

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND GREECE 1878-1908

American sympathy with the cause of modern Greece, which was expressed so abundantly during the War of Independence, did not die with the birth of the Hellenic Kingdom. After the great Cretan uprising of 1866, the United States, although just recovering from the Civil War, was able to offer comforting moral support to Greece and to the inhabitants of the island.¹ It was thanks to the initiative of the American Minister to Turkey that the first Greek representative was sent to Washington the following year.² Full diplomatic relations were established when Charles K. Tuckerman arrived in Athens in June, 1868.³

Ten years later, when Greece was confronted with the critical events of 1877-1878, Philhellenism was in evidence again. Tuckerman's successor, Gen. James M. Read, reported to the Secretary of State in Washington: "The greatest excitement prevails throughout Greece...and the fear that Europe will aid the Slave (sic) element to overwhelm Hellenism."⁴ He went further to observe that "if a settlement is not reached by which an increase of the territory of this kingdom is obtained ... a serious crisis will arise. Such crisis would be the fault of the European Powers who have repeatedly interfered with her freedom of action."

Tuckerman had remarked on the solidarity with which the monarchy was bound to the Greek State: "Greece is the freest of constitutional monar-

1. Stephen Xydis, "Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Greece, 1868-1878" *Balkan Studies*, V (1964), 47-48; William J. Stillman, *The Cretan Insurrection 1866-68* (New York : Holt, 1874).

2. E. Driault and M. Lhéritier, *Histoire Diplomatique de la Grèce*, Vol. IV (5 Vols.; Paris : Presses Universitaires de France, 1926), 192.

3. Greece was the first Balkan country with which the United States opened diplomatic relations.

4. U.S., Department of State, *Consular Despatches from Greece, 1868 - 1906*, 1878, Read to Evarts, March 8, 1878. Hereafter cited as *Consular Despatches*.

5. *Ibid.*, May 16, 1878.

chies ... By instinct the people of Greece are democratic, by circumstances they are royalists.”⁶ Likewise, Read wrote: “In Greece the King’s cause is the people’s cause.”⁷

The personal attachment of a minister to his post, and to the foreign country in which he resides is rather uncommon. When Congress failed to renew the appropriation for the Athens Legation for financial reasons, Gen. Read wrote a personal letter to the Secretary of State stating that the Legation would continue its work at his own expense. Further, he expressed his surprise and disappointment “by this desertion of a people, to whom we are bound by the ties of a traditional and actual friendship,” and who needed American “moral support” in their “struggle for recognition at the Berlin Congress.”⁸ In another dispatch he expressed his conviction of the justice of the Greek claims, and his admiration of the “courage of the Greeks and their able King.”⁹

King George and the Greek Government urged him to stay explaining that his continued representation of a disinterested power in a time of crisis was of great importance. “If I retired,” Read wrote, “Americans would be left without diplomatic protection, ... and it would appear to Europe that the United States had abandoned Greece at the very moment she was pleading her cause before the Berlin Congress.”¹⁰

When Congress, however, failed to make an appropriation the following year, he felt compelled to terminate his career in Greece. “I have made every possible sacrifice to sustain our diplomatic relations with Greece, because my sense of justice to a weak and struggling people demanded it,” he wrote in his last dispatch to Washington. On his departure, the *Telegraph* of Athens praised him for his “devotion to the best interests of the country,” and his sympathy for the people of Greece in whose behalf he spoke wherever he was. It referred to him as a distinguished Philhellenist and as “one of the most potent authorities” on the Eastern Question.¹¹

The Legation remained without an official representative for three years. Read’s successor, Eugene Schuyler,¹² who had already distinguished himself

6. Charles Tuckerman, *The Greeks of Today* (New York: Putnam & Sons, 1872), 98.

7. *Consular Despatches*, 1878, Read to Evarts, March 30, 1878.

8. *Ibid.*, June 13, 1878.

9. *Ibid.*, June 20, 1878.

10. *Ibid.*, 1879, August 4, 1879.

