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Author(s): William Miller

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MODERN GREEK HISTORY IN THE "GENNADEION"

THIS article describes the principal publications about Greek history since 1821 contained in the library which Dr. Joannes Gennadius, former Greek minister in London, and his wife presented to the trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens in remembrance of his father, George Gennadius, on October 18, 1922, and which was inaugurated in 1926. The deed of gift expressed "the confident hope that the American School" might "become a world-center for the study of modern," as well as ancient and Byzantine, history; and of the 28,000 volumes composing the library a considerable section, occupying a part of the gallery, covers the century from 1821 to 1922, in which the donor, during his two long tenures of the London legation, played a notable part, and in the heroic period of which his father, "the teacher of the nation," was one of the intellectual protagonists. Research in the library is now facilitated by the card index which Dr. Scoggin, the librarian, has compiled with great labor and care. "The harvest is plenteous, but"—so far—"the laborers are few."

To begin with the most eminent British historian of modern Greece—George Finlay. Besides his *History*, in both editions, the library possesses a finely bound volume of his articles contributed to *Blackwood's Magazine*. Pasted into it is a letter from Blackwood and Sons to Dr. Gennadius, appending a list of them. A companion volume contains his *Minor writings*; and a third, reviews of his *magnum opus*. All the well-known historians of the War of Independence are represented—Pouqueville, with the continuation down to 1854 by Rovani, Rizos Neroulos, Spyridon Trikoupes (of whom a fourth edition was issued in 1925–26), with the criticisms upon him, Ambrosios Phrantzes, Philemon, Raffanel, Gordon, Samuel Howe (including the very rare second edition of 1828, of which Mrs. Howe assured Dr. Gennadius "that she knew of only two copies, and those in her own family"), Gervinus, Prokesch-Osten, Hertzberg, and Ciampolini. Most interesting to historical students are the contemporary accounts of the struggle, in which some of the foregoing historians also participated. These are classified into four categories: memoirs of Greek chieftains and public men; narratives of foreign volunteers; accounts and memoirs by foreign delegates; and travels during the war. The first class includes the memoirs of the famous metropolitan of Patras, Germanos, who raised the standard of revolt at Hagia Lavra, those of Kolokotrones, Constantine Metaxas, and Nicholas Dragoumes. The second comprises the narratives of Raybaud (in a copy which belonged to

the Duchesse de Berry and then to Talleyrand), Jourdain, Friedrich Müller of Altdorf, who commanded the fortress Palamidi at Nauplia, and the rare *Sketches of modern Greece* by "a young English volunteer in the Greek service," interesting to American readers from the allusions to that strange American philhellene, Jarvis,¹ under the pseudonym of "Baltimore." The third contains such authors as Blaquiére, Leicester Stanhope, Emerson, Green (the British consul in the Morea), Julius Millingen, J. P. Miller, of Vermont, and the photostat copy of Howe's *Journal* from 1825 to 1829, made by Harvard University. Among the travelers are Waddington, Swan, Bulwer, and Urquhart, author of *The spirit of the East*. There is a collection of monographs on incidents of the struggle, such as the murder of the Patriarch Gregory V, including the official program of the transport of his remains from Odessa to the cathedral at Athens in 1871 with the panegyric delivered on that occasion, and a poem recited by the eminent medieval historian, Spyridon Lampros. Mesolonghi, Athens, and the French expedition to the Morea are also subjects of monographs. A special department is consecrated to the war at sea, about which there are the rare "Synoptic history" of "the three nautical islands" by Homerides and Antonios Miaoules, published at Nauplia in 1831 and 1833, the *Σπετσιώτικα* of Anargyros, and a volume of "Memoirs of campaigns and battles of the Greek fleet" by Nikodemus, presented to Sir Richard Church. There is much about Navarino, including British official papers relating to Codrington's conduct. Capo d'Istria has a section all to himself; there are attacks upon his administration by Koraes (under the pseudonym of "Pantazides"); appeals by the latter for liberty and good government; and foreign opinions on internal conditions, such as the standard works of Thiersch and the regent von Maurer. The Greek loans of 1824-25 and the building of the two Greek frigates in America furnish material for several pamphlets, some published in New York in English. The standard work of Mamoukas, a collection of the constitutions of the revolutionary period from 1821 to 1832, is flanked by other official documents, such as the splendidly bound *Ἀρχεῖα τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Παλιγγενεσίας*, which, however, only cover 1822-23. More recent publications are the private archives, such as the *Ἀθηναϊκὸν Ἀρχεῖον* and *Ἀρχεῖον τοῦ Στρατηγοῦ Ἰωάννου Μακρυγιάννη*, edited by the distinguished archivist, Mr. Vlachogiannes, who has given the reader an opportunity of appreciating the racy style of Makrygiannes, one of the prime movers in the revolution of 1843 and the instigator of a curious collection of more or less imaginary pictures of the War of Independence, published, with a historical notice, by Dr. Genadius, in 1926. Here come also the "Historical archives (1819-26)" of Count Romas of Zante, edited by Mr. Kampouroglous, the historian of

¹ Cf. William Miller, "The journals of Finlay and Jarvis," *English Historical Review*, XLI (1926), 514.

