, whom I incautiously asked

[1] 30 September, 1864; 2 July, 1869.

whether he was a candidate for the Senate, indignantly repudiated such an idea as beneath his dignity !

The new Constitution re-establishes a Senate, which had not existed since the Revolution of 1862. This new Senate, much larger than the Othonian, is to consist of 120 persons of at least forty years of age. At least nine-twelfths of the senators are to be elected by the people, one-twelfth at most by the Senate and Chamber meeting together at the beginning of each legislature, and the senators are to be elected for nine years, one-third of the former category being renewed every three years, and those elected by the two Chambers at the beginning of the next legislature. A special law regulates the manner of the senatorial elections. The sessions of the two houses are to be simultaneous, except when the Senate sits as a tribunal. It meets in that capacity to try cases "of high treason or any other action against the safety and independence of the state," or of the impeachment of Ministers, at the initiative of the Chamber. On the proposal of five senators, if accepted by the majority, it may sit with closed doors. The President of the Chamber acts as chairman when both Houses meet together. Both senators and deputies are paid an indemnity, fixed by a special law, and have free transit on Greek railways, tramways, and steamers ; the President of the Chamber has also an allowance for representation. Bills passed by the Chamber are sent up to the Senate ; if the latter does not accept or reject them within forty days, it is assumed to have passed them. If it accepts them they become law ; if it rejects them they are sent back to the Chamber. Should the Chamber insist on its former decision, the vote is postponed for two months, when the bill becomes law if it obtains an "absolute majority of the total number of deputies." Or else, even before the lapse of two months, a joint meeting of the two bodies at the initiative of the

Senate may settle the question. The Senate also enjoys the right of proposing bills, when a similar procedure is followed; but the budget, as everywhere, is first introduced into the Chamber. The Senate must accept or reject it within a month; if it has not decided by then, its silence is interpreted as consent; if it differs from the Chamber, the budget is sent back to the latter, which then delivers the decisive vote. The same procedure applies to loans and votes of credit. Thus the Chamber holds the purse-strings. In order to facilitate agreement between the two Houses mixed committees of senators and deputies may be formed, while at the beginning of each legislature a permanent mixed committee on foreign affairs is created, which will function also during the recess, and even after the dissolution of the Chamber. The sittings of this committee, of which ex-Premiers are ex-officio members, are to be held with closed doors, unless two-thirds of its members desire them to be public. Thus continuity and competent criticism by persons who have had official responsibility are apparently ensured in the department, about which most democratic legislatures are ill-informed. In our House of Commons debates on foreign policy are often the monopoly of a few chance "experts," in some cases "cranks," whose knowledge is based upon a Cook's tour abroad, while even the Foreign Secretary is usually chosen rather for his powers of parliamentary exposition than for his knowledge of the psychology of foreign countries. But for the countries of South-Eastern Europe foreign policy is too vital a matter to be left at the arbitrament of full-dress debaters, well-meaning amateurs, and "Padgett M.P." But here, again, we must wait to see how the Foreign Affairs Committee works before expressing an opinion on its success. Similarly, all that can be said of the Senate is that, on paper, its powers are strictly limited. Given the fissiparous tendencies of Greek

politics, it seems undesirable to have added yet another possible source of disagreement, that between the two Houses, to those already existing. So far, however, the Senate has not been actually formed.

The Chamber is elected by direct, secret manhood suffrage. A special law fixes the number of seats in proportion to the population, but it must be neither less than 200 nor more than 250. Elections are held simultaneously. The duration of a Chamber is four years from the date of the elections; after the expiration of that term a new election must be held within forty-five days, and the new Chamber summoned within a further month. No by-elections are to be held in the last year of a Parliament unless more than one-quarter of the seats be vacant. Deputies must have completed their twenty-fifth year, and paid public officials (including those of the Refugees' Settlement Commission), soldiers on the active list, mayors and directors, councillors or officials of privileged companies are ineligible. But Professors of the University may become senators. Officers of the army or navy, who have resigned in order to become deputies, can never return to their profession, neither they nor public officials may stand for any constituency in which they have served during the three previous years. Thus, strenuous efforts have been made to exclude the military element, which has since 1909 intermittently interfered in politics. Public opinion is unanimous on this subject, and the paper clauses of a Constitution are less calculated to keep the military within their barracks than the manifest hostility of the people to that uncanny phenomenon—the political soldier. Greece has no desire to imitate Mexico or even Spain.