11. *Ibid.*

12. An outstanding figure in the American foreign service. A graduate of Columbia Law School, he entered diplomatic service in 1866 as consul at Moscow and Revel, and

in the diplomatic service in Turkey and Russia, came to Greece at a time of internal stability, under the government of Trikoupis, but also at a time when international affairs had little inclination on the Greek scene. One of the major accomplishments of the new minister was one which made no great requirement of his diplomatic skills. It concerned the raising by the Greek Government of a prohibition on the importation of American pork.¹³ However, this event, which for the American business interests, and for the Government itself, was a cause of considerable satisfaction, was one of the first instances of growing commercial relations between the two countries.

Schuyler was given an opportunity to make use of his tact and keen ability of perception as a diplomat in a problem which had arisen from the selling of Bibles in Greece by the American Bible Society.¹⁴ He was very reluctant to exercise his authority and protect the sellers of the Scriptures, American citizens, who had the right to sell them, in order not to offend the Greeks' sense of pride in their Church.¹⁵ He remarked with an unusual insight: "The Greeks are very sensitive to anything in the matter of proselytism, not only because they love their own church but because their church has been a strong, and perhaps the strongest instrument in preserving Greek national life and in obtaining their freedom." And he further commented on the Greeks' identification of their faithfulness to the church with their patriotism.¹⁶

secretary of legation at Saint Petersburg (1870-1876). In 1876, he was transferred to Constantinople and that year he wrote an important report on the Turkish massacres in Bulgaria. It was widely circulated in Europe and, later, in America (in J.A. MacGahan, *The Turkish Atrocities in Bulgaria*. London, 1876). In 1880, he became the first American diplomatic representative to Rumania. In 1882, he went to Athens as minister resident to Greece, Serbia and Rumania. The most extensive of his many works is *Peter the Great*, 2 vols., 1884. The frankness of his *American Diplomacy and the Furtherance of Commerce* (1886) lost him the appointment as assistant secretary of state. (*Dictionary of American Biography*, ed., Dumas Malone, New York: C. Scribner's sons (22 vols), vol. 16, 471-472).

13. *Consular Despatches*, 1884, Schuyler to F. Frelinghuysen, February 23, 1884.

14. For a general account of the Society's activities, see H.O. Dwight, *The Centennial History of the American Bible Society* (New York: Macmillan, 1916), 144, 227, 427. Occasionally there were feelings of hostility among missionaries towards certain conditions in Greece. See e.g. *Missionary Review*, III (1880), 71.

15. The Greek Church has consistently opposed the distribution of Bibles in unauthorized translations. Around the turn of the century, when the matter of the translation of the Gospels into modern Greek came up, there occurred the so called "Evangelica," which created a great commotion. In 1901, objectors to an unauthorized translation of the Bible into "vulgar" Greek demonstrated violently in Athens. Since 1911, all Greek constitutions have contained a provision prohibiting the rendering of the Holy Scriptures in any "lingual form" other than the original.

16. A Greek is naturally expected to be an Orthodox christian, and, conversely, a

Perhaps the most fruitful and enduring mission to Greece was that of the Episcopal Church, its first one in the Mediterranean area.¹⁷ The Rev. John J. Robertson, the Rev. John H. Hill and their companions were sent to Greece in 1830. Hill linked his name with the development of education in Greece. In 1831, he founded in Athens a practical school for boys and the first school for girls which had among its first students the daughters of the heroes of the Revolution.¹⁸ Hill never exercised proselytism in any way, and for this reason he was specially esteemed by the Government and the Church.¹⁹

In 1881, king George I expressed his gratification for the contribution of the school in the education of girls.²⁰ The following year, Hill died and his funeral, which was made at public expense, was attended by Prime Minister Trikoupis and members of the Government. The mission itself came to an end in 1898, but the school for girls continued its work.²¹

The American Government was interested in the development of education in Greece. A chapter on "Education in Greece" was included in the Report of the Commissioner of Education dated in 1898.²² The author explains the nature of the language question quite fully, and gives a thorough exposition of the state of education in Greece, the development of journalism etc.