Turkish Athens. But the library has not yet acquired the valuable "Archives of the community of Hydra" and those of the Kountouriotai, of which fifteen volumes have been published, nine of them dealing with the period since 1821. There is a volume of articles of the British press on the revolution, followed by a large section dedicated to the philhellenic movement, about which a Greek diplomatist, Mr. S. Th. Laskaris, has lately published two pamphlets, describing its history in America and Germany. There is a large Byron literature, going from Gamba's *Narrative* to the "Life" (in Greek) by Mr. Shirley Atchley, who has been for years attached to the British legation in Athens and who possesses unique knowledge of Greece. Numerous poems by bards of such various renown as Victor Hugo and "A Young Gentleman Fourteen Years of Age" fill this section. The American philhellenic writers include Sidney E. Morse, author of *A geographical view of Greece, and an historical sketch of the recent revolution in that country*, published at New Haven and New York in 1822; Sereno Ed. Dwight, who twice delivered an address at Boston in 1824; *Letters from Greece* by Miller and Jarvis in 1824-25; Webster's *Speech on the Greek Revolution* in 1824; and Governor Everett's *Europe, or a general survey of the present situation of the principal powers by "A Citizen of the United States,"* published in 1822, in which he denounces their treatment of Greece.

A volume dealing with "Candidates for the Greek throne" contains the curious pamphlet of Prince George Comnène, *Sur la Grèce*, published in 1831, stating that in 1781 the Greeks demanded Prince Demetrios Comnenos, *soi-disant* descendant of the emperors of Trebizond, as head of a new Greek state. There is a large collection of British Blue Books on the Greek question, and a series of biographies, mostly in Greek, of the heroes of the War of Independence, including Dr. Gennadius' life of his father, written under the pseudonym "Xenophon Anas-tasiades." There are numerous lives of philhellenes, notably Canning, Lord Guilford, founder of the Ionian Academy at Corfù, Santa Rosa, and Fabvier, whose respective centenaries were celebrated in 1925-27, the Americans, Webster, Clay, and Howe, and the Swiss Eynard; and Dr. Gennadius' funeral oration over the tomb of Sir Richard Church. A collection of maps and charts is followed by illustrated works about this period: *Historical portraiture of leading events in the life of Ali Pacha* by W. Davenport; *The Greeks: twenty-four portraits of the principal leaders and personages who have made themselves most conspicuous in the Greek Revolution, 1825-26*, published by Adam de Friedel (of which there are three editions); Krazeisen's *Portraits des Grecs et des Philhellenes les plus célèbres*; Hess's *Befreiung Griechenlands in XXXIX Bildern*, executed by command of Ludwig I of Bavaria; and several *Illustrations* of the battle of Navarino, including that reproduced by the British Propaganda Bureau in 1918. The section dedicated to the history

of the Greek flag and to war memorials is of topical interest in view of the laying of the foundation-stones of the Herôon at Athens, inscribed with the names of Greek cities, during the centennial celebration of 1930. The period of the War of Independence concludes with numerous poems, dramas, and novels about it. These include *Die Insurgenten, oder eine Nacht in Griechenland*—a tragedy by Daniels; a Pindaric ode entitled *Kanares*, with a French prose translation, by Menas, dedicated to Eynard; Agnes Strickland's *Demetrius, a tale of modern Greece*, published in 1833; a rare reprint of Shelley's *Hellas*, on vellum; Somma's tragedy, *Marco Bozzari*, and Zecchini's *Lambro Zavella, Capitano di Suli*; French, German, and Rumanian dramas on the fall of Mesolonghi; and *A satirical poem on the siege addressed to Her Majesty's Protestant subjects, both houses of parliament, and the clergy*, by "Britannicus" (Francis Glasse). This copy was picked up in London by Villars, the correspondent of the *Journal des Débats* and presented by him to Dr. Gennadius. Of the English novels, the best known are Morier's *Photo the Suliot*, and Benson's *The vintage*; of the Greek, Bikelas' *Loukis Laras*, of which there are English, French, German, Greek, Danish, Swedish, and Russian translations.

The reign of Otho can be thoroughly studied in the "Gennadeion." There are *The diplomatic history of the monarchy of Greece* (1830–38) by Parish, who was secretary of the British legation; the most valuable *Briefe einer Hofdame in Athen, 1837–1842* by Frä. von Nordenflycht, a keen observer, which have been recently translated into Greek; the contemporary work by G. H. v. P., *Sechs Jahre in Griechenland* (1834–40); the Bavarian consul Strong's statistical work, *Greece as a kingdom* (1833–42); Trost's *König Ludwig von Bayern in seinen Briefen an seinen Sohn den König Otto von Griechenland*; the companion-volume of Otho's letters (1838–58), translated into Greek from the archives of the Historical and Ethnological Society at Athens and from the family archives of the Wittelsbachs; Marlen's *Geschichte Griechenlands von der Ankunft König Otto's in Nauplia bis zu seiner Thronbesteigung* (1833–35); *La Grèce du Roi Othon* by the French diplomatist Thouvenel; the useful Greek work of Lidorikes, *Some pages of the history of King Otho*; the big Greek "History of contemporary Hellenism (1832–92)" by Kyriakides; and the "History of Otho (1832–62)" and "The events after Otho (1862–98)" by Evangelides.