Disputed election returns are referred, as in England, to a special tribunal, and thus removed from the influence of party. The regular parliamentary session begins on 15 October, and must be neither shorter than three nor

longer than six months. The quorum—a frequent instrument of obstruction when it was fixed at a high figure—is one-quarter of the total number of deputies. There are two readings, the second at least two days after the first, of every bill, and the budget must be introduced during the two first months of the session. No deputy can be prosecuted or arrested during the legislative period without the consent of the Chamber, except for crimes in the committal of which he was caught red-handed. But in 1927 three Communist deputies were arrested without the Chambers' previous consent. A vote of want of confidence must be signed by at least twenty deputies, and cannot be repeated till after an interval of two months unless signed by half the deputies; it requires to be voted by at least two-fifths of them, and the Ministers may vote. They have access to both Houses, as in Italy, but only vote in that of which they are members. Within a year is to be created a Council of State—such as, with other functions, Otho had had before 1844, such as had been inserted in the Constitution of 1864 but abolished in 1865. It will consist of at most twenty-one members, appointed for life by the Cabinet, and their duties consist of preparing legal decrees, deciding hard cases of administrative law, and annulling the acts of the administrative authorities, committed *ultra vires*. Public officials are ineligible for this Council, except professors of law. The special electoral privileges of the three heroic "nautical islands," Hydra, Spetsai, and Psará, will be abolished in 1944, the centenary of their bestowal.

As regards internal administration, a chapter advocates decentralisation—a reform popular in Thessaly and the "new" provinces, which dislike the centralisation of their local concerns in Athens. But the system of prefects (*nomárchai*), introduced by the Bavarian Regency, remains, while in Macedonia, Thrace, and Crete

there are Governor-Generals nominated from the capital, that of Thrace having also jurisdiction over Eastern Macedonia. Mr. Tsaldares had been credited with the intention of substituting for the *nomárchai* a number of large Governor-Generalships; but, meanwhile, the Bavarian system is only modified by the law of 1924 for the creation of county councils. The *nomárches* is appointed by the Minister of the Interior, with the approval of the Cabinet—a point raised in a recent discussion upon the claim of Mr. Tsaldares to appoint whomsoever he pleased. The *nomárches* requires no special qualifications, except that he cannot be appointed to his native province, to that of his wife, or to that in which he has exercised his political rights for the three previous years. He is the direct representative of the executive; but, in some cases, like the Italian prefects under Giolitti, he is selected for his skill as an election-agent, and for party services rendered, or to be rendered. Hence, as then in Italy, the Ministry of the Interior, upon which he depends directly, assumes a specially important position at elections. There are at present thirty-three *nomárchai*. The former *eparchíai* having been abolished, there is no intermediate local authority between the prefecture and the municipality (*dêmos*). Throughout the Turkish period the Greek municipal system had never ceased to exist, and in the history of Turkish Athens the *demogérontes* ("elders") had played an active, and at times, a noble part in defence of the city's local autonomy. The Bavarians altered this traditional Greek institution, and introduced the foreign arrangement of the *dêmoi*, borrowed indirectly from France, which lasted unchanged for thirty years. Accordingly, Otho, or the *nomárchai*, nominated the mayors from a list of names submitted by the municipal councils. The existing system is based on the law of 1912, which for the first time drew a distinction between the *dêmos* and the *koinótes* ("commune").

A town or settlement of at least 10,000 inhabitants is called a *dêmos*; a settlement of less than 10,000 and more than 300 inhabitants, provided it possesses a school, constitutes a *koinótes;* smaller settlements combine with others to form a commune; but, in exceptional cases, such as a settlement of less than 300 on a remote island, a separate commune is allowed to be formed, and the possession of a certain amount of communal property is considered as a substitute for a school. The administration of the *dêmos* is conducted by the mayor (*démarchos*), the mayor's committee, equivalent to our aldermen, and the municipal council; that of the commune by the president of the commune and the communal council. All these functionaries except the aldermen—chosen by the municipal council—are elected by universal suffrage of the male electors every four years, the parliamentary, municipal, and communal suffrage being the same. The aldermen number three or five, according to the population of the *dêmos;* similarly, the municipal council consists of eighteen, twenty-four, or thirty councillors, according as the population is below 30,000, below 100,000, or above that figure. In case of necessity an assessor (*páredros*) temporarily takes the place of the mayor, who must be at least twenty-five years old, and cannot be simultaneously a deputy (or senator) and a mayor. Soldiers and sailors on active service and debtors of the *dêmos* are ineligible for municipal or communal offices. The mayor fills important duties; he is responsible for the registers of births, deaths, and marriages; he draws up the lists of electors, parliamentary and municipal, and takes considerable part in compiling those of persons liable to military service; he presides over the committees of philanthropic institutions, and is responsible to the *nomárches* for the municipal budget. But only rich *dêmoi* administer their own finances; generally that is the function of the state—