A great event in these years was the establishment of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. The School, founded in 1882, and built during the years 1887 and 1888, had no official links with the United States Government, although the American ministers in Greece showed an obvious interest in its work. Schuyler remarked on the good general impression created by the presence of many American scholars in connection with the

non-Orthodox Greek cannot be thought of wholly as such. This attitude is explained by the strong ties which have developed between the Orthodox Church and the Greek nation during its long history. (See e.g. Timothy Ware, *The Orthodox Church* (Baltimore: Perguin Books, 1963), 26-111.)

17. "Mediterranean Missions of the Episcopal Church, from 1828-1898" *Historical Magazine* (of the Protestant Episcopal church) XXXI (1962), 98.

18. Theodosios Doubalettelles, Speech given on the occasion of the awarding of a gold medal by the Council of Athens to the Hill school on October 27th, 1953. (in the files of the Hill school).

19. Statement of the Holy Synod of the Church of Greece acquitting Hill of the accusation of proselytism which had been imputed to him, March, 20, 1850 (in the files of the Hill school).

20. K. Xeradake-Fakiola, *Women Philhellenists* (Athens, 1964), 116-117. (in Greek).

21. *Historical Magazine*, XXXI, 102.

22. Daniel Quinn, "Education in Greece," *Report of the Commissioner of Education*, U.S. Bureau of Education (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1898), 267-347.

School.²³ His successor, Walker Fearn, offered his assistance in the formalities of the acceptance of the site for the School.²⁴

The first excavations undertaken by the School were limited in scope, and were concentrated mainly in Sicyon.²⁵ The excavation of Corinth, for which the School labored for more than twenty years, began in 1896, and was interrupted only during the disastrous Greko-Turkish war and the years following it (1897-1898).²⁶ At the time work was also done in Plataea, Eretria and Sparta. The period of the great progress of the School began after 1910, and continued in the twenties with C. Blegen.²⁷

In 1886, as a result of the defeatist policy of Deliyannis's government, Greece became diplomatically isolated with regard to her claims in the regions which were then part of the Ottoman Empire. In April, the Great Powers, with the exception of France, imposed a naval blockade on Greece to force the Government to complete disarmament. The American Minister in Athens Walker Fearn wrote to Washington on the tragic position of Greece: "Indeed it is impossible to resist the conviction that Greece has been dealt with, and... the threat recently put forth by some of the leading journals of England and Germany to let the Turks loose upon her can only be characterised as revolting alike to civilisation and humanity." On the blockade he remarked that it "will probably be long remembered with resentment by this proud and sensitive people."²⁸

The same Minister appealed to the sympathy of the American people for a physical tragedy which had hit Greece the same year, an earthquake which had caused considerable damage. In his communication to Washington, he wrote: "I venture to think that our people, always so generous, will not fail to give help and sympathy to this brave but unfortunate nation whose sons strongly resemble them in some of the highest attributes of citizenship."²⁹

The head of the United States legation in Athens, being of the rank of minister, had to give way to the envoys of the Balkan states. This ranking was not befitting the representatives of the "mightiest nation on earth," in

23. *Consular Despatches*, 1883, Schuyler to Frelinghuysen. April 9, 1883.

24. Louis Lord, *A History of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens 1882-1942* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1947), 26-27.

25. *Ibid.*, 41 - 44.

26. *Ibid.*, 89 - 90.

27. *Ibid.*, 130 ff.; Paul Mackendrick. *The Greek Stones Speak* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1962), 12, 13, 38, 68, 78-81, 99, 413-415, 436.

28. *Consular Despatches*, 1886, Fearn to Bayard, May 11, and June 9, 1886.