Several monographs treat of Queen Amalia, and the *Erinnerungen und Mittheilungen aus Griechenland* (1832–36) and the *Wanderungen in Griechenland im Gefolge Otto und Amelie* of the archaeologist Ludwig Ross illustrate the early years of the first monarchy and the extensive travels of the first king and queen amid difficulties unknown to the modern tourist, who traverses Greece in a motor car. The court life of that early period is described by Baron Ow in his *Aufzeichnungen eines*

Junkers am Hofe zu Athen (1837); and Cochrane's *Wanderings in Greece*—the "Gennadeion" copy was a gift by the author to Sir Richard Church—contains valuable accounts of Athenian life in the first years of its existence as a capital.² The proceedings of the national assembly of 1843–44 exist in the Greek original and in Heinze's German translation. There is a fine copy of the *Südöstlicher Bildensaal* of that strange traveler, Prince von Pueckler-Muskau; the Marchioness of Londonderry and Lord Carnarvon are both represented. Indeed, the collection of books of travel is very large; no important work of this class appears to be lacking, though some of the hasty compilations of tourists might be spared. A sad memory attaches to the "First Excursion"—to Greece in 1850—of the future ill-fated Emperor Maximilian of Mexico. Of special interest to Americans are *The Greece of the Greeks* (New York, 1845) by the late American consul in Athens, Perdicaris, and *The Greeks of to-day* by the first American minister resident there, Charles K. Tuckerman, whose portrait hangs on the wall of the present American minister's study, with the Greek translation of Zygomalas. But this latter book brings us into the reign of George I.

The first important event of that reign was the union with the Ionian Islands in 1864. To their history and topography 352 volumes are devoted, prominent among them the useful works of Chiotes, Napier, Lord Kirkwall, and Jervis. Peculiarly valuable as illustrating public opinion are the 17 volumes of "Pamphlets, articles, and various publications on the affairs of the Islands during the British Protectorate, and after the Union." Both sides are represented: there are the "Memoirs" of the "radical" leader, Lombardos, and his friends, together with Ionian indictments of the protectorate in English and Greek; British treatises and articles; pamphlets on the exiles of Cephalonia after the disturbances of 1849. A whole volume is filled with Gladstone's mission, another with the union, and a supplement contains the acts of the senate, 1817–37.

The second leading incident of the second dynasty was the great Cretan insurrection of 1866–69. Beginning with that of 1858, there is a series of publications upon Cretan insurrections extending to 1909. Prominent among them is the book by Stillman, late American consul in Crete and afterward correspondent of the *London Times* in Athens and Rome—this copy being a present to Froude. The fugitive pieces include a speech in the house of representatives in 1867 by John Shanks on *Recognition of Crete*; and a pamphlet by Joseph Cartwright, reprinted at New Orleans in 1866, on *The insurrection in Candia and the public press*, and "distributed gratis to the friends of liberty and oppressed nationalities by the New Orleans Greek Committee of Relief for the families of the heroic sons of Candia," with a Greek translation. A curiosity is Grand-Carteret's *La Crète devant l'image*—"150 reproductions of

² Cf. William Miller, *The early years of modern Athens* (London, 1926).

Greek, French, German, English, and American caricatures" in 1897. There are the usual crop of patriotic poems, and, of greater value, the official documents, notably a privately printed and unpublished "Memorandum" of Prince George, in 1905, to the four protecting powers, given to Dr. Gennadius by the Prince in 1907. Another unpublished document is *The case for the Cretans; being a translation of the memorandum addressed by the Cretan government to the consuls*, in 1910, with a letter from Mr. Venizelos and an introduction by Sir Charles Dilke. A note by Dr. Gennadius in the catalogue states that he "prepared" this "at the suggestion of M. Venizelos." "But on his assuming power in Athens," he continues, "it was withheld from circulation and has never been published." A set of Cretan laws and regulations concludes this department.

Two shelves house the literature of the brief Greco-Turkish war of 1897. It comprises the official report of the Crown-Prince Constantine, the bulky Greek "History" by Oikonomopoulos, and the books of the English war-correspondents, Clive Bigham, Rose, the late G. W. Stevens, and the evergreen H. W. Nevins, whose *Sketches in the Thirty Days War* remain a model of style and humor. A volume of review articles and a collection of Greek "Stories from the catastrophe" by Mr. Aspreas, the eminent historian of modern Greece, who has lately brought out the third volume of his "History" down to 1912, deserve note, while the Turkish side is presented by the once notorious Turcophil member of parliament, Sir Ellis Ashmead Bartlett, in *The battlefields of Thessaly*. His capture with his son, the famous war-correspondent of the Libyan and later wars, was one of the comic incidents of that tragedy. Lewis Sargeant's *Greece in the nineteenth century* and Percy Martin's *Greece of the twentieth century* were useful summaries of a large part of George I's reign; and there is Walter Christmas' biography of him, published in 1914. There are most of the books published at the time of the Balkan wars. Besides those of Messrs. Cassavetti and Trapman, we may note Mr. John Mavrocordato's *Letters from Greece concerning the war of the Balkan allies*, and *An American soldier under the Greek flag at Bezanie* (before Joannina) by T. S. Hutchinson, brigadier-general, National Guard of Tennessee. Four volumes of London illustrated newspapers deal with those two wars; with Greece's entry into the European war the books became controversial. But there are the official reports of the Paris and Lausanne conferences. Several volumes are filled with the most acute internal question of George I's earlier years—that of the Laurion mines, which caused difficulties with France and Italy. There are long series of British Blue and French Yellow Books about Greek and Turkish affairs, of British consular reports, Greek budgets, official handbooks of various ministries, and similar publications. Several volumes are occupied with the revival of the Olympic Games, which have been twice held in the Athenian Stadium, in 1896 and 1906. These have his-

torical value as showing the beginning of that movement for physical culture which has lately become so notable a part of modern, as it was of ancient, Greek education. Of the development of modern instruction, Dr. Gennadius has written a useful handbook, *A sketch of the history of education in Greece*, published at Edinburgh in 1925.

