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**Emigration from the District of Kastoria,
1922-1930**

Early in 1930, the Prefect of Florina, Vassilios Balkos, sent the Foreign Ministry a detailed list of the Slavonic-speaking inhabitants of his district who had applied to the appropriate department of Florina prefecture for a passport on which to travel to one of the American countries. Apart from the applicants' names, the list also contained details of their place of origin, destination, and date of departure¹. It was accompanied by a letter in which Balkos reported that the list had been compiled as a result of his meeting with the newly-elected Greek Orthodox Archbishop of America, Athenagoras, prior to the latter's departure to take up his new post². The two men had agreed upon the necessity of approaching the Slavonic-speaking Macedonian emigrants in America to shield them from the influence of the Bulgaro-Macedonian Committee³. Balkos intended to send the list to Athenagoras as soon as possible, so that the Archbishop could act "fruitfully and in a manner to benefit the nation" in this respect⁴. He also proposed that the prefects of all the

1. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to locate this list. Information about its contents and purpose is taken from a letter from Balkos to the Foreign Ministry (see n. 5), which probably accompanied the list.

2. Athenagoras was born Aristoklis Spyrou (1886-1972) in Pogoni, Epirus. He studied at the Halki Theological School (1903-10), served as archdeacon in the Diocese of Pelagonia and Monastir (1910-18), and subsequently became Chief Secretary of the Holy Synod of the Church of Greece. He was elected Metropolitan of Corfu and Paxi in December 1922 and Archbishop of North and South America in August 1930, an appointment he served most capably until he was elected Patriarch of Constantinople in November 1948.

3. As Athenagoras himself told Balkos, Bulgaro-Macedonian propaganda in America would soon be redoubled when the Bulgarian Church sent its Exarch, who was already in Constantinople preparing to take up his new duties.

4. We do not know whether this and the other lists ever reached Athenagoras. But a report from the Greek Embassy in Washington mentions the Archbishop's keenness to go into action, making use of the experience and excellent knowledge of the situation which he

other Macedonian prefectures with a Slavonic-speaking population compile similar lists, so that Athenagoras could be fully informed in his task⁵.

The Foreign Ministry welcomed Balkos' suggestion. It was the Ministry's intention to prevent the Slavonic-speaking emigrants from western Macedonia from being drawn into the ranks of the Bulgaro-Macedonian organisations in the United States and Canada. The most effective way of achieving this seemed to be to offer them counselling and moral and practical support⁶. As an initial step, therefore, the Ministry instructed the Governorates General of Macedonia and Thrace that those prefectures with Slavonic-speaking populations should "very quietly" compile detailed lists of emigrants to the continent of America, modelled on the Florina list, which would then be passed on to Athenagoras⁷. There was a positive response from the prefectural authorities of Serres, Kozani, Pella, and Kastoria, who took about a year to compile their respective lists. The Governorate General of Thrace replied that "none of the Slavonic-speakers in the district has emigrated to America"⁸.

Emigration had been a common phenomenon in Macedonia, particularly western Macedonia, since the last years of Ottoman rule. It

had acquired during his time in Macedonia: A.Y.E./K.Y. (Foreign Ministry Archives/Central Service), 1931 A/6/IIα, Washington Embassy to Foreign Ministry, Washington, 21 June 1931, reg. No. 1023.

5. A.Y.E./K.Y., 1933 A/6/IIγ, Prefect of Florina V. Balkos to Foreign Min., Minister's Office, Florina, 20 February 1931, reg. No. 42 conf. Balkos suggested, too, that two or three veterans of the Macedonian Struggle be sent to Athenagoras, tried and tested men selected as the most capable of assisting the Archbishop in his task, owing to their knowledge of people, the situation, and the Macedonian dialect (of which Athenagoras himself also had an excellent command). For the early results of Athenagoras' activities in this respect, see the letter from the Washington Embassy in the previous note.

6. This view was shared by the editor of the local newspaper *Kastoria*. Following a trip to America, he wrote with regard to the Macedonians in America who had dreams of and plans for Macedonian autonomy, "many of them are victims of the crafty customers in Sofia. A little enlightenment for our fellow Kastorians in America would not come amiss. It would extricate the deluded from their delusion and show them that life in Macedonia is not as the Bulgarian propaganda sheets describe it. All the foreigners who have visited Macedonia have seen for themselves that everyone in Macedonia leads a life of complete freedom, security, and equality" (*Kastoria*, No. 448, 25 October 1931).

7. A.Y.E./K.Y., 1933 A/6/IIγ, Foreign Min. to Governorate General of Macedonia and Governorate General of Thrace, Athens, 17 March 1931, reg. No. 2890.

8. A.Y.E./K.Y., 1933 A/6/IIγ, Governorate General of Thrace to Dept. of Internal Affairs, Komotini, 15 June 1931, reg. No. 481 conf.

escalated after 1903 and reached a peak after the region became part of the Greek state⁹. When the traditional host countries, first the United States, and later Canada and Australia, began to restrict immigration early in the 1920s the number of Greeks heading for America fell sharply¹⁰. But the emigrants were not easily deterred. Particularly in western Macedonia, the restrictions in fact encouraged the growth of an extensive and vigorous illegal emigration network that operated alongside the lawful state-controlled system of departure from Greece¹¹.

In the early '20s, Macedonia was an arena of major social and political readjustments, which had a decisive effect on the future course of the Greek state as a whole. Macedonia was a significant factor in the political instability of the interwar period and helped to exacerbate national disunity. At the same time it was the epicentre of considerable

9. See Apostolos Vacalopoulos, *Οι δυτικομακεδόνες απόδημοι επί τουρκοκρατίας*, Thessaloniki 1958; A. Vacalopoulos, *Ιστορία της Μακεδονίας (1354-1833)*, Thessaloniki 1988, pp. 349-94; Basil C. Gounaris, "Δημογραφικές εξελίξεις στην τουρκοκρατούμενη Μακεδονία", *Η νεότερη και σύγχρονη Μακεδονία: Ιστορία - Οικονομία - Κοινωνία - Πολιτισμός*, vol. I, Athens and Thessaloniki 1992, pp. 52-5. For early emigration from Greek Macedonia in the first decade of the 20th century, see B. C. Gounaris, "Emigration from Macedonia in the Early Twentieth Century", *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 7 (1989), 133-53.

10. Despite the restrictions, 51,084 Greeks entered the United States between 1921 and 1930. It was only after 1929-30, owing to the world economic crisis, that Greek emigrants started to set their sights chiefly on western Europe. Since emigration to Europe was facilitated both by geographical proximity and by the European countries' gradual economic development and cultural influence, no more than 14% of all Greek emigrants went to America between 1932 and 1938. Furthermore, over the whole period 1922-38 emigration was unexpectedly balanced by repatriation: L. M. Moussourou, *Μετανάστευση και μεταναστευτική πολιτική στην Ελλάδα και την Ευρώπη*, Athens 1991, p. 27 (for the relevant figures); I. K. Hassiotis, *Επισκόπηση της ιστορίας της νεοελληνικής διασποράς*, Thessaloniki 1993, pp. 110-11, 121.