29. *Ibid.*, August 30, 1886.

the expression of Fearn.³⁰ It was in 1889, shortly after the appointment of the new Minister, Loudon Snowden, that the rank of his post was raised to that of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary.³¹

In 1890, after the abortive uprising of 1889 in Crete, the Sultan appointed a moslem governor to the island, and proclaimed martial law. Snowden had this to say prophetically about the situation: "The Cretan question is in my judgement postponed, not settled... The centuries of almost unceasing struggle and suffering... does not seem to discourage their [the inhabitants'] aspirations or dampen their ardor."³²

The struggle of the Cretans, and the cause of union with Greece, attracted the interest and the sympathy of the general public in the United States. The *New York Times* maintained that the answer to the problem was the cession of Crete to Greece, and the expulsion of the "Great Assassin" from "civilized territory."³³ In an editorial of April 3, 1897, it ridiculed the decision of the Powers to blockade Greece in order to prevent a war with Turkey.

During the unfortunate war between Greece and Turkey, there was great emotion in support of the Greek cause. Consul General Demetrios Botassi in New York noted the great interest of reporters for the development of the hostilities.³⁴ C. Hutchinson, consul in Chicago, in this dispatch to Athens, conveyed the sympathy of the "Knights of Malta and St. John of Palestine Commandery" to the "christian people of Greece."³⁵ Another committee of twenty-five members, organized by a certain Seth How, made a plea for material support to the Cretans. The same committee had sent \$70,000 during the uprising of 1866-1869.³⁶ There were American volunteers in this war of 1897, bearers of the same spirit which moved Samuel G. How, and other philhellenes, during the War of Independence.³⁷ The defeat of the Greek arms in

30. *Ibid.*, December 31, 1886.

31. U.S., *Congressional Record*, 51st Cong., 1st Sess., 1889-1890, Senate Misc. Doc. 134, 3703.

32. *Consular Despatches*, 1890, Snowden to James Blaine, March 17, 1890.

33. *The New York Times*, June 7, 1897, 6.

34. Greece, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Correspondence with Consular Agencies*, 1897, D. Botassi to Minister of Foreign Affairs, April 20, 1897.

35. *Ibid.*, Charles Hutchinson to Minister of Foreign Affairs, March 28, 1897.

36. *Ibid.*, Botassi to Minister of For. Affairs, April 7, 1897.

37. Frederick Palmer, *Going to War in Greece* (New York: R. Russell, 1897). Many articles, related to the Situation in Greece, were also written at that time: see e.g. Sir Charles Dieke, D. Botassi, "The Uprising of Greece," *North American Review*, CLXIV (April, 1897), 453-461; Benjamin Ide Wheeler, "The Modern Greek as a Fighting Man," *North American Review*, CLXIV (May, 1897), 609-616.

Larissa was a "calamity for civilization," according to an editorial of the *New York Times*.³⁸

The Legation in Athens was at that time headed by William Rockhill, an able diplomat, who was later transferred to the Far East and became instrumental in the implementation of the Open Door policy in the area.³⁹ When the preliminaries of the peace were being discussed, Rockhill wrote to Washington: "Great despondency is shown in all quarters over the terms of the peace, but there can be no doubt that they will ultimately be complied with by Greece."⁴⁰ One month later, he gave a complete account of the "disorganization of all branches of the government," and its inability to meet the consequences of the disaster. "The new ministry," he wrote, "is showing a most praiseworthy desire to investigate every branch of the public service and introduce every possible reform, but it is highly doubtful to my mind whether it accomplishes anything of permanent value."⁴¹ Rockhill's stay in Greece was short and rather unpleasant.⁴²

Informal commercial relations between the United States and the Ottoman Empire existed as early as the eighteenth century, when American merchants made contacts with Turkish firms under the protection of the Levant Company. The importance of maintaining official relations with the Ottoman Empire did not escape the attention of the American Government which appointed its first consul in Smyrna in 1803.⁴³

Any amount of significant trading between the United States and Greece, however, was slow in growing. During the years 1865 to 1882, the main Greek export to the States was currants, and the principal American item imported in Greece, petroleum.⁴⁴ In an era of protectionism in America, the currants did not escape severe taxation, and, as a result, their trade suffered. In 1888, John Gennadios,⁴⁵ the great scholar and diplomat, then minister resident in

38. *The New York Times*, April 29, 1897, 6.