The library contains a valuable collection of Greek journals, specially interesting in view of the press exhibition in Athens in 1930, of which that organized by Dr. Gennadius for the Paris exhibition of 1867 was the precursor.³ Of the first newspaper published in Greece after the declaration of the war of Independence, the 'Ελληνική Σάλαπιγξ of Kalamata, there are no copies in the library, nor of the first Athenian newspaper, 'Εφημερίς 'Αθηνῶν, nor yet of the original edition of the 'Ελληνικά χρονικά of Mesolonghi, published during the siege. There are, however, the reprint of this last newspaper by Levides, dated 1840; the rare 'Ηώς, a literary and scientific weekly, issued at Nauplia in 1830–31, by Antoniades, the famous 'Απόλλων of Hydra, published in that impregnable island in 1831 in consequence of the censorship at Nauplia, the penultimate number of which contains the poem by Alexander Soutsos, comparing the two Mavromichalai who murdered Capo d'Istria, with Harmodios and Aristogeiton; the 'Ηλιος of Nauplia, edited in 1833 by that poet, some of whose verses first saw the light in its pages; and a complete set of the 'Αθηνᾶ of Nauplia, edited by Chrysidēs in 1831; the bi-weekly Τριπτόλεμος; and the Greek and French "Historical summary," published at Athens in 1839 by Papadopoulos-Vretos, of the Greco-French Naupliote newspaper, *Le Miroir Grec*. A very rare collection consists of the first six volumes of the Greek official gazette, Γενική 'Εφημερίς τῆς 'Ελλάδος, published successively at Nauplia, Aigina, and again at Nauplia in 1825–31, and complete save for two pages of Volume II and four of Volume III. There follows a set of the succeeding official journal, 'Εφημερίς τῆς Κυβερνήσεως, or *Regierungsblatt des Koenigreichs Griechenland*, 1833–42, published at Nauplia and subsequently Athens, first in Greek and German, then in Greek alone, with an index going to 1854. There are specimens of some of the newspapers published at Athens after the transference of the capital thither in 1834, among them a bound volume of the comic journal 'Ασμοδαῖος (1875–85); its successor the 'Αστὺ (1885–90); then a weekly, both containing the caricatures of Anninos; and a number of unbound numbers of the famous Ρωμῆος of Soures, the Aristophanes of modern Greece, who wrote the whole of his paper, including the advertisements, in verse. This remarkable publication, the creation of one man, died with him and has left no successor. It is as invaluable to the student of modern Greek history as *Punch* to the student of modern Eng-

³ *Indépendance Hellénique*, June 20 (o.s.), 1867; *Messenger d'Athènes*, May 27, 1930.

lish history, but like Aristophanes, requires a commentary to explain the contemporary allusions. Of Greek journals published abroad, the most influential, the *Néa Hμέρα* of Trieste (afterward transferred to Athens, where it recently died) is represented by a complete set from 1894 to 1912 and by a fairly consecutive set from 1863 to 1885; there are four volumes of the *Βρετανικὸς Ἀστὴρ*, published weekly by Stephanos Xenos, the publicist and novelist, in London, and sets of Dr. Pouptes' *Hellenic Herald* and *Ἑσπερία*, published in London respectively in 1906 and 1916–20; besides the monthly review *Ἐρευνα*, edited by Platon Drakoules at Oxford, 1901–6. America contributes six years of the *Ἀτλαντὶς* (1894–1900), and twenty-two numbers of the illustrated weekly *Παρθενών*, printed in Greek and English. A volume which one day will possess great historic interest is that containing the *Ἐφημερίς τῆς Προσωρινῆς Κυβερνήσεως*—the official gazette of "the provisional government" of Mr. Venizelos, Admiral Kountouriotis, and General Dangles, which met first at Canea, where the first six numbers were issued, and then at Salonika, in 1916–17 till the first deposition of Constantine.

Besides newspapers there are numerous magazines and periodical publications of learned societies, such as the rare *Ἴόνιος Ἀνθολογία*, published in three languages at Corfù in 1834, the *Ἑλληνομνήμων* of Philadelphus, published in Athens (1843–52), and its continuation the *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*, issued by Sp. P. Lampros from 1904, of which, however, the last seven volumes are missing, for the series of historical reviews has not been completed since Dr. Gennadius' donation of his books, except in the case of the *Ἑλληνισμός*, in which four of his recent historical works appeared. The fortnightly literary review *Πανδώρα* is represented by an almost complete series from 1850–1872, containing contributions from such eminent writers as the historian of the Greek nation, Paparrhegopoulos, the diarist Nicholas Dragoumes, and the literary diplomatist Rangabes, formerly minister in Washington, of whose memoirs his son has just published a further instalment. There are three sets of the *Ἑστιά*, then a weekly but now a daily evening newspaper, from 1876 to 1899, and of the *Ἑβδομάς*, the literary and historical Sunday periodical (1884–92), which contains the three lists of the philhellenes who died during the War of Independence or in Greek service between 1821 and 1860, who left Greece, who were still living there at the latter date. This third class contains Finlay, Sir Richard Church, Hahn, and Treyber, the chief physician of the Greek army; but a footnote adds that at the time of publication they were all dead. The compiler was the Swiss philhellene, Fornesy, who based his biographies upon the notes of the French colonel Touret; and the list may be compared with that painted on the wall of the Roman Catholic church at Nauplia and the plan of it in the Museum of the Historical and Ethnological Society. A unique collection is that of

pamphlets relating to the University of Athens and other learned institutions. A set of the Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική (1837–60) consists largely of copies presented and signed by the editor and well-known ephor of antiquities, Pittakes; and a large section is devoted to archaeological discoveries, including nine volumes dealing with the work of the American School of Classical Studies.