11. Illegal emigration was already going on in the first years after the liberation of Macedonia, when people from the Florina area, abetted by emigration agents, were travelling to America via Thessaloniki and Trieste or Piraeus, on the official pretext of looking for work there: I.A.M./Γ.Δ.Μ. (Historical Archive of Macedonia/Governorate General of Macedonia), file 70, Supreme Command of the Macedonia Gendarmerie to Governorate General of Macedonia, Thessaloniki, 15 November 1913, reg. No. 32461, "concerning those emigrating to America". The main motivation seems to have been a desire to avoid military service: I.A.M./Γ.Δ.Μ., file 70, Governorate General of Thessaloniki, Dept. of Internal Affairs, to Ministry of the Interior, Thessaloniki, 13 November 1913, reg. No. 18594 and the attached telegraphed report by the acting prefect of Florina, Floros Agorastos, to the Minister of the Interior, Florina, 11 November 1913, reg. No. 2988.

socio-economic changes, as the population and the demographic make-up shifted, agricultural reform proceeded apace, the foundations were laid for the country's industrialisation, social structure began to change, and social struggles intensified¹².

The poor state of the local economy in the 1920s, coupled with the inhabitants' dreadful economic situation, was undoubtedly a powerful motive for emigration. The small, ill-cultivated farm land, the bad harvests of 1924 and 1925, and the farmers' consequent reduced production and income brought the people of Macedonia to the very limits of survival. The lack of other financial resources or any social welfare system, together with intense demographic pressure after the refugees arrived, even gave rise to the threat of famine at one point¹³. In the autumn of 1929, the Bulgarian newspaper *Makedonija*¹⁴ accused the Greek Minister for Agriculture, who was travelling in Macedonia and Thrace at the time, and in his person the whole of the Greek government, of being ignorant of the true situation in the Florina area, making empty promises, failing to supply material and moral support, having no agricultural policy, and not providing any agricultural administration nor educating the farmers in new methods and crops. It is worth noting that the region's "fertile" soil only just assured the impoverished farmer of the seed for the next year's crop, and he was thus obliged, "not as a farmer but as a pauper", to emigrate (sometimes *en famille*) with no thought of how, or whether, he would ever return¹⁵.

12. See Yannis Stefanidis, "Η Μακεδονία του Μεσοπολέμου", *Η νεότερη και σύγχρονη Μακεδονία: Ιστορία - Οικονομία - Κοινωνία - Πολιτισμός*, vol. II, Athens and Thessaloniki n.d., pp. 64-103.

13. Cf. I.A.M./Γ.Δ.Μ., file 89, Vice-Governorate of Anaselitsa to Governorate General of Macedonia, Siatista, 26 August 1924, reg. No. 4429, for the problems caused by the poor harvest of 1924 in the neighbouring district of Anaselitsa. There is no indication that the economic situation of the west Macedonian villages in 1920-30 was any better than that described in 1936 in a report by the Prefect, Ioannis Tsaktsiras: see I.A.M./Γ.Δ.Μ., files 18-21, Florina Prefecture, Prefect of Florina I. Tsaktsiras, to Ministry of Agriculture, Minister's Office, Florina, 24 August 1936, reg. No. 15150.

14. *Makedonija*, the official organ of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation (IMRO) and mouthpiece of the fraternities of the Greek Macedonian emigrants in Bulgaria and the youth of Macedonia, was published in Sofia from 1926 to 1930.

15. See A.Y.E./K.Y., 1931 A/6/IIa, Report from Thessaloniki Press Bureau to Foreign Min., Press Department, 3rd Army Corps, and Political Affairs Office, Thessaloniki, 30 October 1929, reg. No. 4971, attached to Florina Prefecture to Foreign Min., Florina, 9

Representatives of the local authorities repeatedly reported on the terrible economic conditions in the region. In 1934, an officer of the Florina Gendarmerie Command wrote of the emigrants from his district:

“It is known that the prefecture of Florina has no light or heavy industry to speak of, and the soil is inadequate to feed the rural population in particular. Owing to their economic malaise, the country folk are obliged to emigrate, notably to the United States and Canada, in an endeavour to improve their economic situation, owing to the currency differences”¹⁶.

The Prefect of Florina, Ioannis Tsaktsiras, noted in one of his first reports in 1936 that, since his prefecture was mountainous and unproductive, the inhabitants were almost all setting forth abroad at one time or another, and staying away for twenty years or more in their effort to make fortune¹⁷.

In the same report Tsaktsiras made a very important point: the Florina district was cushioned from the worst effects of the crash of 1929 by the remittances sent back by emigrants to the United States, Canada, and Australia¹⁸. The economic crisis had been felt in the prefecture only in the last three years, when it had forced many emigrants to return home or left them without job. Significantly, the impossibility of emigrating during the crisis years and the loss of the emigrants' remittances

April 1930, reg. No. 22 conf.

16. Souliotis Archive, file 2, Prefect of Florina, 2/II, 2. Reports from Prefect to Foreign Min. and Governorate Gen. of Macedonia, Adjutant of the Gendarmerie Command (signature illegible), addresse unknown, Florina, 22 September 1934, “concerning those in Canada and America described as a threat to the nation”. Chrysostomos, the Old Calendarist Metropolitan of Florina, expressed similar views in April 1931 in a letter to the President of the Greek government. He regarded the departure of the people from his district as a deliberate declaration of their different national ideology: see A.Y.E./K.Y., 1931-2 A/III, Report from Metropolitan of Florina [Chrysostomos] on the ethnic situation in his Prefecture, to the President of the Greek Government, Florina, 23 April 1931.

17. A.Y.E./K.Y., 1936 A/6/9, Prefect of Florina, Ioannis Tsaktsiras, to Foreign Min., Florina, 13 August 1936, reg. No. 153 conf.

18. For these remittances and their importance in supplementing family income in villages of the district of Florina in the mid-thirties, see also I.A.M./T.Δ.M., files 18-21, Florina Prefecture, Prefect of Florina, Ioannis Tsaktsiras, to Min. of Agriculture, Minister's Office, Florina, 24 August 1936, reg. No. 15150.

led to explosive situations at both the economic and the demographic level. As a result, there was much talk of “surplus population”, which, it was said, should be allowed to leave in order to survive¹⁹.

The above-mentioned article in *Makedonija* ended its accusations with the comment that the Greek government ministers not only felt no concern for the Florina and Kastoria area, but regarded it unfavourably as “Bulgarianised” or as “Bulgaro-” or “Slavonic-speaking”, with a population that was interested only in reacting against everything Greek. According to *Makedonija*, the prevailing opinion among Greek politicians was that the local people’s attitude gave Serbia and Bulgaria the right to sustain their perfidious aspirations against Greek Macedonia.

The truth is that from the end of the Balkan Wars until after the mid-1920s, armed bands of Bulgarian *komitadjis* persistently violated the Greek border all along the Macedonian frontier. In many of these incidents, the information that reached the Greek authorities strongly indicated that local people had collaborated with the bands and with Bulgarian propaganda in general in a concerted effort to bring about Macedonian autonomy²⁰. This unquestionably helped to strengthen the authorities’ chronic and not entirely unjustified suspicion of the locals.