39. For an account of his life and work, see Paul Varg, *Open Door Diplomat; the Life of W. W. Rockhill* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1952).

40. *Consular Despatches*, 1897, Rockhill to J. Sherman, September 25, 1897.

41. *Ibid.*, October 27, 1897.

42. Varg, 21. He was transferred in 1898.

43. Leland Gordon, *American Relations with Turkey 1830-1930* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1932), 41-43.

44. U.S., Department of State, *Consular Reports*, 1883, vol. 10, 305, 306, Hereafter cited as *Consular Reports*.

45. John Gennadios (1844-1932) was son of the great teacher of the "Greek nation" (Genos) George Gennadios (1786-1854), one of the outstanding figures of Modern Hellenism. A scholar himself, he entered diplomatic service in 1870 as attaché to the embassy

London, was asked by the Greek Government to discuss the question of the tariff in Washington. A new tariff bill was then debated in Congress — the Protectionists were strong in the Senate — and it was feared that the currants would be submitted to a still higher duty. Gennadios, whose name was well known in the political circles of America, established personal relations with prominent Senators and succeeded in having the currants placed on the free list.⁴⁶ Two years later, however, with the return of the Republicans in power, the currants were placed again under tariff.

Minister Snowden felt compelled to urge the abrogation of the tariff “both for the benefit of the American consumer and of the Greek people.” He also pointed out that it was the moral obligation of the American Government “to render such aid as it can to a people of a great and immortal heritage in their needy condition.”⁴⁷ Four years later, Consul George Horton in Athens repeated the plea in connection with the disposal of Greek currants in the United States, for the improvement of the Greek finances, then in a “deplorable condition.”⁴⁸

Repeatedly, American consuls urged the need for the presence of experienced commercial agents in Greece, and for the establishment of a direct steamship line which would link the United States with eastern Mediterranean ports.⁴⁹ At that time, American goods to that part of the world were carried on foreign, mainly English, ships, with all the handicaps that such an arrangement entailed.⁵⁰ Only at the turn of the century did the English shipping monopoly break, and several direct lines connecting the New to the Old

in Washington, on the recommendation of C. Tuckerman. He conducted preliminary discussions for the admission of Greece to the Berlin Congress, and was a member of the delegation under Deliyannis (1881). Five years later, he was appointed minister resident in London. In 1888, he was also accredited as minister to the United States, and he negotiated the raising of the duty on Corinth currants. He wrote a great number of scholarly articles, and distinguished himself as minister at the court of St. James's. He was honored with many decorations, and received honorary doctorates from Oxford, Cambridge, St. Andrews, Princeton and George Washington Universities. In 1922, he gave his library of about 24,000 volumes to the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. The library was named “The Gennadeion” in honor of his father. See his *Autobiographical Notes* and other papers in the archives of the library.

46. Gennadios, *Autobiographical Notes*, 30-31. On his return to London, the Greek Government conferred on him the commandship of the order of the Redeemer.

47. *Consular Despatches*, 1890, Snowden to Blaine, January 28, 1890.

48. *Consular Reports*, 1894, vol. 45, 37, January 17, 1894.

49. *Ibid.*, 1885, vol. 15, 533-34; 1892, vol. 39, 345-46.

50. Gordon, 119.

World were established (1902). In 1903, Consul McGinley in Athens noted the increase in the trade between the two countries.⁵¹

American goods increasingly penetrated the Greek market which was before dominated by the German and English monopolies. Consul F. Jackson in Patras emphasized the importance of that change: "Small as the Greek market is, when compared with the larger European countries, it has a greatly augmented importance when controlled from the Western Hemisphere, in that it materially contributes to American trade supremacy in Europe."⁵²

The sympathy and the great interest which Americans displayed for Greece during its struggle for independence and after, was returned in the most unexpected way during the Spanish-American War. Many Cretans then volunteered to fight on the side of the "liberal and noble American soldiers."⁵³ These Cretans saw in the Cuban struggle one similar to their own against the Turks. The consul in Athens had to refuse this gallant offer explaining that he was not authorized to act in the matter.⁵⁴