Of much value to students of modern Greek history are the 84 volumes of some 1,100 pamphlets and articles labeled Ἑλλάς and the 66 volumes of those, about 750, labeled *Question d'Orient*, about which there is also a mass of newspaper cuttings. The former series contains a general political section ranging from 1832 to 1897 and comprising such rare and valuable treatises as *The Hellenic kingdom and the Greek nation* (1836) by Finlay, quaintly described as "of Lyosha" (the future historian's Attic estate) and "honorary major in the service of his Majesty the King of Greece"; two anonymous pamphlets (by "Victor Adée Bertrand") in Greek and French, *Grèce situation politique* (domestic and foreign), in 1837; various review articles on the revolution of 1843, one by an "Eye-witness," and a collection of the documents and proclamations of Kallerges, who was another of its chief promoters. We have Palmerston's famous *Civis Romanus sum* speech on the Don Pacifico affair of 1850, followed by pamphlets arising from it. The Anglo-French occupation at the time of the Crimean War and the deposition of Otho are responsible for a number of brochures, including a curious *Word on the Greek question by the last surviving male descendant of the Emperors of the East*. The author tells us that he is nephew of Count Felice di Cristoforo, who was "private secretary to the Duke of Sussex," and is "related, on the father's side, to the family of De Bouillon"; while another of his ancestors was D'Avalos, "the Hero of Peru." He argues that the name Di Cristoforo is "a modern paraphrase of that of Nicephorus," and he assumes that, because this was "the Christian name of three Emperors of the East," he was therefore their legitimate descendant. In farther proof he cites the possession by his mother in Malta of a relic which had belonged "to one of the imperial Nicphori"! Similarly, on the deposition of George II, a claimant to the Greek throne arose in the person of "Prince Eugène Laskaris," *soi-disant* descendant of the emperors of Nicaea, whose supporters issued in March, 1924, a manifesto of which I possess a copy. A subsection is mainly devoted to the Greek claims at, and immediately after, the Berlin Congress; in an anonymous pamphlet, entitled *The general election [of 1880]; England and the Greek question*, may be traced the collaboration of Dr. Gennadius with the author, Fitzgerald. One volume of this series, labeled "Social condition, nationality," contains sketches of Greek life by Maxime du Camp, in 1855, who thought that the Piræus should have been made the modern capital and Athens "a sort of immense Pompeii," by Émile Burnouf on *La Grèce en*

1886, by an anonymous writer in *Blackwood's Magazine*, who describes *Athens in 1837*; by Thornbury, who portrays *Athens under King Otho*; by Sir Patrick Colquhoun, formerly chief justice of the Ionian Islands; Mahaffy; Blackie; Stillman; and Mr. Polites (in 1896), now minister in Paris. Five volumes contain pleas "of Greeks for Greece" from 1853 onward, including pamphlets by such well-known writers as Papadopoulos-Vretos, Saripolos and Rangabes, and articles by the novelist Bikelas. One volume of "Dialogues about common interests" and four entitled "Political review," ranging from 1843 to 1901, follow; among the pamphlets in the latter are Goudas' "Warnings to the future king of Greece" at the time of the interregnum of 1863. Three volumes deal with the insurrection at Nauplia in 1862; its sequel, the October revolution of that year, which dethroned Otho during his yachting tour; and the insurrections in Epeiros and Thessaly in 1854 and 1878. One of these pamphlets is the valuable account by Palaskas of the historic scenes in 1862 on board the royal yacht, of which he was captain. One volume covers "Foreign policy and service" in general, another treats of "Foreign rule in Greece," a subject illustrated by the father of Greek republicanism, Philaretos, in his pamphlet published in 1897, *Xénocratie et royauté en Grèce (1821-1897)*. After a volume upon "Hellenism and foreign policy," treating of Greek relations with Russia, Austria, and Panslavism, come one about the "Greco-Roumanian difference" concerning the bequest of the brothers Zappa, the founders of the Zappeion at Athens, and one, entitled "Greco-Turkish affairs, 1891-1909." Of less historical value are the eight volumes containing patriotic and political poems and addresses, hymns to Otho and George I, and an "Encomium" to Constantine on attaining his majority, composed in Greek verse, with an English prose translation, by Soteriades, a Greek resident in Manchester, where it was published. "'Tis he," exclaims the poet in anticipation of the Balkan wars of 1912-13, "who will extend the Grecian dominions," adding the prosaic, but practical, prophecy, "From the homes of the Greek will he drive out the vermin." Parliamentary speeches by Spyridon and Charilaos Trikoupes; Simopoulos, the eminent minister of finance; Mavromichales the premier; and others fill six volumes, "Party and electoral conflicts" and "Political trials" four more. One volume provides "Treatises on the constitution"—that of Epidauros of 1822, that of 1844, and that of 1865. To legislation, the land tax, the loans of 1824 and 1825, the national and other banks, the coinage and economics, are assigned eight volumes; to naval and military organizations, another four. Three volumes and a supplement deal with brigandage, specially rich being the literature connected with the "Marathon massacres" of 1870, the memory of which still lingers in the name of "the bridge of the Lords" given to the spot where Lord Muncaster and his party were arrested by the brigands on the way back from Marathon.