Until just after the Asia Minor Disaster, the main agents of government authority in Macedonia were essentially the Third and Fourth Army Corps. Furthermore, at least in the early years of Greek administration, the lower echelons of local government were staffed by officials from “Old Greece”, who, having no conception of the region’s

19. See A.Y.E./K.Y., 1932 A/6/IIα, Foreign Min., Administrative Dept., to Min. of Justice, Athens, 5 May 1932, reg. No. 16677 I/9; also the above-mentioned report from Tsaktsiras, 24 August 1936, reg. No. 15150, in which the “thinning out of the choked villages” is proposed as a *sine qua non* if the dreadful economic situation in villages in the area under his jurisdiction is to improve.

20. The reports on national security and foreign propaganda written by the local police authorities and the information bulletins compiled by the military authorities and dispatched regularly to the central command reveal the suspicious attitude of the authorities, who made a careful note of every suspect movement, conversation, or meeting. See A.Y.E./K.Y., 1931 A/6/IIα, Florina Gendarmerie Command, Special Security Office, the Director, Major Emmanouil Petrakis, to Macedonia Gendarmerie Supreme Command, Florina, 3 April 1930, reg. No. 12/2/132; and 1932 A/6/IIα, Governorate General of Macedonia, Dept. of Internal Affairs, to Foreign Min., Thessaloniki, 27 June 1932, reg. No. 367 and attached report; also, in the same file, Foreign Min., Press Department, to 1st Political Department, Foreign Min., Athens, 21 June 1932, reg. No. 25420/Δ/1.

special problems, could neither alleviate the misery of the inhabitants, nor yet act as worthy representatives of the government they were serving. Inevitably, there were major delays in the process of assimilating and smoothly integrating the local population into the Greek state, to the extent that, two decades after liberation, the term "New Territories" was still no mere figure of speech. The insecurity created in the frontier areas by the terrorist activities of the Bulgarian bands, together with the recrudescence of propaganda activities by Greece's Balkan neighbours, the stifling grip maintained on daily life by the strong police and military presence, the chronic misgovernment, and the petty political exploitation of their problems, all contributed to many west-Macedonians' decision to emigrate²¹.

Apart from this, the unplanned and disorganised settling of limited numbers of refugees from Asia Minor, unevenly distributed throughout the west Macedonian countryside, further exacerbated the Slavonic-speakers' problems. The doubtful impartiality of the local Greek government authorities and police in matters regarding the relations between local people and refugees—chiefly with respect to the possession and ownership of cultivated land—aggravated the situation still further²².

However, the process of departing from Greece seems to have been no simple matter, particularly in the province of Kastoria. Contemporary issues of the local newspaper, *Kastoria*, reveal the almost insuperable procedural problems (which probably had more to do with the local authorities' strict observance of the letter of the law than with any other factors) and the tribulations suffered by passport applicants²³. The editor

21. Cf. A.Y.E./K.Y., 1929 A/21/II, some of the comments in two of the confidential reports from P. Dimitriadis to the President [of the Government], 12 August 1927, No 13 conf. and 16 August 1927, No 16 conf., attached to Min. of the Interior, Administrative Dept., the Director, N. D. Lianopoulos, to Foreign Min., Min. of Education and Religion, Min. of Military Affairs, Min. of Sanitation, Welfare, and Assistance, Min. of Agriculture, and Min. of Transport and Communications, Athens, 28 January 1929, reg. No. 4814.

22. Cf. articles in the newspaper *Foni tou Laou* (Voice of the People) on 13 and 30 July and 6 August 1927, attached to letter A.Y.E./K.Y., 1927 A/20/β, Foreign Min., Press Dept., to Dept. of Political Affairs, Athens, 25 August 1927, reg. No. 25865; also the comments made by Metropolitan Chrysostomos of Florina in his aforementioned letter of 23 April 1931 to the President of the Greek Government regarding the national convictions and language of the inhabitants of his area, and their attitude to the Greek administration; also Stefanidis, "Η Μακεδονία του Μεσοπολέμου", p. 64.

23. In the New Year's edition of 1930, the newspaper sent the sub-Prefect of Kastoria,

commented with indignation on the matter comparing with the same process in the province of Florina and concluded that “our district is governed by different laws from Florina, and this may only be explained as a State within a State”²⁴. Attempts by the relevant emigration legislation to smooth out the process of applying for a passport and leaving do not appear to have improved the situation in the province²⁵.

These difficulties, coupled with the host countries’ restrictive immigration policies, prompted many emigrants to take the path of illegal emigration. The whole process of illegal departure from Greece entailed first and foremost a terrible drain on their meagre personal or family finances, for they had to meet the financial demands of forgers and traffickers²⁶. Afterwards, as illegal immigrants, they were at constant risk of

via its humour column, a New Year’s gift of “a gold-bound copy of the Tortures of the Inquisition, so that he may apply them to those seeking passports”. In the “Great Almanac of 1930”, on the next page, the newspaper optimistically predicts that in April “the sub-Prefect of Kastoria, Mr Dimitriadis, abolishes passport problems” (*Kastoria*, No. 355, 1 January 1930; cf. also *Kastoria*, No. 358, 26 January 1930). The prediction was not far wrong, because the legislation covering emigration was modified in the spring of 1930.

24. Throughout the interwar period, the province of Kastoria and the province of Florina together constituted the prefecture of Florina. According to the newspaper, the simpler process in Florina province compelled many residents of the district “to take the road to Florina”, where their passports were issued “without difficulties, without trouble, without endless trips up- and downstairs for rubber stamps and signatures” (*Kastoria*, No. 362, 23 February 1930).

25. The new regulations covering the bureaucratic process and the emigration of those liable to military service in April 1930 initially prompted the newspaper to congratulate itself on the success of its campaign for the simplification of the passport issuing process. It even commented in rhyme: “Travellers hitherto went through hell, but you’ll get your passports now very well” (*Kastoria*, Nos. 370, 20 April 1930, 377, 8 June 1930, 379, 22 June 1930). Despite the newspaper’s optimism, however, the bureaucratic trials and tribulations visited on those seeking to emigrate from Kastoria province continued. The lack of what public opinion regarded as self-evident *ex-officio* co-operation between the Public Prosecutor’s office and the police led the MP for Kastoria province, Ioannis Valalas, to step in and ask the Ministries of the Interior and Justice, as also the Appeals Office in Thessaloniki, to lift the restrictions and put an end to this harassment of the public (*Kastoria*, No. 385, 3 August 1930).

26. Canadian officials sold entry permits to agents of the Bulgaro-Macedonian Committee at \$100 a piece; these were then sold for \$150 to emigration agents in the Florina area, who then passed them on to prospective emigrants for \$200-250 each: see the long report from Georgios Xypolitas, 2nd lieutenant of the Gendarmerie, to the Ministry of the Interior, Central Aliens Service, Athens, 18 July 1929, “concerning forged passports”. In a confidential report to the Florina Gendarmerie Command “concerning the activities of

deportation by the host country's immigration authorities²⁷. And even if they avoided this danger, various cunning individuals were waiting to blackmail them out of various sums of money under threat of betrayal to the authorities. Reports reaching the Foreign Ministry accused many members of the Bulgaro-Macedonian organisations in North America of engaging in this sort of activity: they thus managed to recruit new members for the organisations, to replenish the Committee's funds, and to line their own pockets²⁸.