The rising emigration to the United States, especially at the turn of the century, was the most important single factor in the development of closer ties between the two countries. A few Greeks went to the States in the 1820's and 1830's through the activities of American missionaries.⁵⁵ But it was only when commercial interests, and the prospects of prosperity in the New World started to attract more Greeks, that the tide of emigration swelled.⁵⁷

In 1867, Alexander R. Rangabé⁵⁷ went to Washington as the first ambassador of Greece. The growing relations of the two countries and the needs of the many immigrants account for this early appointment. In 1873, Demetrios Botassi was appointed consul general in New York.⁵⁸

51. *Consular Reports*, 1903, vol. 74, 564-65, October 20, 1903.

52. *Ibid.*, 1901, vol. 68, 588, December 30, 1901.

53. U.S., Department of State, *Consular Letters*, 1898, George Daskaloyannis to Louis Nikolaides, April 19, 1898.

54. *Ibid.*, D. E. McGinley, April 22, 1898.

55. *Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*, 1831, 43.

56. Theodore Saloutsos, *The Greeks in the United States* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964), 23-27.

57. A. R. Rangabé (1809-1892); philologist and professor at the University of Athens, writer, politician, and diplomat. His first teacher was Gennadios at Bucharest (1818). He distinguished himself in the public affairs of his country. In Washington he remained for only one year after which he was transferred to Paris. The second envoy to the American capital was John Gennadios, but only for a short time (1888). The embassy remained vacant until 1907.

58. Consuls (without salary) of Greece were also appointed in: Philadelphia (1881),

In 1887, consular agent McDowell in Piraeus sent a note to Washington suggesting that prospective immigrants be compelled to request a visa from the United States consulate. This measure, it was hoped, would put a curb on undesirable emigration.⁵⁹ The State Department, however, did not respond favorably to the suggestion.⁶⁰ There was then no desire either in Congress or in the public to restrict European immigration.⁶¹

Life for the new immigrants was far from easy, but after the current crisis of the early 1890's, emigration assumed the proportions of a mass exodus from all parts of the country.⁶² The rising flow of emigrants created a great concern for the American consuls. In 1903, Minister John Jackson in Athens attempted to secure the permission of the Greek Government for the stationing of American health officials at Piraeus and Patras for the inspection of emigrants, but without success.⁶³

In October 1907, an event long awaited was finally realized. The Moraitis Steamship Company opened a direct line between Smyrna⁶⁴ and New York for the migration traffic, and cargo, but the service was not long continued.⁶⁵ The financial crisis of 1907 in the United States, and the discouraging reports of the Greek consuls which followed it, put an almost full stop to the wave of migration.⁶⁶

The American minister in Athens — whose mission also included Serbia, Roumania and Bulgaria,⁶⁷ and, after 1903, Montenegro — naturally follow-

Boston (1882), San Francisco (1885), Baltimore (1885), New Orleans (1887), St. Louis (1890), Norfolk (1890), and Chicago (1892).

59. *Consular Reports*, 1887, vol. 23, 444-45.

60. *Saloutos*, 27.

61. The first federal legislation concerning immigration was passed in 1882. It is largely after that time (1886) that nativism and antiforeign feelings appear again in American life. The laws of 1882-85 were designed to regulate the flow of immigrants which was largely uncontrolled before. It was in 1891 that immigration was placed entirely under federal supervision, and thirty years later that it was numerically restricted. See e.g., Maldwyn A. Jones, *American Immigration* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), 248, 250, 252-53, 262, 276.

62. *Saloutos*, 31-34; Henry P. Fairchild, "Causes of emigration from Greece," *Yale Review*, XVIII (August, 1909), 26-27.

63. *Consular Despatches*, 1903, Jackson to Hay, September 3, 1903.

64. Smyrna, although in Turkey, had a majority of Greek population, and most of the trade was in the hands of Greek merchants. It is one of the most important ports in Asia Minor.

65. *Consular Reports*, 1908, vol. 86, 150, June 1908.