First among the pamphlets on this subject is naturally Dr. Gennadius' own contribution, *Notes on the recent murders by brigands in Greece*, which he published in London in 1870 and which was his introduction to public life. Then come Frank Noel's *Letters respecting the murder by brigands of the captives of Marathon*; the American minister Tuckerman's *Brigandage in Greece: a paper addressed to Mr. Fish*; the "Funeral oration composed for the obsequies of Herbert and Lloyd," two of the victims, and a sermon on *The Greek Massacre*, preached by Dean Stanley in Westminster Abbey, to which a strange contrast is a German comic travel-book, *Schultze und Müller in Griechenland*, published in the year of this sad affair. The next five volumes concern education; then follow one on the history and organization of the postal service, two on statistics (which, as the historian Herbert Fisher has said, "in the Near East must be received with caution"), and one on industrial progress. Volume LXX is mainly devoted to two great works accomplished in "old" Greece (to which the Marathon dam and the Amatovo sluice now furnish parallels)—the Corinth Canal and the drainage of the Copaic lake. The Piræus-Larissa railway, the extension of which has united Greece with "Europe," fills one volume; railway guides, another; and the most important subject of the Athens water supply, now at last being provided by the Ulen Company, two more. Mineral waters, mines, quarries, the Naxian emery, fishing, the (literally too often) "burning" question of the Greek forests, cattle-raising, agricultural schools, the plague of locusts (still felt), sericulture, wine-growing, cotton, and the currant fill the next volumes; and the series concludes with statements made by successive mayors of Athens about municipal affairs.

Turning to the series marked *Question d'Orient*, in which Greece, as Gladstone showed, was so important a "factor," we find the first volume devoted to its "Origins and evolution," the second and third to its history. The second contains two quaint *Catechisms of the Eastern Question*, drawn up by an anonymous writer in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and by Maltman Barry in the *Whitehall Review*, and reprinted in 1877 and 1880, respectively, the latter being very hostile to Gladstone and dedicated to Joseph Cowen. It also comprises two lectures by Freeman, the historian, and Grant Duff. Then come seven volumes on the "Policy of the Great Powers," with contributions from Treitschke, Vambéry, Edward Dicey, Stratford de Redcliffe, Leonard Courtney (who both wrote on George Canning), and Kossuth. The next two are filled with speeches by public men, from Palmerston in 1850 and Layard in 1854, down to the Duke of Argyll in 1876 and Lord Salisbury in 1879. "Panslavism" and the "Testament of Peter the Great" have a volume to themselves, to which Madame Mijatovich, the well-known writer on Serbian history and poetry, and Rambaud, the historian, contribute. Next comes a tome entitled *Les responsabilités, attention aux Balkans!* Two contain accounts of the

peoples of the Near East, two more the religious and strategic aspects of the question, the former illustrated by Prince George Bibesco, the latter by Hobart Pasha, the Englishman who became a Turkish admiral. The next three describe the Turkish and Balkan armies during the nineteenth century. Turkish "Reforms" scarcely merit a volume, for they were merely waste paper; nor have projects for a "Balkan confederation" been more fortunate. Volume XXIV contains "Pamphlets" by "Greek authors," from 1841 to 1876, notably *Union or dismemberment of Turkey* by Stephanos Xenos, to which the next volume supplies an antidote in "Pamphlets" by "Turkish and oriental authors." Articles from English reviews between 1810 and 1878 fill several volumes, and include several rareties; various pamphlets occupy several more, among their authors being Lamartine, Carlyle, Alfred Austin, Swinburne, About, and Goldwin Smith. There is a large collection of fugitive pieces about the Crimean War and the question of the Holy Places, which was the occasion of that futile conflict. "Abdul-Hamid and the Young Turks" are prominent. More curious than practical is the collection of "Prophecies, presages, and sermons," beginning with the "oracles" of the monk Agathangelos delivered at Messina in 1279, published at Milan in 1555, and republished in Greek at Athens in 1837. Forty years later Robert Roberts, of Birmingham, prophesied the settlement of the Jews in Palestine under a British protectorate—a prophecy now fulfilled. Akin to this are the "Projects for solution," while "Satirical poems" lighten the solid mass of printed matter which has accumulated around this hitherto insoluble problem. Among them are two long-forgotten dramas by Victor Séjour, *Les massacres de Syrie*, presented in Paris in 1860, and by Albert and De Lustière, *La guerre d'Orient*, played there in 1854, in which Palmerston was a character! Nine further volumes contain articles on the Eastern question by specialists, such as Freeman, Bouchier, the famous Balkan correspondent of the *Times*, who unfortunately left no memoirs—except the Balkan League of 1912—because (as he once said to me) "if he wrote all that he knew about the Balkan states, he could not live in any of them," but whose ten articles in the *Fortnightly Review* are here collected; Canon Malcolm Maccoll, who was Gladstone's favorite divine; Stratford de Redcliffe; the Reverend W. Denton, author of *The Christians in Turkey*, and the once famous Russian propagandist, "O.K." (Olga Novikoff). One volume is wholly occupied with *American views*, consisting of four pamphlets. The first is *An American view of the Eastern Question* in the form of a letter "to a friend in London by an American gentleman of matured experience," in 1878, in which he makes the shrewd forecast, fully justified by subsequent history, that "the Treaty of Berlin will not be a *permanent* arrangement of European affairs." Two other contributions to the Eastern crisis of that period are made by George Julian Harney, of Boston, in 1876, under the title of *The anti-*

Turkish crusade, by Daniel S. Gregory in an article on "The Eastern problem" in the *Princeton Review* for 1877, the former pro-Turk and the latter in favor of the Eastern Christians. To the later crisis of the Armenian massacres belongs an "American Observer's" pamphlet of 1895, *A few facts about Turkey under the reign of Abdul Hamid II*, in which the anonymous author describes "the Armenian agitation" and concludes that "Abdul Hamid II is truly a great monarch"! The collection ends with four anonymous short publications by the Marquise Louise de Riancourt, the French aristocrat and philhellene who has for years made her home in Athens. It will thus be seen that Dr. Gennadius was impartial in the purchase of his collection of pamphlets on the Eastern Question. All opinions are represented.