almost the sole encroachment of the latter in the modern municipal machinery. Even in the early days of George I., Finlay regarded municipal government as far more useful for Greece than the central authority, and considered the first election of mayors and municipal councillors in 1866 as "the most important event that has occurred since the revolution of 1862." For municipal administration is natural to the Greek people, and here the modern law merely consecrates the national usage and the historical tradition.

An interesting interpretation appended to article six, which declares "only Greek citizens" to be eligible for "the public services," defines the word "citizens," in this and all other articles where it is used, to include both sexes, adding that "political rights can be conferred upon women by law." Thus, the Constitution, while not expressly recognising women's rights, implicitly contemplates the possibilities of female suffrage. That is a further reason for reducing the illiteracy of women.

The Constitution endeavours to secure a permanent civil service—that great want of Greece—and officials, dismissed, degraded, or transferred, have a right of appeal to the Council of State; but diplomatists, General Directors of the Ministries, Governors-General, and Prefects may be exempted from this privilege of permanency by a special law. But British experience proves that the permanent secretary of a Ministry is a valuable asset, securing continuity of policy, nor is it desirable to make diplomatists dependent upon the changes of the party barometer. After the lessons of the late war, when Greece became the place of assembly and transit for foreign armies, it has been thought necessary to state categorically that "without a law no foreign army is received on Greek territory, nor can it remain on, nor traverse it." This clause assumes particular interest in view of the idea that, in the event of an Italo-Jugoslav war, Jugo-

slavia might desire the passage of a French army through the "Serbian zone" at Salonika and across Greek territory to the Jugoslav frontier. But it may be doubted whether a paper clause would be any more effective than in the case of Belgium in checking what might seem to the belligerents an imperative necessity. One of the most hotly contested provisions of the Constitution was article 119. This exceptionally permits "for the urban settlement of refugees the expropriation and occupation of unoccupied lands before compensation in order to build settlements of at least twenty houses . . . or to extend or complete existing settlements." The compensation payable is calculated in metal drachmai on the average price of September, 1922, before the refugees began to crowd into Greece and thus raise the value of land. In the case of rural refugees, meadows may be expropriated, the compensation being not less than two-thirds of the average price in metal drachmai during the three years previous to September, 1914. Commons are, however, exempted from this provision. As regards freedom of opinion, a censorship of the Press is forbidden. In practice a copy of Press telegrams sent abroad is simultaneously despatched to the Foreign Office. Exceptional measures are permitted for the protection of youth in the case of cinematographs. The seizure of newspapers is allowed only for attacks upon Christianity or immoral publications. Special legislation is contemplated—with reason—against pornographic publications and the dissemination of rumours of military "movements." This last provision is the more necessary owing to the temptation to spread alarmist news in the interest of speculation on the rate of exchange. Such a rumour in one day has sent the drachma down eleven points.

The judges of the three highest courts—the Areopagites, the *ephétai* (Lords Justices of Appeal), and the *protodíkai* (puisne judges)—are appointed for life; the

first two classes must retire at seventy, the third at sixty-five. The position of President of the Areiopagos is one of much dignity, and the present President has been suggested as both Prime Minister and President of the Republic.

The non-fundamental articles of the above Constitution alone are subject to revision after five years, if revision "be accepted by an absolute majority of both houses separately, and then, three months later, by both sitting together as a National Convention by a majority of at least three-fifths of the total number of their members." The National Convention "may also submit its decision for revision to a plebiscite" upon the clauses which it is sought to revise. Thus the framers of the Constitution have sought to make its revision difficult, and only possible after mature deliberation. But such paper guarantees somewhat resemble the remark made about the books in the Alexandrian library: if they agree with the popular will, they are superfluous; if they are opposed to it, they are useless and even dangerous. It remains to be seen whether the Constitution of 1927 will last as long as its predecessors. Meanwhile, a great step towards practical business has been achieved by passing it, for it had too long blocked the way to other legislation in which the public was more interested. It was wisely decided not to submit it, as Mr. Venizelos suggested, to a plebiscite, which would have raised the whole question of the régime at a most inopportune moment, when the public interest demanded the continued collaboration of all parties. Such a proposal, if adopted, would have brought "not peace, but a sword." There has been quite enough "tinkering of the machinery": the time has come to use it for practical legislation.