By the late 1930s, the phenomenon had apparently assumed alarming proportions in western Macedonia and was a matter of no little concern to the Greek political, diplomatic, and local government authorities. The international spread of the illegal emigration network, the problems it created for Greece's relations with host countries when illegal immigrants were discovered, the flouting of the relevant Greek laws, and the complications it all caused for those seeking to emigrate lawfully necessitated a close scrutiny of the whole problem in a quest for solutions and restrictive measures. The Greek Foreign Ministry asked the police and the judicial authorities to intensify their investigations and to bring the culprits to justice as soon as possible²⁹. Prospective emigrants

Bulgarian propagandists in Toronto, Canada", 6 April 1929, lieutenant Konstantinos Granis mentions that emigration agents, having paid \$70 themselves, were charging prospective emigrants \$200-300 for invitations to enter Canada under a false name, and the price for handling the whole process of departure from Greece was \$600-750.

27. See e.g. A.Y.E./K.Y., 1932 A/6/IIa, verbal note from the American Embassy in Athens concerning the deportation of an illegal immigrant from Florina prefecture, attached to a letter from the Gendarmerie HQ to the Gendarmerie Supreme Command, Thessaloniki Police Headquarters, General Security Dept., Athens, 6 June 1932.

28. See e.g. A.Y.E./K.Y., 1930 A/2/II, Gendarmerie HQ, Special Security Dept., to Min. of the Interior, Gendarmerie Dept., Athens, 12 December 1930, reg. No. 654/27/1 conf., concerning the sentencing to four years in Kastoria prison of an emigrant from Laimos, Florina prefecture, who had worked zealously in America in 1928-9 extorting sums of money from various people to swell the Committee's coffers; 1932 A/6/IIa, Washington Embassy to Foreign Min., Washington, 27 January 1932, reg. No. 165 conf., to which the Greek Ambassador, Harilaos Simopoulos, attached an anonymous letter he had received from New York accusing a number of named emigrants from Agios Germanos, Florina prefecture, now living in Ohio, USA, of being members of the Bulgaro-Macedonian organisation and blackmailing illegal immigrants from their native village with threats of denouncing them to the authorities.

29. A.Y.E./K.Y., 1932 A/6/IIa, London Embassy to Foreign Min., London, 9 December 1930, reg. No. 3406/II/30 and telegram of same date; also Foreign Min. to Min. of

were also warned not to fall victim to such crooks³⁰.

Problems such as those described above certainly afflicted western Macedonia in general, and were of equal concern to both local people and newly arrived refugees. That it was nonetheless the local inhabitants who decided to improve their lot by emigrating was primarily due to the fact that they already had access to the necessary “bridges” to America, and later Australia. They followed the paths trodden by generations of their forebears who had sought to resolve the problem of making a living by emigrating to the New World. The refugees, however, having been uprooted once, were more concerned with settling down in their new homeland. Furthermore, a decree of 13/15 (*sic*) January 1926 “on the prohibition of short-term departure or emigration of refugees” pronounced that “it is prohibited for refugees, particularly those settled in the rural areas of Macedonia and Thrace, to leave Greece temporarily or to emigrate”³¹.

Neither the local government nor the Foreign Ministry had any reason to prevent Slavonic-speaking inhabitants of western Macedonia from departing, particularly if they were not in trouble with the Greek judicial system. Even when the prospective emigrants were men who had not done their military service, it was considered preferable not to raise any obstacles to their departure on legally issued passports on the grounds that their national consciousness was anything but Greek³².

Since the turn of the century and the start of the ethnic strife in Macedonia, the Foreign Ministry had been carefully and anxiously monitoring the effects of Bulgarian propaganda in the New World, with regard both to the Macedonian emigrants there and to American and international public opinion on the Macedonian Question. In the 1920s the

Justice, Athens, 6 February 1931, reg. No. 16185, Min. of Justice, Justice Administration Dept., to Thessaloniki Appeals Judge, Athens, 1 April 1931, reg. No. 8184. Cf. the lengthy correspondence between the Foreign Min., the Min. of Justice, the Greek Embassy in London, and the Canadian High Commission in London between February and June 1931, in the same file.

30. *Kastoria*, No. 410, 2 February 1931.

31. As published in A. C. Anagnostopoulos, *Διοικητικοί κώδικες: Μεταναστεύσεις - Αποδημία - Διαβατήρια*, Athens 1939, p. 13 n. 1 - p. 14.

32. A.Y.E./K.Y., 1929 A/21/II, Min. of War, General Staff, office II, to Foreign Min., Athens, 30 October 1929, reg. No. 2612 conf.; also 1930 A/2/II, Min. of the Interior, Urban Police Dept., to Foreign Min., Athens, 7 May 1930, reg. No. 9/7/3 conf.

Ministry learnt of the efforts of the Bulgaro-Macedonian immigrants in the United States and Canada to set up associations and plan their propaganda activities. The Ministry supported similar efforts by the ethnic Greeks in America and at the same time tried to gauge the volume of emigration from western Macedonia in an attempt to estimate the numbers involved³³.

Reports from the Greek diplomatic delegations in America informed the Foreign Ministry that most of the Slavonic-speaking emigrants from Greek Macedonia were falling victim to the anti-Greek propaganda of the Bulgaro-Macedonian organisations once they reached America. They outlined the reasons for this, frequently emphasising the Greek consular authorities' inability to give the immigrants material, moral, and ethnic support, supplied information about the immigrants' individual and collective activities, and frequently attempted a rough account of their relaxed, fearful, or enthusiastic presence and progress abroad³⁴.

The information arriving from across the Atlantic may sometimes have been exaggerated or biased, the result of misunderstanding or misinformation; but it played its part in the attitude adopted chiefly by the local police and military authorities in Greece. On the basis of variable and not widely accepted criteria, and despite the more sober views ex-

33. Cf. the reports sent by the prefectures of Florina and Pella in 1929, recording the extent of short- and long-term emigration from the area of their jurisdiction: I.A.M./T.Δ.M., file 70, Prefecture of Florina to Min. of the Interior, Emigration Dept., Florina, 4 February 1929, reg. No. 2082; Prefecture of Florina to Governorate General of Macedonia, Florina, 1 May 1929, reg. No. 6526; Prefecture of Florina to Min. of the Interior, Emigration Dept., Florina, 2 October 1929, reg. No. 13778; Prefecture of Pella to Governorate General of Macedonia, Dept. of Internal Affairs, Edessa, 2 December 1929, reg. No. 12270.