66. *Saloutos*, 40.

67. A separate Roumanian legation was created in 1906, and Bulgarian affairs were referred to it.

ed closely and with obvious interest the events in Macedonia. However, unable to always obtain first hand information, he seldom committed himself to any side of the problem. In a letter of his to the State Department, John Jackson explained why he was not in a position to "gain a sufficient knowledge of several countries at the same time, and to establish the requisite personal relations to enable him to 'do' anything of importance."⁶⁸ The same minister was, nevertheless, quick to note that the Bulgarian bands were chiefly responsible for most of the outbreaks of violence.⁶⁹ In general, he felt that the Macedonian problem had arisen as a result of the "awakening of racial feeling" in the Balkans.⁷⁰

In his understanding of the problem, Jackson may have been influenced by the American missionaries in Bulgaria, who definitely had some influence on official circles in the United States.⁷¹ During the first World War, two missionaries who had connections in Congress urged for the maintainance of friendly relations with Bulgaria and for a "fair" adjustment of its boundaries.⁷²

Minister John Leishman in Constantinople, more sympathetic to the Turkish viewpoint, attributed the "present troubles" to "ambitious greed... for territory and independence."⁷³ In general, however, American sympathy was for the Christian population against the abuses of the Turkish authorities.

Several United States officials perceived the future great importance of

68. *Consular Despatches*, 1903, Jackson to Hay, October 6, 1903.

69. *Ibid.*, August 14, 1903.

70. *Ibid.*, December 27, 1904. (Confidential).

71. The missionaries in their letters and reports naturally reflect a bias favorable to the Bulgarian point of view. That material has been collected and published, obviously for propaganda reasons, by Vladimir A. Tsanoff, *Reports and Letters of American Missionaries* (Sofia, 1919).

72. William Webster Hall Jr., *Puritans in the Balkans*. The American Board Mission in Bulgaria, 1878-1918 (Sofia: Studia Historico-Philologica Sardicensia, 1938), 269. The author of the book is connected with the American College in Sofia. In the conclusion of his preface he writes: "The writer is not aware of any prejudices with which he approaches this subject, except a prejudice for the Christian religion and a friendship for Bulgarians which has been reciprocated a thousand times." In his bibliography, he thinks of Tsanoff's book (see previous footnote) as a "valuable collection, relating mostly to ethnological questions. Accurately transcribed..." However, he considers it, among others, as a work which has used the relative testimony of the missionaries in support of Bulgarian claims (108).

73. *Consular Despatches*, Turkish Series, 1903, John Leishman to Hay, August 15, 1903.

the Balkans for the American commercial interests. As early as 1884, consular agent Lazzaro in Thessaloniki urged the "opening of active trade with Macedonia," and suggested the formation of a depot of American goods in that city.⁷⁴ Fifteen years later, the English newspaper *Levant Herald* sounded a note of alarm for the possible undesirable repercussions of commercial rivalry with the United States on British interests.⁷⁵ However, the English shipping companies effectively answered the American challenge, although their monopoly was increasingly being undermined by the competition of German and Italian companies.⁷⁶

Minister Jackson in Athens showed considerable foresight in urging the "commercial exploitation of the Balkan peninsula," and offering suggestions for the promotion of American interests in the area. He further pointed the attention of the State Department to the possibility of "eventual commercial interests in the future 'Balkan' railways."⁷⁷ The United States, however, never initiated an "Open Door" policy in the Balkans, perhaps for fear of serious entanglements with the other powers.

The head of the Legation in Athens had occasion to refer several times to the hold which the "Great Idea" had on popular imagination.⁷⁸ In 1906, he related an interesting observation in a confidential note to the Department :

Generally speaking, the Greeks appear to be losing heart in regard to Macedonia. The defeat of the Greek runners in the Marathon race⁷⁹ seems to have occasioned a kind of national stupefaction and depression, the result of which may be of lasting benefit.⁸⁰

74. *Consular Reports*, 1885, vol. 15, 13-14, August 1, 1884.