CHAPTER XVI

THE ARMY, NAVY, AND AIR FORCE

THE army and navy have always played a considerable part in Greek life, and since 1909 in Greek politics. The training of the former is entrusted to a French, that of the latter to a British, mission. Military service is regulated by the law voted by the National Assembly in 1925, and amended by the decree of July, 1927. According to its provisions, all Greeks between the ages of twenty and forty-nine are liable to military service, the first of January being "reckoned as the birthday of all the conscripts born within the year." Only eighteen months, however, are passed in the active army, nineteen and a half years being assigned to the first and eight to the second class of the reserve. But there are exemptions from service in time of peace. Thus, besides those suffering from physical defects, the eldest of a family of orphans, if he has an unmarried sister or a brother under age, the only or eldest son of a widow, the only or eldest grandson of a woman who has neither son nor son-in-law, and the only or eldest son of a man aged seventy, or blind, or unable from some physical defect to earn his living, provided that the younger sons are under age, or exempt. Should the eldest son be himself blind or bodily incapable of working, his next brother enjoys exemption. Further, there are exempt the Jewish and Moslem assistants in their respective synagogues and mosques, provided that they do not exceed five for each building. This latter class of persons exempted must pay a fine of 2,000 dr., the former one of 1,000 dr. Students of the Greek or

foreign universities, theological, commercial, and agricultural colleges, and polytechnics, are permitted to postpone their military service in time of peace till the completion of their studies. No Greek between the ages of fifteen and twenty may go abroad without the permission of the prefect, which is given only after a written promise that the applicant will return to perform his military service, accompanied by a deposit of a sum fixed by the prefect at not less than 500 dr., nor more than 100,000 dr. Greeks born and resident abroad are exempt. Any Greek, however, over the age of eighteen and up to that of thirty-two is accepted as a volunteer for two years' service.

The army on a peace footing consists of four army corps, with headquarters at Athens, Larissa, Salonika, and Kavalla; there are an infantry division at Joannina and a cavalry division at Larissa. A decree was published in June, 1927, suppressing 1,675 officers and adjutants in the interest of economy. The peace strength of the army is estimated at 7,121 officers and 60,000 men—viz., 38 general officers, 2,778 officers of infantry, 874 of artillery, 418 of engineers, 286 of cavalry, 138 of aviation, and 2,589 auxiliary officers. To these in time of war could be added 12,000 officers and 400,000 men who are in the first ten years' classes of the trained reserve, besides the classes of older men of more than ten years in the reserve and a certain number of refugees not yet calculated. There is also the *gendarmerie,* consisting of 1,055 officers and 11,500 men. Thus, according to the estimate of a competent military authority, Greece could reckon in an emergency upon an effective military force of about 500,000. The "Report of the Committee of Experts," appointed in December, 1926, to inquire into the best means of improving the public finances, pointed out "the disproportion between the numbers of the higher and lower officers," deprecated

unnecessary promotions and the entrance of superfluous cadets into the military academy, and advocated the reduction of the total number of officers to "below 5,000." This is a difficult operation in a country where the army has for so long interfered in politics, and the officers have become accustomed to make and unmake ministries. The total military expenditure for the financial year 1926-27 was £1,421,050, or rather less than in 1914; the naval expenditure £250,360, the smallest for many years. The system of military education resembles that in the French army, as is natural, seeing that Greece has a French military mission to supervise it. The Greek Sandhurst is the *Scholé Evelpídon,* founded in 1896 at the expense of the public-spirited millionaire, Averoff, to whom Athens also owes the restoration of the Stadion. General Girard, the head of the French Mission (which consists of some fifteen officers), exercises the functions of inspector-general of all the military schools. Except for the *évzonoi* in their picturesque *fustanellas,* the army now presents the drab appearance characteristic of most armies nowadays; the uniform is workmanlike, but not romantic. But then modern warfare, even in the Balkans, has ceased to be a romantic affair.