34. A.Y.E./K.Y., 1923 B/59₉, Leonidas Matlis, Consul General in Boston, to Foreign Min., 3/16 March 1922, reg. No. 175; also the extremely detailed "Report by Eraklis N. Papananolis, Editor of the Greek Newspaper in Canada *Estia*, on the activities in Toronto, Canada, of the Bulgarian propagandists on behalf of the autonomy of Macedonia and the attitude of the ethnic Greek emigrants from Greek Macedonia to Toronto towards His Excellency the Greek Ambassador in Washington", Montreal, Canada, 9 December 1928, in file A.Y.E./K.Y., 1930 A/2/II. See particularly A.Y.E./K.Y., 1921 B/45₂, Foreign Min. to Montreal Consulate, Athens, 17 April 1920, reg. No. 9237; 1922/3 B/59₉, L. Matlis (to Foreign Min.), Boston, 21 Sept./4 Oct. 1921, reg. No. 1132; 1922 B/59₁₀, Foreign Min. to Min. of the Interior, Army Staff Dept., Office II, Min. of Ecclesiastical and Public Education, Athens, 1 February 1922, reg. No. 751; I. K. Olympios, Leader of the Gendarmerie Section of Kailaria, to Kozani Gendarmerie Platoon, Kailaria, 20 December 1921, reg. No. 50/16 conf.

pressed in the upper echelons of local government³⁵, a list was compiled of emigrants who were deemed a threat to the nation and undesirable returnees³⁶. They were all struck off the state rolls, stripped of Greek citizenship, and refused the right of re-entry into Greece³⁷. Despite periodic proposals, these lists never became official documents of state and were never made available to the Greek consular authorities in America so that the relevant steps could be taken. The number of names on the lists was gradually reduced, as the realisation dawned that it was difficult to apply general deterrents without a wide range of exceptions. In 1934, the Prefect of Florina, Athanassios Souliotis, noted that "these lists must be revised from time to time, both because mistakes may be made when they are being drawn up and because the passage of time changes the ethnic psychology of the people whose names are on them". He pointed out the unreliable nature of the information that had led to the lists' compilation and offered a number of proposals based on the argument that "the risk attendant upon the return of any Slavonic-speaker residing abroad may be assessed on the basis of his past history in Greece and his ethnic conduct abroad"³⁸.

35. As Prefect of Florina, for instance, Balkos took steps ("national action" *Kastoria* termed it, No. 437, 3 August 1931) to change the attitude hitherto of the civil, police, and diplomatic authorities towards the Slavonic-speaking emigrants wishing to return to Greece, with a view to restoring both national prestige and justice: see A.Y.E./K.Y., 1931 A/6/IIα, V. Balkos, Prefect of Kastoria, to Governorate General of Macedonia, Dept. of Internal Affairs, Florina, 8 July 1931, reg. No. 174 conf.

36. For the reluctant reception given to the Macedonian emigrants and the efforts to encourage them to leave again, see A.Y.E./K.Y., 1929 A/21/II, Min. of War, General Staff, Office II, Dept. III, Minister Themistoklis Sofoulis to Foreign Min., Athens, 30 October 1929, reg. No. 2612 conf.; 1931 A/6/IIα, Foreign Min. Dept. VII, to Foreign Min. 1st Political Dept., Athens, 30 December 1930, reg. No. 55856 and 3 January 1931, reg. No. 99 conf.; Central Aliens' Dept., Office II, to Florina Gendarmerie Command, Athens, 8 January 1931, reg. No. 9/7/25; Min. of the Interior, Urban Police Dept., Central Aliens' Dept., Office II, to Foreign Min. Administrative Dept., Athens, 4 February 1931, reg. No. 89010/1; and other correspondence in the same file.

37. On the basis of Article 4 of the Legislative Decree of 12 August 1927 concerning the forfeiture of Greek citizenship and deletion from the state rolls of undesirable non-ethnic Greeks emigrating with no intention to return, and on the basis of Article 22, para. 2, of law 4310 of 1929.

38. Souliotis Archive, file 2, Prefect of Florina, 2/II, 2. Reports from the Prefect to Foreign Min. or Governorate General of Macedonia, Souliotis to Governorate [Gen.] of Macedonia, Athens, 19 November 1934, confidential; information in the same file about the lists of the Slavonic-speaking emigrants from Greek Macedonia whose "return is undesirable

The same reports particularly stressed the possible risks to public and national security posed by the close contact the inhabitants of western Macedonia maintained with relatives or fellow villagers who had already emigrated to America³⁹. Even the remittances the emigrants sent back, important as they were to the local economy, were at one time regarded as a threat to national security and the integrity of the state⁴⁰.

The list mentioned at the beginning of this study does not seem to have had anything to do with procedures relating to the exclusion of emigrants hoping to return to Greece⁴¹. It is headed *List of emigrants to America and Canada from the district of the Province of Kastoria from the year 1922 to 1930*⁴², and was obviously compiled and despatched

as dangerous or detrimental to the nation”.

39. *Kastoria* frequently wrote with love, humour, and pride of the local emigrants, particularly when they returned for a few days or more or when they went back to their new country. They were referred to as “those with dollars” or “the Americans”, and the newspaper also gave considerable publicity to the financial assistance the emigrants sent back home.

40. Information from Serbian sources that reached the Foreign Ministry in 1930 via the Greek Embassy in Belgrade reported that the Macedonian associations in America whose members were from villages in the Kastoria district were sending money back home which the locals were using to buy houses, workshops, and land, as a way of preserving the Bulgarian character of a future independent Macedonia as far south as possible. The local authorities confirmed the purchases, but could not ascertain the source of the money. See the voluminous correspondence on the subject between the Foreign Ministry, the Governorate General of Macedonia, the Province of Kastoria, and the local police authorities between April and September 1930 in A.Y.E./K.Y., 1930 A/6/II.

41. There is reliable evidence that in the mid-1930s there was a ban in force against at least six of the males on the list, who had been struck off the state rolls for engaging in unpatriotic activity abroad on behalf of the Bulgaro-Macedonian organisations. Names and places of origin show that there are also people on the list with relatives who were under the same ban: see A.Y.E./K.Y., 1936 A/6/9, Min. of the Interior, Admin. Dept., to Urban Police Dept., Central Aliens’ Administration, Athens, 7 January 1935, reg. No. 44542/28. However, a “List of those abroad wishing to return to Greece” in the Souliotis Archive, file 2, Prefect of Florina, 2/II, 2. Reports from the Prefect to the Foreign Min. and Governorate Gen. of Macedonia, contains the names of at least two of the men on our list, accompanied by the note “May return, no evidence against”.

42. Attached to a letter from the Governor General of Macedonia, Stylianos Gonatas, to the 2nd Dept. of Political Affairs of the Foreign Min., 8 March 1932, reg. No. 29777. It is signed by Papadakis, the secretary of the province and probably acting prefect, who assumed his duties in April or May 1931 when the new sub-prefect of Kastoria, department head of the Min. of the Interior, Kondogiannis, was appointed. The previous sub-prefect, Dimitriadis,

by the provincial authorities of Kastoria at the Foreign Ministry's request, following the Prefect of Florina's proposal. Despite the title, there is reason to believe that it lists not the actual emigrants, but rather those who applied to the relevant department of Kastoria prefecture for a passport. This, at any rate, is what the Prefect of Florina had suggested.

The entries in this handwritten list are numbered from 1 to 1,288, which obviously reflects the number of (individual or family) passport applications submitted between 1922 and 1930. The entries are divided into years. The actual number of names on the list is 1,436 [962 males (c. 67%) and 474 females (c. 33%)], if we take as separate entries the double or multiple entries for those who applied more than once. Such cases are not left out of the overall calculations, because the purpose of this study is to examine the general flow and the prevailing trends of departure from the Kastoria district, rather than to focus on specific numbers. Besides, these multiple entries add another parameter to the migratory trend.

As the title states, those listed are from the province of Kastoria. According to the census data of the period, the province of Kastoria, one of the two provinces in the prefecture of Florina, comprised 113 rural and urban settlements, divided into one municipality (Kastoria) and 74 communities⁴³. The population was distributed as follows:

<i>inhabitants</i>	<i>number of communities</i>		
	<i>1920 census</i>	<i>1928 census</i>	<i>1940 census</i>
below 1,000	58	65	65
1,000-1,999	8	7	10
2,000-3,999	2	2	1
4,000 and above	1	1	1
Total	69	75	77

The prospective emigrants' places of origin make up a total of 77 settlements, of which 73 may be identified with settlements in the then

was transferred to Sidirokastro as sub-prefect of Sindiki (*Kastoria*, No. 421, 19 April 1931, and No. 424, 10 May 1931).

