

The author of the *Hammer On The Sea* conceived a worthwhile theme in a very interesting background, but in working it out as a novel he failed to give it convincing life.

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ἙΑκαδημία Ἀθηνῶν. Μνημεῖα τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἱστορίας. Τὸ Ἀρχεῖον τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου Μανροκορδάτου [Academy of Athens, Monuments of the Greek History, The Archive of Alexander Mavrokordatos], edited by E. G. Protopsaltis, Athens, 1963, 1965, Volumes I, pp. 407 and II, 285.

The publication of the Papers of Mavrokordatos which are to be found in the Greek State Archives and in the MSS Department of the Benaki Museum, Athens, is the most important contribution during recent years to the source material of the history of Modern Greece. Alexander Mavrokordatos (1791-1865), a Phanariot without territorial or class interests in Greece itself, was one of the most politically gifted of the Greeks. A man with elegant manners and appearance, he spoke seven languages and might have looked more at home as Greek Ambassador to the Courts of London and Paris than, as he is usually depicted, standing in the midst of his mountainous compatriots in their *fustanellas*. He was shrewd, amiable, very accessible and open to persuasion, but he was perhaps to become too temporising, too fond of finesse, to obtain (if that were possible) the unchallenged leadership of the nation. When he joined the Greeks in August 1821, he observed that both Demetrius Ypsilantis (who claimed to be the successor to his unfortunate brother Alexander and the leader of the *Philiki Etairia*) and the primates of the Morea were acting unwisely and were advancing into false positions from which it would be difficult for them to retreat with honour. He therefore avoided what purported to be the central government and obtained the political direction of the Revolution in Western Greece. The result was to weaken still further the authority of the central government; for, in the constitution which was eventually adopted, provisions were inserted, encroaching on its powers.

Through his prudence and finesse Mavrokordatos gained many personal friends, and he succeeded in creating a political party. This achievement aroused the jealousy of Ypsilantis, which jealousy was intensified when the First National Assembly at Epidaurus (January 1822) elected Mavrokordatos as the first president of liberated Greece. His

presidency however was a period of misfortune to Mavrokordatos himself and to the central government. He therefore left the seat of government and went to Western Greece, hoping to regain the initiative through military operations. His strategy was good but not being a military man he was hardly the right person to conduct operations. His campaign failed and discredited its leader. In 1823 he was driven from office. Not wishing to play a secondary rôle at the seat of government, he remained at Missolonghi in Western Greece, where his administration was neither honourable to himself nor advantageous to the country. In 1824 a civil war broke out between two chieftains. Its continuance was ascribed to his imprudence and indecision — characteristics similar to those of Ypsilantis, Kolokotronis and the other leaders of the Revolution, who were responsible for a second civil war which broke out in that same year, and which plunged Greece into a complete state of anarchy.

In 1825 Mavrokordatos returned to the seat of government as counsellor to president Koundouriotis. This was a year of momentous events in Greece — Ibrahim Pasha of Egypt, victorious in the Morea, intended to depopulate that peninsula and to plant there a foreign people. These events had a profound effect upon the Great Powers who were seeking to revive the Concert of Europe and to bring it to bear upon the Greek Question. The Greeks themselves were watching Europe, and were calculating upon the possible assistance from the Powers. Owing, however, to their intense personal rivalries and the constant regrouping of their many factions, these calculations led them to develop what may be called the pro-English, pro-French and pro-Russian parties. But Mavrokordatos wanted “to have connexions everywhere and with everybody.” He and his followers were in no way tied either by sentiment or by policy to any single foreign power. Although he had collaborated with the English, and though he was generally regarded as a pro-English Greek, he endeavoured to counteract this impression and was careful to maintain good relations with both France and Russia, even with Austria. In the end, however, he became entangled in the English interest, though he never really approved of the Act of Submission to England (25 August 1825), which, he thought, was a clumsy move and totally lacking of finesse. He wanted a truly independent Greece, and he was prepared to accept monarchy, as being the only means of obtaining the support of England. His leaning to England coupled with his notorious ambition, meant that during the Capodistrian and the Othoman periods he was deserted and sent into what was virtually exile to fill posts abroad. He spent many years as the Greek Ambassador to the

Courts of Berlin, Munich and London. In 1841 however he was recalled to take up the reins of government, but he failed to dominate the scene. Although in the Revolution of 1843 he was appointed to the Committee for the framing of the Constitution of 1844 and for carrying out the first general elections, he failed, because of his own errors, to gain a seat in the Parliament. He thereupon accepted the post of Greek Ambassador to the Porte which office he held until he was again recalled to lead the country in the critical year of 1854. His last premiership was short-lived. He then retired from public life, to which, perhaps, his contribution was never great. Finlay writes that:

“The superiority of Mavrocordatos over the rest of his countrymen must have been really great; for, in his long political career he has been five times called from an inferior or a private station to occupy the highest rank in the administration of Greece. Yet in every case he made shipwreck of his own reputation and left public affairs in as bad a position as he found them, if not in a worse.”