During the two Balkan and the European wars the army gave a good account of itself. In 1897 it had to fight unprepared against the Turkish Empire, aided by German officers; in the Asia Minor campaign its *morale* was undermined. General Girard has expressed himself well satisfied with its present condition. Greece has now a considerable land frontier to defend, and her Jugoslav neighbour has a much larger population and army, whereas Bulgaria has been—for the time, at least—disarmed. But a combination, rare in Balkan history, of those two mutually jealous states, might form a serious military problem, which the League of Nations could

not solve. The rules and exceptions for compulsory naval service resemble those for that in the army. But the navy is open only to youths belonging to one of four classes: (1) Professional sailors; (2) those exercising nautical trades and coming from nautical communities, or else practising the same trades in the engineering workshops of the Piræus, Salonika, Athens, Syra, Volo, or Patras; (3) pupils of the night-schools for engineering at the Piræus, holders of the diploma of radio telegraphist, engineers and electricians who have passed through the Polytechnic, and naval boy scouts; and (4) all natives of the three "nautical" islands of Hydra, Spetsai, and Psará, which were specially famous for their achievements at sea during the War of Independence. Naval service lasts for two years, but may be reduced to eighteen months at the discretion of the Minister of Marine. Some 4,500 conscripts join annually in two series, beside about 200 volunteers for three or five years' service.

The Greek navy consists of 2 battleships, the *Lemnos* and *Kilkis*, both purchased from the United States in 1914, and launched in 1905, and each having a tonnage of 13,000, a present speed of 15 knots, and a crew of 802; 1 armoured cruiser, the *Georgios Averoff*, launched in 1910, and recently repaired at Toulon, with a tonnage of 10,000, a present speed of 22½ knots, and a crew of 550; and 1 light cruiser, the *Helle*, launched in 1912, with a tonnage of 2,600, a speed of 20 knots, and a crew of 232, now used as a mine-layer. Of smaller craft there are 11 destroyers—viz., 4 of 980 tons with a speed of 32 knots, 4 of 400 tons with a speed of 29 knots, and 3 of 390 tons at present under repair; and 12 torpedo-boats—viz., 6 of 250 tons with a speed of 28 knots, and 6 of 120 tons, now undergoing repair. The submarine was proved by the late war to be peculiarly adapted for use in the

indented coasts and behind the countless islands of the Greek seas. Indeed, experts have expressed the opinion that, with an adequate supply of submarines, the Greek navy would be superior to that of her great eastern neighbour. At present, however, the 6 submarines are either on trial or being constructed; one, the *Proteus*, was launched at Nantes last October. Besides the above, Greece possesses 5 old vessels, now used as training-ships.

The total strength of the navy consists of 839 officers and 7,296 non-commissioned officers and men, including the workmen employed in the arsenal of Salamis. There is a scheme for the creation of a new arsenal at Skaramangâ on the coast opposite that island between Athens and Eleusis. The naval cadet college is at the Piræus, the naval school at Poros. The system of naval education is modelled upon that of the British navy, as the result of successive British naval missions and of the education of Greek officers in England. The professional training of naval officers consists of four years at the Piræus college, when they become midshipmen, supplemented by nine months at Poros upon promotion to the rank of sub-lieutenant. All naval conscripts have three months' training in their various departments before embarking.

Greece is geographically a nautical state. The bold deeds of the Greek seamen during the War of Independence have become historical; during the war of 1897 the navy was hampered by external considerations, in that of 1912-13 it rendered great services to the Balkan allies.

The first aviator, Ikaros, was a Greek, but aviation in modern Greece began only in 1912, yet in the first Balkan war of that year the Greeks used military aeroplanes guided by three aviators who had studied in France, whereas for non-military purposes it was first

taught in 1925, when the organisation known as the "Aerial Defence" was founded for the encouragement of flying. Greece possesses separate naval and military aviation services. The pilots of the naval service, which was founded in 1914, are partly naval officers, of whom some were trained in England or France, and partly civilians trained during the war by the British, besides a number of regular naval petty-officers who have completed their training in Greece under Greek instructors and obtained their pilots' brevets. The mechanics are composed partly of regular naval petty-officers and partly of conscripts who serve with the air service for about a year. The Greek pilots are stated by a competent foreign authority to be usually good, and many of them have had considerable experience in war. Moreover, the country is considered to be suitable for flying, especially for seaplanes. The principal difficulty is the lack of funds for the purchase of the necessary aircraft and equipment; nevertheless, twelve hydroplanes have been constituted into a flotilla. The funds are provided by the "Aerial Defence" for both the naval and military branches out of its real and personal estate, in the proportion of 30 per cent. for naval and 70 per cent. for military aviation. The council of this organisation deals also with civil aviation; its president is nominated by the Government, and is an important personage—Mr. Eutaxias held the position before becoming Prime Minister in 1926, and his successor is General Papathanasiou. He is responsible to the Minister of Communications, who is represented on the Council, composed of the chiefs of the naval and military staffs, the heads of the naval and military air services, and a civilian expert.