43. The total population of the province was 56,596, of whom 10,308 (18.2%) lived in Kastoria, the capital of the province: *Πληθυσμός της Ελλάδος κατά την απογραφήν της 15-16 Μαΐου 1928*, Athens 1935, p. ιστ' (= xvi). According to the same census, 9,680 individuals (4,046 men and 5,634 women) spoke Slavo-Macedonian.

province of Kastoria⁴⁴, 2 are unidentified, and the other 2 are Korçë in Albania and Karvali in Asia Minor⁴⁵. The place of origin of 13 of the people on the list is unknown. The following table shows the relative numbers of the communities and the prospective emigrants.

<i>number of emigrants</i>	<i>number of settlements</i>
less than 10	47
10-29	19
30-59	5
60-89	4
90-119	1
120 and above	1
Total	77

Six countries are listed as the emigrants' intended destinations⁴⁶: the United States of America⁴⁷, Canada⁴⁸, Argentina, Brazil, Cuba, and Mexico. The destination of five people is given simply as "South America". More specifically (see Table 1), 935 people gave the USA as their destination (559 men and 376 women: c. 65.3%); 410 Canada (322 men, 88 women: c. 28.6%); 37 Mexico (all men: c. 2.6%); 29 Cuba (22 men, 7 women: c. 2%); and 20 South America (c. 1.4%)⁴⁹. One person's destination is unknown; and one entry relates to the stamping of an American passport for departure from Greece⁵⁰.

44. Ten of these communities are now in the prefecture of Florina.

45. Karvali is given as the birthplace of Ioakeim Leptidis (1871-1931), Metropolitan of Kastoria from 1911 to 1931, a wise administrator who was of inestimable service to his diocese. He had previously been Bishop of Erythres (1902-9) and Metropolitan of Prespa and Ohrid (1902-11). We do not know whether he eventually went to America, nor for what purpose.

46. Until 1924 the designated destinations were the USA, Canada, Cuba, Brazil, Australia, and the South African Union. From 1925 onwards, the legislation designated as "host countries" all countries outside Europe and the Mediterranean.

47. Frequently referred to as "America". Cities specified are New York, Chicago, or Detroit.

48. Cities specified are Toronto and Montreal.

49. Of these, 7 specified a desire to go to Brazil and 11 opted for Argentina; of the latter, 3 give only Buenos Aires as their destination.

50. Every edition of *Kastoria* published the arrivals and departures in the social column, thus informing us of the places where emigrants from Kastoria tended to concentrate and form communities: in the United States, New York, Rochester N.Y., Cincinnati, Chicago,

The table below breaks down the figures by age and sex.

age	number of emigrants		
	male	female	Total
under 14	67	53	120
15-44	616	328	944
45 and over	152	31	183
age unspecified	127	62	189
Total	962	474	1,436

Generally speaking, the rate of emigration was quite high, usually more than 120 individuals a year, except for 1925 and 1930, when the rate was lower. The figures are particularly high for 1927 and 1928⁵¹.

The United States was unquestionably the most popular destination and continued to be, despite the fact that, during this decade, the US imposed a number of restrictions on the entry of new immigrants. The next most popular choice (though much less so than the United States) was Canada, to which the rate of emigration from Greece was relatively high between 1924 and 1928, and much lower at the beginning and end of the period in question (1922-3 and 1929-30). Again the figures for 1925 are low.

The entries on the list for 1930 cover only the first nine months of that year⁵². The world economic crisis was at its height just then, which undoubtedly affected migratory trends. But the low level of emigration in 1925 remains puzzling. A partial explanation is the tightening up of the restrictions in the USA from 1924 onwards, and the period of time required for the regular migratory flow to adjust to this and recover from the initial shock. Furthermore, all the Moslems who had to leave western Macedonia in the exchange of populations had gone by 1924, and hopes of the redistribution of the land they abandoned may well have given the local inhabitants a cause for optimism. At the same time, the arrival of

Syracuse N.Y., Dayton, Lorraine and Springfield Ohio, Buffalo, Salt Lake City, Utica, Minneapolis, Fort Wayne, Madison, Detroit, Philadelphia, and Los Angeles; in Canada, Montreal; in Argentina, Buenos Aires (*Kastoria*, various Nos., 1930-2).

51. In the period 1922-40, the year 1928 had the highest number of departures of Greek emigrants to the USA: 6,725 people of both sexes.

52. From the second half of 1929 onwards, the applicants' age is not given and the entries are not as revelatory about the applicants as those for the previous years.

refugees in communities in the province of Kastoria in 1924-5 acted as a brake on the local people's rate of departure, at least until the situation became clearer⁵³. The rise to power of Theodoros Pangalos (June 1925 - August 1926) may also have played a part. It seems likely that the situation created by the arrival of the refugees was one factor in the increased emigration of the next three years, for the surge was somewhat at odds with the world economic crisis, which became a reality precisely then, as also with the host countries' reluctance to accept new immigrants coming to swell the ranks of the unemployed. The data on the list show that applications to emigrate to Canada increased immediately after the USA imposed its immigration quotas in 1924 and remained at the same relatively high level until 1928, when Canada adopted similar measures.

The proportion of women seeking to emigrate seems to have been high in the early part of this period, between 1922 and 1924⁵⁴. There were far more female than male applicants for emigration to the United States particularly at this time. This is explained by the fact that conscription had been in force in the war years up to 1922, and that men of military age were still forbidden by law to emigrate from Greece⁵⁵. In fact, men of military age were forbidden by law to leave Greece throughout the period under discussion. On the other hand, the women who emigrated tended to do so in the company of younger, dependent members of their family, their departure being part of a process that we might now term "family reunion". The husbands would have emigrated earlier, and now the wives were taking advantage of legal provisions in the host countries that gave preference to spouses and other relatives of immigrants who were already settled there. Also, the proportion of women seems high precisely because of the relatively low numbers of pro-

53. For general information about the departure of ethnic Turks and the arrival of ethnic Greeks in western Macedonia during the exchange of populations, see Efstathios Pelagidis, "Η αποκατάσταση των προσφύγων στη Δυτική Μακεδονία (1923-1930)" (Ph.D. thesis, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 1992).

54. If one considers the proportions of the sexes in five-year blocks, it becomes apparent that the female émigrées were young, the vast majority of them under 34 years old.

55. Cf. the prohibitory regulations regarding emigration in Royal Decrees 5/8/1921 (Off. Gaz. f. 192), 18/12/21 (Off. Gaz. f. 240), 3/12/22 (Off. Gaz. f. 257), 15/2/24 (Off. Gaz. f. 37), 28/7/24 (Off. Gaz. f. 174), 24/9/24 (Off. Gaz. f. 237), and 13/12/24 (Off. Gaz. f. 318), as reproduced by Anagnostopoulos, *Διοικητικοί κώδικες*, p. 14 n. 1δ. Men were liable to military service between the ages of 20 and 49.

spective male emigrants until 1925. Over the whole period (rather than year by year) the proportion of women emigrants remained more or less stable, accounting for a third to a half of the annual migratory flow.