Akin to the foregoing collection are a set of Greek pamphlets dealing with "Greek monastic property in the Danubian principalities," which was much affected by the legislation of Prince Couza, and another on "Panslavism in Mount Athos," where the three Slavonic monasteries (whose property outside the peninsula is now matter of controversy) have been, since 1920, under Greek sovereignty. The Bulgarian question, Epeiros, Thessaly, and Macedonia are productive of a copious literature, Macedonia alone being responsible for fourteen volumes of articles and treatises besides three of tracts on that question, now happily extinct so far as Greece is concerned. A supplementary catalogue of the Eastern question contains thirty-three volumes of articles, pamphlets, and speeches about it from 1908 to 1920. Specially concerning Greece are the volumes on Cretan affairs (1908-9), the two Balkan wars; Greek affairs (1909-10); Greek affairs and policy (1915-19); "The Greek army; Greece: home affairs"; "Speeches of Mr. Venizelos"; "Hellenism"; "Greeks of Pontus"; and "The Dodecanese." These headings cover such pamphlets as Mr. Toynbee's *Greek policy since 1882*, H. C. Woods' *The military upheaval in Greece*; various articles upon *The relations of Italy and Greece*—a question which then became prominent; several contributions by that ardent philhellene, the late Ronald Burrows, and the veteran journalist, Dr. Dillon; General Sarraïl's *La Grèce Venizéliste*; and *The vindication of Greek national policy 1912-1917*, consisting of speeches by Mr. Venizelos and others in the chamber in August, 1917, with an introduction by Dr. Gennadius. The article *La Grèce et la Paix* derives interest from the fact that it was by Anatole France. The question of the Greeks of Pontus, now only of antiquarian value as there are none left, and the prime mover on their belief, Chrysanthos, metropolitan of Trebizond, is an exile in Athens, is represented by fourteen publications, including his *Memorandum submitted to the Peace Conference*, whose members had probably never heard of the Greek empire of Trebizond. At any rate, the present writer, when invited by the late Sir George Prothero to compile the historical handbooks upon Greece

and Serbia for the use of the British delegates, was instructed by that distinguished historian to assume "no" historical knowledge on their part! With so little knowledge of history was the new map of Europe made! In the "Gennadeion" may also be studied the question of the Dodecanese, which, although officially non-existent, is kept alive by Dodecanesians living abroad. A large and sumptuous literature has been published by Dr. Skevos Zervos concerning it, of which *La question du Dodecanèse et ses documents diplomatiques* is the most practical, forming a companion volume to the authoritative handbook of the brilliant editor of the *Messager d'Athènes*, Mlle Jeanne Stéphanopoli, *Les Iles de l'Égée, leurs privilèges*. The thesis of Dr. Antoine Tsacalakias, *Le Dodecanèse: étude de droit international* (1928) and *Italy's Ægean possessions* (1928) by C. D. and Isabelle Bridge Booth, the latter an American, are recent additions to the library. Only a small portion of Zolotas' gigantic history of Chios is concerned with this period. There are a number of topographical works and plans of modern Athens, of historical interest for the evolution of the capital. Happily, Schinkel's *Entwurf zu eine Königspalast auf der Akropolis* remains a horrible warning. There are Klenze's *Plan de la nouvelle ville d'Athènes, adopté par le Roi Othon* (1834) and the rare *Panorama von Athen* by Stademann. Mrs. Bracebridge's *Notes descriptive of a panoramic sketch of Athens taken May, 1839* is a memento to that resident English family, often mentioned in the early years of modern Athens. The library does not possess—because there is no such book except in Greek—a guide book of Greece later than 1911—the greatest desideratum in the literature about the country, which had then few motor cars and neither railway nor air communication with "Europe."

In a separate room, opening out of the general library, are kept, in accordance with the need of gift, the published works of George Gennadius and other members of the donor's family and of the donor. Of these, 290 are publications either by Dr. Gennadius, or relating to his public activities, beginning with "the first book forming my library"—a gift from his father in 1852. In view of the efforts now being made in Athens by the Society for the Protection of Animals, it is interesting to note that Dr. Gennadius received as a birthday present in 1861 Youatt's *Obligation and extent of humanity to brutes*. There is much about the Marathon brigandage affair; we are let into the secret that Dr. Gennadius was the anonymous compiler of Stanford's *Ethnological map of European Turkey and Greece* in 1877; that he "had a good deal to do with" the preparation of "The Eastern Question Association's" *Papers* at that crisis, and with those of the still more important "Greek Committee," which "rendered inestimable services to the cause of Greece" at the time of the Thessalian question, and which—so the catalogue informs us—"was founded at a private informal gathering of Dilke, Chamberlain,

and Shaw Lefevre in my chambers." "In all the publications," the catalogue continues, "I had a more or less active share." We learn, too, that "Ypsilorites," who wrote about "The situation in Crete" in the *Contemporary Review* for 1896, was Dr. Gennadius, who also wrote most of the editorials of the first twenty-five or thirty numbers of *Ἀτλαντίς*. In 1922 he published in Washington and New York the articles on the dispute between Constantine and Venizelos. Presentation copies of Gladstone's *Hellenic factor in the Eastern problem* and his article on "Greece and the Treaty of Berlin" in the *Nineteenth Century* are here. There are many educational works by George Gennadius, interesting to students of modern Greek education; and a colored picture on the wall represents a scene from the historical play, *Ἡ κατοχή* ("the" Anglo-French "occupation" at the time of the Crimean War), in which the old patriot is standing with animated gesture in the then famous political café *Iioraia Hellas*, while through the windows are seen Greek troops marching. To this collection should be added Dr. Gennadius' penultimate publication,⁴ on the monastery of Kaisariané at the foot of Hymettos, where he was baptized, and with which his mother's family the Benizeloi (about which he has also written a monograph) was connected. The contribution of this monastery to our period was that its library was used for cartridges by the defenders of the Akropolis—the only argument understood by the Turks.