There is a seaplane base at Old Phaleron and an aerodrome—also used by the military air service—at Tatoï. The training and organisation are mainly on British lines; the first organiser was an Englishman, and

the officers of the Royal Air Force serving on the British Naval Mission assist the Greek naval aviation authorities. There are at present twenty pupils in the aviation school. Aircraft is constructed in the national factory at Old Phaleron, managed by the Blackburn Aviation Company. The first Greek hydroplane was, however, presented by the Egyptian Greeks.

Greece boasts that she was the second country which used aviation as a military instrument. In 1917 already thirty Greek airmen were trained abroad, and during the Great War three Greek squadrons of aircraft took part in the operations on the Macedonian front and in the Ukraine. Later on these three squadrons were concentrated at Drama and Smyrna, and during the campaign in Asia Minor were increased to four. Similarly Greek naval aviators took part in the European War, using Thasos, Moudros, Imbros, Mytilene, and Chalkidike as bases for attacks on the German and Bulgarian forces at Kavalla and the Turks at the Dardanelles, Constantinople, and Smyrna, and in the Asia Minor campaign. Three poets, one of them Drosines, have composed odes in honour of the Greek aviators, who have yielded a heavy death-roll of thirty-nine killed. Besides the joint aerodrome at Tatoï the military aviation service has aerodromes at Larissa, Salonika, and Kavalla, and an aviation school, which turns out more than fifty pilots and the same number of observers yearly.

Latterly, there has been some alarm less the reconstructed Turkish fleet should prove to be superior to the Greek. But the Turks, since the sixteenth century, have never been a naval power; alike in the War of Independence, and in the first Balkan war, they were inferior to the Greeks at sea, nor are they likely to attempt the recovery of their lost insular domain. If Greece does not possess the large military resources of the much bigger Jugoslavia, she is, at any rate, a military and naval

factor in the Near East, which cannot be overlooked. And so long as a Balkan Confederation remains a dream, and the League of Nations a debating society—so far as the smaller nations are concerned—the states of South-Eastern Europe do not feel justified in beating their swords into ploughshares for the peaceful development of Macedonia.

The municipality of Xanthe, the famous tobacco district, has given 3,000,000 dr. for military aviation, and the town's name will be given to the three new aeroplanes ordered in France. Up to the end of 1927 the "Air Defence" has granted to the Ministries of War and Marine 110,000,000 dr. for the needs of the air service.

CHAPTER XVII

PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

WHAT strikes every student of modern Greece is the extraordinary vitality of the Greek nation. Again and again in the course of her long history Greece seemed to have been annihilated by successive bands of conquerors; yet, in due course of time, they have passed away and she has survived. *Fluctuat nec mergitur.* To cite the most recent example, most countries would have been overwhelmed by the Asia Minor disaster and the consequent invasion of the refugees. Yet, five years afterwards, Greece is making progress, despite, or rather because of, this immense addition to her population, and she has in some respects become stronger by reason of her defeat. As for military revolutions, they come and go, leaving as little permanent trace as a passing shower upon the thirsty streets of Athens.

Owing to the unfortunate exigencies of contemporary journalism, with its craving for sensationalism and the "human story," the countries of South-Eastern Europe are usually seen through a distorted lens. For long periods their quiet and steady evolution passes unnoticed, until one morning Londoners find in flaming letters on a contents-bill the words: "Another Revolution in Athens." The man-in-the-street, nowadays the arbiter of all our elegancies, shrugs his shoulders complacently, thanks his "unknown gods," the founders of the British Constitution, that he is not as other men are, and goes about his business without reflecting that his ancestors, too, had their (much bloodier) revolutions, but that they had not undergone centuries of deadening

Turkish misrule, followed by the intrigues and mistakes of three "protecting Powers." Moreover, the stay-at-home Briton—a category which includes several British Ministers of Foreign Affairs—knows little about the psychology of foreign countries. Let us, therefore, examine briefly the circumstances which make it harder to govern Greece than to govern Great Britain.