Over the whole period 1922-30, we may conclude from the list with relative certainty that 75 of the women applying to emigrate (some 16% of all the women on the list) were married. Of these, 39 were mothers accompanied by one or two underage children, 22 were applying for an individual passport, in order, presumably, to go and join their husbands who had already left Greece, either before 1922 or within the period of time covered by the list. These 61 cases may be considered to fall into the above-mentioned category of "family reunion". Significantly, the cases of married women applying to emigrate with their children are chiefly encountered in the earlier part of the list, between 1922 and 1925, this particular group being generally reduced thereafter, apart from a slight increase in 1927 and a greater one in 1928, when the list shows a general increase in emigration applications overall. The cases of married women wishing to emigrate alone are more numerous in the latter years, between 1927 and 1929. In fact, after 1929 there are no applications by adults accompanied by dependents.

In the vast majority of these cases, the destination is given as the United States of America. This may be connected, first, with the "open door" immigration policy the US had maintained until a few years earlier (which had made it the most popular destination for all Greek emigrants), and, second, with the aforementioned policy of giving preference to spouses and other family members from the 1920s onwards. Only in 10 of the above-mentioned 75 cases is Canada given as the country of destination.

The remaining 14 of the 75 cases are passport applications by women wishing to go abroad with their husbands, unaccompanied by dependents. The list also contains 5 entries relating to males applying for a passport as the head of the family accompanied by their wife and/or underage children. All five of these cases of family emigration give the USA as their destination.

It has already been mentioned that the number of entries in the list includes those applying twice or even more. Such cases concern 67-72 men and 32-36 women applying more than once for a passport to emigrate to an American country, usually within the space of a few

years, and in a few cases within the space of a few months in the same year⁵⁶. The imprecision of the numbers is due to the fact that some entries contain very similar, yet not identical, data. One gathers from some of these repeat entries that the individuals concerned were for some reason unable to leave, particularly when the applications are very close together. When there is quite a long gap between applications, another possibility is that the person concerned had left once, returned to Greece in the meantime, and now wished to leave again. The most interesting cases, however, are those in which there is a change of destination: 22 men and 4 women (two of whom applied three times) subsequently applied to emigrate to a different country from their original choice. These changes reflect the ease or difficulty of immigration into the various host countries, which in turn played a part in whether or not it was possible to secure an entry visa. They also reflect a determination (which was widespread, not just a characteristic of the Kastoria people) to emigrate to any country in America, which would usually serve as a halfway house before they went on, by lawful or unlawful means, to the country of their first choice. Finally, these changes of destination⁵⁷ were not unconnected with the activities of the emigration agents, who directed the flow of emigrants towards certain countries according to the prevailing circumstances; and they were also influenced by local migratory trends⁵⁸.

56. A legislative decree of October 1925, ratified in 1927, prescribed that passports issued by the prefectures were valid i) for a single journey and must be used within a year from the date of issue; or ii) for more than one journey within a single year, for a different fee; or iii) for more than one journey over a two-year period, for a higher fee (exclusively for merchants).

57. From Cuba to Canada in 5 cases; from Mexico to Canada in 5 cases; from Canada to Cuba in 3 cases; from Canada to the United States in 2 cases; from Cuba to a South American country in 2 cases; from Mexico to the United States in 1 case; from the US to Mexico in 1 case; from Cuba to the US in 1 case; and from the US to Cuba in 2 cases. All these instances concern men. For women, the change of option is from the US to Cuba in all cases. It is worth noting a comment by Simopoulos, the Greek Ambassador to Washington, to the effect that many Greek women were coming to the United States and marrying American citizens there, hoping in this way to achieve what amounted to illegal entry into the country. The practice posed something of a headache for the US consular authorities, who were reluctant to sanction such marriages and means of entry into the United States: A.Y.E./K.Y., 1930 A/A, Simopoulos to Foreign Min., Washington, 16 June 1930, reg. No. 1009.

58. The migratory flow from communities in the Kastoria district tended to follow certain well-trodden paths. All but one of the potential emigrants from the city of Kastoria,

The overwhelming majority of the prospective emigrants on the list (965 individuals, or c. 67.2%) come from 11 communities (c. 14.7% of the total number of settlements recorded on the list), each of which contributes at least 30 names (see Tables 2 and 3). The municipality of Kastoria (the only municipality in the whole province of Kastoria) supplies the greatest number of prospective emigrants: 389 applications (c. 27% of the whole and 42% of the 11 top communities).

These eleven communities may be regarded as fully representative not only of all the communities on the list, but also of the province to which they belong⁵⁹. They include the only municipality in the province, the city of Kastoria, sizable townships such as Argos Orestiko, and smaller communities. They include Korestia villages (Gavros, Kraniona, Halara, Vyssinia) and others from the broader area (Vassiliada, Ieropigi, Dendrochori). Some of them had shown strong Exarchist sympathies in the past, with large numbers of inhabitants leaving for Bulgaria after the Balkan Wars and the First World War, as also considerable *komitadji* activity later on during the next great war. Others, however, had a history that had brought them closer to the Greek side.

The fact is that we have no other data that give such a detailed picture of the migratory trends in other parts of Macedonia or in the rest of Greece⁶⁰. It is therefore difficult to compare the information on this list with what was happening elsewhere in Greece and reach any valid conclusions⁶¹. But the list is still very important by itself. Although we

for instance, wish to go to the United States, as do the majority of those from Argos Orestiko, Vyssinia, Nestorio, Mavrochori, and Trilofos. The vast majority of those from Dendrochori, Vassiliada, Gavros, Kraniona, and Halara, however, opt for Canada. Emigration from other communities was certainly rather more evenly distributed among the various countries of America.

59. The destinations of the inhabitants of these communities reflect the general trends of the district as a whole. The same proportions are also reflected in other data, such as the ratio of the two sexes, the peaks and troughs of the migratory trends, and the family status of the emigrants.

60. It was only after signing the Final Protocol on emigration on 25 July 1921 that Greece began to collect the relevant facts and figures. Until 1924 the data came from the International Labour Bureau; from 1925 to 1928 from the Ministry of the Interior; and from 1929 onwards the responsibility was assumed by the General Statistical Service of Greece.

61. All the same, we can say that the 1,436 people on the list constituted approximately 2.31% of all Greek emigrants between 1922 and 1930, and 25.4‰ of the total

cannot give a precise estimate of the number of people who actually emigrated, this is still a noteworthy effort to record the prevailing migratory trends in this part of Macedonia in the period in question, a period during which the general flow of emigrants to America was reduced by the host countries' restrictive measures. As such a record, then, the Greek authorities' compilation of this and similar lists reveals the Greek state's special interest in the emigration trends in Macedonia. It also bears witness to the government's desire to shield or divert the west Macedonian emigrants from Bulgaro-Macedonian propaganda.

All the same, it seems rather inconsistent that the Greek government was so eager to take such steps abroad, when its action at home was rather inadequate and uncoordinated. It would appear that there was no desire, at least in the Greek policy implementation, to take legislative and other measures enough to boost the morale of the local people and lead to their assimilation, and at the same time enough to create an economic environment that would discourage emigration⁶². The attitude reflected by the lists of undesirable returnees that were compiled from time to time makes the paradox even more striking. Despite any frequently made proposals to the contrary, this segment of the Greek population was regarded as superfluous and its gradual departure abroad, though not to be encouraged, was certainly not to be checked.