75. *Ibid.*, 1900, vol. 62, 103.

76. Gordon, 121-22.

77. *Consular Despatches*, 1903, Jackson to Hay, October 6, 1903; *Ibid.*, 1904, August 27, 1904.

75. *Ibid.*, 1900, vol. 62, 1903.

76. Gordon, 121-322.

77. *Consular Despatches*, 1903, Jackson to Hay, October 6, 1903; *Ibid.*, 1904, August 27, 1904.

78. *Ibid.*, 1905, Jackson to Elihu Root, December 4, 1905.

79. The Marathon race has been the great event of the Olympic games since their revival in 1896, in Athens. It has always been followed with the greatest interest for its difficulty (40 kilometers distance) and, by the Greeks, with a kind of reverence for it reminds the great victory at Marathon. The victory of a Greek in the first Olympiad, and every subsequent Greek victory, excited the national feeling and strengthened the general self-confidence. A defeat had the opposite effects.

80. *Consular Despatches*, 1906, Jackson to Root, May 4, 1906.

At that time, he also reported to Washington on the failure of Bulgaria and Serbia to negotiate a customs union. "This union," he said, "would have been a first step toward the formation of that Balkan Federation which must come, in my opinion, if the Macedonian question is ever to be settled peaceably."⁸¹

On April 8, 1906, elections were held in Greece after a long period of party strife and political instability. Jackson wired to the Department: "Politics in Greece are looked upon as a kind of sport, and the sense of responsibility necessary for the welfare and development of the country is almost absent."⁸² The minister could often be harsh in his remarks.

An important event in 1907 was the appointment of Lambros Coromilas as Greek Ambassador to Washington. It was the first time that an official representative of the Greek Government took a permanent seat in the American capital.⁸³ Coromilas had been consul general in Thessaloniki from 1904, and had worked with great enthusiasm and selfdenial for the Greek claims in Macedonia.⁸⁴

The American ministers in Greece were, in their majority, in support of the Greek cause with regard to the national boundaries. After the opening of the Macedonian question (around the turn of the century), the American minister in Athens became somewhat divided in his feelings as to the direction in which the solution of the problem should be sought. There was, on the other hand, no set diplomatic line of the State Department concerning the Balkans. On the whole, the diplomatic relations between the United States and Greece remained rather typical during this period. The representatives of the two countries were mostly concerned with the promotion of the mutual commercial interests.

81. *Ibid.*, Bulgarian Series, 1906, Jackson to Root, March 8, 1906.

82. *Ibid.*, Greek Series, 1906, Jackson to Root, April 12, 1906.

83. *Ibid.*, 1907, Jackson to Root, September 26, 1907; Saloutos, 99-100.

84. Basil Laourdas, *The Greek General Consulate in Thessaloniki, 1903-1908* (Thessaloniki, 1961) (in Greek). Lambros Coromilas (1856-1923) was a distinguished politician, economist, and diplomat. He took part in the Cretan uprising of 1896, and in the war of 1897. After working for a short time in the ministry of Economics, he learned Bulgarian and Turkish in order to devote himself to the Greek struggle in Macedonia. In 1904, he was placed as consul general in Thessaloniki. Three years later, his recall was demanded by the Sublime Porte and the Great Powers for his torpedoing of the Mürzteg reform plan. During his stay in Washington, he succeeded in uniting the divided Greeks into the "Panhellenic Union" (1908). He returned to Athens in 1910 and entered politics. During the first Balkan War, he was foreign minister, but he disagreed with Venizelos and resigned. He took part in the Paris peace discussions.

During the Roosevelt administration, American sensitivity in the area of Eastern Mediterranean became more acute.⁸⁵ Any noticeable involvement of the United States into Balkan Affairs, however, was absent until the later war years.⁸⁶

Athens

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85. Harry N. Howard, "The United States and the problem of the Turkish Straits: The foundations of American policy (1830-1914)", *Balkan Studies*, III (1962), 21-24.

86. Driault and Lhéritier, vol. V. 206, 276-77ff.