In the first place, the Greek possesses a large dose of what he calls *atomismós*—"individuality"—which makes him peculiarly intolerant of state interference, and somewhat restive when collaborating with others. In the second place, in Greece public men are judged on their personal merits, not because of their ancestors, wealth, social position, or distinction in sport. Should a similar test be introduced into British public life, how many of our Ministers would have attained Cabinet rank? But this is not all. The average Greek considers himself fully competent to criticise the acts of his political leaders, and does so with the assistance of a daily Press, in which all things are discussed, and "secret diplomacy" is unknown. Moreover, the absence of any caucus, of "whips," of highly organised parties, and of permanent organisers makes it hard to keep a compact body of supporters together. Above all, the complete lack of snobbery makes public life more strenuous than in England, where that national vice—if vice it be—certainly greases the wheels of the political machinery more effectually than pure reason or faultless logic. Besides, in England, there exists that solid leaven of stupidity which Bagehot believed to be serviceable for the working of parliamentary institutions, whereas in Greece the number of alert intellects is relatively larger. Besides, in a pure democracy, such as that of Greece, pre-eminent personal distinction, long displayed in public office, arouses envy rather than admiration. Thus long premierships lead to unpopularity and even exile. Tri-

koupes and Mr. Venizelos are examples. The tall oak, overshadowing the smaller trees, is apt to be cut down.

Nevertheless, the growing indifference of the people, as distinct from "the politicians," to political questions, the increasing number of other interests, the dearness of life, and the influence of American emigration have had an effect upon Greek affairs. Most of the politicians feel that the economic question is more vital than the form of government, which in Greece resolves itself in practice into the dilemma: is the democracy to wear a crown or a Phrygian cap? For an autocracy is out of the question, and a military dictatorship, as that of Pangalos proved, will last only as long as the army wishes, and the army is politically not a united body.

The first essential of Greece's stability is the definite elimination of the army and navy from politics. As long as the possibility of *pronunciamientos* exist, there can be no security, and Greek credit abroad cannot be assured. The problem has not been easy, for the Republican officers on the active list, *beati possidentes,* were opposed to the reactivation of their dismissed Royalist comrades. Besides, since 1909 the army has grown accustomed to make and unmake governments, and Pangalos set a bad example to other ambitious or discontented officers. The people has only one opinion about the matter: that the army should mind its own business, and has expressed this opinion unmistakably. A hopeful sign is the intervention at political crises of the commercial world of Athens, urging the contending politicians to make up their differences for the common weal. Severe economies can only be achieved by a Cabinet of all parties, because the party leaders will collectively risk an unpopularity in cutting down salaries and reducing departmental staffs which, political human nature being what it is everywhere, they could not reasonably be expected to incur individually.

The refugees' problem is on the way to solution. As the return to their old homes in Asia Minor becomes less and less probable, the immigrants will regard Greece as their permanent abode, and realise that the labour and money which they put into it will not be lost. They have amalgamated far better than could have been expected with the indigenous population; and the completion of their establishment in Greece is only a question of money, for which there is ample security. This question, which will have been ere now settled by the new loan, was only temporarily postponed by the French veto.

Another hopeful sign is the tendency towards a new system of education on English lines—the formation of character rather than the acquirement of information alone. To transplant our insular institutions to Greece is neither possible nor desirable; the attempt to Americanise the Greeks is equally out of the question; and the American-Greek child who despises his father's country is despicable. But an adaption of our Public Schools is being tried with general approval in Greece. Leake in 1844 considered it "a great misfortune . . . that so few Greeks have been educated" in England. But it would be still better if more Greeks were educated on revised Greek lines in Greece. The great development of sport, notably football, tennis, and athletics in Greece, has produced a sportsmanlike spirit, which has won golden opinions from British University "blues." In another direction, Greek education has become more realistic by the practice of escorting students to the famous sites of their own ancient and medieval history, such as Sparta, Mistrâ, and Monemvasia, where they hear lectures by eminent professors of history and art. Every year more Greeks visit the beautiful and historic spots of their own country, and the day will doubtless come when such phenomena as well-to-do Athenians, who are familiar with Paris, Switzerland, and

Aix-les-Bains, but have never seen Delphi or Delos, to say nothing of the churches of Arta and Paros, will be rare. Pilgrimages to Cyprus and Jerusalem have been organised and led by such representative men as the Mayor of Athens, and a modern "Sicilian expedition" was sent to the Greek theatre of Syracuse, and its members gazed at the stone-quarries where their ancestors were confined.