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population of the province of Kastoria (on the basis of the census of 1928). This latter figure is far higher than the general level for Greece in that period, which fluctuated between 0.596‰ and 1.541‰ of the Greek population as a whole (on average 1.125‰ over the whole period in question). The data on the list show the rate of emigration from some communities to be even higher, in proportion to the 1928 population level: the 26 emigrants from Trilofos constitute some 71‰ of the community's population; the 25 from Mavrokambos 76‰; the 61 from Vyssinia 95‰; and the 15 from Agios Dimitrios some 65.7‰. In contrast, the 32 potential emigrants from Vogatsiko equate only with 19.9‰ of the community's population, and the 30 from Nestorio a mere 15.8‰.

62. Clearly, it was necessary first for the wounds inflicted by the Asia Minor Disaster to heal and for the refugees to be rehabilitated; then for the agricultural land to be redistributed; and finally an equilibrium had to be maintained at the international level, chiefly *vis-à-vis* the League of Nations and the Balkans as a whole.

TABLE I
Annual Rate of Departure to the Various Host Countries

Year	U.S.A.		Canada		Mexico		Cuba		South America	
	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female
1922	27	71	12	10	0	0	0	0	0	0
1923	43	55	12	7	30	0	8	0	0	0
1924	41	63	44	9	5	0	4	0	4	0
1925	41	14	5	16	0	0	6	3	0	0
1926	85	17	102	14	0	0	0	3	4	0
1927	147	54	114	15	1	0	4	1	9	0
1928	74	43	71	13	0	0	0	0	0	0
1929	66	47	31	3	0	0	0	0	3	0
1930	35	12	10	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
Total	559	376	322	88	37	0	22	7	20	0
			410		37		29		20	

Year	Total	
	male	female
1922	39	81
1923	93	62
1924	98	72
1925	52	33
1926	112	34
1927	275	70
1928	145	56
1929	100	50
1930	46	13
Total	960	471
		1,431

The destination of 1 male is unknown.

TABLE 2
Annual Rate of Departure from the Top Eleven Communities

	1922			1923			1924			1925			1926		
	males	females	total	males	females	total	males	females	total	males	females	total	males	females	total
Kastoria	11	21	32	24	23	47	38	5	43	13	17	30	6	1	7
Dendrothori	3	11	14	10	2	12	3	1	4	6	5	11	4	6	10
Gavros	3	5	8	10	2	12	7	6	13	3	3	6	5	8	13
Kraniona	0	2	2	11	0	11	4	2	6	3	2	5	5	0	5
Halara	2	0	2	0	0	0	4	0	4	10	0	10	3	1	4
Vyssinia	2	2	4	2	3	5	11	1	12	8	4	12	6	0	6
Argos Orestiko	0	9	9	1	3	4	4	0	4	2	4	6	3	3	6
Vassiliada	4	2	6	1	1	2	0	7	7	1	3	4	0	1	1
Ieropigi	0	7	7	0	3	3	5	0	5	2	3	5	1	0	1
Vogatsiko	4	1	5	4	5	9	1	0	1	1	4	5	2	2	4
Nestorio	0	0	0	4	3	7	0	0	0	4	2	6	6	1	7
Total	29	60	89	67	45	112	77	22	99	53	47	100	41	23	64

	1927			1928			1929			1930			Total		
	males	females	total	males	females	total	males	females	total	males	females	total	males	females	total
Kastoria	79	27	106	30	14	44	34	21	55	20	5	25	255	134	389
Dendrothori	18	8	26	16	1	17	5	1	6	1	1	2	66	36	102
Gavros	10	6	16	5	5	10	6	2	8	1	0	1	50	37	87
Kraniona	20	1	21	13	0	13	6	0	6	4	0	4	66	7	73
Halara	25	2	27	7	2	9	2	0	2	3	2	5	56	7	63
Vyssinia	11	1	12	4	1	5	0	5	5	0	0	0	44	17	61
Argos Orestiko	3	3	6	3	3	6	4	4	8	2	1	3	22	30	52
Vassiliada	6	5	11	3	3	6	3	2	5	1	0	1	19	24	43
Ieropigi	6	1	7	1	1	2	2	0	2	1	0	1	18	15	33
Vogatsiko	1	1	2	2	2	4	0	0	0	2	0	2	17	15	32
Nestorio	5	1	6	2	1	3	3	0	3	0	0	0	21	9	30
Total	184	56	240	86	33	119	65	35	100	35	9	44	634	331	965

TABLE 3
Destinations of emigrants from the Top Eleven Communities

Communities	U.S.A.		Canada		Mexico		Cuba		South America	
	males	females	males	females	males	females	males	females	males	females
Kastoria	249	134	5	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Dendrochori	24	26	29	10	13	0	0	0	0	0
Gavros	11	8	30	29	7	0	2	0	0	0
Kraniona	20	4	36	3	0	0	10	0	0	0
Halara	16	4	40	3	43	0	0	0	0	0
Vyssinia	31	17	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Argos Orestiko	21	30	1	0	0	0	0	0	4	0
Vassiliada	2	4	17	18	35	0	0	2	0	0
Ieropigi	11	15	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Vogatsiko	8	12	9	3	12	0	0	0	0	0
Nestorio	17	7	0	0	0	0	1	2	3	0
Total	410	261	182	66	248	21	13	4	7	0
										7

Communities	Total	
	males	females
Kastoria	255	134
Dendrochori	66	36
Gavros	50	37
Kraniona	66	7
Halara	56	7
Vyssinia	44	17
Argos Orestiko	22	30
Vassiliada	19	24
Ieropigi	17(+1)	15
Vogatsiko	17	15
Nestorio	21	9
Total	633(+1)	331
		964(+1)

The destination of 1 male from Ieropigi is unknown.

TABLE 4
Demographic Figures for the Top Eleven Communities

	1913 Census			1920 Census			1928 Census			1928 Census of Refugees			1940 Census		
	males	females	total	males	females	total	males	females	total	males	females	total	males	females	total
Kastoria	4213	3587	7800	3067	3213	6280	5731	4577	10308	723	632	1355	5334	4847	10181
Dendrochori	619	588	1207	384	560	944	396	470	866	7	4	11	380	414	794
Gavros	323	325	648	201	308	509	178	227	405	4	3	7	185	199	384
Kraniona	413	397	810	316	407	723	328	422	750	1	0	1	227	245	472
Halara	563	405	968	303	407	710	281	495	676	0	0	0	329	409	738
Vyssinia	460	500	960	241	459	700	249	393	642	2	0	2	294	390	684
Argos Orestiko	1580	1368	2948	1708	1895	3603	1757	1848	3605	396	467	863	2093	2122	4215
Vassiliada	1178	1142	2320	423	682	1105	311	424	735	39	33	72	578	669	1247
Ieropigi	521	500	1021	218	345	563	223	278	501	26	24	50	237	270	507
Vogatsiko	1518	1175	2693	697	1004	1701	937	664	1601	9	4	13	664	845	1509
Nestorio	1300	1431	2731	792	1187	1979	653	1235	1888	5	3	8	1286	1391	2677