Of the small collection of manuscripts, a few relate to our period. These are "A log of the proceedings of H.M. ship 'Albion'" (flagship at Navarino), 1826–28; copies of letters from Lord Guilford to Church, Bathurst (then colonial minister), Stratford Canning, and others about the Ionian Islands, in 1827; "Letters and dispatches" addressed to Church as generalissimo by Greek military chiefs and politicians, and philhellenes in 1827–29; a small collection of official Greek documents and private letters, ending in 1850; ten letters from Collegno the diarist of the siege of Navarino, to Grasset, Mavrocordato's secretary, from Navarino in 1826 and from Brussels, Mannheim, and Geneva in 1828; two letters from the Duchesse de Plaisance to her husband, describing her famous meeting with the brigand Bibises, utilized by Mr. Kampouroglous⁵ in his recent biography of that eccentric French lady, born in America, whose mansion "Ilissia" has just been converted into the Byzantine Museum; five letters of Eynard, dated 1825–41, and two of General Roche, who had served in Greece, dated 1829 and 1837. Particularly interesting are the large manuscript, "Monument des philhellènes à Nauplie" by the above-mentioned Fornesy, and "Gesammelte Notizen über das Wirken bayerischer Offiziere und Militärbeamten im König-

⁴ He has since written in the review *Ἑλληνισμός* a life of Galanos, the Greek student of Indian languages (February–April, 1930).

⁵ *Μελέται καὶ Ἑρευναι*, pp. 318–23.

reiche Griechenland," with special reference to industry and agriculture, by Friedrich Ritter von Zentner. Various items are an autograph letter from Demetrios Hypselantes from Nauplia in 1830 criticizing Capo d' Istria and another from Capo d' Istria in 1828 to "the paymaster-general of the French army in the Morca." Of interest to Americans are the names of American visitors, entered by them in the visitors' book of the "Central School" founded by George Gennadius at Aigina. In 1831 we find Benjamin Crow, of Virginia; Robert Calder, of Boston; Banks, of the United States navy ("much pleased with the method adopted of teaching"); Alexander Ekridge and Franklin Buchanan, of the U.S. frigate "Constitution"; Nathaniel Wilson and William Smith, of the U.S. ship "Boston"; and the Rev. John H. Hill and family, of New York (founder of the still extant Hill School in Athens). In 1834 the visitors included Elias Riggs, of New York, and Hilliard Bryant, of Massachusetts. One manuscript was published by me, under the title "Three letters on the Ionian Islands, 1850-3," in the *English Historical Review*.⁶

This summary will give some idea of the value of the "Gennadeion" to the student of modern Greek history—quite apart from its interest for the bibliophil. It is to be hoped, in the interest of research, that it will be kept up to date by the purchase of new works and that it will not be regarded, like the Bible, as a collection of books to which nothing may be added. Already several important new books upon this period have appeared, which are not in this library, such as the seven volumes of Professor Karolides' and the three of Mr. Aspreas' histories of modern Greece; Mr. Vlachogiannes' unique 'Ιστορικὴ Ἀνθολογία; Mr. Babes Anninos' 'Ιστορικὰ Σημειώματα; Professor Mears' *Greece today*; Mr. Morgenthau's *I was sent to Athens*; and the publications arising out of the centenary. A collection of current Greek caricatures—for Anninos has left successors—might be formed, and files of one or two daily newspapers preserved. It is understood that funds are not available for the purchase of many books, but Dr. Gennadius has from time to time since 1926 sent fresh acquisitions from England. Historical periodicals, of which there are now about a dozen in Greece, lose much utility if not completed to date. In the parallel case of the Finlay Library, the books collected by the historian are supplemented by recent publications about the periods, to which he devoted his attention, and which are now receiving increased attention both in Greece and abroad. The shelves of the "Gennadeion" express the unity of Greek history, which ended with neither the Macedonian nor the Roman, nor even the Frankish and Turk-

⁶ XLIII (1928), 240.

ish conquests. Athens possesses four libraries and one institution in which the last century of Greek history can be studied—the National Library, that of the Chamber, the “Gennadeion,” and the Finlay; and the Museum of the Historical and Ethnological Society, with its portraits and souvenirs of the men who made modern Greece, with its annex in the old palace, containing those of George I. To devote exclusive study to the classical age is as if students of English history occupied themselves wholly with the reign of Elizabeth, or American scholars entirely with the career of Washington. If *vixere fortes ante Agamemnona*, nothing but historical ignorance can deny that *vixere fortes post* the heroes of Plutarch. The idea derived from excessive concentration on antiquity from the distant standpoint of a foreign scholar’s study, that the ancient Greeks were demigods and the moderns degenerates, has happily been exploded, and could never have been true to human nature. In the “Gennadeion” both alike have their resting-place, with the appropriate motto engraved above the entrance: “Those are called Greeks who share our culture.”

WILLIAM MILLER

ATHENS, GREECE