A definitive study of Mavrokordatos' political and diplomatic career has yet to be written, but the task of writing it will be greatly facilitated by this publication of his papers which are of considerable historical importance. When completed this publication will throw light on all aspects of his controversial and outstanding personality, and, it may well be, do him justice; while at the same time it will illuminate the intricate politics of his time. With the laborious task of editing this publication the Academy of Athens has entrusted Dr. E.G. Protopsaltis, Assistant Professor at the University of Athens and the Director of the Greek State Archives. In all there will be some ten volumes relating to the pre-Revolutionary, the Revolutionary and the Capodistrian periods which are indeed the most important in Mavrokordatos' long career. The two volumes now published cover the years 1803 to 1823 and comprise state and private papers, memoranda and reports on political, military and administrative topics. These are arranged in chronological order and are published *in extenso*, the original spelling and language being retained. A few documents are published in extract and a few (which are said to be unimportant) are omitted.

Dr. Protopsaltis has refrained from giving an introductory biography of Mavrokordatos, and from providing footnotes relating his text to other historical sources. He has been content merely to print the major part of this most valuable selection. For this plan there is much to be said. The work of publication should not be unduly delayed and this much needed source will therefore, it is hoped, soon be complete. The

two volumes we have before us are well produced. Printing errors are very few. The annotations to names and places, the excellent index, the valuable glossary of foreign, including Turkish, words, the chronological index of documents — all enhance the value of what promises to be a monumental historical collection.

Volume I comprises some 280 items referring to the years 1803-1822. The documents of the pre-Revolutionary period are few but important. Among them are: the first legislation concerning the Merchant Navy of Ydra (1803); a memorandum of J. Bulgaris, a Corfiot in the Tsar's Service, to Lord Clancarty, the British Representative to the Congress of Vienna, on the Ionian Islands (1815); a few letters from Val-lachia and Smyrna to G. Praïdis, a close friend of Mavrokordatos (1819-1820); a copy of one of Alexander Ypsilantis' pre-Revolutionary proclamations; and the copies of two letters addressed by J. Bulgaris from Saint Petersburg to Alexander Ypsilantis and to the Tsar Alexander I (undated). The documents of the years 1821-1822 include not only Mavrocordatos' letters but also those of his friends and colleagues Andreas and Nikolaos Louriotis and George Praïdis; among these are letters by Mavrokordatos and A. Louriotis written from Missolonghi to Prince C. Karatza, letters by A. Louriotis, acting as the Governor of Missolonghi, to chieftains and civil servants, documents from the collection of N. Louriotis referring mainly to the activities of the Senate of Western Greece (of which Mavrokordatos was the President and N. Louriotis the General Secretary) and finally the Diary of G. Praïdis.

Volume II comprises registers of Mavrokordatos' correspondence of the years 1821-1823. These are: 1) Register of the correspondence from Missolonghi of A. Louriotis, G. Praïdis and others, 2) the drafts of nineteen letters written by Mavrokordatos (7 August to 9 September 1821) concerning his activities in the early phase of the Greek Revolution, 3) an incomplete Diary of Praïdis of the period 15 November to the end of December 1821, 4) Register of the drafts (*in extenso* or in extract) of nineteen hundred and one documents by Mavrocordatos, as the President of the Executive, dated from 20 May 1822 to 13 March 1823, 5) Secret Register of seventy two letters (*in extenso* or in extract) by Mavrokordatos, as the President of the Executive, dated from 12 July 1822 to 2 January 1823, and 6) a Register of the payments carried out during the administration of Mavrokordatos in Western Greece from 20 October 1822 to 25 March 1823. These registers constitute an invaluable source for the originals of the documents recorded in them have either been irretrievably lost, or perhaps remain in family collections which may

not come to light for many years. The Diary of Praëdis gives important information, on the political and military situation of Western Greece during the first year of the War of Independence.

Dr. Protopsaltis has undoubtedly provided access to material of great importance, for which scholars will be grateful. It is to be hoped that the Academy of Athens and Dr. Protopsaltis will be able to complete this fine venture at an early date.

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John C. Campbell, *American Policy Toward Communist Eastern Europe: The Choices Ahead*. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1965. Pp. XIV + 136.

This slender volume was originally written to serve as the basis for discussion at the Seventh Midwest Seminar on United States Foreign Policy. This Seminar, held at Racine, Wisconsin in May, 1964, was a three-day meeting of government officials, professors and business leaders. It was organized by six midwestern state universities, together with the Brookings Institution, and financed by the Johnson Foundation.

The author of the volume is widely known as an expert on Eastern Europe. He has served as a member of the Policy and Planning Staff of the State Department and is presently Senior Research Fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations in New York City.

The first five chapters of Mr. Campbell's book attempt to provide the intelligent layman with a very general statement of the present situation in Communist Eastern Europe and how it came about, beginning with the Soviet occupation of the area and the Communist seizure of power in 1945-48. In dealing with the current situation, the book gives special attention to such contemporary developments as the revival of nationalism and the impact of the Sino-Soviet schism. An entire chapter is devoted to Poland, as a special case within the Bloc, and another to Yugoslavia, as a special case without.

In dealing with Yugoslavia, Mr. Campbell puts forward two propositions. One is that Yugoslavia, as an independent and therefore ultimately deviant Communist state, has been, is, and will continue to be a major issue in the Communist politics of Eastern Europe because its professed Communism makes its deviations and experiments politically available to the other Communist regimes. "A Communist state flaunting its opposition to blocs, totally out of Soviet control in its doctrines and its policies, and taking aid from the West is hardly a comfort-