What Greece especially wants is a long period of peace, internal and external. She is digesting the considerable meal which was laid before her in 1912-13, and her foreign policy is one of good relations, at least officially, with all other countries. Given peace, her progress is practically certain. But peace includes the maintenance of the *status quo* at home. In the present stage of Greek history it may be said, without expressing predilection for either the Monarchical or the Republican form of government, that for Greece, "whatever is, is best." It may, or may not, have been desirable to change the Monarchy for a Republic in 1924: that is a question which must be decided on the practical results, not on the theoretical virtues, of the rival régimes. But, having taken that step, Greece will probably be wise not to reverse it until she has given the Republic a fair trial and placed herself in a proper financial and material position of stability. For Greece *le mieux est l'ennemi du bien*. A less perfect state of things, provided it be continuous, is preferable to theoretical perfection tempered by *coups d'état* or other sudden changes. Moderate Royalists, putting patriotism before party, have perceived this and "rallied" to the Republic, because it is the recognised government, nor is there any reason why foreigners, Monarchists at home, should not be Republicans in Greece. Did not Chateaubriand say that he was *monarchiste en France et républicain à Saint-Marin?* It is no business of ours to oppose the Greeks because

they have changed their form of government, nor does loyalty to George V. necessarily imply a preference for George II. over the President of the Hellenic Republic. There are beyond doubt many Royalists in Greece—there are still more anti-Venizelists—who sincerely think that the best form of government for their country would be a Constitutional Monarchy under such a sovereign as was George I. There are many others who are devoted—and their devotion does credit to their feelings—to the memory of Constantine. But there are few enthusiastic adherents, as there are no violent enemies, of George II., whose character and brief career inspired neither strong affection nor bitter animosity, and who does not possess the chief requisite of a king—an heir—for the tranquil transmission of the chief position in the state is vaunted as the greatest advantage of monarchy. There are Royalists who might prefer to the Glücksburgs another—preferably British—dynasty. But a British prince is out of the question, and in these days Royal princes of other races are comparatively rare. Besides, were there any *esprit de corps* among the members of royal houses—mostly also relatives—they would refuse a post from which one of their number had been rejected. This is not, however, the case, for the then Minister of Foreign Affairs informed me, in 1924, that the scion of another royal family had spontaneously offered to accept the Greek throne. Moreover, there are princes of the Glücksburg House whose return to Athens would not be popular; a royal uncle, as George I. found in his early days, is apt to interfere in politics, especially if he be an able man. Nevertheless, although no fanatical adherent is likely to risk his life for George II., it would be rash to prophesy that another king will never reign in Athens. After a national disaster, which—as the logical fallacy of the schoolmen, *post hoc, ergo propter hoc,* is unknown in practical politics—would be attri-

buted (as I have known the failure of the electric light attributed) to the Republic, there might easily be a sudden revulsion of feeling, when the portraits of the late dynasty would emerge from the attics into the sun of Attica. In any case, we must not judge Greek Monarchy by the standard of the British. Greece has no distant self-governing dominions, united with the mother-country by the golden link of the Crown alone; the Greeks have not that love of pomp and ceremony, that respect for tradition, which characterise Britons, and even among ourselves a generation ago the present writer heard the then Lord Chief Justice of England declare publicly from the bench that "England would not stand another Charles II. or another George IV." But in Athens, where the sovereign must necessarily pass his whole life in the public eye, and where the dynasty must necessarily be foreign, the embarrassments of kingship are far greater. Gladstone's remark, that the great difficulty of Constitutional Monarchy is the education of the heir-apparent, is even truer of small countries than of great. Witness the cases of Milan of Serbia, and Danilo of Montenegro. And when an heir-apparent to the Greek throne becomes king, he must carefully steer between the temptation to do too much and the inclination to do nothing. The popular King Alexander, the young Marcellus of Greece, carried off by a premature death from the affections of his people, is reported to have said to a person who criticised him for not reading the documents which he signed: "My grandfather signed most documents without reading them, and he reigned fifty years; my father read all documents before signing them, and he was deposed; I intend to follow the example of my grandfather." Edward VII. would have been an ideal King of Greece; but then he would have been also an ideal President of the French Republic.

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